# THE LIVES
# OF THE NOBLE GRECIANS AND ROMANES, COMPARED TOGETHER BY THAT GRAVE LEARNED PHILOSOPHER AND HISTORIOGRAPHER,
## *Plutarke of Chæronea*:

Tranſlated out of Greeke into French by IAMES AMIOT, Abbot of Bellozane, Biſhop of Auxerre, one of the Kings priuie counſell, and great Amner of France, and out of French into Engliſh, by
*Thomas North*.

AN
CHO
RA
SPEI.

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Thomas VVight.
1595.

# TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCESSE ELIZABETH,
## BY THE GRACE OF GOD OF ENGLAND,
*Fraunce, and Ireland Queene, defender of the Faith, &c.*

VNDER hope of your highneſſe gratious and accuſtomed fauor, I haue preſumed to preſent here vnto your Maieſtie, Plutarkes liues tranſlated, as a booke fit to be protected by your highneſſe, and meete to be ſet forth in Engliſh. For who is fitter to giue countenance to ſo many great ſtates, than ſuch an high and mightie Princeſſe? who is fitter to reuiue the dead memorie of their fame, than ſhe that beareth the liuely image of their vertues? who is fitter to authorize a worke of ſo great learning and wiſedome, than ſhe whom all do honor as the Muſe of the world? Therefore I humbly beſeech your Maieſtie, to ſuffer the ſimpleneſſe of my tranſlation, to be couered vnder the ampleneſſe of your highneſſe protection. For, moſt gracious Soueraigne, though this booke be no booke for your Maieſties ſelf, who are meeter to be the chiefe ſtorie, than a ſtudent therein, and can better vnderſtand it in Greeke, than any man can make it Engliſh: yet I hope the common ſort of your ſubiects, ſhall not onely profit them ſelues hereby, but alſo be animated to the better ſeruice of your Maieſtie. For among all the profane books that are in reputation at this day, there is none (your highneſſe beſt knowes) that teacheth ſo much honor, loue, obedience, reuerence, zeale, and deuotion to Princes, as theſe liues of Plutarke do. How many examples ſhall your ſubiectes reade here, of ſeuerall perſons, and whole armies, of noble and baſe, of young and old, that both by ſea and land, at home and abroad, haue ſtrayned their wits, not regarded their ſtates, ventured their perſons, caſt away their liues, not onely for the honor and ſafetie, but alſo for the pleaſure of their Princes?

Then well may the Readers thinke, if they haue done this for heathen kings, what ſhould we doe for Chriſtian Princes? If they haue done this for glorie, what ſhould we do for religion? If they haue done this without hope of heauen, what ſhould we do that looke for immortalitie? And ſo adding the encouragement of theſe examples, to the forwardneſſe of their owne diſpoſitions: what ſeruice is there in warre, what honor in peace, which they will not be readie to do, for their worthie Queene?

And therfore that your highnes may giue grace to the booke, and the booke may do his ſeruice to your Maieſtie: I haue tranſlated it out of French, and do here moſt humbly preſent the ſame vnto your highneſſe, beſeeching your Maieſtie with all humilitie, not to reiect the good meaning, but to pardon the errors of your moſt humble and obedient ſubiect and ſeruant, who prayeth God long to multiply all graces and bleſſings vpon your Maieſtie. VVritten the 16. day of Ianuarie. 1579.

*Your Maieſties moſt humble and*
*obedient ſeruant,*

Thomas North.

TO

# To the Reader.

THE profit of ſtories, and the praiſe of the Author, are ſufficiently declared by Amiot, in his Epiſtle to the Reader: ſo that I ſhall not neede to make many words therof. And indeed if you will ſupply the defects of this tranſlation, with your owne diligence and good vnderſtanding: you ſhall not neede to truſt him, you may proue your ſelues, that there is no prophane ſtudie better then Plutarke. All other learning is priuate, fitter for Vniuerſities then cities, fuller of contemplation than experience, more commendable in ſtudents themſelues, than profitable vnto others. Whereas ſtories are fit for euery place, reach to all perſons, ſerue for all times, teach the liuing, reuiue the dead, ſo farre excelling all other bookes, as it is better to ſee learning in noble mens liues, than to reade it in Philoſophers writings. Now for the Author, I will not denie but loue may deceiue me, for I muſt needes loue him with whom I haue taken ſo much paine: but I beleeue I might be bold to affirme, that he hath written the profitableſt ſtorie of all Authors. For all other were faine to take their matter, as the fortune of the countreys whereof they wrote fell out: But this man being excellent in wit, learning, and experience, hath choſen the ſpeciall actes of the beſt perſons, of the famouſeſt nations of the world. But I will leaue the iudgement to your ſelues. My onely purpoſe is to deſire you to excuſe the faults of my tranſlation, with your owne gentleneſſe, and with the opinion of my diligence and good intent. And ſo I wiſh you all the profite of the booke. Fare ye well. The foure and twentie day of Ianuarie. 1579.

THOMAS NORTH.

# Amiot to the Readers.

*THe reading of bookes which bring but a vaine and vnprofitable pleaſure to the reader, is iuſtly miſliked of wiſe and graue men. Againe, the reading of ſuch as doe but only bring profit, and make the reader to be in loue therwith, and doe not eaſe the paine of the reading by ſome pleaſantnes in the ſame: doe ſeeme ſomewhat harshe to diuerſe delicate wits, that cannot tary long vpon them. But ſuch bookes as yeeld pleaſure & profit, and doe both delight and teach, haue all that a man can deſire why they should be vniuerſally liked and allowed of all ſorts of men, according to the common ſaying of the Poet Horace:*

That he which matcheth profit with delight,
Doth winne the price in euery poynt aright.

*Either of theſe yeeld his effect the better, by reaſon the one runneth with the other, profiting the more becauſe of the delight, and delighting the more becauſe of the profit. This commendation (in my opinion) is moſt proper to the reading of ſtories, to haue pleaſure and profit matched together, which kind of delight and teaching, meeting in this wiſe arme in arme, hath more allowance then any other kind of writing or inuention of man. In reſpect whereof it may be reaſonably auowed, that men are more beholding to ſuch good wittes, as by their graue and wiſe writing haue deſerued the name of Hiſtoriographers, then they are to any other kind of writers: becauſe an hiſtorie is an orderly regiſter of notable things ſayd, done, or happened in times paſt, to maintaine the continuall remēbrance of them, and to ſerue for the inſtruction of them to come.*

*And like as memorie is as a ſtorehouſe of mens conceits and deuiſes, without the which the actions of the other two parts ſhould be vnperfect, and wellneere vnprofitable: ſo may it alſo be ſayed, that an hiſtorie is the very treaſury of mans life, whereby the notable doings and ſayings of men, & the wonderfull aduentures and ſtrange caſes, (which the long continuance of time bringeth forth) are preſerued from the death of forgetfulnes. Hereupon it riſeth that Plato the wiſe ſayeth, that the name of hiſtorie was giuen to this recording of matters, to ſtay the fleeting of our memorie, which otherwiſe would be ſoone loſt, and retaine litle. And we may well perceiue how greatly we be beholding vnto it, if we doe no more but conſider in how horrible darkenes, and in how beaſtlie and peſtilent a quamyre of ignorance we ſhould be plunged: if the remembraunce of all the things that haue bene done, and haue happened before we were borne, were vtterly drowned and forgotten. Now therefore I will ouerpaſſe the excellencie and worthines of the thing it ſelfe, foraſmuch as it is not onely of more antiquitie then any other kinde of writing that euer was in the world, but alſo was vſed among men, before there was any vſe of letters at all: becauſe that men in thoſe daies deliuered in their life times the remembrance of things paſt to their ſucceſſors, in ſongs, which they cauſed their children to learne by hart, from hand to hand, as is to be ſeen yet in our daies by the exāple of the barbarous people that inhabite the newfound landes in the VVeſt, who without anie records of writings, haue had the knowledge of things paſt, welneare eight hundreth yeares afore. Likewiſe I leaue to diſcourſe, that it is the ſureſt, ſafeſt, & durableſt monument that men can leaue of their doings in this world, to cōſecrate their names to immortality. For there is neither picture, nor image of marble, nor arch of triumph, nor Pillar, nor ſumptuous ſepulcher, that can match the durableneſſe of an eloquēt hiſtory, furnished with the properties which it ought to haue. Againe, I mind not to ſtand much vpon this, that it hath a certaine troth in it, in that it alwayes profeſſeth to ſpeake truth, and for that the proper ground thereof is to treate of the greateſt and higheſt things that are done in the world: inſomuch that (to my ſeeming) the great profit thereof is as Horace ſaith, that it is commonly called the mother of troth and vprightneſſe, which commendeth it ſo greatly, as it needeth not elſewhere to ſeeke any authoritie, or ornament of dignitie, but of her very ſelfe. For it is a certaine rule and inſtruction, which by examples paſt, teacheth vs to iudge of things preſent, and to foreſee things to come: ſo as we may know what to like of, and what to follow, what to miſlike, and what to eſchue. It is a picture, which (as it were in a table) ſetteth before our eyes the things worthy* of remembrance that haue bene done in old time by mighty nations, noble kings and Princes, wiſe gouernours, valiant Captaines, and perſons renowmed for ſome notable quality, repreſenting vnto vs the maners of ſtrange nations, the lawes and cuſtomes of old time, the particular affaires of men, their conſultations and enterpriſes, the means that they haue vſed to compaſſe thē withall, & their demeaning of them ſelues when they were come to the higheſt, or throwne down to the loweſt degree of ſtate. So as it is not poſsible for any caſe to riſe either in peace or warre, in publike or priuate affaires, but that the perſon which ſhall haue diligently read, well conceiued, and throughly remembred hiſtories, ſhall find matter in them whereat to take delight, and counſell whereby to reſolue him ſelfe to take a part, or to giue aduice vnto others, how to chuſe in doubtfull & dangerous caſes that, which may be for their moſt profit, and in time to findout to what point the matter will come if it be well handled: and how to moderate him ſelfe in proſperitie, and how to cheare vp and beare him ſelfe in aduerſitie. Theſe things it doth with much greater grace, efficacie, and ſpeed, than the bookes of morall Philoſophie do: foraſmuch as examples are of more force to moue and inſtruct, than are the arguments and proofes of reaſon, or their preciſe precepts, becauſe examples be the very formes of our deedes, and accompanied with all circumſtances. VVhereas reaſons and demonſtrations are generall, and tend to the proofe of things, and to the beating of them into vnderſtanding: and examples tend to the ſhewing of them in practiſe and execution, becauſe they do not only declare what is to be done, but alſo work a deſire to do it, as well in reſpect of a certaine naturall inclination which all men haue to follow examples, as alſo for the beautie of vertue, which is of ſuch power, that wherſoeuer she is ſeene, she maketh her ſelfe to be loued and liked. Againe, it doth things with greater weight and grauitie, than the inuentions and deuiſes of the Poets: becauſe it helpeth not it ſelfe with any other thing than with the plaine truth, whereas Poetry doth commonly inrich things by commending them aboue the ſtarres and their deſeruing, becauſe the chiefe intent thereof is to delight. Moreouer, it doth things with more grace and modeſtie than the ciuill lawes and ordinances do: becauſe it is more grace for a man to teach and inſtruct, than to chaſtiſe or punish. And yet for all this, an hiſtorie alſo hath his maner of punishing the wicked, by the reproch of euerlaſting infamie, wherewith it defaceth their remembrance, which is a great meane to withdraw them from vice, who otherwiſe would be leudly and wickedly diſpoſed. Likewiſe on the contrarie part, the immortall praiſe and glorie wherewith it rewardeth weldoers, is a very liuely and sharpe ſpurre for men of noble courage and gentlemanlike nature, to cauſe them to aduenture vpon all maner of noble and great things. For bookes are full of examples of men of high courage and wiſedome, who for deſire to continue the remembrance of their name, by the ſure and certaine record of of hiſtories, haue willingly yeelded their liues to the ſeruice of the common weale, ſpent their goods, ſuſtained infinit paines both of bodie and mind in defence of the oppreſſed, in making common buildings, in ſtablishing of lawes and gouernments, and in the finding out of artes and ſciences neceſſarie for the maintenance and ornament of mans life: for the faithfull regiſtring whereof, the thanke is due to hiſtories. And although true vertue ſeeke no reward of her commendable doings like a hireling, but contenteth her ſelfe with the conſcience of her well doing: yet notwithſtanding I am of opinion, that it is good and meete to draw men by all meanes to good doing, and good men ought not to be forbidden to hope for the honour of their vertuous deeds, ſeeing that honor doth naturally accompany vertue, as the shadow doth the body. For we commonly ſee, not to feele the ſparkes of deſire of honor, is an infallible ſigne of a baſe, vile and cloynish nature: and that ſuch as account it an vnneceſſarie, needleſſe, or vnſeemely thing to be praiſed, are likewiſe no doers of any things worthy of praiſe, but are commonly men of faint courage, whoſe thoughts extend no further than to their liues, whereof alſo they haue no further remembrance, than is before their eyes. But if the counſell of old men be to be greatly eſteemed, becauſe they muſt needes haue ſeene much by reaſon of their long life: and if they that haue trauelled long in ſtrange countries, and haue had the managing of many affaires, and haue gotten great experience of the doings of this world, are reputed for ſage, and worthy to haue the reynes of great gouernments put into their hands: how greatly is the reading of hiſtories to be eſteemed, which is able to furnish vs with more examples in one day, than the whole courſe of the longeſt life of any man is able to do? Inſomuch that they which exerciſe them ſelues in reading as they ought to do, although they be but yong, become ſuch in reſpect of vnderſtanding of the affaires *of this world, as if they were old and gray headed, and of long experience. Yea though they neuer haue remoued out of their houſes, yet are they aduertiſed, informed, and ſatisfied of all things in the world, as well as they that haue shortened their liues by innumerable trauels and infinite daungers, in running ouer the whole earth that is inhabited: whereas on the contrary part, they that are ignorant of the things that were done and come to paſſe before they were borne, continue ſtill as children, though they be neuer ſo aged, and are but as ſtrangers in their owne natiue countreyes. To be short, it may be truly ſayd, that the reading of hiſtories is the ſchoole of wiſedome, to fashion mens vnderſtanding, by conſidering aduiſedly the ſtate of the world that is paſt, and by marking diligently by what lawes, maners, and diſcipline, Empires, kingdomes and dominions, haue in old time bene ſtablished, and afterward maintained and increaſed: or contrariwiſe changed, diminished, and ouerthrowen. Alſo we reade, that whenſoeuer the right ſage and vertuous Emperour of Rome, Alexander Seuerus, was to conſult of any matter of great importance, whether it concerned warres or gouernment: he alwayes called ſuch to counſell, as were reported to be well ſeene in hiſtories. Notwithſtanding I know there are that will ſtand againſt me in this point, and vphold that the reading of hiſtories can ſerue to ſmall purpoſe, or none at all, towards the getting of skill: becauſe skill conſiſteth in action, and is ingendred by the very experience and practiſe of things, when a man doth well marke and throughly beare away the things that he hath ſeene with his eyes, and found true by proofe, according to the ſaying of the ancient Poet Afranius:*

My name is Skill, my Syre Experience hight,
And Memorie bred and brought me foorth to light.

*VVhich thing was meant likewiſe by the Philoſopher that ſayd, that the hand is the inſtrument of skill. By reaſon whereof it comes to paſſe (ſay they) that ſuch as ſpeake of matters of gouernment and ſtate, but ſpecially of matters of warre by the booke, ſpeake but as booke knights, as the French prouerbe termeth them, after the maner of the Grecians, who call him a booke Pilot, which hath not the ſure and certaine knowledge of the things that he ſpeakes of: meaning thereby, that it is not for a man to truſt to the vnderſtanding which he hath gotten by reading, in things that conſiſt in the deed doing, where the hand is to be ſet to the worke: no more then the often hearing of men talk and reaſon of painting, or the diſputing vpon colors, without taking of the penſill in hand, can ſtand a man in any ſteed at all to make him a good painter. But on the contrary part, many haue proued wiſe men and good Captaines, which could neither write nor reade. Beſides this, they alleage further, that in matters of warre, all things alter from yeare to yeare: by meanes whereof the ſlights and policies that are to be learned out of bookes, will ſerue the turne no more than mynes that are blowen vp. According whereunto Cambyſes telleth his ſonne Cyrus in Xenophon, that like as in Muſicke the neweſt ſongs are commonly beſt liked of for once, becauſe they were neuer heard afore: So in the warres, thoſe pollicies that neuer were practiſed afore, are thoſe that take beſt ſucceſſe, & commonly haue the beſt effect, becauſe the enemies do leaſt doubt of them. Neuertheleſſe I am not he that will maintaine that a wiſe gouernor of a common weale, or a great Captaine can be made of ſuch a perſon, as hath neuer trauelled out of his ſtudy, and from his bookes: howbeit that which Cicero writeth of Lucius Lucullus, is true, that when he departed out of Rome as Captaine generall and Lieutenant of the Romanes, to make warre againſt king Mithridates, he had no experience at all of the warres, and yet afterward he beſtowed ſo great diligence in the reading of hiſtories, & in conferring vpon euery point with the old Captaines and men of long experience, whom he caried with him, that by the time of his comming into Aſia, where he was in deede to put his matters in execution, he was found to be a very ſufficient Captaine, as appeared by his deedes: in ſo much that by thoſe wayes, cleane contrary to the common order of warre, he diſcomfited two of the moſt puiſſant, and greateſt Princes that were at that time in the Eaſt. For his vnderſtanding was ſo quicke, his care ſo vigilant, and his courage ſo great, that he needed no long trayning, nor groſſe inſtruction by experience. And although I graunt there haue bene diuerſe Gouernours and Captaines, which by the onely force of nature (furthered by long continued experience) haue done goodly and great exploytes: yet can it not be denied me, but that if they had matched the giftes of nature with the knowledge of learning, & the reading of hiſtories, they might haue done much greater things, and they might haue become much more perfect. For like as in euery other cunning and skill wherein a man in-*

*tendeth*

Three things neceſſary for a Magiſtrate, or Captaine.

Prouerbe.

tendeth to excell: ſo alſo to become a perfect & ſufficient perſon to gouerne in peace & warre, there are 3 things of neceſſity required, namely, nature, art, & practiſe. Nature (in the caſe we treate of) muſt furnish vs with a good mother wit, with a body well diſpoſed to endure all maner of trauell, and with a good will to aduance our ſelues: Arte muſt giue vs iudgement and knowledge, gotten by the examples and wiſe diſcourſes that we haue read & double read in good hiſtories: and practiſe will get vs readines, aſſurednes, & the eaſe how to put things in execution. For though skill be the ruler of doing the deede, yet it is a vertue of the minde which teacheth a man the meane poynt betweene the two faultie extreamities of too much & too litle, wherein the commendation of all doings conſiſteth. And whoſoeuer he is that goeth about to attaine to it by the onely tryall of experience, and had rather learne it at his owne coſt, than at another mans: he may well be of the number of thoſe that are touched by this auncient prouerbe, which ſayth, Experience is the ſchoolemiſtreſſe of fooles: becauſe mans life is ſo short, and experience is hard and dangerous, ſpecially in matters of warre, wherin (according to the ſaying of Tamachus the Athenian Captaine) a man can not faulte twice, becauſe the faultes are ſo great, that moſt commonly they bring with them the ouerthrow of the ſtate, or loſſe of the liues of thoſe that doe them. Therefore we muſt not tarie for this wit that is wonne by experience, which coſteth ſo deare, and is ſo long in comming, that a man is oft times dead in the ſeeking of it before he haue attained it, ſo as he had neede of a ſecond life to imploy it in, becauſe of the ouerlate comming by it. But we muſt make ſpeede by our diligent and continuall reading of hiſtories both old and new, that we may enioy this happineſſe which the Poet ſpeaketh of:

A happie wight is he that by miſhappes
Of others, doth beware of afterclappes.

By the waye, as concerning thoſe that ſay that paper will beare all things: if there be any that vnworthylie take vppon them the name of Hiſtoriographers, and doe deface the dignitie of the ſtorie for hatred or fauour, by mingling any vntruth with it: that is not the faulte of the hiſtorie, but of the men that are partiall, who doe abuſe that name vnworthylie, to couer and cloake their owne paſſions withall, which thing shall neuer come to paſſe, if the writer of the ſtorie haue the properties that are neceſſarilie required in a ſtorie-writer, as theſe: That he ſet aſide all affection, be voyde of enuie, hatred, and flatterie: that he be a man experienced in the affayres of the world, of good vtteraunce and iudgement, to diſcerne what is to be ſayed and what to be left vnſayed, and what would doe more harme to haue it declared, than doe good to haue it reproued or condemned: foraſmuch as his chiefe drift ought to be to ſerue the common weale, and that he is but as a regiſter to ſet downe the iudgementes and definitiue ſentences of goddes Court, whereof ſome are giuen according to the ordinarie courſe and capacitie of our weake naturall reaſon, and other ſome goe according to gods infinite power and incomprehenſible wiſedome, aboue and againſt all diſcourſe of mans vnderſtanding, who being vnable to reach to the bottome of his iudgementes and to finde out the firſt motions and groundes thereof, doe impute the cauſe of them to a certaine fortune, which is nought elſe but a fained deuiſe of mans wit, dazeled at the beholding of ſuch brightneſſe, and confounded at the gazing of ſo bottomleſſe a deepe, howbeit, nothing commeth to paſſe nor is done without the leaue of him that is the verie right and truth it ſelfe, with whom nothing is paſte or come, and who knoweth and vnderſtandeth the verie originall cauſes of all neceſſitie. The conſideration whereof teacheth men to humble themſelues vnder his mightie hande by acknowledging that there is one firſt cauſe which ouerruleth nature, whereof it commeth, that neither hardineſſe is allwayes happie, nor wiſedome allwayes ſure of good ſucceſſe. Theſe ſo notable commodities are euerie where accompanied with ſingular delighte, which proceedeth chieflie of diuerſitie and noueltie wherein our nature delighteth and is greatly deſirous of: becauſe wee hauing an earneſt inclination towards our beſt proſperitie and aduancement, it goth on ſtill, ſeeking it in euery thing which it taketh to be goodly, or good in this world. But foraſmuch as it findeth not wherewith to content it ſelfe vnder the cope of heauen, it is ſoone wearie of the things that it had earneſtly deſired before, and ſo goeth on wandering in the vnskilfullneſſe of her likings whereof she neuer ceaſſeth to make a continuall changing vntill she haue fully ſatisfied her deſires, by attaining to the laſt end, which is to be knit to her chiefe felicity, where is the full perfection of all goodlines and goodnes. This liking of variety cannot be better releeued, than by that which is the finder out and the preſeruer of time, the father of all noueltie, and meſſenger of antiquitie. For if we finde a certaine ſingular pleaſure, in harkening to ſuch as be returned from ſome long voyage, and do report things which they haue ſeene in ſtrange coũtries, as the maners of people, the natures of places, and the faſhions of liues, differing from ours: and if we be ſometime ſo rauiſhed with delight and pleaſure at the hearing of the talke of ſome wiſe, diſcreete, and well ſpoken olde man, from whoſe mouth there floweth a ſtreame of ſpeech ſweeter than honny, in rehearſing the aduentures which he hath had in his greene & youthfull yeares, the paines that he hath endured, and the perils that he hath ouerpaſſed, ſo as we perceiue not howe the time goeth away: howe much more ought we to be rauiſhed with delight and wondering, to behold the ſtate of mankind, & the true ſucceſſe of things, which antiquitie hath and doth bring forth from the beginning of the world, as the ſetting vp of Empires, the ouerthrow of Monarchies, the riſing and falling of kingdomes, and all things els worthie admiration, & the ſame liuely ſet forth in the faire, rich, and true table of eloquence? And that ſo liuely, as in the very reading of them we feele our mindes to be ſo touched by them, not as though the things were already done and paſt, but as though they were euen then preſently in doing, and we finde our ſelues caried away with gladneſſe & griefe through feare or hope, well neare as though we were then at the doing of them: whereas notwithſtanding we be not in any paine or danger, but onely conceiue in our mindes the aduerſities that other folkes haue endured, our ſelues ſitting ſafe with our contentation and eaſe, according to thoſe verſes of the Poet Lucretius.

It is a pleaſure for to ſit at eaſe
Vpon the land, and ſafely for to ſee
How other folkes are toſſed on the ſeas,
That with the bluſtring windes turmoyled be.
Not that the ſight of others miſeries
Doth any way the honeſt hart delight,
But for becauſe it liketh well our eyes,
To ſee harmes free that on our ſelues might light.

Alſo it is ſeene that the reading of hiſtories doth ſo holde and allure good wits, that diuers times it not onely maketh them to forget all other pleaſures, but alſo ſerueth very fitly to turne away their griefes, and ſometimes alſo to remedie their diſeaſes. As for example, we find it written of Alphonſus king of Naples, that Prince ſo greatly renowned in Chronicles for his wiſedome and goodneſſe, that being ſore ſicke in the city of Capua, when his Phiſicions had ſpent all the cunning that they had to recouer him his health, and he ſaw that nothing preuailed: he determined with himſelfe to take no mo medicins, but for his recreation cauſed the ſtorie of Quintus Curtius, concerning the deeds of Alexander the great, to be read before him: at the hearing whereof he tooke ſo wonderfull pleaſure, that nature gathered ſtrength by it, and ouercame the waywardnes of his diſeaſe. VVhereupon hauing ſoone recouered his health, he diſcharged his Phiſitions with ſuch words as theſe: Feaſt me no more with your Hippocrates and Galene, ſith they can no skill to helpe me to recouer my health: but well fare Quintus Curtius that could ſo good skill to helpe me to recouer my health. Now if the reading & knowledge of hiſtories be delightfull and profitable to all other kind of folke: I ſay it is much more for great Princes and Kings, becauſe they haue to do with charges of greateſt weight and difficultie, to be beſt ſtored with giftes and knowledge for the diſcharge of their duties: ſeeing the ground of ſtories is, to treate of all maner of high matters of ſtate, as warres, battels, cities, coũtries, treaties of peace and alliances, and therefore it ſeemeth more fit for them, than for any other kind of degrees of men: becauſe they being bred and brought vp tenderly, and at their eaſe, by reaſon of the great regard and care that is had of their perſons (as meet is for ſo great ſtates to haue) they take not ſo great paines in their youth for the learning of things as behoueth thoſe to take which will learne the noble ancient languages, and the painefull doctrine comprehended in Philoſophie. Againe when they come to mans ſtate, their charge calleth thẽ to deale in great affaires, ſo as there remaineth no excerciſe of wit more conuenient for thẽ, than the reading of hiſtories in their own tongue, which without paine is able to teach them euen with great pleaſure and eaſe, whatſoeuer the painefull workes of the Philſophers concerning the gouernment of common wealthes can ſhewe them, to make them skilfull in the well ruling & gouerning of the people and coũtries that God hath put vn-

der their ſubiection. But the worſt is, that they euer (or for the moſt part) haue ſuch maner of perſons about them as ſeeke nothing els but to pleaſe them by all the wayes they can, and there are verie few that dare tell them the truth freely in all things: whereas on the contrary part, an hiſtory flattereth them not, but layeth open before their eyes the faults and vices of ſuch as were like them in greatneſſe of degree. And therefore Demetrius Phalerius (a man renowmed aſwell for his skill in the good gouernment of a common weale, as for his excellent knowledge otherwiſe) counſelled Ptolomy, firſt king of Aegypt after the death of Alexander the great, that he ſhould often and diligently reade the bookes that treated of the gouernment of kingdoms, becauſe (ſaid he) thou ſhalt find many things there, which thy ſeruantes and familiar friends dare not tell thee. Moreouer this is another thing, that ſuch great perſonages cannot eaſily trauell out of the bounds of their dominions, to goe view ſtrange countries as priuate perſons doe: becauſe the iealouſie of their eſtate, and the regard of their dignity, requires that they ſhould neuer be in place where another man might cōmand them. And oftentimes for want of hauing ſeene the countries, and known the people and Princes that are their neighbours, they haue adventured vpon attempts without good ground: to auoide the which, the inſtruction they may haue by the reading of hiſtories, is one of the eaſieſt & fitteſt remedies that can be found. And though there were none other cauſe then onely this laſt, ſurely it ought to induce Princes to the often and diligent reading of hiſtories, wherein are written the heroicall deedes of wiſe and valiant men, ſpecially of kings that haue bene before them, the conſideration whereof may cauſe them to be deſirous to become like them, ſpecially which were of ſtately and noble courage: becauſe the ſeedes of Princely vertues that are bred with themſelues, doe then quicken them vp with an emulation towards thoſe that haue bene or are equall in degree with them, aſwell in reſpect of noblenes of blood, as of greatnes of ſtate, ſo as they be loth to giue place to any perſon, and much leſſe can find in their harts to be outgone in glory of vertuous doings. VVhereof innumerable examples might be alleadged, if the thing were not ſo well knowen of it ſelfe, that it were much more againſt reaſon to doubt of it, than needfull to proue it. Therfore a man may truly conclude, that an hiſtorie is the ſchoolemiſtriſſe of Princes, at whoſe hand they may without paine, in way of paſtime, and with ſingular pleaſure learne the moſt part of the things that belong to their office. Now, according to the diuerſitie of the matter that it treateth of, or the order and maner of writing that it vſeth, it hath ſundry names giuen vnto it: But yet among the reſt there are two chiefe kinds. The one which ſetteth downe mens doings and aduentures at length, is called by the common name of an hiſtorie: the other which declareth their natures, ſayings, & maners is properly named their liues. And although the ground of them both do cloze very neare in one, yet doth the one reſpect more the things, and the other the perſons: the one is more common, and the other more priuate: the one concerneth more the things that are without the man, and the other the things that proceed from within: the one the euents, the other the conſultations: betweene the which there is oftentimes great oddes, according to this anſwer of the Perſian Siramnes, to ſuch as maruelled how it came to paſſe, that his deuiſes being ſo politicke had ſo vnhappy ſucceſſe: It is (quoth he) becauſe my deuiſes are wholly frō my own inuention, but the effects of them are in the diſpoſition of fortune & the king. And ſurely among all thoſe that euer haue taken vpon them to write the names of famous men, the chiefe prerogatiue, by the iudgement of ſuch as are cleareſt ſighted, is iuſtly giuen to the Greeke Philoſoper Plutarke, borne in the citie of Chæronea in the country of Bœotia, a nobleman, perfect in all rare knowledge, as his workes may well put men out of doubt, if they liſt to read them through, who all his life long euen to his olde age, had to deale in affaires of the common weale, as he himſelfe witneſſeth in diuers places, ſpecially in the treatiſe which he intituled, VVhether an olde man ought to meddle with the gouernment of a common weale or not: and who had the hap & honor to be ſchoolmaiſter to the Emperor Traian, as is commonly beleeued, and as is expreſly pretended in a certaine Epiſtle ſet before the Latine tranſlation of his matters of ſtate, (which to ſay the truth) ſeemeth in my iudgment to be ſomewhat ſuſpitious, becauſe I find it not among his works in Greeke, beſides that it ſpeaketh as though the booke were dedicated to Traian, which thing is manifeſtly diſproued by the beginning of the book, and by diuers other reaſons. Yet notwithſtanding becauſe me thinks it is ſagely & grauely written, and well beſeeming him: I haue ſet it downe heere in this place. Plutarke vnto ”
Traian ſendeth greeting. I know well that the modeſtie of your nature was not deſirous of Soue- ”

„ raigntie, though you haue alwayes indeuored to deſerue it by your honorable conuerſation: by reaſon whereof you haue bene thought ſo much the worthier of it, as you haue bene found the further off from all ambition. And therefore I do now reioyce in your vertue & my fortune, if it be ſo great as to cauſe you to adminiſter that thing with iuſtice, which you haue obtained by deſert. For otherwiſe I am ſure you haue put your ſelfe in hazard of great dangers, and me in perill of ſlaunderous tongues, becauſe that Rome cannot away with a wicked Emperour, and the common voice of the people is alwayes wont to caſt the faultes of the ſchollers in the teeth of their ſchoolemaiſters: as for example: Seneca is rayled vpon by ſlanderous tongues, for the faults of his ſcholler Nero: the ſcapes of Quintilians young ſchollers are imputed to Quintilian himſelfe: and Socrates is blamed for being too mild to his hearers. But as for you, there is hope you ſhall doe all things well enough, ſo you keepe you as you are. If you firſt ſet your ſelfe in order, and then diſpoſe all other things according to vertue, all things ſhall fall out according to your deſire. I haue ſet you downe the meanes in writing, which you muſt obſerue for the well gouerning of your common weale, and haue ſhewed vnto you of how great force your behauior may be in that behalfe. If you thinke good to follow thoſe things, you haue Plutarke for the director & guider of your life: if not, I proteſt vnto you by this Epiſtle, that your falling into danger to the ouerthrow of the Empire, is not by the doctrine of Plutarke. This Epiſtle witneſſeth plainly that he was the ſchoolemaiſter of Traian, which thing ſeemeth to be auowed by this writing of Suidas: Plutarke being borne in the citie of Chæronea in Bœotia, was in the time of the Emperour Traian, and ſomewhat before. But Traian honored him with the dignity of Conſulship, and commaunded the officers and magiſtrates that were throughout all the country of Illyria, that they ſhould not doe any thing without his counſell and authoritie. So doth Suidas write of him. And I am of opinion, that Traian being ſo wiſe an Emperour, would neuer haue done him ſo great honor, if he had not thought himſelf greatly beholding to him for ſome ſpeciall cauſe. But the thing that maketh me moſt to beleeue it true, is, that the ſame goodneſſe and iuſtice appeared to be naturally imprinted in moſt of Traians ſayings and doings, whereof the patterne and mould (as a man might terme it) is caſt and ſet downe in Plutarkes Morals, ſo as men may perceiue expreſly, that the one could well skill to performe rightly, that which the other had taught wiſely. For Dion writeth, that among other honors which the Senate of Rome gaue by decree vnto Traian, they gaue him the title of the Good Emperour. And Eutropius reporteth that euen vnto his time, when a new Emperour came to be receiued of the Senate, among the cries of good hanſell, and the wiſhes of good lucke that were made vnto him, one was: happier be thou than Auguſtus, and better than Traian. Howſoeuer the caſe ſtood, it is very certaine that Plutarke dedicated the collection of his Apothegmes vnto him. But when he had liued a long time at Rome, and was come home againe to his owne houſe, he fell to writing of this excellent worke of Liues, which he calleth Parallelon, as much to ſay, as a coupling or matching together, becauſe he matcheth a Grecian with a Romane, ſetting downe their liues each after other, and comparing them together, as he found any likeneſſe of nature, conditions, or aduentures betwixt them, and examining what the one of them had better or worſer, greater or leſſer than the other: which things he doth with ſo goodly and graue diſcourſe euery where, taken out of the deepeſt and moſt hidden ſecrets of morall and naturall Philoſophy, with ſo ſage precepts & frutefull inſtructions, with ſo effectuall commendation of vertue, and deteſtation of vice, with ſo many goodly allegations of other authors, with ſo many fit compariſons, & with ſo many high inuentions: that the booke may better be called by the name of the Treaſory of all rare & perfect learning, than by any other name. Alſo it is ſayd, that Theodorus Gaza, a Grecian of ſingular learning, and a worthie of the auncient Greece, being asked on a time by his familiar friends (which ſaw him ſo earneſtly giuen to his ſtudie, that he forgot all other things) what author he had leuereſt to chuſe, if he were at that point that he muſt needes chuſe ſome one to hold him to alone, did aunſwere, that he would chuſe Plutarke: becauſe that if they were all put together, there was no one both ſo profitable, and ſo pleaſant to reade, as he. Soſsius Senecio to whom he dedicateth his worke, was a Senatour of Rome, as witneſſeth Dion, who writeth that the three perſons whom Traian moſt loued and honoured, were Soſsius, Parma, and Celſus, inſomuch that he cauſed images of them to be ſet vp. True it is that he wrote the liues of many other mē, which the ſpitefulnes of the time hath bereft vs of, among which he himſelfe maketh mention of the liues of Scipio Africanus, & Metellus Numidicus.

cus. And I haue read a litle Epiſtle of a ſonne of his, whoſe name is not expreſſed, copied out of an old copie in the Librarie of S. Marke in Venice, wherein he writeth to a friend of his, a regiſter of all the bookes that his father made: and there among the couples of liues, he ſetteth downe the liues of Scipio and Epaminondas, and laſtly the liues of Auguſtus Cæſar, of Tiberius, of Caligula, of Claudius, of Nero, of Galba, of Vitellius, and of Otho. But hauing vſed all the diligence that I could in ſearching the chiefe Libraries of Venice, and Rome, I could neuer finde them out. Onely I drewe out certaine diuerſities of readings, and many corrections, by conferring the old written copies with the printed bookes: which haue ſtood me in great ſtead to the vnderſtanding of many hard places: and there are a great number of them which I haue reſtored by coniecture, by the iudgement and helpe of ſuch men of this age, as are of greateſt knowledge in humane learning. Yet for all this, there remaine ſome places vnamended, howbeit very few, becauſe ſome lines were wanting in the originall copies, whereof (to my ſeeming) it was better for me to witneſſe the want by marking it with ſome ſtarre: than to gueſſe at it with all aduenture, or to adde any thing to it. Now finally, if I haue ouerſhot my ſelfe in any thing, as it is verie eaſie to do in ſo hard and long a worke, ſpecially to a man of ſo ſmall abilitie as I am: I beſeech the Readers, to vouchſafe for my diſcharge, to admit the excuſe which the Poet Horace giueth me, where he ſayth:

A man may well be ouerſeene
In workes that long and tedious beene.

Specially ſith that of ſo many good men, and men of ſkill as haue heretofore ſet hand to the tranſlating of it, there was neuer yet any one found that went through with it in any language, at leaſt wiſe that I haue ſeene or heard of: and that ſuch as haue enterpriſed to tranſlate it, ſpecially into Latine, haue euidently witneſſed the hardneſſe thereof, as they may eaſily perceiue which liſt to conferre their tranſlations with mine. Neuertheleſſe if it ſo fortune that men find not the ſpeech of this tranſlation ſo flowing, as they haue found ſome other of mine, that are abrode in mens hands: I beſeech the readers to conſider, that the office of a fit tranſlator, conſiſteth not onely in the faithfull expreſſing of his authors meaning, but alſo in a certaine reſembling and ſhadowing out of the forme of his ſtyle, and the maner of his ſpeaking: vnleſſe he will commit the error of ſome painters, who hauing taken vpon them to draw a man liuely, do paint him long where he ſhould be ſhort, and groſſe where he ſhould be ſlender, and yet ſet out the reſemblance of his countenance naturally. For how harſh or rude ſoeuer my ſpeech be, yet am I ſure that my tranſlation will be much eaſier to my countrimen, than the Greeke copie is, euen to ſuch as are beſt practiſed in the Greeke tongue, by reaſon of Plutarkes peculiar maner of inditing, which is rather ſharpe, learned, and ſhort, than plaine, poliſhed, and eaſie. At the hardeſt, although I haue not compaſſed my matters ſo happily as ye could haue wiſhed and deſired: yet do I hope that your Lordſhips in reading it will hold the parties good will excuſed, which hath taken ſuch paines in doing of it to profit you. And if my labour be ſo happie, as to content you: God be praiſed for it, which hath giuen me the grace to finiſh it.

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# THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GREEKES AND ROMAINES, THE MOST OF THEM COMPAred together by that graue learned Philoſopher and Hiſtoriographer PLVTARCH of Chœronea.

Willm Shakspere

## *Theſeus.*

LIKE as the hiſtoriographers which do ſet forth the deſcription of the earth in figure (my friend *Soſsius Senecio*) are wont to place in the lowermoſt part of their mappes, the farre diſtant regions vnknowne vnto them, and to marke in the margent ſuch like notes and reaſons as theſe: beyond theſe countreyes are nothing but deepe drye ſands without water, full of foule ill fauoured venimous beaſts, or much mudde vnnauigable, or SCYTHIA forſaken for cold, or elſe the ſea froſen with Iſe. Euen ſo in this my hiſtorie, I could ſpeake of ſtrange things and more ancient, and further off from mens memorie. But herein I haue compared the liues of ſome noble men, the one with the other, hauing followed all thoſe times, whereof the monuments remaine yet ſo whole, that men may ſpeake of verie great likelihood, or rather write a very troth. What hath bin written before, is but of ſtrange faynings, and full of monſtrous fables, imagined and deuiſed by Poets, which are altogether vncertaine, and moſt vntrue. Howbeit hauing heretofore ſet foorth the liues of *Lycurgus* (which eſtabliſhed the lawes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and of king *Numa Pompilius*, me thought I might with reaſon alſo aſcẽd vnto the time of *Romulus*, ſithens I was come ſo neere

*Soſsius Senecio a Senatour of Rome.*

vnto his time. Wherfore hauing long debated with my ſelfe what *Æſchilus* the Poet ſayd:

*VVhat champion may with ſuch a man compare?*
*or who (thinke I) ſhalbe againſt him ſet?*
*VVho is ſo bold? or who is he that dare*
*defend his force, in ſuch encounter met?*

*Theſeus and Romulus very like.*

In the end I reſolued, to compare him which did ſet vp the noble and famous citie of ATHENS, vnto him which founded the glorious and inuincible cittie of ROME. Wherein I would haue wiſhed, that the fables of her antiquity had beene ſet out ſo in our writings, that we might yet haue graced them with ſomē apparance of hiſtoricall narration. But if by chance in ſome places they range a litle to boldly out of the boundes or limites of true apparance, and haue no manner of conformity with any crediblenes of matter: the readers in curteſie muſt needes hold me excuſed, accepting in good part that which may be written, and reported, of things ſo extreamely old and ancient. Now ſurely me thinkes, that *Theſeus* in many things was much like vnto *Romulus*. For being both begotten by ſtealth, and out of lawfull matrimony, they were both bruted to be borne of the ſeede of gods.

*Both valiant were, as all the world doth know.*

*The linage of Theſeus.*

*Pelops King of Peloponneſus.*

*Pitheus, the grandfather of Theſeus.*
*The wiſdome of Pitheus.*

Both were very wiſe, and ſtrong beſides of body. The one of them built ROME, and the other the city of ATHENS, two of the moſt noble cities of the world. The one and the other were rauiſhers of women: and neither the one nor the other could auoid the miſchiefe of quarell and contention with their friends, and to defile themſelues with the bloud of their neareſt kinſemen. Moreouer, they ſay that both the one and the other in the end, did get the hate and ill will of their citizens. At the leaſt if we beleeue thoſe things which are left written, and cary greateſt ſhow of troth, *Theſeus* of his fathers ſide, was deſcended of the right linage of ***Erichtheus*** the great, & of the firſt inhabitants which occupied the countrey of ATTICA, the which ſince were called AVTOCTHONES, as much to ſay, as born of themſelues. For there is no memory, or other mention made, that they came out of any other countrey then that. And of his mothers ſide he came of *Pelops*, who was in his time the mightieſt King of al the countrey of PELOPONNESVS, not ſo much for his goods and riches, as for the number of children which he had. For his daughters which were many in number, he beſtowed them on the greateſt Lords of all the coutrey: his ſonnes alſo, which likewiſe were many, he diſperſed into euery city and free towne, finding meanes to make them gouernours and heads of the ſame. ***Pitheus***, granfather to *Theſeus* on the mother ſide, was one that founded the litle city of TROEZEN, & was reputed to be one of the beſt learned and wiſeſt men of his time. But the knowledge and wiſedome, which onely carried eſtimation at that time, conſiſted altogether in graue ſentences and morall ſayings. As thoſe are, which wan the Poet *Heſiodus* ſuch fame for his booke intituled, The works and dayes: in the which is read euen at this preſent, this goodly ſentence, which they father vpon *Pitheus*.

*Thou ſhalt performe, thy promiſe and thy pay:*
*to hired men, and that without delay.*

*AEgeus the father of Theſeus.*

And this doth *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher himſelfe teſtifie: and the Poet *Euripides* alſo, calling *Hippolytus* the ſcoller of the holy *Pitheus*, doth ſufficiently declare of what eſtimation he was. But *AEgeus* deſiring (as they ſay) to know how he might haue children, went vnto the city of DELPHES to the oracle of *Apollo*: where, by a Nunne of the temple, this notable prophecie was giuen him for an aunſwer. The which did forbid him to touch or know any woman, vntill he was returned againe to ATHENS. And becauſe the words of this prophecy were ſomewhat darke, and hard, he returued by the city of TROEZEN, to tell it vnto *Pitheus*. The words of the prophecy were theſe.

*O thou which art a gemme of perfect grace,*
*plucke not the tappe out of thy truſty tunne:*
*Before thou do, returne vnto thy place,*
*in Athens towne, from whence thy race doth runne.*

*Pitheus* vnderſtanding the meaning, perſwaded him, or rather cunningly by ſome deuiſe deceiued him, in ſuch ſort, that he made him to lie with his daughter called *AEthra*. *AEgeus*, after he had accompanied with her, knowing that ſhe was *Pitheus* daughter with whom he had lyen, and douting that he had gotten her with child: left her a ſword and a payre of ſhoes, the which he hidde vnder a great hollow ſtone, the hollownes wherof ſerued iuſt to receiue thoſe things which he layde vnder it, and made no liuing creature priuie to it but her alone, ſtraightly charging her, that if ſhe happened to haue a ſonne, when he were come to mans ſtate, and of ſtrength to remoue the ſtone, and to take thoſe things from vnder it which he left there: that ſhe ſhould then ſende him vnto him by thoſe tokens, as ſecretly as ſhe could, that no body els might know of it. For he did greatly feare the children of one called *Pallas*, the which lay in wayte and ſpyall by all the meanes they could to kill him, only of deſpight becauſe he had no children, they being fiftie brethren, and all begotten of one father. This done, he departed from her. And *AEthra* within few moneths after was deliuered of a goodly ſonne, the which frō that time was called *Theſeus*: & as ſome ſay, ſo called, becauſe of the tokens of knowledge his father had layd vnder the ſtone. Yet ſome others write, that it was afterwards at ATHENS when his father knew him, and auowed him for his ſonne. But in the meane time, during his infancie & childhood, he was brought vp in the houſe of his granfather *Pitheus*, vnder the gouernmēt & teaching of one called *Connidas*, his ſchoolemaſter: in honor of whom the ATHENIANS to this day doe ſacrifice a weather, the day before the great feaſt of *Theſeus*, hauing more reaſon to honour the memorie of this gouernour, then of a *Silanion* and of a *Parrhaſius*, to whom they doe honour alſo, becauſe they painted and caſt mowldes of the images of *Theſeus*. Now there was a cuſtome at that time in GRECE, that the yong men after their infancy and growth to mans ſtate, went vnto the citie of DELPHES, to offer part of their haires in the temple of *Apollo*. *Theſeus* alſo went thither as other did: and ſome ſay that the place where the ceremonie of this offering was made, hath euer ſince kept the olde name, (and yet continueth) *Theſeia*. Howbeit he did not ſhaue his head but before onely, as *Homer* ſayth, like the faſhion of the ABANTES in olde time: and this manner of ſhauing of haires, was called for his ſake, *Theſeida*. And as concerning the ABANTES, in trothe they were the very firſt that ſhaued them ſelues after this faſhion: neuertheleſſe they learned it not of the ARABIANS as it was thought of ſome, neither did they it after the imitation of the MISSIANS. But becauſe they were warlicke and valiant men, which did ioyne neere vnto their enemie in battell, and aboue all men of the worlde were ſkilfulleſt in fight hande to hand, and would keepe their ground: as the Poet *Archilochus* witneſſeth in theſe verſes.

*AEthra the daughter of king Pitheus, & the mother of Theſeus.*

*The Pallantides.*

*Pallas had fiftie ſonnes.*

*Why Theſeus was ſo called.*

*Connidas Theſeus ſchoolemaiſter.*

*A cuſtome to offer haires at Delphes.*

*Theſeia.*

*Theſeus maner of ſhauing.*

*The Abantes.*

*They vſe no ſlynges in foughten fields to haue,*
*nor bended bowes: but ſwords and trenchant blades.*
*For when fierce Mars beginneth for to raue,*
*in bloudy field: then euery man inuades*
*His fierceſt foe, and fighteth hand to hand,*
*then doe they deedes, right cruell to recompt.*
*For in this wiſe, the braue and warlike bande*
*doe ſhew their force which come from Negrepont.*

The cauſe why they were thus ſhauen before, was, for that their enemies ſhould not haue the vauntage to take them by the hayres of the head while they were fighting. And for this ſelfe ſame conſideration, *Alexander* the great commanded his captaines to cauſe all the MACEDONIANS to ſhaue their beards: becauſe it is the eaſieſt holde (and readieſt for the hand) a man can haue of his enemie in fighting, to hold him faſt by the ſame. But to returne to *Theſeus*. *AEthra* his mother had euer vnto that time kept it ſecret from him, who was his true father. And *Pitheus* alſo had giuen it out abroad, that he was begotten of *Neptune*, becauſe the TROEZENIANS haue this god in great veneration, and doe worſhip him as patron and protector of their citie, making offerings to him of their firſt fruits: and they haue for the marke and ſtamp of their money, the three picked mace, which is the ſigne of *Neptune*, called his *Trident*. But after he was come to the prime and luſtines of his youth, and that with the ſtrength of his body he ſhewed a great courage, ioyned with a natural wiſedome, and ſtayednes of wit: then his mother brought him to the place where this great hollow ſtone lay, and telling him truely the order of his birth, and by whom he was begotten, made him to take his fathers to-

*The cauſe of ſhauing their haires before.*

*Alexander Magnus made the Macedonians ſhaue their beardes.*

*Theſeus ſayd to be Neptunes ſonne.*

*The Trœzenians coyne ſtamped with Neptunes three picked mace.*

*Theſeus youth.*

kens of knowledge, which he had hidden there, & gaue him counſell to go by ſea to ATHENS vnto him. *Theſeus* eaſily lift vp the ſtone, and tooke his fathers tokens from vnder it: Howbeit he anſwered plainely, that he would not goe by ſea, notwithſtanding that it was a great deale the ſafer way, and that his mother and grandfather both had inſtantly intreated him, becauſe the way by lande from TROEZEN to ATHENS was very daungerous, all the wayes being beſet by robbers and murderers. For the world at that time brought forth men, which for ſtrongneſſe in their armes, for ſwiftneſſe of feete, and for a generall ſtrength of the whole bodie, did farre paſſe the common force of others, and were neuer wearie for any labour or trauell they tooke in hand. But for all this, they neuer employed theſe gifts of nature to any honeſt or profitable thing, but rather delighted villanouſly to hurt and wrong others: as if all the fruit and profite of their extraordinary ſtrength had conſiſted in crueltie, and violence onely, and to be able to keepe others vnder and in ſubiection, and to force, deſtroy, and ſpoyle all that came to their handes. Thinking that the more part of thoſe which thinke it a ſhame to doe ill, and commende iuſtice, equitie, and humanitie, doe it of faint cowardly hearts, becauſe they dare not wrong others, for feare they ſhoulde receiue wrong themſelues: and therefore, that they which by might could haue vantage ouer others, had nothing to doe with ſuch quiet qualities. Now *Hercules*, trauelling abroade in the worlde, draue away many of thoſe wicked theeuiſh murderers, and ſome of them he ſlew and put to death, other as he paſſed through thoſe places where they kept, did hide themſelues for feare of him, and gaue place: in ſo much as *Hercules*, perceiuing they were well tamed and brought low, made no further reckoning to purſue them any more. But after that by fortune he had ſlaine *Iphitus* with his owne handes, and that hee was paſſed ouer the ſeas into the countrie of LYDIA, where he ſerued Queene *Omphale* a long time, condemning him ſelfe vnto that voluntarie paine, for the murder he had committed. All the Realme of LYDIA during his abode there, remained in great peace and ſecuritie from ſuch kinde of people. Howbeit in GRECE, and all thereabouts, theſe old miſchiefes beganne againe to renew, growing hotter and violenter then before: becauſe there was no man that puniſhed them, nor that durſt take vpon him to deſtroy them. By which occaſion, the way to goe from PELOPONNESVS to ATHENS by lande was very perillous. And therefore *Pitheus* declaring vnto *Theſeus*, what manner of theeues there were that lay in the way, and the outrages and villanies they did to all trauellers and wayfaring men, ſought the rather to perſwade him thereby to take his voyage along the ſeas. Howbeit in mine opinion, the fame and glory of *Hercules* noble deedes, had long before ſecretly ſet his heart on fire, ſo that hee made reckoning of none other but of him, and louingly hearkened vnto thoſe which would ſeeme to deſcribe him what manner of man he was, but chiefely vnto thoſe which had ſeene him, and beene in his companie, when he had ſayde or done any thing worthy of memorie. For then he did manifeſtly open himſelfe, that he felt the like paſſion in his heart, which *Themiſtocles* long time afterwardes endured, when he ſaide: that the victorie and triumph of *Miltiades* would not let him ſleepe. For euen ſo, the wonderfull admiration which *Theſeus* had of *Hercules* courage, made him in the night that he neuer dreamed but of his noble actes and doings, and in the day time, pricked forwardes with emulation and enuie of his glorie, he determined with himſelfe one day to doe the like, and the rather, becauſe they were neere kinſemen, being coſins remoоued by the mother ſide. For *Æthra* was the daughter of *Pitheus*, and *Alcmena* (the mother of *Hercules*) was the daughter of *Lyſidices*, the which was halfe ſiſter to *Pitheus*, both children of *Pelops* and of his wife *Hippodamia*. So he thought he ſhould be vtterly ſhamed and diſgraced, that *Hercules* trauelling through the world in that ſort, did ſeeke out thoſe wicked theeues to ridde both ſea and land of them: and that he, farre otherwiſe, ſhould fly occaſion that might be offered him, to fight with them that he ſhould meete on his way. Moreouer, he was of opinion, he ſhould greatly ſhame and diſhonour him, whom fame and common bruite of people reported to be his father: if in ſhunning occaſion to fight, he ſhould conuey himſelfe by ſea, and ſhould carrie to his true father alſo a paire of ſhooes, (to make him knowen of him) and a ſword not yet bathed in bloud. Where he ſhould rather ſeeke cauſe, by manifeſt token of his worthy deedes, to make knowen to the world,

*Great robbing in Theſeus time. Thucid. lib. 1.*

*Hercules a deſtroyer of theeues.*

*Hercules ſerueth Omphale.*

*Theſeus followeth Hercules.*

*Deſire of fame pricketh men forward to great enterpriſes.*

*Theſeus and Hercules neere kinſmen.*

worlde, of what noble bloud he came, and from whence he was deſcended. With this determination, *Theſeus* holdeth on his purpoſed iourney, with intent to hurt no man, yet to defend himſelfe, and to be reuenged of thoſe which would take vpon them to aſſault him. The firſt therefore whom he ſlewe within the territories of the citie of EPIDAVRVM, was a robber called *Periphetes*. This robber vſed for his ordinarie weapon to carrie a clubbe, and for that cauſe he was commonly ſurnamed *Corynetes*, that is to ſay, a clubbe carrier. So he firſt ſtrake at *Theſeus* to make him ſtande: but *Theſeus* fought ſo luſtely with him, that he killed him. Whereof he was ſo glad, and chiefly for that he had wonne his clubbe, that euer after he caryed it himſelfe about with him, as *Hercules* did the Lyons ſkinne. And like as this ſpoyle of the Lyon did witneſſe the greatnes of the beaſt which *Hercules* had ſlaine: euen ſo *Theſeus* went all about, ſhewing that this clubbe which he had gotten out of anothers hands, was in his owne handes inuincible. And ſo going on further, in the ſtreightes of PELOPONNESVS he killed another, called *Sinnis* ſurnamed *Pityocamtes*, that is to ſay, a wreather or bower of pineapple trees: whom he put to death in that ſelfe cruell manner that *Sinnis* had ſlaine many other trauellers before. Not that he had experience thereof, by any former practiſe or exerciſe: but onely to ſhew, that cleane ſtrength could doe more, then either art or exerciſe. This *Sinnis* had a goodly faire daughter called *Perigouna*, which fled away, when ſhe ſawe her father ſlaine: whom he followed and ſought all about. But ſhe had hidden her ſelfe in a groue full of certaine kindes of wilde pricking ruſhes called *Stæbe*, and wild ſparage, which ſhe ſimply like a childe intreated to hide her, as if they had heard, and had ſenſe to vnderſtande her: promiſing them with an oath, that if they ſaued her from being found, ſhee would neuer cut them downe, nor burne them. But *Theſeus* finding her, called her, and ſware by his faith he would vſe her gently, and doe her no hurt, nor diſpleaſure at all. Vpon which promiſe ſhe came out of the buſh, and lay with him, by whom ſhee was conceiued of a goodly boy, which was called *Menalippus*. Afterwardes *Theſeus* maried her vnto one *Deioneus*, the ſonne of *Euritus* the *Oechalian*. Of this *Menalippus*, the ſonne of *Theſeus*, came *Ioxus*: the which with *Ornytus* brought men into the Countrie of CARIA, where he built the Citie of IOXIDES. And hereof commeth that old auncient ceremonie, obſerued yet vnto this day by thoſe of IOXIDES, neuer to burne the bryers of wilde ſparage, nor the *Stæbe*, but they haue them in ſome honour and reuerence. Touching the wild ſauage Sowe of *Crommyon*, otherwiſe ſurnamed *Phæa*, that is to ſay, ouergrowen with age: ſhe was not a beaſt to be made light account of, but was very fierce, and terrible to kill. *Theſeus* notwithſtanding taryed for her, and killed her in his iourney, to the ende it ſhould not appeare to the worlde, that all the valiant deedes hee did, were done by compulſion, and of neceſſitie: adding thereto his opinion alſo, that a valiant man ſhould not onely fight with men, to defende him ſelfe from the wicked: but that he ſhould be the firſt, to aſſault and ſlay wilde hurtfull beaſtes. Neuertheleſſe others haue written, that this *Phæa* was a woman robber, a murderer, and naught of her bodie, which ſpoyled thoſe that paſſed by the place called CROMMYONIA, where ſhe dwelt: and that ſhe was ſurnamed a Sow, for her beaſtly brutiſh behauiour, and wicked life, for the which in the end ſhe was alſo ſlayne by *Theſeus*. After her he killed *Sciron*, entring into the territories of MEGARA, becauſe he robbed all trauellers by the way, as the common report goeth: or as others ſay, for that of a cruell, wicked, and ſauage pleaſure, he put forth his feete to thoſe that paſſed by the ſea ſide, and compelled them to waſh them. And then when they thought to ſtowpe to doe it, hee ſtill ſpurned them with his feete, till he thruſt them headlong into the ſea: ſo *Theſeus* threw him headlong downe the rockes. Howbeit the writers of MEGARA impugning this common report, and deſirous (as *Simonides* ſayth) to ouerthrowe it that had continued by preſcription of time: did maintayne that this *Sciron* was neuer any robber, nor wicked perſon, but rather a purſuer and puniſher of the wicked, and a friend and a kinſeman of the moſt honeſt, and iuſteſt men of GRECE. For there is no man but will confeſſe, that *Æacus* was the moſt vertuous man among the GRECIANS in his time, and that *Cychreus* the SALAMINIAN is honoured and reuerenced as a god at ATHENS: and there is no man alſo but knoweth, that *Peleus* and *Telamon* were men of a ſingular vertue. Nowe it is certaine,

*Periphetes Corinetes, a famous robber, ſlaine of Theſeus.*

*Theſeus caried the club he wanne of Periphetes, as Hercules did the lyons ſkin.*

*Sinnis Pityocamtes, a cruel murtherer ſlaine.*

*Perigouna Sinnis daughter.*

*Theſeus begat a Menalippus of Perigouna. Ioxus, Menalippus ſonne. Ioxides.*

*Phæa the wilde ſowe of Crommyon ſlaine.*

*Phæa a woman theefe.*

*Sciron a notable robber, throwē downe the rockes by Theſeus.*

*Æacus. Cychreus.*

that this *Sciron* was the ſonne in lawe of *Cychreus*, father in law of *Æacus*, and grandfather of *Peleus* and of *Telamon*, the which two were the children of *Endeida*, the daughter of the ſayde *Sciron*, and of his wife *Chariclo*. Alſo it is not very likely, that ſo many good men would haue had affinitie with ſo naughtie and wicked a man: in taking of him, and giuing him that, which men loue beſt of all things in the worlde. And therefore the Hiſtoriographers ſay, that it was not the firſt time, when *Theſeus* went vnto ATHENS, that he killed *Sciron*: but that it was many dayes after, when he tooke the citie of ELEVSIN, which the MEGARIANS helde at that time, where hee deceiued the gouernour of the citie called *Diocles*, and there he ſlewe *Sciron*. And theſe be the obiections the MEGARIANS alledged touching this matter.

*Cercyon the Arcadian ſlaine of Theſeus by wreſtling.*
*Damaſtes Procruſtes a cruel murtherer, ſlaine of Theſeus.*
*Hercules doings.*
*Termerus euill.*

He ſlewe alſo *Cercyon* the ARCADIAN, in the citie of ELEVSIN, wreſtling with him. And going a little further, he ſlewe *Damaſtes*, otherwiſe ſurnamed *Procruſtes*, in the citie of HERMIONIA: and that by ſtretching on him out, to make him euen with the length and meaſure of his beddes, as he was wont to doe vnto ſtraungers that paſſed by. *Theſeus* did that after the imitation of *Hercules*, who puniſhed tyrants with the ſelfe ſame payne and torment, which they had made others ſuffer. For euen ſo did *Hercules* ſacrifice *Buſiris*. So he ſtifled *Antheus* in wreſtling. So he put *Cycrus* to death, fighting with him man to man. So he brake *Termerus* head, from whom this prouerbe of *Termerus* euill came, which continueth yet vnto this daye: for this *Termerus* did vſe to put them to death in this ſort whom he met: to iolle his head againſt theirs. Thus proceeded *Theſeus* after this ſelfe manner, puniſhing the wicked in like ſort, iuſtly compelling them to abide the ſame paine and torments, which they before had vniuſtly made others abide.

*Cephiſus, a riuer of Bœotia.*
*The Phytalides the firſt mẽ that feaſted Theſeus in their houſes.*
*This ſacrifice Plutarch called Milichia.*

And ſo he helde on his iourney vntill he came to the riuer of CEPHISVS, where certaine perſons of the houſe of the *Phytalides* were the firſt which went to meete him, to honour him, and at his requeſt they purified him according to the ceremonies vſed at that time: and afterwardes hauing made a ſacrifice of propitiation vnto their goddes, they made him great cheare in their houſes: and this was the firſt notable entertainement he found in all his iourney. It is ſuppoſed he arriued in the citie of ATHENS, the eight day of the moneth of Iune, which then they called *Cronius*. Hee found the common wealth turmoyled with ſeditions, factions, and diuiſions, and particularly the houſe of *AEgeus* in very ill termes alſo, becauſe that *Medea* (being baniſhed out of the citie of CORINTHE) was come to dwell in ATHENS, and remayned with *AEgeus*, whom ſhe had promiſed by vertue of certaine medicines to make him to get children.

*Medea perſwaded AEgeus to poyſon Theſeus.*

But when ſhe heard tell that *Theſeus* was come, before that the good king *AEgeus* (who was now become old, ſuſpitious, and affrayde of ſedition, by reaſon of the great factions within the citie at that time) knewe what he was, ſhe perſwaded him to poyſon him at a feaſt which they would make him as a ſtraunger that paſſed by. *Theſeus* fayled not to goe to this prepared feaſt whereunto hee was bidden, but yet thought it not good to diſcloſe him ſelfe. And the rather to giue *AEgeus* occaſion and meane to know him: when they brought the meate to the borde, he drewe out his ſworde, as though he would haue cut with all, and ſhewed it vnto him.

*AEgeus acknowledgeth Theſeus for his ſonne.*

*AEgeus* ſeeing it, knewe it ſtraight, and foorthwith ouerthrewe the cuppe with poyſon which was prepared for him: and after he had enquired of him, and asked things, he embraced him as his ſonne. Afterwardes in the common aſſembly of the inhabitants of the citie, he declared, how he auowed him for his ſonne. Then all the people receiued him with exceeding ioy, for the renowne of his valiantneſſe and manhoode. And ſome ſay, that when *AEgeus* ouerthrew the cuppe, the poyſon which was in it, fell in that place, where there is at this preſent a certaine compaſſe incloſed all about within the temple, which is called *Delphinium*. For euen there in that place, in the olde time, ſtoode the houſe of *AEgeus*: in witneſſe whereof, they call yet at this preſent time the image of *Mercurie* (which is on the ſide of the temple looking towardes the riſing of the ſunne) the *Mercury* gate of *AEgeus*. But the PALLANTIDES, which before ſtoode alwaies in hope to recouer the Realme of ATHENS, at the leaſt after *AEgeus* death, becauſe he had no children: when they ſaw that *Theſeus* was knowen, and openly declared for his ſonne and heire, and ſucceſſour to the Realme, they were not able any longer to beare it, ſeeing

ing that not onely *AEgeus* (who was but the adopted ſonne of *Pandion*, and nothing at all of the bloud royall of the *Erictheides*) had vſurped the kingdome ouer them, but that *Theſeus* alſo ſhould enioy it after his death. Whereupon they determined to make warre with them both, and deuiding them ſelues into two partes, the one came openly in armes with their father, marching directly towardes the citie: the other lay cloſe in ambuſhe in the village GARGETTVS, meaning to giue charge vppon them in two places at one inſtant. Now they brought with them an Heraulde borne in the towne of AGNVS, called *Leos*, who bewrayed vnto *Theſeus* the ſecrete and deuiſe of all their enterpriſe. *Theſeus* vppon this intelligence went forth, and did ſet on thoſe that lay in ambuſhe, and put them all to the ſword. The other which were in *Pallas* company vnderſtanding thereof, did breake and diſperſe them ſelues incontinently. And this is the cauſe (as ſome ſay) why thoſe of *Pallena* doe neuer make affinity nor marriage with thoſe of AGNVS at this day. And that in their towne when any proclamation is made, they neuer ſpeake theſe wordes which are cried euery where elſe through out the whole countrey of ATTICA, *Acouete Leos*, (which is as much to ſay, as Hearken, O people) they doe ſo extreamely hate this word *Leos*, for that it was the Heraulds name which wrought them that treaſon. This done, *Theſeus* who would not liue idlely at home and doe nothing, but deſirous therewithall to gratifie the people, went his way to fight with the bull of *Marathon*, the which did great miſchiefes to the inhabitants of the countrey of TETRAPOLIS. And hauing taken him aliue, brought him through the city of ATHENS to be ſeene of all the inhabitants. Afterwardes he did ſacrifice him vnto *Apollo Delphias*. Now concerning *Hecale*, who was reported to haue lodged him, and to haue giuen him good entertainement, it is not altogether vntrue. For in the old time, thoſe townes and villages there aboutes did aſſemble together, and made a common ſacrifice which they called *Hecaleſion*, in the honour of *Iupiter Hecalian*, where they honoured this old woman, calling her by a diminutiue name, *Hecalena*: becauſe that when ſhee receiued *Theſeus* into her houſe, being then but very yong, ſhee made much of him, and called him by many prety made names, as old folkes are wont to call young children. And foraſmuch as ſhee had made a vow to *Iupiter* to make him a ſolemne ſacrifice, if *Theſeus* returned ſafe from the enterpriſe he went about, and that ſhe died before his returne: in recompence of the good cheare ſhe had made him, ſhee had that honour done vnto her by *Theſeus* commaundement, as *Philochorus* hath written of it. Shortly after this exploite, there came certaine of King *Minos* ambaſſadours out of CRETA, to aske tribute, being now the third time it was demaunded, which the ATHENIANS payed for this cauſe. *Androgeus*, the eldeſt ſonne of king *Minos*, was ſlaine by treaſon within the countrey of ATTICA: for which cauſe *Minos* purſuing the reuenge of his death, made very hot and ſharpe warres vppon the ATHENIANS, and did them great hurt. But beſides all this, the goddes did ſharpely puniſh and ſcourge all the countrey, aſwell with barrenneſſe and famine, as alſo with plague and other miſchieues, euen to the drying vp of their riuers. The ATHENIANS perceyuing theſe ſore troubles and plagues, ranne to the oracle of *Apollo*, who aunſwered them that they ſhould appeaſe *Minos*, and when they had made their peace with him, that then the wrath of the goddes would ceaſe againſt them, and their troubles ſhould haue an end. Whereuppon the ATHENIANS ſent immediatly vnto him, and intreated him for peace: which he graunted them, with condition that they ſhould be bound to ſend him yearely into CRETA, ſeuen young boyes, and as many young girles. Now thus farre, all the Hiſtoriographers doe very well agree: but in the reſt not. And they which ſeeme furtheſt off from the troth, doe declare, that when theſe young boyes were deliuered in CRETA, they cauſed them to be deuoured by the *Minotaure* within the *Laberinth*: or elſe that they were ſhut within this *Laberinth*, wandring vp and downe, and could finde no place to get out, vntill ſuch time as they dyed, euen famiſhed for hunger. And this *Minotaure*, as *Euripides* the Poet ſayeth, was

*A corps combynd, which monſtrous might be deemd:*
*A Boy, a Bull, both man and beaſt it ſeemd.*

*The Pallantides take armes againſt AEgeus and Theſeus*

*Leos an Herald bewrayeth their treaſon to Theſeus.*

*Theſeus killeth the Pallantides.*

*The bull of Marathon taken aliue by Theſeus.*

*Apollo Delphias.*

*Iupiter Hecalian.*

*The Athenians payed tribute to Minos king of Creta, for the death of Androgeus his ſonne.*

*The manner of the tribute conditioned.*

*The Minotaure what it was.*

But *Philochorus* writeth, that the CRETANS doe not confeſſe that, but ſay that this *Laberinth* was a gayle or priſon, in the which they had no other hurt, ſauing that they which were kept there vnder locke and key, could not flie nor ſtart away: and that *Minos* had, in the memory of his ſonne *Androgeus*, inſtituted games and playes of priſe, where he gaue vnto them that wanne the victorie, thoſe young children of ATHENS, the which in the meane time notwithſtanding were carefully kept and looked vnto in the priſon of the *Laberinth*: and that at the firſt games that were kept, one of the Kings captaines called *Taurus*, who was in beſt credite with his maiſter, wanne the priſe. This *Taurus* was a churliſhe, and naughty natured man of condition, and very hard and cruell to theſe children of ATHENS. And to verifie the ſame, the Philoſopher *Ariſtotle* him ſelfe, ſpeaking of the common wealth of the BOTTIEIANS, declareth verie well, that he neuer thought that *Minos* did at any time cauſe the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but ſayeth, that they poorely toyled in CRETA, euen to crooked age, earning their liuing by true and painefull ſeruice. For it is written, that the CRETANS (to ſatisfie an old vow of theirs which they had made of auncient time) ſent ſometimes the firſt borne of their children vnto *Apollo* in the city of DELPHES: and that amongeſt them they alſo mingled thoſe which were deſcended of the auncient priſoners of ATHENS, and they went with them. But becauſe they could not liue there, they directed their iourney firſt into ITALIE, where for a time they remained in the realme of PVGLIA, and afterwardes from thence went into the confines of THRACIA, where they had this name of BOTTIEIANS. In memory whereof, the daughters of the BOTTIEIANS in a ſolemne ſacrifice they make, doe vſe to ſing the foote of this ſong: Let vs to ATHENS goe. But thereby we may ſee how perillous a thing it is, to fall in diſpleaſure and enmity with a city, which can ſpeake well, and where learning and eloquence doth floriſh. For euer ſince that time, *Minos* was alwayes blaſed and diſgraced throughout all the Theaters of ATHENS. The teſtimony of *Heſiodus*, who calleth him the moſt worthy King, doth nothing helpe him at all, nor the praiſe of *Homer*, who nameth him *Iupiters* familiar friend: becauſe the tragicall Poets got the vpper hand in diſgracing him, notwithſtanding all theſe. And vppon their ſtages where all the tragedies were played, they ſtill gaue forth many ill fauored words, and fowle ſpeaches of him: as againſt a man that had beene moſt cruell and vnnaturall. Yet moſt men thinke, that *Minos* was the King which eſtabliſhed the lawes: and *Radamanthus* the iudge and preſeruer of them, who cauſed the ſame alſo to be kept and obſerued. The time now being come about for payment of the third tribute, when they came to compell the fathers which had children not yet married, to giue them to be put forth to take their chaunce and lot: the citizens of ATHENS beganne to murmur againſt *AEgeus*, alledging for their grieues, that he who onely was the cauſe of all this euill, was onely alone exempted from this griefe. And that to bring the gouernment of the Realme, to fall into the hands of a ſtraunger his baſtard: he cared not though they were bereft of all their naturall children, and were vnnaturally compelled to leaue and forſake them. Theſe iuſt ſorrowes and complaintes of the fathers, whoſe children were taken from them, did pearce the heart of *Theſeus*, who willing to yeelde to reaſon, and to runne the ſelfe ſame fortune as the citizens did: willingly offered himſelfe to be ſent thither, without regard taking to his happe or aduenture. For which, the citizens greatly eſteemed of his courage and honourable diſpoſition, and dearely loued him for the good affection he ſeemed to beare vnto the communalty. But *AEgeus* hauing vſed many reaſons and perſwaſions to cauſe him to turne, and ſtay from his purpoſe, and perceiuing in the end there was no remedy but he would go: he then drue lots for the children which ſhould goe with him. *Hellanicus* notwithſtanding doth write, that they were not thoſe of the city which drew lots for the children they ſhould ſend, but that *Minos* him ſelfe went thither in perſon and did chooſe them, as he choſe *Theſeus* the firſt, vpon conditions agreed betweene them: that is to wit, that the ATHENIANS ſhould furniſh them with a ſhippe, and that the children ſhould ſhippe and imbarke with him, carrying no weapons of warre: and that after the death of the *Minotaure*, this tribute ſhould ceaſe. Now before that time, there was neuer any hope of returne, nor of ſafety of their children, therefore the ATHENIANS alwayes

wayes

*The Laberinth a priſon in Creta.*

*Taurus one of Minoes captaines.*

*Of the Bottieians. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 2.*

*King Minos defaced by the Poets in the theaters at Athens.*

*Radamãthus.*

*The thirde time of paymẽt of the tribute.*

*The Athenians are grieued to depart with their children.*

*Theſeus offereth to goe with the children into Creta.*

*Lottes drawne for the childrẽ that ſhould goe.*

wayes ſent a ſhippe to conuay their children with a blacke ſayle, in token of aſſured loſſe. Neuertheleſſe *Theſeus* putting his father in good hope of him, being of a good courage, and promiſing boldly that he would ſet vppon this *Minotaure*: *AEgeus* gaue vnto the maiſter of the ſhippe a white ſayle, commaunding him that at his returne he ſhould put out the white ſayle if his ſonne had eſcaped, if not, that then he ſhould ſet vp the blacke ſayle, to ſhew him a farre off his vnlucky and vnfortunate chaunce. *Simonides* notwithſtanding doeth ſay, that this ſayle which *AEgeus* gaue to the maiſter, was not white, but redd, pyed in graine, and of the colour of Scarlet: and that he gaue it him to ſignifie a farre off, their deliuerie and ſafety. This maiſter was called *Phereclus Amarſiadas*; as *Simonides* ſayeth. But *Philochorus* writeth, that *Scirus* the SALAMANIAN gaue to *Theſeus* a maiſter called *Nauſitheus*, and another marriner to tackle the ſayles, who was called *Phæas*: becauſe the ATHENIANS at that time were not greatly practiſed to the ſea, And this did *Scirus*, for that one of the children on whom the lot fell was his nephew: and thus much the chappels doe teſtifie, which *Theſeus* built afterwardes in honour of *Nauſitheus*, and of *Phæas*, in the village of *Phalerus*, ioyning to the temple of *Scirus*. And it is ſayd moreouer, that the feaſt which they call *Cyberneſia*, that is to ſay, the feaſt of Patrons of the ſhippes, is celebrated in honour of them. Now after the lots were drawen, *Theſeus* taking with him the children allotted for the tribute, went from the pallace to the temple called *Delphinion*, to offer vp to *Apollo* for him and for them, an offering of ſupplication which they call *Hiceteria*: which was an oliue bough hallowed, wreathed about with white wolle. After he had made his prayer, he went downe to the ſea ſide to imbarke, the ſixt day of the moneth of March: on which day at this preſent time they doe ſend their young girles to the ſame temple of *Delphinion*, there to make their prayers and petitions to the goddes. But ſome ſay, that the oracle of *Apollo* in the citie of DELPHES had aunſwered him, that he ſhould take *Venus* for his guide, and that he ſhould call vppon her to conduct him in his voyage: for which cauſe he did ſacrifice a goat vnto her vppon the ſea ſide, which was found ſodainely turned into a ramme, and that herefore they ſurnamed this goddeſſe *Epitragia*, as one would ſay, the goddeſſe of the ramme. Furthermore, after he was arriued in CRETA, he ſlew there the *Minotaure* (as the moſt part of auncient authors doe write) by the meanes and helpe of *Ariadne*: who being fallen in fanſie with him, did giue him a clue of threede, by the helpe whereof ſhe taught him, how he might eaſely winde out of the turnings and cranckes of the *Labyrinth*. And they ſay, that hauing killed this *Minotaure*, he returned backe againe the ſame way he went, bringing with him thoſe other young children of ATHENS, whom with *Ariadne* alſo he carried afterwardes away. *Pherecides* ſayth moreouer, that he brake the keeles or bottomes of all the ſhippes of CRETA, becauſe they ſhould not ſodainely ſet out after them. And *Demon* writeth, that *Taurus* (the captaine of *Minos*) was killed in a fight by *Theſeus*, euen in the very hauen mouth as they were ready to ſhippe away, and hoiſe vp ſaile. Yet *Philochorus* reporteth, that king *Minos* hauing ſet vp the games, as he was wont to doe yearely in the honour and memory of his ſonne, euery one began to enuy captaine *Taurus*, becauſe they euer looked that he ſhould carry away the game and victory, as he had done other yeares before: ouer and aboue that, his authority got him much ill will and enuy, becauſe he was proud and ſtately, and had in ſuſpicion that he was great with Queene *Paſiphaë*. Wherefore when *Theſeus* required he might encounter with *Taurus*, *Minos* eaſily graunted it. And being a ſolemne cuſtome in CRETA that the women ſhould be preſent, to ſee theſe open ſports and ſights, *Ariadne* being at theſe games amongeſt the reſt, fell further in loue with *Theſeus*, ſeeing him ſo goodly a perſon, ſo ſtrong, and inuincible in wreſtling, that he farre exceeded all that wreſtled there that day. King *Minos* was ſo glad that he had taken away the honour from captaine *Taurus*, that he ſent him home francke and free into his countrey, rendring to him all the other priſoners of ATHENS: and for his ſake, clearely releaſed and forgaue the city of ATHENS the tribute, which they ſhould haue payed him yearely. Howbeit *Clidemus* ſearching out the beginning of theſe things to the vtmoſt, reciteth them very particularly, and after another ſort. For he ſayeth, about that time there was a generall reſtraint throughout all

*The Athenians ſent their children into Creta in a ſhip with a blacke ſayle.*

*AEgeus giueth the maiſter of the ſhippe a white ſayle, to ſignifie the ſafe returne of Theſeus.*

*Cyberneſia games.*

*Hiceteria offering.*

*Theſeus taketh ſhippe with the tribute childrẽ, the ſixt of March, and ſayleth into Creta.*

*Venus Epitragia.*

*Theſeus ſlewe the Minotaure by meanes of Ariadne, king Minoes daughter.*

*Theſeus return out of Creta.*

*Taurus ouercome of Theſeus, was a man*

*Taurus ſuſpected with Paſiphaë, king Minoes wife.*

*How Ariadne fell in loue with Theſeus.*

*Minos ſendeth Theſeus home with his priſoners, & releaſeth the Athenians of their tribute.*

*A marine law.*

*Dædalus flight.*

*King Minos dyed in Sicile.*

*Deucalion king Minoes ſonne ſent to Athens to demaunde Dedalus.*

Grece, reſtrayning all manner of people to beare ſayle in any veſſell or bottome, wherein there were aboue fiue perſons, except onely *Iaſon*, who was choſen captaine of the great ſhippe *Argus*, and had commiſſion to ſaile euery where, to chaſe and driue away rouers and pyrates, and to ſcoure the ſeas throughout. About this time, *Dædalus* being fled from Creta to Athens in a little Barke: *Minos* contrarie to this reſtraint, would needes follow him with a fleete of diuers veſſels with owers, who being by force of weather driuen with the coaſt of Sicile, fortuned to die there. Afterwards his ſonne *Deucalion*, being marmeilouſly offended with the Athenians, ſent to ſummon them to deliuer *Dædalus* vnto him, or elſe he would put the children to death, which were deliuered to his father for hoſtages. But *Theſeus* excuſed himſelfe, and ſayd he could not forſake *Dædalus*, conſidering he was his neare kinſeman, being his coſin germaine, for he was the ſonne of *Merope*, the daughter of *Erichtheus*. Howbeit by and by he cauſed many veſſels ſecretly to be made, part of them within Attica ſelfe in the village of *Thymetades*, farre from any high wayes: and part of them in the cittie of Troezen, by the ſufferance of *Pitheus* his grandfather, to the end his purpoſe ſhould be kept the ſecretlyer. Afterwards when all his ſhippes were ready, and rigged out, he tooke ſea before the Cretans had any knowledge of it: in ſo much as when they ſaw them a farre off, they did take them for the barkes of their friends. *Theſeus* landed without reſiſtaunce, and tooke the hauen. Then hauing *Dædalus*, and other baniſhed Cretans for guydes, he entred the cittie ſelfe of Gnosvs, where he ſlew *Deucalion* in a fight before the gates of the *Labyrinthe*, with all his guard and officers about him. By this meanes the kingdome of Creta fell by inheritance into the hands of his ſiſter *Ariadne*. *Theſeus* made league with her, and carried away the young children of Athens, which were kept as hoſtages, and concluded peace and amity betweene the Athenians and the Cretans: who promiſed, and ſware, they would neuer make warres againſt them. They report many other things alſo touching this matter, and ſpecially of *Ariadne*: but there is no troth not certaintie in it. For ſome ſay, that *Ariadne* hung her ſelfe for ſorrow, when ſhe ſaw that *Theſeus* had caſt her off. Other write, that ſhe was tranſported by mariners into the Ile of Naxos, where ſhe was married vnto *OEnarus*, the prieſt of *Bacchus*: and they thinke that *Theſeus* left her, because he was in loue with another, as by theſe verſes ſhould appeare.

*Theſeus ſayled into Creta, and wan the cittie of Gnoſſus, and ſlew Deucalion.*

*Diuers opinions of Ariadne.*

*AEgles the Nymphe, was loued of Theſeus,*
*who was the daughter of Panopeus.*

*Hereas* the *Megarian* ſayth, that theſe two verſes in old time were among the verſes of the Poet *Heſiodus*, howbeit *Piſiſtratus* tooke them away: as he did in like manner adde theſe other here in the deſcription of the helles in *Homer*, to gratifie the Athenians.

*Bold Theſeus, and Pirithous ſtowte,*
*deſcended both, from gods immortall race,*
*Triumphing ſtill, this wearie world about*
*in feats of armes, and many a comely grace.*

*OEnopion, & Staphylus Theſeus ſonnes.*

Other hold opinion, that *Ariadne* had two children by *Theſeus*: the one of them was named *OEnopion*, and the other *Staphylus*. Thus amongſt others the Poet *Ion* writeth it, who was borne in the Ile of Chio, and ſpeaking of his cittie, he ſayth thus:

*OEnopion which was the ſonne of worthy Theſeus,*
*did cauſe men build this ſtatelie towne, which now triumpheth thus.*

*Theſeus leaueth Ariadne in Cyprus.*

Now what things are found ſeemely in Poets fables, there is none but doth in manner ſing them. But one *Paenon* borne in the cittie of Amathvnta, reciteth this cleane after another ſort, and contrarie to all other: ſaying, that *Theſeus* by tempeſt was driuen with the Ile of Cyprvs, hauing with him *Ariadne*, which was great with childe, and ſo ſore ſea ſicke, that ſhe was not able to abide it. In ſo much as he was forced to put her a land, and himſelfe afterwards returning abourd hoping to ſaue his ſhippe againſt the ſtorme, was forthwith compelled to looſe into the ſea. The women of the countrey did curteouſly receiue and intreat *Ariadne*: and to comfort her againe, (for ſhe was marueilouſly out of heart, to ſee ſhee was thus forſaken ) they counterfaited letters, as if *Theſeus* had written them to her. And when her groning time was come, and ſhee to be layed, they did their beſt by all poſſible meanes to ſaue her: but ſhe dyed notwithſtanding in labour, and could neuer be deliuered. So ſhe was honorably buried by the Ladyes of CYPRVS. *Theſeus* not long after returned thither againe, who tooke her death maruellous heauily, and left money with the inhabitants of the Countrie, to ſacrifice vnto her yearely: and for memory of her, he cauſed two litle images to be molten, the one of copper, and the other of ſiluer, which he dedicated vnto her. This ſacrifice is done the ſecond day of September, on which they doe yet obſerue this ceremonie: they doe laye a young childe vpon a bed, which pittifully cryeth and lamenteth, as women trauelling with childe. They ſay alſo, that the AMATHVSIANS doe yet call the groue where her Tombe is ſet vp, the woode of *Venus Ariadne*. And yet there are of the NAXIANS, that report this otherwiſe: ſaying, there were two *Minoes*, and two *Ariadnees*, whereof the one was married to *Bacchus* in the Ile of NAXOS, of whom *Staphylus* was borne: and the other the youngeſt, was rauiſhed and caryed away by *Theſeus*, who afterwardes forſooke her, and ſhe came into the Ile of NAXOS with her nurce, called *Corcyna*, whoſe graue they doe ſhewe yet to this day. The ſecond *Ariadne* dyed there alſo, but ſhe had no ſuch honour done to her after her death, as to the firſt was giuen. For they celebrate the feaſt of the firſt with all ioy and myrth: where the ſacrifices done in memorie of the ſeconde, be mingled with mourning and ſorrow. *Theſeus* then departing from the Ile of CRETA, arriued in the Ile of DELOS, where he did ſacrifice in the temple of *Apollo*, and gaue there a litle image of *Venus*, the which he had gotten of *Ariadne*. Then with the other young boyes that he had deliuered, hee daunced a kinde of daunce, which the DELIANS keepe to this day, as they ſay: in which there are many turnes and returnes, much after the turnings of the *Labyrinth*. And the DELIANS call this manner of daunce, the crane, as *Dicæarcus* ſaith. And *Theſeus* daunced it firſt about the altar, which is called *Ceraton*, that is to ſay, horneſtaffe: becauſe it is made and builded of hornes onely, all on the left hande well and curiouſly ſet together without any other binding. It is ſaide alſo that hee made a game in this Ile of DELOS, in which at the firſt was giuen to him that ouercame, a braunch of palme for rewarde of victorie. But when they drue neere the coaſt of ATTICA, they were ſo ioyfull, he and his maſter, that they forgate to ſet vp their white ſayle, by which they ſhoulde haue giuen knowledge of their health and ſafety vnto *AEgeus*. Who ſeeing the blacke ſayle a farre off, being out of all hope euer more to ſee his ſonne againe, tooke ſuch a griefe at his heart, that he threw him ſelfe headlong from the toppe of a clyffe, and killed himſelfe. So ſoone as *Theſeus* was arriued at the port named *Phalerus*, he performed the ſacrifices which he had vowed to the goddes at his departure: and ſent an Heraulde of his before vnto the citie, to carie newes of his ſafe arriuall. The Herauld found manie of the citie mourning the death of King *AEgeus*. Many other receiued him with great ioy, as may be ſuppoſed. They would haue crowned him alſo with a garlande of flowers, for that he had brought ſo good tidings, that the children of the citie were returned in ſafetie. The Herauld was content to take the garland, yet would he not in any wiſe put it on his head, but did wind it about his Heraulds rodde he bare in his hand, and ſo returneth forthwith to the ſea, where *Theſeus* made his ſacrifices. Who perceiuing they were not yet done, did refuſe to enter into the temple, and ſtayed without for troubling of the ſacrifices. Afterwardes all ceremonies finiſhed, he went in and tolde him the newes of his fathers death. Then he and his company mourning for ſorow, haſted with ſpeede towards the citie. And this is the cauſe, why to this day, at the feaſt called *Oſcophoria* (as who would ſay the feaſt of boughes) the Herauld hath not his head but his rod onely crowned with flowers, and why the aſſiſtants alſo after the ſacrifice done, doe make ſuch cryes and exclamations: *Ele, leuſ, iou, iou:* whereof the firſt, is the cry and voyce they commonly vſe one to another to make haſte, or elſe it is the foote of ſome ſong of triumph: and the other is the cry and voyce of men as it were in feare and trouble. After he had ended the obſequies aud funeralles for his father, he performed alſo his ſacrifices vnto *Apollo*, which he had vowed the ſeuenth day of the moneth of October, on which they arriued at their returne into the citie of ATHENS. Euen ſo the cuſtome which

*Ariadne dyeth with child in Cyprus.*

*The ceremonie of the ſacrifice done to Ariadne in Cyprus.*

*Venus Ariadne.*

*Two Minoes and two Ariadnees.*

*Corcyna Ariadnes nurce.*

*Theſeus returneth out of Creta into the Ile of Delos.*

*Theſeus daunce called the Crane.*

*Palme a token of victorie.*

*Theſeus maſter of his ſhippe forgat to ſet out the white ſaile.*

*AEgeus death.*

*Theſeus arriueth ſafe with the tribute children in the hauen of Phalerus.*

*The Herauld bare a rodde in his hand.*

*The feaſt Oſcopheria.*

*October called Pyanepſion, in the Attican tongue.*

*Herod of Ireſione in the life of Homer, and Suidas.*

they vſe at this day to ſeeth all manner of pulſe, commeth of this: that thoſe which then returned with *Theſeus*, did ſeeth in a great braſſe pot all the remaine of their prouiſion, and therewith made good chere together. Euen in ſuch ſort as this, came vp the cuſtome to carie a branch of oliue, wreathed about with wooll, which they call *Ireſione*: becauſe at that time they caried boughs of ſupplication, as we haue told ye before. About which they hang all ſorts of fruites: for then barrenneſſe did ceaſſe, as the verſes they ſang afterwards did witneſſe.

*Bring him good bread, that is of ſavry taſte,*
*with pleaſant figgs, and droppes of dulcet mell,*
*Then ſowple oyle, his bodie for to baſte,*
*and pure good wine, to make him ſleepe full well.*

*Theſeus went into Creta with the tribute children, in the galliott of 300. owers.*
*Diſputation about increaſe.*
*The galliot alledged for a doubt.*

*Theſeus thankfulnes to the Phytalides who were the firſt that feaſted him in their houſes.*
*Theſeus brought the inhabitants of the countrie of Attica into one cittie.*

Howbeit there are ſome which wil ſay, that theſe verſes were made for the *Heraclides*, that is to ſay, thoſe that deſcended from *Hercules*: which flying for their ſafetie and ſuccour vnto the ATHENIANS, were entertained & much made of by them for a time. But the moſt part hold opinion, they were made vpon the occaſion aforeſaid. The veſſel in which *Theſeus* went and returned, was a galliot of thirtie owers, which the ATHENIANS kept vntill the time of *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, alwayes taking away the old peeces of wood that were rotten, and euer renewing them with new in their places. So that euer ſince, in the diſputations of the Philoſophers, touching things that increaſe, to wit, whether they remaine alwayes one, or elſe they be made others: this galliot was alwayes brought in for example of doubt. For ſome mainteined, that it was ſtill one veſſell: others to the contrarie defended it was not ſo. And they hold opinion alſo, that the feaſt of boughes which is celebrated at *Athens* at this time, was then firſt of all inſtituted by *Theſeus*. It is ſayd moreouer, that he did not carie all the wenches vpon whom the lots did fall, but choſe two faire yong boyes, whoſe faces were ſweete and delicate as maydens be, that otherwiſe were hardie, and quicke ſpirited. But he made them ſo oft bathe them ſelues in hote bathes, and keepe them in from the heate of the ſunne, and ſo manie times to waſh, annoint, and rubbe them ſelues with oyles which ſerue to ſupple and ſmooth their ſkinnes, to keepe freſh and faire their culler, to make yellow and bright their haires: and withall did teach them ſo to counterfet the ſpeech, countenance and faſhion of yong maides, that they ſeemed to be like them, rather then yong boyes. For there was no manner of difference to be perceiued outwardly, and he mingled them with the girles, without the knowledge of any man. Afterwards when he was returned, he made a proceſſion, in which both he & the other yong boyes were apparelled then, as they be now, which carie boughes on the day of the feaſt in their hands. They carie them in the honour of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, following the fable that is told of them: or rather becauſe they returned home iuſt at the time and ſeaſon, when they gather the fruite of thoſe trees. There are women which they call *Deipnophores*, that is to ſay, ſupper cariers, which are aſſiſtants to the ſacrifice done that day, in repreſenting the mothers of thoſe, vpon whom the lots did fall, becauſe they in like ſort brought them both meate and drinke. There they tell tales, for ſo did their mothers tattle to their children, to comfort and encourage them. All theſe particularities were written by *Demon* the hiſtoriographer. There was moreouer a place choſen out, to build him a temple in, & he himſelfe ordained, that thoſe houſes which had payed tribute before vnto the king of CRETA, ſhould now yerely thenceforth become contributories towards the charges of a ſolemne ſacrifice, which ſhould be done in the honour of him: and he did aſſigne the order and adminiſtration of the ſame, vnto the houſe of the *Phytalides*, in recompence of the curteſie which they ſhewed him when he arriued. Furthermore, after the death of his father *Ægeus*, he vndertooke a maruelous great enterpriſe. For he brought all the inhabitants of the whole prouince of ATTICA, to be within the cittie of ATHENS, and made them all one corporation, which were before diſparſed into diuers villages, and by reaſon thereof were very hard to be aſſembled together, when occaſion was offered to eſtabliſh anie order concerning the common ſtate. Many times alſo they were at variance together, and by the eares, making warres one vpon another. But *Theſeus* tooke the paines to go from village to village, and from familie to familie, to let them vnderſtand the reaſons why they ſhould conſent vnto it. So he found the poore people and priuate men, readie to obey and follow his will, but the rich and ſuch as had authoritie in euerie village, all againſt it. Neuertheles he wanne them, promiſing that it ſhould be a common wealth, and not ſubiect to the power of any ſole prince, but rather a popular ſtate. In which he would only reſerue to himſelfe the charge of the warres, and the preſeruation of the lawes: for the reſt, he was content that euery citizen in all and for all ſhould beare a like ſway and authority. So there were ſome that willingly graunted thereto. Other who had no liking thereof, yeelded notwithſtanding for feare of his diſpleaſure and power which then was very great. So they thought it better to conſent with good will, vnto that he required: then to tarry his forcible compulſion. Then he cauſed all the places where iuſtice was miniſtred, and all their halles of aſſembly to be ouerthrowne and pulled downe. He remoued ſtraight all iudges and officers, and built a towne houſe, & a counſaile hall, in the place where the citie now ſtandeth, which the ATHENIANS call ASTY, but he called the whole corporation of them, ATHENS. Afterwardes he inſtituted the great feaſt and common ſacrifice for all of the countrie of ATTICA, which they call *Panathenæa*. Then he ordeined another feaſt alſo vpon the ſixteenth day of the moneth of Iune, for all ſtrangers which ſhould come to dwell in ATHENS, which was called *Metœcia*, and is kept euen to this day. That done, he gaue ouer his regall power according to his promiſe, and beganne to ſet vp an eſtate or pollicie of a common wealth, beginning firſt with the ſeruice of the goddes. To know the good ſucceſſe of his enterpriſe, he ſent at the very beginning to the oracle of *Apollo* in DELPHES, to enquire of the fortune of this citie: from whence this anſwere was brought vnto him.

*Aſty, the towne houſe of the Athenians.*

*The feaſtes Panathenæa, and metœcia.*

*Theſeus reſigneth his kingdome, & maketh Athens a common wealth.*

*The oracle of Apollo at Delphes.*

*O thou which art, the ſonne of Ægeus,*
*begot by him, on Pitheus daughter deare.*
*The mightie Ioue, my father glorious,*
*by his decree, hath ſaid there ſhall appeare*
*a fatall end, of euery citie here.*
*VVhich end he will, ſhall alſo come adowne,*
*VVithin the walles, of this thy ſtately towne.*
*Therefore ſhew thou, a valiant conſtant mind,*
*and let no care, nor carke thy heart diſpleaſe.*
*For like vnto a bladder blowne with wind*
*thou ſhalt be toſt, vpon the ſurging ſeas.*
*Yet let no dynt, of dolours thee diſeaſe.*
*For why? thou ſhalt, nor periſh nor decay,*
*nor be orecome, nor yet be caſt away.*

It is found written alſo that *Sibylla* afterwardes gaue out ſuch a like oracle ouer the citie of ATHENS.

*The bladder blowne may fleete vpon the fludde,*
*but cannot ſinke, nor ſticke in filthy mudde.*

Moreouer, becauſe he would further yet augment his people, and enlarge his citie, he entiſed many to come and dwell there, by offering them the ſelfe ſame freedome and priuiledges, which the naturall borne citizens had. So that many iudge, that theſe words which are in vſe at this day in ATHENS, when any open proclamation is made, All people, Come ye hither: be the ſelfe ſame which *Theſeus* then cauſed to be proclaimed, when he in that ſort did gather a people together of all nations. Yet for all that, he ſuffered not the great multitude that came thither tagge and ragge, to be without diſtinction of degrees & orders. For he firſt diuided the noble men, from husbandmen & artificers, appointing the noble men as iudges & magiſtrates to iudge vpon matters of Religion, and touching the ſeruice of the goddes: and of them alſo he did chuſe rulers, to beare ciuill office in the common weale, to determine the law, and to tell all holy and diuine things. By this meanes he made the noble men and the two other eſtates equall in voyce. And as the noblemen did paſſe the other in honour: euen ſo the artificers exceeded them in number, and the husbandmen them in profit. Now that *Theſeus* was the firſt who of all others yeelded to haue a common weale or popular eſtate (as *Ariſtotle* ſayth) & did giue ouer his regall power: *Homer* ſelfe ſeemeth to teſtifie it, in numbring the ſhippes which were in the Græcians armie before the citie of TROIA. For amongeſt all the GRÆCIANS, he onely calleth the ATHENIANS people. Moreouer *Theſeus* coyned money, which he marked with the ſtampe of an oxe, in memorie of the bull of *Marathon*, or of *Taurus* the captaine of *Minos*, or elſe to prouoke his citizens to giue themſelues to labour. They ſay alſo that of this money they were ſince called *Hecatombœon*, and *Decabœon*, which ſignifieth woorth a hundred oxen, and worth tenne oxen. Furthermore hauing ioyned all the territorie of the citie of MEGARA, vnto the countrie of ATTICA, he cauſed that notable foure ſquare piller to be ſet vp for their confines within the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, and engraued there-

*Theſeus maketh difference of ſtates and degrees in his cōmon weale.*

*Theſeus the firſt that gaue ouer regall power, & framed a popular ſtate.*

*An oxe ſtamped in Theſeus coyne.*

*Hecatombœon, Decabœon.*

vpon this ſuperſcription, that declareth the ſeparation of both the countries which confine there together. The ſuperſcription is this.

*VVhere Titan doth beginne, his beames for to diſplay,*
*euen that way ſtands Ionia, in fertile wiſe alway:*
*And where againe he goeth, adowne to take his reſt,*
*there ſtandes Peloponneſus land, for there I compt it weſt.*

*Olympia.*

*Theſeus erected the games Iſthmia, in the honour of Neptune.*

*Theſeus iorney into mare maior.*

*Antiopa the Amazone rauiſhed by Theſeus*

*Solois fell in loue with Antiopa.*

*Solois drowned himſelfe for loue.*

*Pythopolis built by Theſeus.*
*Solois fl.*

*The cauſe of the warres of the Amazones againſt the Athenians.*

It was he alſo which made the games called *Iſthmia*, after the imitation of *Hercules*, to the ende that as the GRECIANS did celebrate the feaſt of games called *Olympia*, in the honour of *Iupiter*, by *Hercules* ordinance: ſo, that they ſhould alſo celebrate the games called *Iſthmia*, by his order and inſtitution, in the honor of *Neptune*. For thoſe that were done in the ſtraights in the honour of *Melicerta*, were done in the night, & had rather forme of ſacrifice or of a myſterie, then of games & open feaſt. Yet ſome will ſay, that theſe games of *Iſthmia* were inſtituted in the honour & memorie of *Sciron*, & that *Theſeus* ordained them in ſatiſfaction of his death: becauſe he was his coſin germaine, being the ſonne of *Canethus*, and of *Heniocha* the daughter of *Pitheus*. Other ſay that it was *Sinnis* and not *Sciron*, and that for him *Theſeus* made theſe games, & not for the memory of the other. How ſoeuer it was, he ſpecially willed the CORINTHIANS, that they ſhould giue vnto thoſe that came from ATHENS to ſee their games of *Iſthmia*, ſo much place to ſit downe before them (in the moſt honorable part of the feaſt place) as the ſaile of their ſhip ſhould couer, in the which they came from ATHENS: thus do *Hellanicus* and *Andron Halicarnaſſeus* write hereof. Touching the voyage he made by the ſea Maior, *Philochorus*, and ſome other holde opinion, that he went thither with *Hercules* againſt the AMAZONES: and that to honor his valiantnes, *Hercules* gaue him ANTIOPA the AMAZONE. But the more part of the other Hiſtoriographers, namely *Hellanicus*, *Phereeides*, & *Herodotus*, doe write, that *Theſeus* went thither alone, after *Hercules* voyage, & that he tooke this AMAZONE priſoner, which is likelieſt to be true. For we do not find that any other who went this iorney with him, had taken any AMAZONE priſoner beſides him ſelfe. *Bion* alſo the Hiſtoriographer, this notwithſtanding ſayth, that he brought her away by deceit and ſtealth. For the AMAZONES (ſayth he) naturally louing men, did not flie at all when they ſaw them land in their countrie, but ſent them preſents, & that *Theſeus* entiſed her to come into his ſhip, who brought him a preſent: and ſo ſoone as ſhe was abord, he hoyſed his ſayle, and ſo caried her away. Another Hiſtoriographer *Menecrates*, who wrote the hiſtorie of the citie of NICEA, in the countrie of BYTHINIA, ſayth: that *Theſeus* hauing this AMAZONE ANTIOPA with him, remained a certain time vpon thoſe coaſts, & that amongſt other he had in his company three yonger brethren of ATHENS, *Euneus*, *Thoas*, & *Solois*. This laſt, *Solois*, was marueilouſly in loue with ANTIOPA, and neuer bewrayed it to any of his other companions, ſauing vnto one with whom he was moſt familiar, and whom he truſted beſt: ſo that he reported this matter vnto ANTIOPA. But ſhe vtterly reiected his ſute, though otherwiſe ſhe handled it wiſely and courteouſly, and did not complaine to *Theſeus* of him. Howbeit the young man deſpairing to enioy his loue, tooke it ſo inwardly, that deſperately he leapt into the riuer, and drowned him ſelfe. Which when *Theſeus* vnderſtoode, and the cauſe alſo that brought him to this deſperation and end: he was very ſory, and angry alſo. Whereupon he remembred a certaine oracle of *Pythia*, by whom he was commaunded to build a citie in that place in a ſtraunge countrie, where he ſhould be moſt ſorie, and that he ſhould leaue ſome that were about him at that time, to gouerne the ſame. For this cauſe therefore he built a citie in that place, which he named PYTHOPOLIS, becauſe he had built it onely by the commandement of the *Nunne Pythia*. He called the riuer in the which the young man was drowned, *Solois*, in memorie of him: and left his two brethren for his deputies and as gouernours of this new citie, with another gentleman of ATHENS, called *Hermus*. Hereof it commeth, that at this day the PYTHOPOLITANS call a certaine place of their citie, *Hermus* houſe. But they fayle in the accent, by putting it vpon the laſt ſyllabe: for in pronouncing it ſo, *Hermus* ſignifieth *Mercury*. By this meanes they doe transferre the honour due to the memorie of *Hermus*, vnto the god *Mercury*. Now heare what was the occaſion of the warres of the AMAZONES, which me thinkes was not a matter of ſmall moment, nor an enterpriſe of a woman. For they had not placed their campe within the very citie of ATHENS, nor had not fought in the very place it ſelfe (called PNYCE) adioyning to the tẽple of the *Muſes*, if they had not firſt conquered or ſubdued all the countrie thereabouts: neither had they all come at the firſt, ſo valiantly to aſſayle the citie of ATHENS. Now, whether they came by land from ſo farre a countrie, or that they paſſed ouer an arme of the ſea, which is called *Boſphorus Cimmericus*, being froſen as *Hellanicus* ſayth: it is hardly to be credited. But that they camped within the precinct of the very citie it ſelfe, the names of the places which continue yet to this preſent day doe witneſſe it, and the graues alſo of the women which died there. But ſo it is, that both armies lay a great time one in the face of the other, ere they came to battell. Howbeit at the length *Theſeus* hauing firſt made ſacrifice vnto *Feare* the goddeſſe, according to the counſaile of a prophecy he had receiued, he gaue them battell in the moneth of Auguſt, on the ſame day, in the which the ATHENIANS doe euen at this preſent ſolemniſe the feaſt, which they call *Boedromia*. But *Clidemus* the Hiſtoriographer, deſirous particularly to write all the circumſtances of this encounter, ſayeth that the left point of their battell bent towards the place which they call AMAZONION: and that the right point marched by the ſide of CHRYSA, euen to the place which is called PNYCE, vpon which, the ATHENIANS cõming towards the temple of the *Muſes*, did firſt giue their charge. And for proofe that this is true, the graues of the women which died in the firſt encounter, are found yet in the great ſtreete, which goeth towards the gate Piraica, neere vnto the chappell of the little god *Chalcodus*. And the ATHENIANS (ſayth he) were in this place repulſed by the AMAZONES, euen to the place where the images of *Eumenides* are, that is to ſay of the furies. But on thother ſide alſo, the ATHENIANS cõming towards the quarters of *Palladiũ, Ardettus*, & *Lucium*, draue backe their right point euen to within their campe, and ſlew a great number of them. Afterwards, at the end of foure moneths, peace was taken betweene them by meanes of one of the women called *Hyppolita*. For this Hiſtoriographer calleth the AMAZONE which *Theſeus* maried, *Hyppolita*, and not *Antiopa*. Neuertheles, ſome ſay that ſhe was ſlaine (fighting on *Theſeus* ſide) with a dart, by another called *Molpadia*. In memory wherof, the piller which is ioyning to the temple of the *Olympian* ground, was ſet vp in her honour. We are not to maruaile, if the hiſtory of things ſo auncient, be found ſo diuerſely written. For there are alſo that write, that Queene *Antiopa* ſent thoſe ſecretly which were hurt then into the citie of CALCIDE, where ſome of them recouered, & were healed: & others alſo dyed, which were buried neere to the place called AMAZONION. Howſoeuer it was, it is moſt certain that this war was ended by agreement. For a place adioyning to the temple of *Theſeus*, doth beare recorde of it, being called *Orcomoſium*: becauſe the peace was there by ſolemne oath concluded. And the ſacrifice alſo doth truely verifie it, which they haue made to the AMAZONES, before the feaſt of *Theſeus*, long time out of minde. They of MEGARA alſo do ſhew a tumbe of the AMAZONES in their citie, which is as they go frõ the market place, to the place they call Rhus: where they finde an auncient tumbe, cut in faſhion & forme of a loſenge. They ſay that there dyed other of the AMAZONES alſo, neere vnto the citie of CHÆRONEA, which were buried all alongſt the litle broke paſſing by the ſame, which in the old time, (in mine opiniõ) was called *Thermodon*, and is now named *Hæmon*, as we haue other places written in the life of *Demoſthenes*. And it ſeemeth alſo, that they did not paſſe through THESSALY, without fighting: for there are ſeene yet of their tombs all about the citie of SCOTVSA, hard by the rocks, which be called the dogs head. And this is that which is worthy memorie (in mine opinion) touching the wars of theſe AMAZONES. How the Poet telleth that the AMAZONES made wars with *Theſeus* to reuẽge the iniurie he did to their Queene *Antiopa*, refuſing her, to marrie with *Phædra*: & for the murder which he telleth that *Hercules* did, that me thinkes is altogether but deuiſe of Poets. It is very true, that after the death of *Antiopa*, *Theſeus* maried *Phædra*, hauing had before of *Antiopa* a ſonne called *Hippolytus*, or as the Poet *Pindarus* writeth, *Demophon*. And for that the Hiſtoriographers do not in any thing ſpeake againſt the tragicall Poets: in that which concerneth the ill happe that chaunced to him, in the perſons of this his wife and of his ſonne: we muſt needes take it to be ſo, as we find it written in the tragedies. And yet we finde manie other reportes touching the mariages of *Theſeus*, whoſe beginnings had no great good honeſt groũd, neither fell out their endes verie fortunate: & yet for all that they haue made no tragedies of them, nei-

*Boſphorus Cimmericus, an arme of the ſea.*

*Theſeus fighteth a battell with the Amazones.*

*The order of the Amazones battell.*

*Peace cõcluded at foure Monethes ende by meanes of Hyppolita.*

*Orcomoſion the name of a place*

*Auncient tõbes of loſenge faſhion.*

*Thermodon, now called Hæmon fl.*

*Hippolytus Theſeus ſonne by Antiopa.*

*Phedra Theſeus wife & Minos daughter king of Creta.*

*Theſeus mariages.*

ther haue they bene played in the Theaters. For we read that he tooke away *Anaxo* the TROEZENIAN, & that after he had killed *Sinnis* and *Cercyon*, he tooke their daughters perforce: and that he did alſo marie *Peribæa*, the mother of *Aiax*, & afterwards *Pherebæa*, & *Ioppa* the daughter of *Iphicles*. And they blame him much alſo, for that he ſo lightly forſooke his wiſe *Ariadne*, for the loue of *Ægles* the daughter of *Panopæus*, as we haue recited before. Laſtly, he tooke away *Hellen*: which rauiſhment filled all the Realme of ATTICA with warres, & finally was the very occaſion that forced him to forſake his countrie, & brought him at the length to his end, as we will tell you hereafter. Albeit in his time other princes of GRECE had done many goodly and notable exploits in the warres, yet *Herodotus* is of opinion, that *Theſeus* was neuer in any one of them: ſauing that he was at the battell of the *Lapithæ* againſt the *Centauri*. Others ſay to the contrary, that he was at the iorney of *Cholchide* with *Iaſon*, & that he did helpe *Meleager* to kill the wild Bore of *Calydonia*: from whence (as they ſay) this prouerbe came: *Not without Theſeus*. Meaning that ſuch a thing was not done without great helpe of another. Howbeit it is certaine that *Theſeus* ſelfe did many famous acts, without aide of any man, and that for his valiantnes this prouerbe came in vſe, which is ſpoken: *This is another Theſeus*. Alſo he did helpe *Adraſtus* king of the ARGIVES, to recouer the bodies of thoſe that were ſlaine in the battell, before the citie of THEBES. Howbeit it was not, as the Poet *Euripides* ſayth, by force of armes, after he had ouercome the THEBANS in battell: but it was by cōpoſition. And thus the greateſt number of the moſt auncient writers do declare it. Furthermore, *Philochorus* writeth, that this was the firſt treatie that euer was made to recouer the dead bodies ſlayne in battell: neuertheles we doe read in the hiſtories and geſtes of *Hercules*, that he was the firſt that euer ſuffered his enemies to carrie away their dead bodies, after they had beene put to the ſword. But whoſoeuer he was, at this day in the village of ELEVTHERES, they doe ſhow the place where the people were buried, and where princes tombes are ſeene about the citie of ELEVSIN, which he made at the requeſt of *Adraſtus*. And for teſtimonie hereof, the tragedie *Æſchilus* made of the ELEVSINIANS, where he cauſeth it to be ſpoken euen thus to *Theſeus* himſelfe, doth clearely ouerthrow the petitioners in *Euripides*. Touching the friendſhippe betwixt *Pirithous* and him, it is ſayd it beganne thus. The renowne of his valiancy was marueilouſly blowen abroad through all GRECE, & *Pirithous* deſirous to knowe it by experience, went euen of purpoſe to inuade his countrie, and brought away a certaine bootie of oxen of his taken out of the countrie of MARATHON. *Theſeus* being aduertiſed therof, armed ſtraight, and went to the reſcue. *Pirithous* hearing of his comming, fled not at all, but returned backe ſodainly to meete him. And ſo ſoone as they came to ſee one another, they both wondred at ech others beawtie and courage, and ſo had they no deſire to fight. But *Pirithous* reaching out his hand firſt to *Theſeus*, ſaid vnto him; I make your ſelfe iudge of the damage you haue ſuſteined by my inuaſion, and with all my hearte I will make ſuch ſatisfaction, as it ſhall pleaſe you to aſſeſſe it at. *Theſeus* then did not only releaſe him, of all the damages he had done, but alſo requeſted him he would become his friend, and brother in armes. Hereupon they were preſently ſworne brethren in the field: after which othe betwixt them, *Pirithous* maried *Deidamia*, & ſent to pray *Theſeus* to come to his mariage, to viſite his countrie, and to make mery with the *Lapithæ*. He had bidden alſo the *Centauri* to the feaſt: who being druncke, committed many lewde parts, euen to the forcing of women. Howbeit the *Lapithæ* chaſticed them ſo well, that they ſlew ſome of them preſently in the place, & draue the reſt afterwards out of all the countrie by the helpe of *Theſeus*, who armed himſelfe, and fought on their ſide. Yet *Herodotus* writeth the matter ſomewhat contrarie, ſaying that *Theſeus* went not at all vntill the warre was well begun: and that it was the firſt time that he ſaw *Hercules*, and ſpake with him neere vnto the citie of TRACHINA, when he was then quiet, hauing ended all his farre voyages, and greateſt troubles. They reporte that this meeting together was full of great cheere, much kindnes, and honourable entertainement betweene them, and great courteſie was offred to eache other. Neuertheleſſe me thinkes we ſhould giue better credit to thoſe writers that ſay they met many times together, and that *Hercules* was accepted and receiued into the brotherhood of the myſteries of ELEVSIN, by the meanes of the countenaunce and fauour which *Theſeus* ſhowed vnto him: and that his purification alſo was thereby allowed of, who was to be purged

*Theſeus battels*

*Prouerbe. Not without Theſeus.*

*Prouerbe. This is another Theſeus.*

*Theſeus valiantnes the cauſe of Pirithous frendſhip with him.*

*Pirithous and Theſeus ſworne bretheren in the fielde.*

*Pirithous maried Deidamia.*

*The Lapithæ ouercome the Centauri.*

*Theſeus and Hercules met at Trachina.*

ged of neceſſitie of all his ill deedes and cruelties, before he could enter into the company of thoſe holy myſteries. Furthermore, *Theſeus* was fifty yeares old when he tooke away *Hellen* and rauiſhed her, which was very young, and not of age to be maried, as *Hellanicus* ſayth. By reaſon whereof, ſome ſeeking to hide the rauiſhment of her as a haynous fact, doe report it was not he, but one *Idas* and *Lynceus* that carried her away, who left her in his cuſtodie and keeping: and that *Theſeus* would haue kept her from them, and would not haue deliuered her to her brethren *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, which afterwardes did demaund her againe of him. Others againe ſay it was her owne father *Tyndarus*, who gaue her him to keepe, for that he was affrayde of *Enarſphorus* the ſonne of *Hippocoon*, who would haue had her away by force. But that which commeth neareſt to the troth in this caſe, and which in deede by many authors is teſtified, was in this ſort. *Theſeus* & *Pirithous* went together to the citie of LACEDÆMON, where they tooke away *Hellen* (being yet very young) euen as ſhe was dauncing in the tēple of *Diana* ſurnamed *Orthia*. & they fled for life. They of LACEDÆMON ſent after her, but thoſe that followed went no further thē the citie of TEGEA. Now when they were eſcaped out of the coūtrie of PELOPONNESVS, they agreed to draw lots together, which of them two ſhould haue her, with condition that whoſe lot it were to haue her, he ſhould take her to his wife, & ſhould be bound alſo to helpe his companion to get him another It was *Theſeus* happe to light vpon her, who caried her to the citie of APHIDNES, becauſe ſhe was yet too young to be maried. Whither he cauſed his mother to come to bring her vp, & gaue his friend called *Aphidnus* the charge of them both, recōmending her to his good care, & to keepe it ſo ſecretly, that no body ſhould know what was become of her. Becauſe he would do the like for *Pirithous* (according to th'agremēt made betwixt thē) he went into EPIRVS with him to ſteale the daughter of *Aidoneus*, king of the MOLOSSIANS, who had ſurnamed his wife *Proſerpina*, his daughter *Proſerpina*, & his dogge *Cerberus*: with whō he made thē fight which came to aske his daughther in mariage, promiſing to giue her to him that ſhould ouercome his *Cerberus*. But the king vnderſtāding that *Pirithous* was come, not to requeſt his daughter in mariage, but to ſteale her away, he tooke him priſoner with *Theſeus*: & as for *Pirithous*, he cauſed him preſētly to be torn in peeces with his dogge, & ſhut *Theſeus* vp in cloſe priſon. In this meane time there was one at ATHENS called *Meneſtheus*, the ſonne of *Peteus*: which *Peteus* was the ſonne of *Orneus*, and *Orneus* was the ſonne of *Erictheus*. This *Meneſtheus* was the firſt that began to flatter the people, and did ſeeke to winne the fauour of the communaltie, by ſweete entiſing wordes: by which deuiſe he ſtirred vp the chiefeſt of the citie againſt *Theſeus* (who indeede long before began to be wearie of him) by declaring vnto them how *Theſeus* had taken from them their royalties and ſigniories, & had ſhut them vp in ſuch ſort within the walles of a citie, that he might the better keepe them in ſubiection & obedience in all things, after his will. The poore inferiour ſort of people, he did ſtirre vp alſo to rebellion, perſwading them that it was no other then a dreame of libertie which was promiſed them: and how contrariwiſe they were clearely diſpoſſeſt & throwen out of their own houſes, of their tēples, & from their natural places where they were borne, to thend only, that in liew of many good & louing lordes which they were wont to haue before, they ſhould now be compelled to ſerue one only head, & a ſtrange lord. Euen as *Meneſtheus* was very hot about this practiſe, the war of the *Tyndarides* fell out at that inſtant, which greatly furthered his pretence. For theſe *Tyndarides* (to wit the children of *Tyndarus*) *Caſtor* & *Pollux*, came downe with a great armie, againſt the citie of ATHENS: & ſome ſuſpect ſore that *Meneſtheus* was cauſe of their comming thither. Howbeit at the firſt entrie they did no hurt at all in the country, but only demannded reſtitution of their ſiſter. To whom the citizens made aunſwer, that they knew not where ſhe was left: & then the brethren began to make ſpoile, & offer warre in deed. Howbeit there was one called *Academus*, who hauing knowledge (I cannot tell by what meane) that ſhe was ſecretly hidden in the citie of APHIDNES, reuealed it vnto them. By reaſon whereof the *Tyndarides* did alwaies honour him very much, ſo long as he liued, & afterwards the LACEDÆMONIANS, hauing oft burnt & deſtroyed the whole countrie of ATTICA throughout, they would yet neuer touch the Academy of ATHENS for *Academus* ſake. Yet *Dicearchus* ſayth, that in the armie of the *Tyndarides* there were two *Arcadians*, *Echedemus*, and *Marathus*, and how of the name of one of them, it was

*Theſeus fiftie yeare old when he rauiſhed Hellen.*

*The manner of Hellens rauiſhment.*

*Diana Orthia.*

*Theſeus left Hellen in the citie of Aphidnes.*

*Theſeus went with Pirithous into Epirus, to ſteale Proſerpina Aidoneus daughter.*

*Pirithous torne in peeces with Cerberus.*

*Theſeus cloſe priſoner.*

*The warre of the Tyndarides with the Athenians.*

*Academia why ſo called.*

*Marathon.*

*Aphidnes wonne & raced by the Tyndarides.*

*Alycus Scirons ſonne ſlaine at the battell of Aphidnes.*

then called the place of Echedemie, which ſithence hath beene called Academia: and after the name of the other, there was a village called MARATHON, becauſe he willingly offered him ſelfe to be ſacrificed before the battell, as obeying the order & commaundement of a prophecie. So they went and pitched their campe before the citie of APHIDNES, and hauing wonne the battell, and taken the citie by aſſault, they raced the place. They ſay that *Alycus*, the ſonne of *Sciron* was ſlaine at this field, who was in the hoaſt of the *Tyndarides*, & that after his name, a certaine quarter of the territorie of MEGARA was called *Alycus*, in the which his bodie was buried. Howbeit *Hereas* writeth that *Theſeus* ſelfe did kill him before APHIDNES: In witneſſe whereof he alledgeth certaine verſes which ſpeake of *Alycus*.

*VVhile as he ſought with all his might and mayne*
*(in thy defence, faire Hellen for to fight)*
*In Aphidnes vpon the pleaſant playne,*
*bold Theſeus to cruell death him dight.*

*The Tyndarides honoured as godds, and called Anaces.*

*Cicer. de Nat. deor. lib. 3.*

*Kinges called Anactes.*

*Anaces why ſo called.*

*AEthra taken priſoner, and caried to Lacedæmon.*

Howbeit it is not likely to be true, that *Theſeus* being there, the citie of APHIDNES, & his mother alſo were taken. But when it was wonne they of ATHENS began to quake for feare, & *Meneſtheus* counſelled them to receiue the *Tyndarides* into the citie, and to make them good chere, ſo they would make no wars but vpon *Theſeus*, which was the firſt that had done them the wrong & iniury: & that to all other els they ſhould ſhew fauour & good will. And ſo it fell out. For when the *Tyndarides* had all in their power to do as they liſted, they demaunded nothing els but that they might be receiued into their corporatiõ, & not to be reckoned for ſtrangers, no more thẽ *Hercules* was: the which was granted the *Tyndarides*, & *Aphidnus* did adopt them for his children, as *Pylius* had adopted *Hercules*. Moreouer they did honour thẽ as if they had bene goddes, calling them *Anaces*. Either becauſe they ceaſed the wars, or for that they ordered themſelues ſo well, that their whole armie being lodged within the citie, there was not any hurt or diſpleaſure done to any perſon: but as it became thoſe that haue the charge of any thing, they did carefully watch to preſerue the good quiet thereof. All which this Greke word *Anucos* doth ſignifie, whereof perchance it comes that they call the kings *Anactes*. There are others alſo who hold opinion that they were called *Anaces*, becauſe of their ſtarres which appeared in the aire. For the *Attican* tongue ſaith, *Anacas*, & *Anecathen*: where the cõmon people ſay *Ano*, and *Anothen*, that is to ſay, aboue. Neuertheles *Æthra*, *Theſeus* mother, was caried priſoner to LACEDÆMON, and from thence to TROIA with *Hellen*, as ſome ſay: & as *Homer* himſelfe doth witneſſe in his verſes, where he ſpeaketh of the women that followed *Hellen*.

*AEthra the daughter deare of Pitheus aged Syre,*
*and with her fayre Clymene ſhe, whoſe eyes moſt men deſire.*

*Diuers opinions of Homers verſes.*

*Sperchius fl.*

*Theſeus deliuered out of priſon by Hercules meanes.*

Yet there are other who aſwel reiect theſe two verſes, & maintaine they are not *Homers*: as alſo they reproue all that is reported of *Munychus*. To wit, that *Laocide* being priuily cõceiued of him by *Demophõ*, he was brought vp ſecretly by *Æthra* within TROIA. But *Heſter* the hiſtorien in his thirteenth of his hiſtories of ATTICA, maketh a recitall far cõtrary to other, ſaying: that ſome hold opiniõ, that *Paris Alexander* was ſlaine in battel by *Achilles*, & *Patroclus* in the cõtrie of THESSALY, neere to the riuer of *Sperchius*, & that his brother *Hector* tooke the citie of TROEZEN, from whence he brought away *AEthra*: in which there is no manner of apparance or likelihood. But *AEdoneus* king of the MOLOSSIANS, feaſting *Hercules* one day as he paſſed through his realme, deſcended by chaunce into talke of *Theſeus* & of *Pirithous*, how they came to ſteale away his daughter ſecretly: & after told how they were alſo puniſhed. *Hercules* was marueilous ſory to vnderſtand that one of them was now dead, & the other in daunger to die, & thought with himſelf that to make his mone to *AEdoneus*, it would not helpe the matter: he beſought him only that he would deliuer *Theſeus* for his ſake. And he granted him. Thus *Theſeus* being deliuered of his captiuitie, returned to ATHENS, where his friends were not altogether kept vnder by his enemies: and at his returne he did dedicate to *Hercules* all the temples, which the citie had before cauſed to be built in his owne honour. And where firſt of all they were called *Theſea*, he did now ſurname thẽ all *Herculea*, excepting foure, as *Philochorus* writeth. Now when he was arriued at ATHENS, he would immediately haue cõmanded and ordered things as he was wont to do: but he found him ſelfe troubled much with ſedition, becauſe thoſe who had hated him of a long time, had added alſo to their old canckred hate, a diſdain & contẽpt to fear him any more. And the cõmõ people now were become ſo ſtubborn, that where before they would haue done all that they were cõmanded, & haue ſpokẽ nothing to the contrary: now they looked to be borne with, & flattered. Whereupon *Theſeus* thought at the firſt to haue vſed force, but he was forced by the faction & contẽtion of his enemies to let all alone, & in the end, deſpairing he ſhould euer bring his matters to paſſe to his deſire, he ſecretly ſent away his children vnto the Ile of EVBOEA, to *Elphenor* the ſonne of *Chalcodus*. And himſelf, after he had made many wiſhes & curſes againſt the Athenians, in the village of GARGETTVS, in a place which for that cauſe to this day is called *Arateriod*: (that is to ſay, the place of curſings) he did take the ſeas, & wẽt into the Ile of SCIROS, where he had goods, & thought alſo to haue found friends. *Lycomedes* raigned at that time, and was king of the Ile, vnto whom *Theſeus* made requeſt for ſome land, as intending to dwell there: albeit ſome ſay that he required him to giue him aide againſt the Atheniãs. *Lycomedes*, were it that he doubted to entertain ſo great a perſonage, or that he did it to gratifie *Meneſtheus*: caried him vp to the high rockes, fayning as though he would from thence haue ſhewed him all his countrey round about. But when he had him there, he threw him downe headlong from the top of the rocks to the bottome, & put him thus vnfortunatly to death. Yet other write, that he fell downe of him ſelf by an vnfortunate chaunce, walking one day after ſupper as he was wont to doe. There was no man at that time that did follow or purſue his death, but *Meneſtheus* quietly remained king of ATHENS: and the children of *Theſeus*, as priuate ſouldiers followed *Elphinor* in the warres of TROIA. But after the death of *Meneſtheus*, who died in the iourney to TROY, *Theſeus* ſonnes returned vnto ATHENS, where they recouered their ſtate. Sithence there were many occaſiõs which moued the Athenians to reuerence & honor him as a demy God. For in the battell of *Marathon*, many thought they ſaw his ſhadow and image in armes, fighting againſt the barbarous people. And after the warres of the *Medes* (the yeare wherein *Phædon* was gouernor of ATHENS) the Nun *Pithia* anſwered the Atheniãs, who had ſent to the oracle of *Apollo*: that they ſhould bring backe the bones of *Theſeus*, & putting thẽ in ſome honorable place, they ſhould preſerue and honor them deuoutly. But it was a hard matter to find his graue: and if they had found it, yet had it beene a harder thing to haue brought his bones away, for the malice of thoſe barbarous people which inhabited that Ile: which were ſo wild and fierce, that none could trade or liue with thẽ. Notwithſtãding *Cimon* hauing taken the Iland (as we haue written in his life) & ſeeking his graue: perceiuing by good hap an eagle pecking with her beake, & ſcraping with her clawes in a place of ſome prety height. Straight it came into his mind (as by diuine inſpiration) to ſearch and digge the place: where was found the tombe of a great body, with the head of a ſpear which was of braſſe, & a ſword with it. Al which things were brought to ATHENS by *Cimon* in the admirall gally. The Atheniãs receiued them with great ioy, with proceſſions & goodly ſacrifices, as if *Theſeus* him ſelfe had bene a liue, & had returned into the city againe. At this day all theſe relicks lye yet in the middeſt of the city, neare to the place where the young men doe vſe all their exerciſes of body. There is free liberty of acceſſe for all ſlaues & poore men, (that are afflicted & purſued, by any mightier then themſelues) to pray & ſacrifice in remembrance of *Theſeus*: who while he liued was protectour of the oppreſſed, & did curteouſly receiue their requeſts & petitions that prayed to haue aide of him. The greateſt and moſt ſolemne ſacrifice they doe vnto him, is on the eight day of October, in which he returned from CRETA, with the other young children of ATHENS. Howbeit they do not leaue to honor him euery eight day of all other moneths, either becauſe he arriued frõ TROEZEN at ATHENS the eight day of Iune, as *Diodorus* the Coſmographer writeth: or for that they thought that number to be meeteſt for him, becauſe the bruite ranne he was begotten of *Neptune*. They do ſacrifice alſo to *Neptune*, the eight day of euery moneth, becauſe the number of eight is the firſt cube made of euen number, & the double of the firſt ſquare: which doth repreſent a ſtedfaſtnes immoueable, properly attributed to the might of *Neptune*, whom for this cauſe we ſurname *Aſphalius*, and *Gaiochus*, which by interpretation doth ſignifie: the ſafe keeper, and the ſtayer of the earth.

*The Atheniãs diſdaine to obey Theſeus.*

*Theſeus fled from Athens, into the Ile of Sciros.*

*Theſeus cruelly ſlaine by Lycomedes.*

*Meneſtheus king of Athens.*

*Theſeus ſons.*

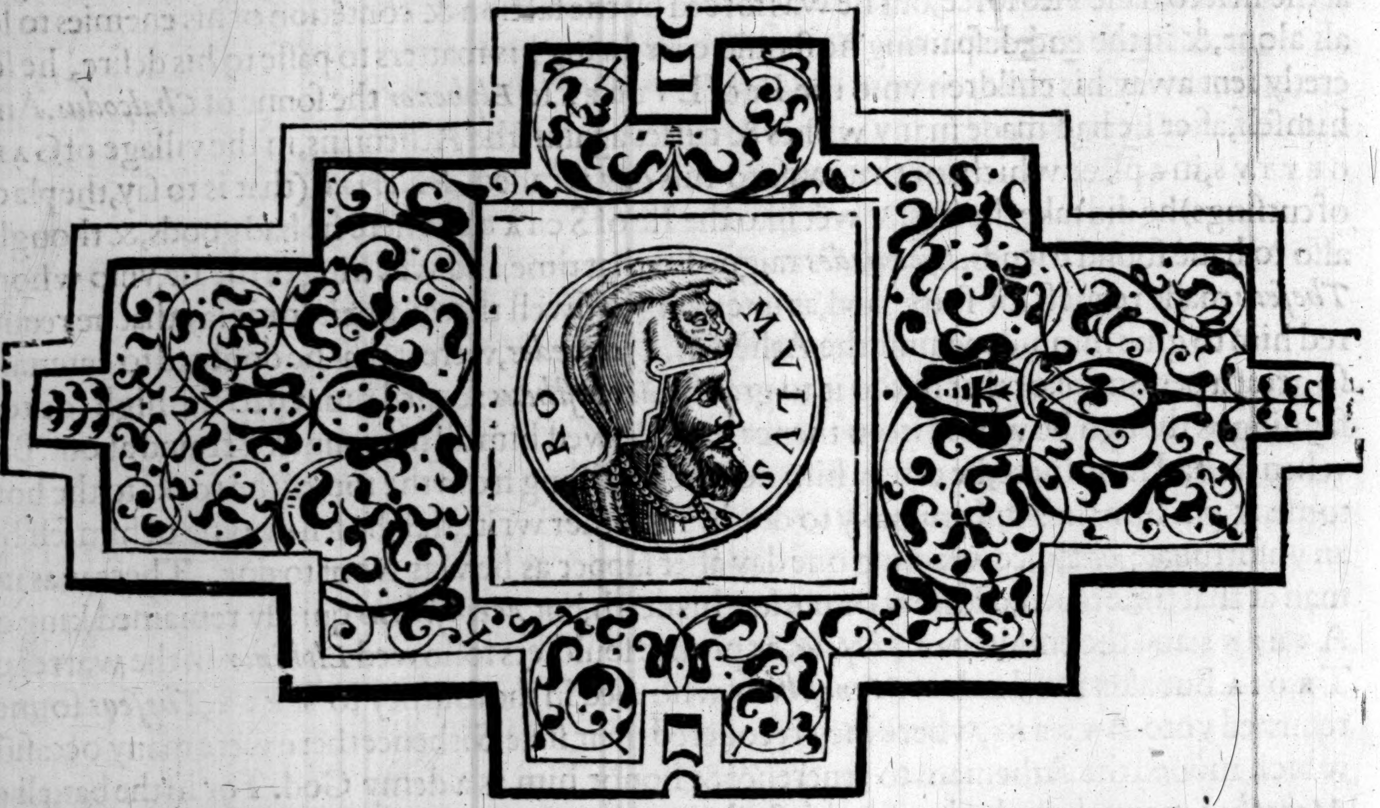
*Cimon taketh the Ile of Sciros and bringeth Theſeus bones to Athens.*

*Theſeus tumbe.*

*Neptune why called Aſphalius and Gaiochus.*

*The end of Theſeus life.*

# THE LIFE OF *Romulus.*



*Diuers opinions about the name of Rome.*

THE Hiſtoriographers doe not agree in their writings, by whom, nor for what cauſe the great name of the citie of ROME (the glory whereof is blowen abroad through all the world) was firſt giuen vnto it. For ſome thinke that the Pelaſgians, after they had ouercome the greateſt part of the world, and had inhabited and ſubdued many nations, in the end did ſtay themſelues in that place where it was new bulded: and for their great ſtrength and power in armes, they gaue the name of ROME vnto the city, as ſignifying power in the Greeke tong. Other ſay, that after the taking and deſtruction of TROIA, there were certaine TROIANS which ſauing them ſelues from the ſword, tooke ſuch veſſels as they found at aduenture in the hauen, and were by windes put to the THVSCANE ſhore, where they anckred neare vnto the riuer of Tyber. There their wiues being ſo ſore ſea ſicke, that poſsibly they could not any more endure the boiſtrous ſurges of the ſeas: it happened one of them among the reſt (the nobleſt and wiſeſt of the company) called ROMA, to counſaile the other women of her companions to ſet their ſhips a fire, which they did accordingly. Wherewith their huſbands at the firſt were marueilouſly offended. But afterwards, being compelled of neceſsity to plant them ſelues neare vnto the city of PALLANTIVM, they were appeaſed when they ſaw things proſper better then they hoped for, finding the ſoyle there fertile, and the people their neighbours ciuill and gentle in entertayning them. Wherefore amongeſt other honours they did to require this lady *Roma*, they called their city after her name, as from whom came the originall cauſe of the building and foundation thereof. They ſay that from thence came this cuſtome continuing yet to this day at ROME, that the women ſaluting their kinſefolkes and huſbands doe kiſſe them in the mouth, for ſo did theſe TROIAN Ladyes to pleaſe their huſbands, and to winne them againe, after they had loſt their fauours, and procured their diſpleaſures with burning of their ſhippes. Other ſay that *Roma* was the daughter of *Italus*, and of *Lucaria*, or elſe of *Telephus* the ſonne of *Hercules*, and of the wife of *Æneas*: other ſay of *Aſcanius*, the ſonne of *Æneas*, who named the city after her name. Other hold opinion, that it was *Romanus* (the ſonne of *Vlyſſes* and of *Circe*) that firſt founded ROME: other wil ſay that it was *Romus* the ſonne of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* ſent thither frō TROIA. Other write that it was one *Romis* a tyranne of the LATINES, who draue the THVSCANS out of thoſe

*Tibris fl.*

*The beginning of kiſſing their kinſfolkes in the mouth, came from the Troian women.*

parts: which departing out of Theſſaly went firſt of all into Lydia, and afterwards from Lydia into Italie. And furthermore, they who thinke that *Romulus* (as in deede it carieth beſt likelyhood) was he that gaue the name to the city, doe not agree about his aunceſters. For ſome of them write, that he was the ſonne of *AEneas* and of *Dexithea* the daughter of *Phorbus*, and that he was brought into Italie of a litle childe with his brother *Remus*: and that at that time the riuer of Tyber being ouerflowne, all other ſhippes were caſt away, ſauing the ſhippe in which the two litle boyes were, which by great good happe came to a ſtay vppon a very plaine euen ground on the bancke, and becauſe the children beyond all hope were ſaued by this meanes, therefore the place was afterwards called Roma. Other ſay that *Roma* the daughter of the firſt Troian lady was maried vnto *Latinus* the ſonne of *Telemachus*, by whom ſhe had *Romulus*. Other write, that it was *AEmilia*, the daughter of *AEneas* and of *Lauinia*, which was gotten with childe by the god *Mars*. Other tell a tale of *Romulus* birth, nothing true nor likely. For it is ſaide that there was ſometime a king of Alba named *Tarchetius*, a very wicked and cruell man, in whoſe houſe through the permiſſion of the goddes, appeared ſuch a like viſion: that there roſe vp in the harth of his chimney the forme and faſhion of a mans priuy member, which continued there many dayes. And they ſay, that at that time there was in Thuſcane an oracle of *Thetis*, from whom they brought vnto this wicked king *Tarchetius* ſuch an aunſwer: that he ſhould cauſe his daughter yet vnmaried to haue carnall company with the ſtraunge thing, for ſhe ſhould beare a ſonne, that ſhould be famous for his valiancie, for ſtrength of body, and his happie ſucceſſe, wherein he ſhould exceede all men of his time. *Tarchetius* told this oracle vnto one of his daughters, and willed her to entertaine this ſtraunge thing: but ſhe diſdaining to doe it, ſent one of her waiting women to vndertake the entertainement. But *Tarchetius* was ſo mad at this, that he cauſed them both to be taken to put them to death: howbeit the goddeſſe *Veſta* appeared to him in his ſleepe in the night, and charged him he ſhould not doe it. Whereupon he did commaund them to make him a peece of cloth in the priſon, with promiſe that they ſhould be maried when they had finiſhed it. Theſe poore maides toyled at it all the liue long day, but in the night there came other (by *Tarchetius* commaundement) that did vndoe all they had done the day before. In the meane time, this wayting woman that was got with childe by this ſtrange thing, was deliuered of two goodly boyes or twins: whom *Tarchetius* gaue vnto one *Teratius*, with expreſſe commaundement he ſhould caſt them away. This *Teratius* caried them vnto the bancke of the riuer: thither came a ſhee Wolfe and gaue them ſucke, and certaine birdes that brought litle crummes and put them in their mouthes, vntill a ſwine-heard perceyuing them, and wondring at the ſight, did boldly goe to the children, and tooke them away with him. Theſe infants being thus preſerued after they were come to mans ſtate, did ſet vppon *Tarchetius* and ſlew him. One *Promathion* an Italian writer, deliuereth this ſtorie thus. But the report that carrieth beſt credite of all, and is allowed of by many writers: commeth from *Diocles Peparethian*, (whom *Fabius Pictor* followeth (in many thinges) who was the firſt that put forth this ſtorie among the Grecians, and ſpecially the chiefeſt pointes of it. Though this matter be ſomewhat diuerſely taken, yet in effect the ſtorie is thus. The right line and bloud of the kings of Alba deſcended from *AEneas*, by the ſucceſſion from the father to the ſonne, and the Kingdome fell in the ende betweene two brethren, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. They agreed by lotte to make diuiſion betweene them, whereof the one to haue the Kingdome, and the other all the golde, ſyluer, readie money, goods, and iewels brought from Troia. *Numitor* by his lotte choſe the Realme for his portion: *Amulius* hauing all the golde and treaſure in his hands, did finde him ſelfe thereby the ſtronger, and ſo did eaſely take his Realme from him. And fearing leaſt his brothers daughter might haue children which one day might thruſt him out againe, he made her a Nunne of the goddeſſe *Veſta*, there to paſſe her dayes in virginitie, and neuer to be maried: (ſome call her *Rhea*, other *Syluia*, and other *Ilia*) neuertheleſſe not long after ſhe was found with childe, againſt the rule and profeſſion of the *Veſtall Nunnes*. So nothing had ſaued her from preſent death, but the petition of *Antho* the daughter of king *Amulius*, who intreated her father for her life: yet notwithſtāding ſhe was ſtraightly locked vp, that no body could ſee her, nor ſpeake with her, leaſt

*Fables of Romulus birth.*

*An oracle of Thetis in Thuſcane.*

*See the fragmentes of Fabius Pictor, and of Cato. See alſo Halicarnaſſeus, & T. Liuius.*

*Romulus kinred.*

*Romulus mother.*

ſhe ſhould be brought to bedde without *Amulius* knowledge. In the end ſhe was deliuered of two faire boyes and maruellous great twinnes: which made *Amulius* more affraid then before. So he commaunded one of his men to take the two children, and to throw them away, and deſtroy them. Some ſay that this ſeruants name was *Fauſtulus*: other thinke it was he that brought them vp. But whoſoeuer he was, he that had the charge to throw them away put them in a trough, and went towards the riuer with intention to throw them in. Howbeit he found it riſen ſo high, and running ſo ſwiftly, that he durſt not come neare the waters ſide, and ſo they being in the trough, he laid them on the banke. In the meane time the riuer ſwelling ſtill, and ouerflowing the banke, in ſuch ſort that it came vnder the trough: did gently lift vp the trough, and caried it vnto a great plaine, called at this preſent *Cermanum*, and in the old time *Germanum* (as I take it) becauſe the Romaines called the brothers of father & mother, *Germani*. Now there was neare vnto this place a wilde figge tree which they called *Ruminalis*, of the name of *Romulus* as the moſt part thought: or elſe becauſe the beaſts feeding there, were wont to come vnder the ſame in the extreame heate of the day, and there did Ruminate, that is, chew their cudde in the ſhadow: or perhappes becauſe that the two children did ſucke the teate of the Wolfe, which the auncient LATINES call RVMA, and they at this day doe yet call the goddeſſe on whom they cry out to giue their children ſucke, RVMILIA. And in their ſacrifices to her they vſe no wine, but offer vp milke and water mingled with hony. To theſe two children lying there in this ſort, they write, there came a ſhe Wolfe & gaue them ſucke, and a hitwaw alſo which did helpe to nouriſh and keepe them. Theſe two beaſts are thought to be conſecrated to the god *Mars*, and the LATINES do ſingularly honour and reuerence the hitwaw. This did much helpe to giue credit to the words of the mother, who affirmed ſhe was conceiued of thoſe two children, by the god *Mars*. Howbeit ſome thinke ſhe was deceyued in her opinion: for *Amulius* that had her maidenhead, went to her all armed, and perforce did rauiſhe her. Other hold opinion that the name of the nurſe which gaue the two children ſucke with her breaſts, gaue occaſion to common report to erre much in this tale, by reaſon of the double ſignification thereof. For the LATINES do call with one ſelfe name ſhee Wolfes *Lupas*, & women that giue their bodies to all cōmers: as this nurſe the wife of *Fauſtulus* (that brought theſe children home to her houſe) did vſe to doe. By her right name ſhe was called *Acca Laurentia*, vnto whom the ROMAINES do ſacrifice yet vnto this day: and the prieſt of *Mars* doth offer vnto her, in the moneth of Aprill, the ſhedding of wine and milke accuſtomed at burials, and the feaſt it ſelfe is called *Laurentia*. It is true that they honour alſo another *Larentia* for like occaſion. The clerke or ſexten of *Hercules* temple, not knowing one day how to driue away the time as it ſhould ſeeme: of a certaine liuelines and boldneſſe, did deſire the god *Hercules* to play at dice with him, with condition that if he did winne, *Hercules* ſhould be bound to ſend him ſome good fortune: and if it were his lucke to loſe, then he promiſed *Hercules* he would prouide him a very good ſupper, and would beſides bring him a faire gentlewoman to lie withall. The conditions of the play thus rehearſed, the ſexten firſt caſt the dice for *Hercules*, and afterwards for him ſelfe. It fell out that *Hercules* wanne, and the ſexten meaning good faith, and thinking it very meete to performe the bargaine that him ſelfe had made, prepared a good ſupper, and hyred this *Laurentia* the courtiſan, which was very faire, but as yet of no great fame to come to it. Thus hauing feaſted her within the temple, and prepared a bed readie there, after ſupper he locked her into the temple, as if *Hercules* ſhould haue come in deed and layen with her. And it is ſayd for troth, that *Hercules* came thither: and commanded her in the morning ſhe ſhould go into the market place & ſalute the firſt man ſhe met, & keepe him euer for her friend. Which thing ſhe performed, & the firſt man ſhe met was called *Tarrutius*, a man of great yeares, & one that had gathered together maruellous wealth & riches. He had no children at all, neither was he euer maried. He fel acquainted with this *Laurentia*, & loued her ſo dearely, that ſhortly after chauncing to die, he made her heire of all he had: whereof ſhe diſpoſed afterwards by her laſt will and teſtament, the beſt and greateſt part vnto the people of Rome. Moreouer it is reported alſo, that ſhe now being growen to be famous and of great honor (as thought to be the lemman of a god) did vaniſh away ſodainly in the ſelf ſame place, where the firſt *Laurentia* was buried. The place at this day is called Velabrū: becauſe

*Fauſtulus.*

*Cermanum.*

*Ruminalis.*

*The goddeſſe Rumilia.*

*Acca Laurentia Fauſtulus wife, that nurced the twinnes. The Greeke ſayeth Laurentia.*

*Laurẽtia feaſt. Laurentia a curtiſan.*

*Tarrutius.*

*Velabrum whereof Liuie Decad. 3 lib. 7.*

becauſe the riuer being ouerflowen, they were oftentimes compelled to paſſe by bote to go to the market place, and they called this manner of ferrying ouer, Velatura. Other ſay, that thoſe tomblers and common players, which ſhewed ſundry games and paſtimes to winne the fauor of the people, were wont to couer that paſſage ouer with canuas clothes and veyles, by which they goe from the market place to the liſtes or ſhew place where they runne their horſes, beginning their race euen at the place: and they call a veyle in their tongue, Velum. This is the cauſe why the ſecond *Laurentia* is honoured at Rome. *Fauſtulus* chiefe neat-heard to *Amulius*, tooke vp the two children and no body knew it, as ſome ſay: or as other report, (and likeſt to be true) with the priuity and knowledge of *Numitor*, *Amulius* brother, who ſecretly furniſhed them with money that brought vp the two young children. It is ſaid alſo they were both conueyed vnto the city of the GABIANS, where they were brought vp at ſchoole, and taught all other honeſt things, which they vſe to teach the ſonnes and children of good and noble men. Further they ſay they were named *Remus* and *Romulus*, becauſe they were foũd ſucking on the teates of a Wolfe. Now the beauty of their bodies did preſently ſhew, beholding onely but their ſtature and manner of their countenaunces, of what nature and linage they were: and as they grew in yeares, their manly courage increaſed marueilouſly, ſo as they became ſtout and hardy men, in ſo much as they were neuer troubled or aſtonied at any danger that was offered them. Howbeit it appeared plainly that *Romulus* had more wit & vnderſtanding then his brother *Remus*. For in all things wherein they were to deale with their neighbours, either concerning hunting, or the bounds and limites of their paſtures: it was eaſily diſcerned in him, that he was borne to command, and not to obey. For this cauſe they were both exceedingly beloued of their companions, and of thoſe which were their inferiors. As for the kings heardmen, they paſſed not much for them, ſaying that they were euen like them ſelues, and ſo ſeemed not to care a Pinne for their anger or diſpleaſure, but wholly gaue them ſelues to all gentlemanly exerciſes and trades, thinking to liue idlely and at eaſe without trauell, was neither comely nor cõuenient: but to exerciſe and harden their bodies with hunting, running, purſuing murderers and theeues, and to helpe thoſe which were oppreſſed with wrong and violence, ſhould be credite and commendation to them. By reaſon whereof, in very ſhort time they grew to great fame and renowne. And it fell out by chaunce there roſe ſome ſtrife and variance between the heardmen of *Amulius*, and the heardmen of *Numitor*: in ſo much as thoſe that were *Numitors*, carried away by force ſome cattell of the others. Thother ſide would not beare that, but purſued faſt after, and beating them well fauoredly, they made them take their legges, and brought backe againe the greateſt part of the cattell they had caried away with them. Wherat *Numitor* ſtormed marueilouſly, but yet his men ſeemed to make but little account of it, and purpoſing reuenge, they gathered about them a good company of vacabounds (that had neither home nor reſting place) and certaine fugitiue bond men which they intiſed ill fauoredly, incouraging them to ſteale away from their maſters. Thus one day whileſt *Romulus* was buſie about ſome ſacrifice, (being a deuout man and religious, and well giuen to ſerue the goddes, and to learne to diuine and tell before hand what things ſhould happen and come to paſſe) it happened the heard men of *Numitor* to meete *Remus* very ſlenderly accompanied: ſo they fell vpon him ſodainely, blowes were dealt roundly on both ſides, and men were hurt on either part. Howbeit *Numitors* men in the end proued the ſtronger part, and did take *Remus* by force, and carried him ſtraight before *Numitor*, alledging many complaintes and matters againſt him. *Numitor* durſt not puniſh him of his owne authority, becauſe he feared his brother *Amulius*, who was ſomewhat terrible: but went vnto him, and earneſtly beſought him to doe him iuſtice, and not to ſuffer him being his owne brother, to receiue ſuch iniury of his men. There was not a man in the city of ALBA, but did greatly miſlike the iniury done to *Numitor*: and ſpake it openly, that he was no perſon to be offered ſuch a wrong. In ſo much as *Amulius* moued herewith, did deliuer *Remus* into his handes, to puniſhe him as he thought good. Whereupon *Numitor* caried him home with him. But when he had him in his houſe, he began to conſider better of him, with admiration how goodly a young man he was, how in height and ſtrength of bodie he paſſed all the reſt of his people: and perceiuing in his face an aſſured conſtancy, and bold ſtedfaſt courage that yeelded not, nor was abaſhed for any

*Romulus and Remus education.*

*Romulus a godly man.*

*Remus taken of Numitors heardmen.*

*Gods prouidence.*

*Remus oratiō, declaring the birth of himſelf & his brother Romulus.*

*Numitors wiſdome.*

*Fauſtulus care to ſaue Remus.*

*Amulius perplexed in his minde.*

daunger he ſaw toward him: and hearing alſo the report of his actes and manhood to be aunſwerable to that he ſaw: (being chiefly moued in mine opinion by ſome ſecret inſpiration of the goddes, which ordaine the depth of great matters) beganne partly by coniecture, and partly by chaunce to take a conceit of him. So he asked him what he was, and who was his father and mother: ſpeaking to him in a more gentle wiſe, and with a friendlier countenance then before, to make him the bolder to aunſwer, and be of better hope. *Remus* boldly anſwered him; Truely I will not hide the troth from thee, for thou ſeemeſt to me more worthy to be King, then thy brother *Amulius*. For thou enquireſt, and heareſt firſt before thou condemneſt: and he condemneth before he examine or heare the parties. Vntill now, we thought we had beene the children of two of the Kings ſeruants, to wit of *Fauſtulus* and of *Laurentia*: I ſay we, becauſe my brother and I are two twinnes. But ſeeing we are now falſely accuſed vnto thee, aud by malicious ſurmiſed tales are wrongfully brought in daunger of our liues: we intend to diſcouer our ſelues, and to declare ſtraunge things vnto thee, whereof the preſent perill we ſtand now in, ſhall plainely prooue the troth. Men ſay that we haue beene begotten miraculouſly, foſtered and giuen ſucke more ſtraungely, and in our tender yeares were fed by birds and wild beaſts, to whom we were caſt out as a pray. For a Wolfe gaue vs ſucke with her teates, and an hitwaw (they ſay) brought vs little crummes, and put them in our mouthes, as we lay vppon the bancke by the riuer, where we were put in a trough that at this day remaineth whole, bound about with plates of copper, vppon the which are ſome letters engrauen halfe worne out, which peraduenture one day will ſerue for ſome tokens of knowledge (vnprofitable for our parents) when it ſhall be too late, and after we are dead and gone. *Numitor* then comparing theſe words, with the age the young man ſeemed to be of, and conſidering well his face: did not reiect the hope of his imagination that ſmiled on him, but handled the matter ſo, that he found means to ſpeake ſecretly with his daughter, notwithſtanding at that time ſhe was kept very ſtraightly. *Fauſtulus* in the meane time hearing that *Remus* was priſoner, and that the King had deliuered him already into the hands of his brother *Numitor* to do iuſtice, went to pray *Romulus* to helpe him, and told him then whoſe children they were: for before he had neuer opened it to them but in darke ſpeeches, and glawncing wiſe, and ſo much as ſufficed to put them in ſome hope. So *Fauſtulus* taking the trough with him at that time, went vnto *Numitor* in great haſt, as marueilouſly affraide for the preſent daunger he thought *Remus* in. The Kings ſouldiers which warded at the gates of the city, beganne to gather ſome ſuſpition of *Fauſtulus* manner of cōmming: and he made him ſelfe to be the more ſuſpected, being queſtioned with about the cauſe of his repaire thither, that he ſaltred in his words: beſides, they eſpied his trough which he carried vnder his cloke. Now amongſt the warders, there was by chaunce one that was the man to whom the children were committed to be caſt away, and was preſent when they were left on the banke of the riuer to the mercy of fortune. This man knew the trough by and by, as well by the faſhion, as by the letters grauen vpon it: who miſtruſted ſtraight that which was true in deed. So he did not neglect the thing, but went forthwith to the King to tell him the matter, and led *Fauſtulus* with him to haue him confeſſe the troth. *Fauſtulus* being in this perplexity, could not keepe all cloſe vpon examination, but did vtter out ſomewhat of the matter, and yet he told not all. For he plainely iuſtified the children were aliue: yet he ſaid they were farre from the city of ALBA, where they kept beaſtes in the fields. And as for the troughe, he was going to carry it to *Ilia*, becanſe ſhe had diuers times prayed him to let her ſee and feele it: to the end ſhe might be more aſſured of her hope, who promiſed her that one day ſhe ſhould ſee her children againe. So it chaunced vnto *Amulius* at that time, as it commonly doth vnto thoſe that are troubled, and doe any thing in feare or anger, as a man amazed thereat, to ſend one preſently (who in all other things was a very honeſt man, but a great friend of his brother *Numitors*) to aske him if he had heard any thing that his daughters children were aliue. This perſon being come to *Numitors* houſe, found him ready to embrace *Remus*, who fell to be witneſſe thereof, and of the good happe diſcouered vnto *Numitor*: whereupon he perſwaded him how to ſet vpon his brother, and to diſpatch the matter with ſpeede. So from that time forwards, he tooke their part. On the other ſide alſo the matter gaue them no leiſure to deferre their enterpriſe, although they had beene willing: for the whole caſe was ſomewhat blowne abroade. So *Romulus* then got ſtraight a power, and drew very neere the citie, & many of the citizens of ALBA went out to ioyne with him, who either feared or hated *Amulius*. Now *Romulus* power which he brought (ouer and beſides thoſe citizens) was a good number of fighting men, and they were diuided by hundreds, and euery hundred had his captaine who marched before his band, carying litle bundels of graſſe or of boughes tyed to the end of their poles. The LATINES call theſe bundels Manipulos, whereof it commeth that yet at this day in an armie of the *Romaines*, the ſouldiers which are all vnder one enſigne, are called Manipulares. So *Remus* ſturring vp thoſe that were within the citie, and *Romulus* bringing in men from without, the tyraunt *Amulius* fell in ſuch feare and agonie, that without prouiding any thing for his ſafetie, they came vpon him ſodainly in his palace, and ſlew him. Thus you heare how neere *Fabius Pictor* and *Diocles Peparethian* do agree in reciting the ſtorie, who was the firſt in mine opinion that wrote the foundation of the citie of ROME: howbeit there are that thinke they are all but fables and tales deuiſed of pleaſure. But me thinkes for all that, they are not altogether to be reiected or diſcredited, if we will conſider fortunes ſtrange effects vpon times, and of the greatneſſe alſo of the Romaine empire: which had neuer atchieued to her preſent poſſeſſed power and authoritie, if the gods had not from the beginning bene workers of the ſame, and if there had not alſo bene ſome ſtrange cauſe, and wonderfull foundation. *Amulius* being now ſlaine as before, and after that all things were appeaſed, and reduced to good order againe: *Remus* and *Romulus* would not dwell in the citie of ALBA, being no lords thereof, nor alſo would be lords of it, ſo long as their grandfather by the mothers ſide was aliue. Wherefore after they had reſtored him to his eſtate, and had done the honour and dutie they ought vnto their mother: they purpoſed to go and build a citie in thoſe places where they had beene firſt brought vp, for this was the honeſteſt culler they could pretend for their departing from ALBA. Peraduenture they were enforced ſo to doe whether they would or not, for the great nnmber of baniſhed men, and fugitiue ſlaues which were gathered together by them for their ſtrength, who had bene vtterly loſt and caſt away, if they had bene once diſcharged by them. Therefore it was of neceſſity that they ſhould dwell by themſelues, ſeparated in ſome place, to keepe this number together and in ſome order. For it is true that the inhabitants of the citie of ALBA would not ſuffer ſuch baniſhed perſons and runnagates to be mingled amongeſt them, nor would receiue them into their citie to be free among them. All which appeareth ſufficiently: firſt, becauſe they tooke away women by force: and ſo not of inſolencie, but of neceſſitie, when they founde no man that would beſtow any of them. It is manifeſt alſo they did greatly honour and make much of the women they had taken away before. Furthermore, when their citie beganne a litle to be ſetled, they made a temple of refuge for all fugitiues and afflicted perſons, which they called the temple of the god *Aſylæus*. Where there was ſanctuarie and ſafetie for all ſorts of people that repaired thither, and could get into the temple, for whom it was alledged they could not deliuer any bond mã to his maſter, nor detter to his creditor, nor murtherer to the iuſtice that was fled thither for ſuccour, becauſe the oracle of *Apollo* the *Delphian* had expreſſely enioyned them to graunt ſanctuarie to all thoſe that would come thither for it. So by this meanes in ſhort ſpace their citie flouriſhed, and was repleniſhed, where at the firſt foundation of it, they ſay there was not aboue one thouſande houſes, as more at large hereafter ſhall be declared. When they came now to the building of their citie, *Romulus* and *Remus* the two brethren fell ſodainely at a ſtrife together about the place where the citie ſhould be builded. For *Romulus* built ROME, which is called foure ſquare, and would needes it ſhould remaine in the place which he had choſen. *Remus* his brother choſe another place very ſtrong of ſituation, vpon mount *Auentine*, which was called after his name *Remonium*, and now is called *Rignarium*. Notwithſtanding, in the end they agreed betweene themſelues, this controuerſie ſhould be decided by the flying of birds, which do giue a happie diuination of things to come. So being ſet in diuers places by themſelues to make obſeruation, ſome ſay that there appeared vnto *Remus* ſixe, and to *Romulus* twelue vulters. Other ſay that *Remus* truely ſaw ſixe, and *Romulus* feigned from the beginning that he ſawe twiſe as many: but when *Remus* came to him, then there appeared twelue in deede vnto *Romulus*, and this is the cauſe why the Romaines at this

*Manipulares whereof ſo called.*

*Amulius ſlaine.*

*The building of Rome.*

*Aſylæus temple a ſanctuarie for al baniſhed perſons and fugitiues.*

*Strife betwixt Romulus, and Remus.*

*Remonium. Rignarium.*

*e Romaines*
*erue the*
*ing of vul-*
*e r s.*

day in their diuinations and ſoothſayings of the flying of birds, doe maruellouſly obſerue the flying of the vulters. It is true which the hiſtoriographer ***Herodotus Ponticus*** writeth; that *Hercules* reioyced much when there appeared a vulter to him, being readie to begin any enterpriſe. For it is the ſoule of the world that doth leaſt hurt, and neuer marreth nor deſtroieth any thing that man doth ſowe, plante, or ſet: conſidering that ſhe feedeth on carion only, and doth neuer hurt nor kill any liuing thing. Alſo ſhe doth not pray vpon dead fowle, for the likeneſſe that is betweene them: where the eagles, the dukes and the ſakers, doe murther, kill, and eate thoſe which are of their owne kinde. And yet as *Æſchylus* ſayeth,

*Needes muſt that fowle accompted be moſt vile,*
*Moſt rauening, and full of filthie minde,*
*VVhich doth himſelfe, continually defile,*
*by praying ſtill vpon his proper kinde.*

*Remus ſlaine by Romulus or Celer.*

*Celeres wherefore ſo called. Q. Metellus Celer.*

*Romulus layeth the foundation of Rome.*

*The world.*

*Pomœrium why ſo called.*

*The walles holy.*

Moreouer, other birdes are alwaies (as a man would ſay) before our eyes, and do dayly ſhewe them ſelues vnto vs: where the vulter is a very rare birde, and hardly to be ſeene, and men doe not eaſely finde their ayries. Which hath giuen ſome occaſion to holde a falſe opinion, that the vulters are paſſagers, and come into theſe partes out of ſtraunge countryes. The prognoſticators alſo thinke, that ſuch things which are not ordinarie, and but ſeldome ſeene, be not naturall, but miraculouſly ſent by the gods to prognoſticate ſomething. When *Remus* knew how his brother had mocked him, he was very angry with him. And when *Romulus* had caſt a ditche, as it were for the wall about his citie, *Remus* did not onely ſcorne it, but hindered alſo his worke, and in the end for a mockerie lept ouer his wall. To conclude, he did ſo much, that at the laſt he was ſlaine there by *Romulus* owne handes as ſome ſaye: or as other holde opinion, by the hands of one of his men which was called *Celer*. In this fight they ſlew *Fauſtulus*, and *Pliſtinus* alſo his brother, who had holpen him to bring vp *Romulus*. Howſoeuer the matter fell out, this *Celer* abſented him ſelfe from ROME, and went into the countrie of THVSCANE. And they ſay, that men which are quicke, and ready vpon a ſodaine, tooke their names euer after vpon him, and were called *Celeres*. As amongeſt other, *Quintus Metellus*, after the death of his father, hauing in very fewe dayes made the people of ROME to ſee a combate of fenſers (called *Gladiatores*) fighting at the ſharpe, they ſurnamed him *Celer*, for that the ROMAINES maruelled how he could prepare his things in ſo ſhorte a time. Furthermore, *Romulus* hauing now buried his brother, and his other two bringers vp (called foſter fathers) in the place they call *Remonia*: beganne then to builde and laye the foundation of his citie, ſending for men out of THVSCANE, who did name and teache him particularly all the ceremonies he had to obſerue there, according to their lawes and ordinances as a great holy myſterie. And firſt of all they made a rounde ditche in the place called at this day Comitium, into which they did caſt their chiefeſt and beſt things, which men vſe lawfully for good, and naturally as moſt neceſſarie. After that they did throwe alſo into it, a litle of the earth, from whence euery man came, and mingled theſe all together. This ditche in their ceremonies is called the worlde, in Latine *Mundus*, euen the ſelfe ſame name the Latines call the *Vniuerſall*. About this ditche they did trace the compaſſe of the citie they would builde, euen as one would draw a circle about a center. This done, the founder of the citie taketh a plough, to which he faſtened a culter or ploughe ſhare of braſſe, and ſo yoaked in the ploughe an oxe and a cowe, he himſelfe houlding the ploughe did make rounde about the compaſſe of the citie a deepe furrowe. Thoſe which followed him, had the charge to throwe the turues of earth inwarde into the citie, which the plough ſhare raiſed vp, and not to leaue any of them turned outward. The furrowe thus caſt vp was the whole compaſſe of their walle, which they call in Latine *Pomærium*, by ſhortning of the ſyllables, for *poſt murum*: to wit, after wall. But in the place where they determined to make a gate, they did take off the ploughe ſhare, and draw the ploughe, with leauing a certaine ſpace of earthe vnbroken vp: whereupon the ROMAINES thinke all the compaſſe of their walles holy and ſacred, except their gates. For if their gates had bene hallowed and ſanctified, they would haue had a conſcience through them to haue brought in, or caried out of the citie, any things neceſſarie for the life of man, that had not bene pure and cleane. Nowe they beleeue certainely, that this ceremonie of the foundation of their citie was made the one and twentie of Aprill: becauſe the ROMAINES do yet keepe that day holy day, and call it the feaſt the natiuitie of their countrie. On which day they did not in olde time ſacrifice any thing that had life, as eſteeming that day (which was the natiuitie of their citie) to be moſt meete to be kept cleane and pure from being polluted or defiled with any bloud. Notwithſtanding before ROME was builded, they had another feaſt called the ſheapeheards or heardmens holy day, which they did celebrate vpon the ſame daye, and called it *Palilia*. Nowe at this day the beginnings of the moneths with the ROMAINES is cleane contrarie to the GRECIANS: yet for all this, they holde opinion for certaintie that the day on which *Romulus* founded his citie, was aſſuredly that which the GRECIANS call *Triacada*: that is to ſay, the thirtie day. On which there was ſeene an eclypſe of the moone, which they ſuppoſe was obſerued by the Poet *Antimachus* (borne in the citie of TEOS) in the thirteenth yeare of the ſixt *Olympiade*. Likewiſe in the time of *Marcus Varro* (as a man learned, and one that had redde as much of auncient ſtories as any ROMAINE) there was a friend of his called *Tarutius*, a great philoſopher and mathematician, who being giuen to the calculation of aſtronomie for the delight of ſpeculation only, wherein he was thought moſt excellent: it did fall out that *Varro* gaue him this queſtion, to ſearche out what hower and daye the natiuitie of *Romulus* was, who gathered it out by certaine accidents, as they doe in the reſolutions of certaine geometricall queſtions. For they ſay, that by the ſelfe ſame ſcience, one may tell before of things to come, and to happen to a man in his life, knowing certainely the hower of his natiuitie: and how one may tell alſo the hower of his natiuitie, when by accidents they know what hath happened to him all his life. *Tarutius* did the queſtion that *Varro* gaue him. And hauing throughly conſidered the aduentures, deedes, and geſtes of *Romulus*, howe long he liued, and how he dyed: all which being gathered and conferred together, he did boldly iudge for a certaintie, that he was conceiued in his mothers wombe, in the firſt yeare of the ſecond *Olympiade*, the three and twentie day of the moneth which the ÆGYPTIANS call *Chœac*, and now is called December, about three of the clocke in the morning, in which hower there was a whole eclypſe of the ſunne: And that he was borne into the world, the one and twentith of the moneth of *Thoth*, which is the moneth of September, about the riſing of the ſunne. And that ROME was begonne by him on the ninth day of the moneth which the ÆGYPTIANS call *Pharmuthi*, and aunſwereth now to the moneth of Aprill, betweene two and three of the clocke in the morning. For they will ſay that a cittie hath his reuolution and his time of continuance appointed, as well as the life of a man: and that they knew by the ſituation of the ſtarres, the day of her beginning and foundation. Theſe things and ſuch other like, peraduenture will pleaſe the readers better, for their ſtrangeneſſe and curioſitie, then offend or miſlike them for their falſehood. Now after that he had founded his citie, he firſt and formoſt did diuide in two companies, all thoſe that were of age to carie armour. In euery one of theſe companies there were three thouſand footmen, and three hundred horſemen: and they were called Legions, becauſe they were ſorted of the choſen men that were pyckt out amongeſt all the reſt for to fight. The remaine after theſe was called *Populus*, which ſignifieth the people. After this, he made a hundred counſellers of the beſt and honeſteſt men of the citie, which he called *Patricians*: and the whole company of them together he called *Senatus*, as one would ſay, the counſell of the auncients. So they were called *Patricians*, as ſome will ſaye, the counſaile of the fathers lawfull children, which few of the firſt inhabitants could ſhewe. It may be, ſome will ſay this name was giuen them of *Patrocinium*, as growing of the protection they had by the ſanctuarie of their citie, which worde they vſe at this day in the ſelfe ſame ſignification: as one that followed *Euander* into ITALIE, was called *Patron*, becauſe he was pitifull, and relieued the poore and litle children, and ſo got himſelfe a name for his pitie and humanitie. But me thinkes it were more like the trothe to ſay, that *Romulus* did call them ſo, becauſe he thought the chiefeſt men ſhould haue a fatherly care of the meaner ſorte: conſidering alſo it was to teache the meaner ſorte that they ſhould not feare the authoritie of the greater, nor enuie at their honours they had, but rather in all their cauſes ſhould vſe their fauour and good will, by taking them as their fathers. For euen at this preſent, ſtraungers call

*The feaſt day of Romes foundation the 21. of Aprill.*

*The feaſt Palilia.*

*An eclips of the moone at the laying of the foundation of Rome.*

*Varro a philoſopher.*

*Tarutius a mathematiciã.*

*The hower of a mans natiuitie may be calculated by his accidents.*

*Romulus natiuitie calculated by Tarutius.*

*An eclips of the ſunne when Romulus was conceiued in his mothers wõbe.*

*The Romaine legion.*

3000 *footmen.*

300 *horſemen.*

*Romulus inſtituteth a cõmon wealth.*

*What the Patricians and Senate were.*

*Patres Conſcripti.*

thoſe of the Senate, lordes or captaines: but the naturall ROMAINES call them, *Patres Conſcripti*, which is a name of fatherhead and dignitie without enuie. It is true, that at the beginning they were only called *Patres*, but ſithence, becauſe they were many ioyned vnto the firſt, they haue bene named *Patres Conſcripti*, as a man ſhould ſay, fathers of recorde together: which is the honourableſt name he could haue deuiſed to make a difference betwixt the *Senatours*, and the people.

*Patroni. Clientes.*

Furthermore, he made a difference betweene the cheefer citizens, and the baſer people, by calling the better ſorte *Patroni*, as much to ſaye, as defenders: and the meaner ſorte *Clientes*, as you would ſay, followers, or men protected. This did breede a maruellous great loue and good will among them, making the one much beholding to the other, by many mutuall curteſies and pleaſures: for the Patrons did helpe the clients to their right, defended their cauſes in iudgement, did giue vnto them counſaile, and did take all their matters in hand. The clients againe enterchaungeably humbled themſelues to their patrons, not onely in outwarde honour and reuerence towardes them, but otherwiſe did helpe them with money to marrie and aduaunce their daughters, or els to pay their debts and credit, if they were poore or decayed. There was no lawe nor magiſtrate that could compell the patron to be a witneſſe againſt his client: nor yet the client to witneſſe againſt his patron. So they increaſed, and continued, all other rights and offices of amitie and friendſhip together, ſauing afterwards they thought it a great ſhame and reproache for the better, and richer, to take reward of the meaner and poorer.

*The ſhame of the Romaines to take gifts of poore men.*

And thus of this matter we haue ſpoken ſufficiently. Moreouer, foure moneths after the foundation of the citie was layed, *Fabius* writeth, there was a great rauiſhment of women. There are ſome which lay it vpon *Romulus*, who being then of nature warlike, and geuen to prophecies and aunſwers of the goddes, foretolde that his citie ſhould become very great and mightie, ſo as he raiſed it by warres, and increaſed it by armes: and he ſought out this colour to do miſchiefe, and to make war vpon the SABYNES.

*The rauiſhmēt of the Sabyne women.*

To proue this true, ſome ſay he cauſed certaine of their maides by force to be taken away, but not paſt thirtie in number, as one that rather ſought cauſe of warres, then did it for neede of mariages: which me thinkes was not likely to be true, but rather I iudge the contrarie. For ſeeing his citie was incontinently repleniſhed with people of all ſorts, whereof there were very fewe that had wiues, and that they were men gathered out of all countries, and the moſt parte of them poore and needie, ſo as their neighbours diſdained them much, and did not looke they would long dwell together: *Romulus* hoping by this violent taking of their maides and rauiſhing them, to haue an entrie into alliance with the SABYNES, and to entiſe them further to ioyne with them in mariage, if they did gentlely intreate theſe wiues they had gotten, enterpriſed this violent taking of their maides, and rauiſhing of them in ſuch a ſorte.

*Romulus craft about the rauiſhment of the Sabines daughters.*
*Conſus a god.*
*Neptune the god of horſemen.*

Firſt he made it to be commonly bruted abroad in euery place, that he had founde the altar of a god hidden in the grounde, and he called the name of the god, *Conſus*: either becauſe he was a god of counſaile, wherupon the ROMAINES at this day in their tongue call *Conſilium*, which we call counſell: and the chiefe magiſtrates of their citie *Conſules*, as we ſay counſellers. Other ſaye it was the altar of the god *Neptune*, ſurnamed the patron of horſes. For this altar is yet at this day within the great liſtes of the citie, and euer couered and hidden, but when they vſe the running games of their horſe race. Other ſay becauſe counſell euer muſt be kept cloſe and ſecret, they had good reaſon to keepe the altar of this god *Conſus* hidden in the ground. Nowe other write when it was opened, *Romulus* made a ſacrifice of wonderfull ioye, and afterwards proclaimed it openly in diuers places, that at ſuch a day there ſhould be common playes in ROME, and a ſolemne feaſt kept of the god *Conſus*, where all that were diſpoſed to come ſhould be welcome. Great numbers of people repaired thither from all partes. He himſelfe was ſet in the chiefeſt ſeate of the ſhowe place, apparelled faire in purple, and accompanied with the chiefe of his citie about him. And there hauing purpoſed this rauiſhment you haue heard of, he had giuen the ſigne before: that the ſame ſhould beginne, when he ſhould riſe vp and folde a plaite of his gowne, and vnfolde the ſame againe. Hereupon his men ſtood attending with their ſwordes: who ſo ſoone as they perceiued the ſigne was giuen, with their ſwords drawne in hand, and with great ſhowtes and cryes, ranne violently on the maydes and daughters of the SABYNES to take them awaye and rauiſhe them, and ſuffered the men to runne

*The execution of the rauiſhment.*

away, without doing them any hurt or violence. So ſome ſay, there were but thirtie rauiſhed, after whoſe names were called the thirtie linages of the people of Rome. Howbeit *Valerius Antias* writeth, that there were fiue hundred and ſeuen and twentie: and *Iuba*, ſixe hundred foure ſcore & three. In the which is ſingularly to be noted for the commendation of *Romulus*, that he him ſelfe did take then but onely one of the maydes, named *Herſilia*: that afterwards was the onely cauſe and mediation of peace betwixt the Sabynes and the Romaines. Which argueth plainely, that it was not to doe the Sabynes any hurt, nor to ſatiſfie any diſordinate luſt, that they had ſo forcibly vndertaken this rauiſhment: but to ioyne two peoples together, with the ſtraighteſt bondes that could be betweene men. This *Herſilia* as ſome ſay, was maried vnto one *Hoſtilius*, the nobleſt man at that time amongſt the Romaines: or as others write, vnto *Romulus* himſelf, which had two children by her. The firſt was a daughter, and her name was *Prima*, becauſe ſhe was the firſt: the other was a ſonne, whō he named *Aollius*, becauſe of the multitude of people hee had aſſembled together in his citie, and afterwards he was ſurnamed *Abillius*. Thus *Zenodotus* the Troezenian writeth, wherein notwithſtanding there be diuers that doe contrarie him. Among thoſe which rauiſhed then the daughters of the Sabynes, it is ſaide there were founde certaine meane men carying away, a marueilous paſſing faire one. Theſe met by chance on the waye, certaine of the chiefe of the citie, who would haue taken her by force from them, which they had done, but that they beganne to cry, they caried her vnto *Talaſsius*, who was a young man marueilouſly well beloued of euerie body. Which when the others vnderſtoode, they were exceeding glad, and they commended them: in ſo much as there were ſome which ſodainely turned backe againe, and did accompanie them for *Talaſsius* ſake, crying out alowd, and often on his name. From whence the cuſtome came, which to this day the Romaines ſing at their mariages, *Talaſsius*, like as the Grecians ſing *Hymenæus*. For it is ſayde he was counted very happie that he met with this woman. But *Sextius Sylla* a Carthaginian borne, a man very wiſe, and well learned, tolde me once it was the cry and ſigne which *Romulus* gaue to his men, to beginne the rauiſhment: whereupon thoſe which caried them away, went crying this word *Talaſsius*, and that from thence the cuſtome hath continued, that they ſing it yet at their mariages. Neuertheleſſe the moſt part of authors, ſpecially *Iuba*, thinkes it is a warning to remember the new maried women of their worke, which is to ſpinne, which the Grecians cal *Talaſsia*, the Italian word at that time being not mingled with the Greeke. And if it be true the Romaines vſed this terme of *Talaſsia*, as we of Grece do vſe: we might by coniecture yeeld another reaſon for it, which ſhould carrie a better likelihoode and proofe. For when the Sabynes after the battell, had made peace with the Romaines, they put in an article in fauour of the women in the treatie, that they ſhould not be bound to ſerue their husbandes in any other worke, but in ſpinning of wolle. Euer ſince this cuſtome hath growen, that thoſe which giue their daughters in mariage, and thoſe who leade the bride, and ſuch as are preſent at the wedding, ſpeake in ſport to the newe maried wife, laughing, *Talaſsius*: in token that they doe not leade the bride for any other worke or ſeruice, but to ſpinne wolle. Thereof this hath bene the vſe to this day, that the bride doth not of her ſelfe come ouer the threſhold of her husbandes doore, but ſhe is hoyſed pretily into the houſe: becauſe the Sabyne women at that time were ſo lift vp, and caried away by force. They ſay alſo, that the manner of making the ſhed of the new wedded wiues haire, with the Iron head of a Iaueling, came vp then likewiſe: this ſtorie being a manifeſt token that theſe firſt mariages were made by force of armes, and as it were at the ſwords point: as we haue written more at large in the booke, wherein we render and ſhew the cauſes of the Romaines faſhions and cuſtomes. This rauiſhment was put in execution about the eighteenth day of the moneth then called *Sextilis*, and now named Auguſt: on which day they yet celebrate the feaſt they call *Conſalia*. Now the Sabynes were good men of warre, and had great numbers of people, but they dwelt in villages, and not within incloſed walles: being a thing fit for their noble courages that did feare nothing, and as thoſe who were deſcended from the Lacedæmonians. Neuertheles, they ſeeing themſelues bound and tyed to peace by pledges & hoſtages, that were very neere allyed vnto them, and fearing their daughters ſhould be ill intreated: ſent ambaſſadours

*The number of the Sabyne women rauiſhed.*

*Herſilia Romulus wife.*

*Romulus firſt daughter called Prima.*

*His ſonne was called Aollius.*

*Abillius.*

*The cauſe why the Romaines doe ſing the name of Talaſsius in mariages.*

*Talaſsia.*

*Matrimoniall ceremonie at Rome.*

*Sextilis, Auguſt.*

*Plutar. in his proble. Conſualia.*

*The Sabynes what they were.*

to *Romulus*, by whom they made reaſonable offers and perſwaſions, that their daughters might be deliuered vnto them againe, without any force or violence, and then afterwardes, that he would cauſe them to be asked in mariage of their parents, as both reaſon and lawe would require. To the end that with good will and conſent of all parties, both peoples might contract amitie and alliance together. Whereunto *Romulus* made aunſwere, he could not reſtore the maydes which his people had taken away and maried: but moſt friendly he prayed the Sabynes to be contented with their alliance. This anſwere being returned, & not liked, whileſt the princes and communaltie of the Sabynes were occupied in conſultation, and about the arming of themſelues: *Acron* king of the Ceninenses (a man exceeding couragious and skilfull in the warres, and one that from the beginning miſtruſted the ouer bold & ſtout enterpriſes that *Romulus* was likely to attempt, cōſidering the late rauiſhment of the Sabynes daughters, and how he was alreadie greatly dreaded of his neighbours, and ſomewhat vntolerable, if he were not chaſticed and brought lower) firſt beganne to inuade him with a puiſſant armie, and to make hotte and violent warres vpon him. *Romulus* on the other ſide prepared alſo, and went foorth to meete him. When they were come ſo neere together that they might ſee one another, they ſent defiance to ech other, and prayed that they two might fight man to man amiddeſt their armies, and neither of theirs to ſturre a foote. Both of them accepted of it, and *Romulus* making his prayer vnto *Iupiter*, did promiſe, and made a vow: that if he did giue him the victorie to ouercome, he would offer vp to him the armour of his enemie, which he did. For firſt he ſlew *Acron* in the field, and afterwards gaue battell to his men, and ouerthrew thē alſo. Laſtly he tooke his citie, where he did no hurt nor yet diſpleaſure to any, ſauing that he did commaund them to pull downe their houſes, and deſtroy them, and to goe dwell with him at Rome: where they ſhould haue the ſelfe ſame rights & priuiledges which the firſt inhabitants did enioy. There was nothing more enlarged the citie of Rome, then this manner of pollicie, to ioyne alwayes vnto it thoſe ſhe had ouercome and vanquiſhed. *Romulus* now to diſcharge his vow, and in ſuch ſort that his offering might be acceptable to *Iupiter*, and pleaſant to his citizens to behold: did cut downe a goodly ſtraight growen young oke, which he lighted on by good fortune, in the place where his campe did lye. The ſame he trimmed and did ſet forth after the manner of victorie, hanging and tying all about it in fayre order, the armour and weapons of king *Acron*. Then he girding his gowne to him, & putting vpon his long buſh of hayre, a garland of lawrell, layd the young oke vpon his right ſhoulder, and he firſt marched before towards his citie, and ſung a royall ſong of victorie, all his armie following him in armes vnto the citie in order of battell: where his citizens receiued him in all paſſing wiſe and triumph. This noble and ſtately entry euer ſince hath giuen them mindes in ſuch ſort, and in ſtatelier wiſe to make their triumph. The offering of this triumph was dedicated to *Iupiter* ſurnamed *Feretrian*: becauſe the Latine word *Ferire*, ſignifieth to hurt & kill: and the prayer *Romulus* had made, was, he might hurt & kill his enemie. Such ſpoyles are called in Latine, *Spolia opima*: therefore ſayth *Varro*, that *opes* ſignifie riches. Howbeit me thinks it were more likely to ſay, that they were ſo named of this worde *Opus*, which betokeneth a deede, becauſe he muſt needes be the chiefe of the armie, that hath ſlaine with his owne hands the generall of his enemies, and that muſt offer the ſpoyles called *Spolia opima*, as you would ſay, his principall ſpoyles and deeds. This neuer happened yet but to three Romaine captaines only: of the which *Romulus* was the firſt, who ſlew *Acron*, king of the Ceninenses. *Cornelius Coſſus* was the ſecond, who killed *Tolumnius*, the generall of the Thuscans. *Clodius Marcellus* was the third, who ſlew *Britomartus*, king of the Gavles, with his owne hands. And for the two laſt, *Coſſus* & *Marcellus*, they made their entry into the citie, carying their triumphes vpon charets triumphant: but *Romulus* did not ſo. Therefore in this point *Dionyſius* the hiſtoriographer hath erred, writing that *Romulus* did enter into Rome vpon a charret triumphant. For it was *Tarquinius Priſcus* the ſonne of *Demaratus*, who firſt did ſet out triumphs in ſo ſtately & magnificent ſhow. Other hold opinion it was *Valerius Publicola*, who was the firſt that euer entred vpon triumphant charret. Concerning Romulus, his ſtatues are yet to be ſeene in Rome, carying his triumph a foote. After this ouerthrow & taking of the Ceninenses, the inhabitants of the cities of Fidena, Crvstvmerivm, and Antemna, roſe al-

*Acron king of the Ceninenſes maketh warre with Romulus.*

*Acron ſlaine in the field.*

*Romulus triumph.*

*The beginning of triumph.*

*Iupiter Feretrius.*

*Spolia opima.*

*Three Romains onely obtained ſpolia opima.*

*Tarquinius Priſcus the firſt that triumphed in charet.*

*Valerius Publicola.*

*The cities of Fidena, Cruſtumerium, and of Antemna roſe all againſt Romulus.*

together againſt the ROMAINES whiles the other SABYNES alſo were a preparing themſelues. So they fought a battell, in which they tooke the ouerthrow: & left their cities to the ſpoyle of *Romulus*, their lands to be giuen where he thought good, & themſelues to be caried to ROME. *Romulus* then did giue their lands among his citizens, except thoſe lands which did belong to the fathers of the maidens that they had taken away & rauiſhed. For he was contented that the fathers of them ſhould keepe ſtill their lands. By & by the other SABYNES ſtomaking thereat, did chuſe them a generall called *Tatius*, & ſo went with a puiſſant armie toward the citie of ROME, whereunto to approch at that time it was very hard, the caſtle or keepe of their city being ſeated, where at this day the Capitoll ſtandeth, within which there was a great garriſon, whereof *Tarpeius* was captaine, & not his daughter *Tarpeia*, as ſome will ſay, who ſet out *Romulus* as a foole. But *Tarpeia* the captaines daughter, for the deſire ſhe had to haue all the gold bracelets which they did weare about their armes, ſold the fort to the SABYNES, and asked for reward of her treaſon, all they did weare on their left armes. *Tatius* promiſed them vnto her: and ſhe opened them a gate in the night, by the which ſhe did let all the SABYNES into the caſtle. *Antigonus* then was not alone, who ſayd, he loued thoſe which did betray, & hated them that had betrayed: nor yet *Cæſar Auguſtus*, who told *Rymitalces* the THRACIAN, that he loued treaſon, but he hated traytors. And it is a common affection which we beare to wicked perſons, whileſt we ſtand in neede of them: not vnlike for all the worlde to thoſe which haue neede of the gall and poyſon of venemous beaſts. For when they finde it, they are glad, & take it to ſerue their turne: but after their turne is ſerued, & they haue that they ſought, they hate the crueltie of ſuch beaſts. So played *Tatius* at that time. For when he was gotten into the caſtle, he commanded the SABYNES (for performance of his promiſe he had made to *Tarpeia*) they ſhould not ſticke to giue her all they weare on their left armes, & to do as he did: who taking from his owne arme firſt, the bracelets which he ware, did caſt it to her, and his target after. And ſo did all the reſt in like ſort, in ſo much as being borne down to the ground by the weight of bracelets & targets, ſhe died as preſſed to death vnder her burden. Neuertheles *Tarpeius* ſelfe was atteinted, and condemned alſo of treaſon, by *Romulus* order, as *Iuba* ſaith, it is ſet forth by *Sulpitius Galba*. They that write now otherwiſe of *Tarpeia*, ſaying ſhe was the daughter of *Tatius*, general of the SABYNES, & was forced by *Romulus* to lie with him, & how ſhe was puniſhed in this ſort by her owne father after her ſaid treaſon committed: thoſe I ſay, amongſt whom *Antigonus* is one, are not to be credited. And the Poet *Simylus* alſo doth dote moſt, who ſayth *Tarpeia* ſold the Capitoll not to the SABYNES, but to the king of GAVLES, with whom ſhe was in loue: as in theſe verſes doth appeare.

*The Sabynes led by Tatius, went to beſiege the citie of Rome.*

*Tarpeia betrayeth the caſtle, and letteth in the Sabynes.*

*Antigonus and Auguſtus Cæſars words of traytours.*

*A fit similitude.*

*Note the reward of treaſon.*

*Tarpeia preſſed to death.*

*Tarpeia, that mayde of fooliſh minde,*
*which neere vnto the Capitoll did dwell*
*(In feruent flames, of beaſtly loue beblinde,*
*wherewith the king of Gaules did make her ſwell)*
*Cauſd ſtately* ROME *ſurpriſed for to be*
*by enemies, as euery man may ſee.*
*And ſo through hope of his fidelitie*
*betrayed her Syre, with all his familie.*

And a litle after, in ſpeaking of the manner of her death, he ſayth alſo:

*Yet lo: the Gaules, thoſe worthy men of might*
*threw her not downe, into the waues of Po,*
*But from their armes, wherewith they wont to fight*
*they caſt their ſhields vpon her bodie ſo,*
*That ſhe ſurpreſt with ſuch an heauy waight,*
*(Ah wofull mayde) to death was ſmoothred ſtraight.*

This mayden therefore being buried in the ſame place, the whole hill was called afterwards *Tarpeius* after her name, which continued vntill *Tarquinius* the King did dedicate all the place to *Iupiter*: for then they caried her bones into ſome other place, and ſo it loſt her name. Onles it be that rocke of the Capitoll, which at this preſent time they call *Rupes Tarpeia*, from the toppe whereof they were wont in old time to throwe downe headlong all wicked offenders.

When the Sabynes now had gotten this holde, *Romulus* being exceeding wrath, ſent them a defiance, and bad them battell if they durſt. *Tatius* ſtraight refuſed not, conſidering if by miſchaunce they were diſtreſſed, they had a ſure refuge to retire vnto. The place betweene the two armies where the fight ſhould be, was all round about enuironed with litle hilles. So as it was plaine, the fight could not be but ſharpe and daungerous, for the diſcõmodiouſnes of the place, where was neither ground for any to flie, nor yet any ſpace for any long chaſe, it was of ſo ſmall a compaſſe. Now it fortuned by chaunce, the riuer of Tyber had ouerflowen the bankes a few dayes before, and there remained in it a deeper mudde then men would haue iudged, becauſe the ground was ſo plaine, and was euen where the great market place of Rome ſtandeth at this day. They could diſcerne nothing thereof by the eye, becauſe the vpper part of it was cruſted, whereby it was the more readie for them to venter vpon, and the worſe to get out, for that it did ſinke vnderneath. So the Sabynes had gone vpon it, had not *Curtius* daunger bene, which by good fortune ſtayed them. He was one of the nobleſt and valianteſt men of the Sabynes, who being mounted vpon a courſer, went on a good way before the armie. This courſer entring vpon the cruſted mudde, & ſincking with all, began to plunge and ſtruggle in the myre: whereat *Curtius* proued a while with the ſpurre to ſturre him, and get him out, but in the end ſeeing it would not be, he left his backe, and ſaued him ſelfe. The ſame very place to this day is called after his name, *Lacus Curtius*. The Sabynes then ſcaping thus this daunger, beganne the battell. The fight did grow very cruell, and endured ſo a great while, the victorie leaning no more to the one ſide then to the other. There dyed in a ſmall ſpace a great number of men, amongeſt whom *Hoſtilius* was one, who as they ſay was the husband of *Herſilia*, and grandfather to *Hoſtilius* that was king of Romaines after *Numa Pompilius*. Afterwards there were (as we may thinke) many other encounters and battels betweene them: howbeit they make mention of the laſt aboue all the reſt, wherein *Romulus* had ſo ſore a blow on his head with a ſtone, that he was almoſt felled to the ground, in ſo much as he was driuen to retire a little out of the battel. Vpon which occaſion the Romaines gaue backe alſo, and drew towards mount Palatine, being driuen out of the plaine by force. *Romulus* beganne now to recouer of the blow he had receiued, and ſo returned to giue a new onſet, and cryed out all he might to his ſouldiers to tarie, and ſhew their face againe to their enemie. But for all his lowd crying, they left no flying ſtill for life; and there was not one that durſt returne againe. Whereupon *Romulus* lifting vp his handes ſtraight to heauen, did moſt feruently pray vnto *Iupiter*, that it would pleaſe him to ſtay the flying of his people, and not ſuffer the Romaines glorie thus to fall to their vtter deſtruction, but to repaire it by his fauour againe. He had no ſooner ended his prayer, but diuers of his men that fled, beganne to be aſhamed to flie before their King, and a ſodaine boldnes came vpon them, and their feare therewithall vaniſhed away. The place they firſt ſtayed in was, whereas now is the temple of *Iupiter Stator*, which is as much to ſay, as *Iupiter* the ſtayer. Afterwards gathering themſelues together againe, they repulſed the Sabynes euen to the place they call now *Regia*, and vnto the temple of the goddeſſe *Veſta*: where both the battels being prepared to giue a new charge, there did fall out before them, a ſtraunge and vncredible thing to ſee, which ſtayed them they fought not. For of the Sabyne women whom the Romaines had rauiſhed, ſome ranne of the one ſide, other of the other ſide of the battels, with lamentations, cryes, & ſhowts, ſtepping betweene their weapons, and among the ſlaine bodies on the ground, in ſuch ſort that they ſeemed out of their wits, and caried as it were with ſome ſpirites. In this manner they went to find out their fathers and their husbandes, ſome carying their ſucking babes in their armes, other hauing their hayre looſe about their eyes, and all of them calling, now vpon the Sabynes, now vpon the Romaines, with the genteleſt names that could be deuiſed: which did melt the hearts of both parties in ſuch ſort, that they gaue backe a little, and made them place betweene both the battels. Then were the cryes and lamentations of euery one plainely heard. There was not a man there but it pittied him, aſwell to ſee them in that pitifull caſe, as to heare the lamentable wordes they ſpake: adding to their moſt humble petitions and requeſtes that could be any way imagined, paſſing wiſe perſwaſions and reaſons to induce them to a peace. For what offence (ſayd they) or what diſpleaſure haue we done to

you,

*The place of the fight betwixt Romulus and Tatius.*

*Curtius the Sabyne.*

*Curtius lake.*

*The Sabynes giue battell to Romulus.*

*Hoſtilius ſlaine.*

*Romulus hit on the head with a ſtone.*

*Iupiter Stator.*

*A wonderfull boldnes of women.*

you,that we ſhould deſerue ſuch an heape of euils , as we haue already ſuffered, and yet you make vs beare? we were as you know violently(and againſt all law)rauiſhed by thoſe,whoſe now we remain. But our fathers,our brethren,our mothers and friends haue left vs with them ſo long , that proceſſe of time , and the ſtraighteſt bonds of the world, haue tyed vs now ſo faſt to them, whom mortally before we hated, that we are conſtrayned now to be flighted thus,to ſee them fight,yea and to lament & die with them,who before vniuſtly tooke vs from you. For then you came not to our reſcue when we were virgins vntouched,nor to recouer vs from them when they wickedly aſſaulted vs, poore ſoules : but now ye come to take the wiues from their husbands,& the mothers from their litle children. So as the helpe ye thinke to giue vs now doth grieue vs more, then the forſaking of vs was ſorrowfull to vs then. Such is the loue they haue borne vnto vs, and ſuch is the kindneſſe we beare againe to them. Now, if ye did fight for any other cauſe then for vs, yet were it reaſon ye ſhould let fall your armes for our ſakes (by whom you are made grandfathers and fathers in law, coſins and brothers in law)euen from thoſe againſt whom you now bend your force. But if all this war beganne for vs, we heartely beſeech you then that you will receiue vs with your ſonnes in law, and your ſonnes by them, and that you will reſtore vnto vs our fathers, our brethren , our kinſefolks and friends, without ſpoyling vs of our husbands,of our children,and of our ioyes, and thereby make vs woefull captiues and priſoners in our mindes. Theſe requeſts and perſwaſions by *Herſilia*,and other the SABINE women being heard, both the armies ſtaied, and held euery body his hand,and ſtraight the two generalles imparled together. During which parle they brought their husbãds and their children,to their fathers and their brethren.They brought meat and drinke for them that would eate. They dreſſed vp the woundes of them that were hurt. They caried them home with them to their houſes. They ſhewed them how they were miſtreſſes there with their husbands. They made them ſee how greatly they were accoumpted of and eſteemed;yea how with a wedlocke loue and reputation they were honored. So in the end peace was concluded betweene them, wherein it was articled,that the SABINE women which would remaine with their husbands ſhould tarrie ſtill,and be exempted from all work or ſeruice(as aboue recited)ſaue only ſpinning of woll. And that the SABINES & ROMAINES ſhould dwell together in the city,which ſhould be called ROMA,after *Romulus* name: & the inhabitants ſhould be called *Quirites*, after the name of the city of *Tatius* king of the SABINES,& that they ſhould raigne & gouern together by a common conſent. The place where this peace was concluded,is called yet to this day *Comitium* : becauſe that *Coire*, in the Latine tongue ſignifieth to aſſemble. So the city being augmented by the one halfe, they did chooſe of the SABINES another hũdred new PATRICIANS,vnto the firſt hũdred of the ROMAINES that were choſen before. Then were the Legions made of ſix thouſand footmen,and ſix hundred horſemẽ. After they deuided their inhabitãts into three Tribes, wherof thoſe that came of *Romulus*, were called *Ramnenſes* after his name: thoſe that came of *Tatius* were called *Tatienſes* after his name:and thoſe that were of the third ſtock,were called *Lucerenſes*,as from the Latine word *Lucus*,called with vs a groue in Engliſh,becauſe thither great number of people of all ſorts did gather, which afterwards were made citizens of ROME. The very word of *Tribus* (which ſignifieth bands, warres, or hundreds)doth witneſſe this beginning of ROME from wards, or hundreds.For hereupon the ROMAINES call thoſe at this day, their *Tribunes*, which are the chiefe heades of the people. But euery one of theſe principall wardes had afterwards ten other particular wards vnder them,which ſome thinke were called after the names of the thirtie SABINE women that were rauiſhed:but that ſeemeth falſe, becauſe many of them cary the names of the places they came frõ.Howbeit at that time many things were ſtabliſhed and ordained in honor of women : as to giue them place, the vpper hand in meeting them, the vpper hand in ſtreets:to ſpeake no fowle or diſhoneſt word before them, no man to vnray himſelf,or ſhew naked before them:that they ſhould not be called before criminall iudges ſitting vpõ homicides & murderers:that their children ſhould weare about their necks a kind of a Iuel,called *Bulla*,faſhioned in mãner like theſe water bubbles that riſe vpõ the water whẽ it beginneth to rain:& that their gowns ſhould be garded with purple. Now the two kings did not ſtraight confer together ſo ſoone as any occaſiõ of buſines was offered them,but either of

*The wordes of Herſilia and other Sabine women vnto both armies.*

*Romulus and Tatius imparle together.*

*Peace betwene the Romaines and the Sabines.*

*Quirites why ſo called.*

*Comitium.*

*The Romaine legion. 6000. footemen. 600. horſemẽ.*

*The Romaine tribes.*

*Honours giuen to women.*

them did firſt counſell alone with his hundred Senatours,and afterwards they did all aſſemble together.

*Tatius and Romulus palaces.*
*The holy cornell tree.*

*Tatius* dwelt in the place where now is the temple of *Iuno Moneta*: *Romulus* in the place called at this preſent,the ſtaires of the faire banke,then the deſcent of mount Palatine, as they go to the ſhow place or great liſtes, where they ſay was ſometime the holy cornell tree, whereof they make ſo great account. *Romulus* one day deſirous to proue his ſtrength, threw (as it is ſaide)a dart from mount Auentine toward mount Palatine. The ſtaffe whereof was of a cornell tree:and the Iron of it entred ſo deepe into the ground being a luſty fat ſoile, that no man could pull it out,although many proued it, & did the beſt they could.The ground being very good and fit to bring forth trees, did ſo nouriſh the end of this ſtaffe, that it tooke root, and beganne to ſpread braunches: ſo that in time it became a faire great cornell tree, which the ſucceſſors of *Romulus* did incloſe with a wall,and did keepe and worſhip it as a very holy thing.If by chaunce any went to ſee it,and found it looked not freſh and greene,but like a tree withered and dried away for lacke of moiſture: he went away ſtraight as one affraide, crying to all he met(& they with him went crying ſtill) in euery place,water, water,as it had ben to haue quenched a fire. Then ranne they thither out of all quarters with veſſels of water, to water and moiſt the tree. In the time of *Caius Cæſar*, who cauſed the ſtaires about it to be repaired: they ſay the labourers rayſing the place, and digging about this cornell tree,did by negligence hurt the rootes of the ſame in ſuch ſort, as afterwardes it dried vp altogether.

*The Sabines vſed the Romaines monethes.*

Now the SABINES receiued the moneths after the manner of the ROMAINES,whereof we haue written ſufficiently in the life of *Numa*. *Romulus* againe vſed the SABINES ſhields: and both he and his people chaunged the faſhion of their armour and weapons they vſed. For the ROMAINES before did cary litle ſhields after the faſhion of the ARGIVES. As for either of their holy daies and ſacrifices, they kept them both altogether, and did not take away any of them, which either the one or the other people obſerued before, but they added thereunto ſome other new.

*Feaſts, Matronalia, Carmentalia, Carmenta.*

As that which they call *Matronalia*, which was inſtituted in honour of the women,becauſe by their meanes peace was cocluded. And that alſo of *Carmentalia*,in the honour of *Carmenta*,whom ſome ſuppoſe to be the goddeſſe of fate or deſtiny, becauſe ſhee hath rule & power ouer the natiuities of men,by reaſon whereof, the mothers call vpon her often, & reuerence her very much.Other ſay ſhe was the wife of *Euander* the *Arcadian*, who being a propheteſſe inſpired by the god *Phœbus*,gaue the oracles in verſe, whereupon ſhe was ſurnamed *Carmenta*,becauſe that *Carmina* in Latine ſignifie verſes:for it is of certainty that her proper name was *Nicoſtrata*.Howbeit there are ſome which giue another manner of deriuation and interpretation of this word *Carmenta*,which is the liklier to be true:as if they would ſay, *Carens mente*: which ſignifieth wanting wit,for the very furie that taketh thē when they are inſpired with the propheticall ſpirite. For in Latine *Carere* betokeneth to lacke:and *Mens*, ſignifieth wit.

*Lupercalia.*

As for the feaſt of *Palilia*, we haue told of it before: but the feaſt of *Lupercalia*, conſidering the time of celebrating thereof,it ſeemeth it is ordeined for a purification.For it is celebrated on the vnfortunate daies of the moneth of Februarie, which are called the purging daies. The daies in the old time on which they did celebrate the ſame, were called Februata. But the proper name of the feaſt, is as much to ſay, as the feaſt of Wolues. Wherefore it ſeemeth to be a feaſt of great antiquity, and inſtituted by the ARCADIANS which came in with *Euander*:albeit the name of Wolues is as common to the females,as the males,and ſo it might perhaps be called,by reaſon of the Wolfe that brought vp R*omulus*. For we ſee thoſe which runne vp and down the city that day,and they call *Luperci*,do beginne their courſe in the very place where they ſay R*omulus* was caſt out.Howbeit many things are done,whereof the originall cauſe were hard now to be coniectured. For goates about a certaine time of the yeare, are killed,then they bring two yong boies,noble mens ſons,whoſe foreheads they touch with the knife bebloudied with the bloud of the goates that are ſacrificed. By and by they dry their forheads with woll dipped in milke. Then the young boyes muſt laugh immediatly after they haue dried their forheads. That done,they cut the goates ſkinnes,& make thongs of thē,which they take in their hands,and run with them all about the city ſtarke naked (ſauing they haue a cloth before their ſecrets)and ſo they ſtrike with theſe thonges all they meete in their way. The young wiues doe neuer ſhunne them at all,but are well cōtented to be ſtriken with them, beleeuing it helpeth them to be with childe, and alſo to be eaſily deliuered. There is another thing yet in this feaſt, that theſe LVPERCIANS which runne about the city, do alſo ſacrifice a dog. Concerning this feaſt, the Poet named *Butas* doth write ſomewhat in his elegies, where ſhewing the occaſion of the fond cuſtomes and ceremonies of the ROMAINES, he doth ſay that *Romulus* after that he had ſlaine *Amulius*, did runne ſtraight with great ioy to the very place where the Wolfe gaue him & his brother ſucke, in memory of which running, he ſaith this feaſt of Lupercalia was celebrated: and that the noble mens yonger ſons doe run through the city ſtriking and laying on them which they meete in their way with their goate thongs, in token that *Remus* and *Romulus* ranne from ALBA vnto that place, with their drawn ſwords in their hands. And that the touching of their forehead with a blouddy knife, is in remembrance of the daunger they ſtoode in at that time to haue bene ſlaine. Laſt of all, the drying of their foreheads with wolle dipped in milke, is in memory of the milke they ſucked of the Wolues. But *Caius Acilius* writeth, that *Remus* and *Romulus* before ROME was built, did happen to loſe their beaſts on a day, and after they had made certaine prayers vnto *Faunus* for the finding of them, they ran here and there ſtarke naked as they went a ſeeking of them, for feare they ſhould haue bene troubled with ouermuch heat and ſweating. And this is the cauſe he ſaith, why the LVPERCIANS do at this day runne about naked. And if it be true, they make this ſacrifice for a purging, a man might ſay they might offer vp a dog for that purpoſe, like as the GRECIANS in their ſacrifices of purgation, do vſe to cary out all their dogs. And in many places they doe obſerue this ceremony, to driue out the dogs, which they call *Periſcylaciſmes*. Otherwiſe, if it be of a thankefulneſſe to the Wolfe that gaue *Romulus* ſuck, & ſaued him from periſhing, that the ROMAINES do ſolemnize this feaſt; it is not impertinent they ſhould ſacrifice a dog, becauſe he is an enemy to the Wolues. Vnleſſe a man wold ſay it was to puniſh this beaſt, which troubleth and letteth the LVPERCIANS when they runne. Some ſay alſo it was *Romulus*, who firſt inſtituted it a religion to keepe holy fire, & that firſt ordained holy virgins, which are called *Veſtales*: other do aſcribe it to *Numa Pompilius*. Notwithſtanding it is moſt certaine otherwiſe, that *Romulus* was a very deuout man, & greatly skilfull in telling of things to come by the flying of birds: for which cauſe he did ordinarily cary the augurs crooked ſtaffe, called in latin *Lituus*. It is a rod crooked at the end, wherewith the augurs or ſoothſaiers whẽ they ſit down to behold the flying of birds, do point out & mark the quarters of the heauen. They carefully kept it within the pallace: howbeit it was loſt in the time of wars with the GAVLES, when the city of ROME was taken. Afterwards when theſe barbarous people were chaſed and driuen out, it was found againe (as it is ſaid) all whole, within a great hill or heape of aſhes, hauing no manner of hurt, where all things elſe about it had beene conſumed & marred with the fire. He is ſaide to haue made certaine lawes, among which there is one that ſeemeth ſomewhat hard, which is: that the man is ſuffered to put away his wife, and in ſome caſe to giue her nothing: and like liberty is not giuen to the wife to put away her husband. As if ſhe may be proued to haue conſented to the poyſning of her children, or to haue counterfaited her husbauds keyes or to haue committed adultery. But if he put her away for any other cauſe, thẽ the one halfe of the goods is adiudged to the wife, and the other moity to the goddeſſe *Ceres*: and he that putteth away his wife after this ſort, is commãded further to ſacrifice to the goddes of the earth. This alſo was notable in *Romulus*, who hauing ordained no paine nor puniſhmẽt for parricides (that is, for thoſe that kill their parents) called yet all murther parricide, to ſhew how deteſtable that murther was, and as for parricides, he thought it vnpoſſible. And it ſemed a great while, he had reaſon to thinke ſo, that ſuch wickednes would neuer happen in the world. For in ſixe hundred yeares together it was not knowen that any man in ROME committed ſuch an offence: and the firſt parricide with them was *Lucius Oſtius*, after the warres of *Hanniball*. But enough touching this matter. Furthermore in the firſt yeare of the raigne of *Tatius*, ſome of his kinſemen and friends met by chaunce on the way certaine ambaſſadours, comming from the city of LAVRENTVM vnto ROME, whom they ſet vppon, and ment to haue robbed them. The ambaſſadours reſiſting them, and not willing to deliuer their money, they made no more a doe, but ſlew them. This haynous deede being thus commited, *Romulus* was of opinion they ſhould be executed openly in the high way for example. But *Tatius*

*The Lupercians do ſacrifice a dogge.*

*Why the Lupercians do run through the citie naked.*

*The Veſtall Nuns and holy fire inſtituted by Romulus.*

*Lituus.*

*Romulus laws.*

*Parricides.*

*No parricide knowen in Rome ſixe hũdred yeares together.*

*Lucius Oſtius the firſt man that ſlew his owne father at Rome.*

*Ambaſſadours ſlaine comming to Rome.*

deferred it ſtill from day to day, and did alwayes excuſe the matter vnto him, which was the only cauſe, they fell out one with the other. For in all things els, they caried them ſelues as honeſtly as might be the one to the other, ruling and gouerning together, with a common conſent and good accord. But the parents and kinſefolks of thoſe who were murdered, when they ſaw they could haue no iuſtice becauſe of *Tatius*: watched him one day as he ſacrificed with *Romulus*, in the city of Lauinium, and ſtabbed him in, without offering *Romulus* any violence, but rather prayſed him for a good and righteous prince.

*The death of Tatius in Lauinium.*

*Romulus* cauſed the body of *Tatius* to be ſtraight taken vp, and buried him very honorably in mount Auentine, about the place now called Armiluſtrium.

*Armiluſtrium.*

Further he neuer ſhewed any countenaunce to reuenge his death. There are ſome Hiſtoriographers that write, that thoſe of the city of Laurentum being afeard at this murder, did deliuer forthwith to *Romulus* the murderers of the ambaſſadours. He notwithſtanding did let them goe againe, ſaying: one murder was requited by another. This gaue ſome occaſion of ſpeach to thinke, he was glad he was ridde of his companion: yet the Sabines neither ſtirred nor rebelled for all this, but ſome of them were affraid of him for the great loue they bare him, other for his power he was of, & other for the honour they gaue him as a god, continuing ſtill in dutie & obedience towards him.

*The Sabines obedience to Romulus.*

Diuers ſtrangers alſo had *Romulus* valiancie in great honour: as amongſt other, thoſe who then were called the auncient Latines, which ſent ambaſſadours to him to make league and amitie with him. He deuiſed to take the citie of FIDENA which was nere neighbour to ROME.

*Romulus tooke the cittie of Fidnea.*

Some ſay he tooke it vpon a ſodaine, hauing ſent before certain horſmen to breake downe the hookes and hinges with force, which the gates hang by: & himſelfe came after with the reſt of his armie, & ſtale vpon them, before the citie miſtruſted any thing. Other write that the FIDENATES firſt inuaded his countrie, & foraged vnto the very ſuburbes of ROME, where they did great harme: and how *Romulus* layed an ambuſh in their way as they returned home, and ſlew a great number of them. When he tooke their citie, he did not raſe it, but made a colony of it, (as a place to ſend the ouerincreaſe of ROME vnto) whither he ſent afterwards two thouſand fiue hundred ROMAINES to inhabite there: & it was on the thirtenth day of April, which the ROMAINS call the Ides of the ſame moneth.

*Plague at Rome.*

*It rained bloud at Rome.*

Not long after there roſe ſuch a great plague in ROME, that men died ſodainly, & were not ſick: the earth brought forth no fruite: bruite beaſts deliuered no increaſe of their kind: there rained alſo drops of bloud in ROME, as they ſay. In ſo much as beſides the euils men felt in this extremitie, they fell in a marueilous feare of the wrath of the gods. Afterwards perceiuing the like happened to the inhabitants of LAVRENTVM, then euery man iudged it was the very vengeance and heauie hand of the goddes, who plagued and puniſhed theſe two cities for the murder commited vpon *Tatius*, and the ambaſſadours that were killed. Whereupon the murderers of both ſides were appehended and executed: and theſe plagues by and by ceaſed both in the one and the other city. *Romulus* beſides, did purifie the cities with certaine ſacrifices that he deuiſed, which they keepe ſtill at this day, at the gate called *Ferentina*. But before the plague ceaſed, the CAMERINES came to aſſault the ROMAINES, and had ouercome all the countrey, ſuppoſing they ſhould not be able to withſtand them, becauſe they had bene ſo ſore troubled with the plague. Yet notwithſtanding, *Romulus* ſet vpon them with his army, & wan the field of them, in which conflict there were ſlaine about ſixe thouſand men.

*Camerium taken of Romulus.*

After the battell done, he tooke their city, & conueied to ROME the one halfe of the inhabitants that remained. After this, he ſent twiſe as many ROMAINES as there were naturall CAMERIANS left at CAMERINE, to dwell there among them. This was done the 1. day of Auguſt: ſo great was the multitude of the inhabitants of ROME that had encreaſed in 16. years frõ the firſt fõudation of the city. Among other ſpoils he got there, he carried away a charret of braſſe with four horſes, which he cauſed to be ſet vp in the temple of *Vulcan*, and his owne ſtatue vpon it, and victory crowning him with a garland triũphãt. His power being growẽ thus great, his weake neighbours did ſubmit themſelues vnto him, being contented to liue in peace by him. His ſtronger neighbours were affraid of him, and enuied much his greatnes, and did take it no good policy to ſuffer him thus to riſe in the face of the world, and thought it meete ſpeedily to daunt his glory, and clip his wings. The firſt of the THVSCANES that bent their power againſt him, were the VEIANS, who had a great countrey, & dwelled in a ſtrong & mighty city. To picke a quarrell to him, they ſent to haue redeliuered to them the citie of FIDENA, which they ſaide belonged vnto thẽ. This was thought not only vnreaſonable, but a thing worthy laughing at, conſidering that al the while the FIDENATES were in war, & danger, the THVSCANS neuer came to their aide, but had ſuffered them to be ſlaine, and then came to demaunde their lands and tenements, when other had poſſeſſion of them. Therefore *Romulus* hauing giuen them an anſwere full of mockerie, and deriſion, they diuided their power into two armies, and ſent the one againſt them of FIDENA, & with the other they marched towards ROME. That which went againſt the citie of FIDENA, preuayled, and killed there two thouſand ROMAINES: the other was ouerthrowen and diſcomfited by *Romulus*, in which there died eight thouſande VEIANS. Afterwards, they met againe ſomewhat neere the citie of the FIDENATES, where they fought a battell: and all did confeſſe, the chiefeſt exployt was done by *Romulus* owne hands that day, who ſhewed all the skill and valiantnes that was to be looked for in a worthy captaine. It ſeemed that day, he farre exceeded the common ſort of men, in ſtrength of bodie & feats of armes. Neuertheles that which ſome ſay, is hardly to be credited: and to be plaine, is out of all compaſſe of beliefe and poſſibilitie. For they write, there were fourteene thouſand men ſlaine at that battell, & that more then halfe of them were ſlaine by *Romulus* owne hands: & the rather, for that euery man iudgeth it a vaine bragge and oſtentation which the MESSENIANS report of *Ariſtomenes*, who offered in ſacrifice to the goddes three hundred beaſtes of victorie, as for ſo many LACEDÆMONIANS himſelfe had ſlaine in the battell. Their armie being thus broken, *Romulus* ſuffered them to flie who by ſwiftneſſe could ſaue themſelues, and marched with all his power in good array towards their citie. The citizens then conſidering their late great loſſe and ouerthrowe, would not hazard the danger of withſtanding him, but went out all together, & made their humble petition and ſute for peace. All was granted them for a hundred yeres, ſaue they ſhould forgo their territorie called *Septemagium*, that was the ſeuenth part of their countrie: & yeeld to the ROMAINES all their ſalt houſes by the riuers ſide, and deliuer fiftie of their chiefeſt citizens for their pledges. *Romulus* made his entrie and triumphe into ROME for them, the day of the Ides of October, which is the fifteenth day of the ſame moneth, leading in his triumphe many priſoners taken in thoſe wars: and among other, the generall of the VEIANS, a very auncient man who fondly behaued himſelfe in his charge, and ſhewed by his doings, that his experience was farre ſhort for his yeares in the warres. And from thence it commeth, when they offer to the goddes to giue thankes for this victorie, that euen at this day, they bring to the capitoll through the market place, an olde man apparelled in a purple robe, & with a Iuell called *Bulla* about his neck, which the gentlemens young children weare about their neckes: & a herauld goeth hard by him, crying, who buieth who, the SARDIANIANS, bicauſe they hold opiniõ the THVSCANES are come of the SARDIANIANS, and the very citie of VEIES ſtandeth in the countrie of THVSCANE. This was the laſt warre that *Romulus* had offered him: after which he could not beware of that which is wont to happen almoſt to all thoſe, who by ſodaine proſperity, and fortunes ſpeciall fauour, are raiſed to high and great eſtate. For truſting to proſperity and good ſucceſſe of his actes, he beganne to grow more ſtraunge and ſtately, and to carry a ſowrer countenaunce then he was wont to doe before: leauing to be after his old manner, a curteous and gracious prince, and gaue him ſelfe in faſhions to be ſomwhat like a tyrant, both for his apparell, and ſtately port and maieſty that he caried. For he ware euer a coate of purple in graine, and vppon that, a long robe of purple colour: and gaue audience, ſitting in a wide chaire of eſtate, hauing euer about him young men called *Celeres*, as we would ſay, flights for their ſwiftnes & ſpeed in executing of his commandements. Other there were that went before him, who caried as it were tipſtaues in their hands, to make the people giue roome, and had leather thongs about their middle to bind faſt ſtreight, all the prince ſhould commaund. Now in old time the LATINES ſaid, *Ligare* was to bind: but at this preſent they ſay *Alligare*, from whence it commeth that the vſhers and ſergeants are called *Lictores*. Howbeit me thinkes it were more likely to ſay, they had put to a c, & that before they were called *Litores*, without a c. For they be the very ſame which the GRECIANS call *Liturgos*, and be in Engliſh, miniſters or officers: and at this day, *Leitos*, or *Leos*, in the GREEKE tong ſignifieth the people. *Romulus* now after his grandfather *Numitor* was dead

*The incredible valiantneſſe of Romulus.*

*Romulus maketh peace with the Veians.*

*Proſperity increaſe of pride and ſtomacks.*

*Celeres Romulus guard.*

*Lictores, wherefore ſo called.*

at the citie of Alba, and that the Realme by inheritance fell to him: to winne the fauour of the people there, turned the Kingdome to a Common weale, and euery yeare did chuſe a new magiſtrate to miniſter iuſtice to the Sabynes. This preſident taught the noble men of Rome to ſeeke and deſire to haue a free eſtate, where no ſubiect ſhould be at the commaundement of a King alone, and where euery man ſhould command & obey as ſhould be his courſe. Thoſe which were called *Patricians* in Rome, did medle with nothing, but had only an honorable name and robe, and were called to counſaile rather for a faſhion, then to haue their aduiſe or counſaile. For when they were aſſembled together, they did onely heare the Kings pleaſure and commaundement, but they might not ſpeake one word, and ſo departed: hauing no other preheminence ouer the common wealth, ſauing they were the firſt that did know what was done. All other things therby did grieue them leſſe. But when of his owne meere authority, & as it were of himſelfe, he would as pleaſed him, beſtow the conquered lands of his enemies to his ſouldiers, and reſtore againe to the Veians their hoſtages as he did: therein plainely appeared, how great iniurie he did to the Senate. Whereupon the Senators were ſuſpected afterwards that they killed him, when within few dayes after it was ſayde, he vaniſhed away ſo ſtraungely, that no man euer knew what became of him. This was on the ſeuenth day of the moneth now called Iuly, which then was named *Quintilis*, leauing no maner of certaintie els of his death that is knowen, ſaue onely of the day and the time when he vaniſhed, as we haue ſaid before. For on that day, the Romaines doe at this preſent many things, in remembrance of the misfortune which happened to them then. It is no maruell, the certaintie of his death was not knowne: ſeeing *Scipio Africanus* was found after ſupper dead in his houſe, and no man could tell, nor yet did know how he dyed. For ſome ſay that he fainted, and dyed ſodainly being of weake complexion. Other ſay he poiſoned himſelfe: other thinke his enemies did get ſecretly in the night into his houſe, and ſmoothered him in his bed. Yet they found his body laide on the ground, that euery body might at leiſure conſider, if they could finde or coniecture the manner of his death. Howbeit *Romulus* vaniſhed away ſodainely, there was neither ſeene peece of his garments, nor yet was there found any part of his body. Therefore ſome haue thought that the whole Senatours fell vpon him together in the temple of *Vulcan*, and how after they had cut him in peeces, euery one caried away a peece of him, folded cloſe in the ſkirt of his robe. Other thinke alſo, this vaniſhing away was not in the temple of *Vulcan*, nor in the preſence of the Senatours only: but they ſay that *Romulus* was at that time without the citie, neere the place called the goates marſhe, where he made an oration to the people, and that ſodainely the weather changed, and ouercaſt ſo terribly, as it is not to be tolde nor credited. For firſt, the ſunne was darkened as if it had bene very night: this darkeneſſe was not in a calme or ſtill, but there fell horrible thunders, boiſterous windes, and flaſhing lightnings on euery ſide, which made the people runne away, and ſcatter heere and there, but the Senatours kept ſtill cloſe together. Afterwardes when the lightning was paſt and gone, the day cleared vp, & the element waxed faire as before. Then the people gathered together againe, & ſought for the King: asking what was become of him. But the noble men would not ſuffer thē to enquire any further after him, but counſelled them to honour and reuerence him as one taken vp into heauen: and that thenceforth in ſteade of a good King, he would be vnto them a mercifull & gracious god. The meaner ſort of people (for the moſt part of them) tooke it well, and were very glad to heare thereof & went their way worſhipping *Romulus* in their hearts, with good hope they ſhould proſper by him. Howbeit ſome ſeeking out the troth more egerly did cūber ſore, & troubled the Patricians accuſing them, that they abuſed the common people with vaine & fond perſwaſions, whileſt themſelues in the meane time had murdered the king with their own hāds. While things were thus in hurly burly, ſome ſay there was one *Iulius Proculus*, the nobleſt of al the Patricians, being eſteemed for a maruelous honeſt mā, & knowne to haue bene very familiar with *Romulus*, & came with him from the city of Alba: that ſtepped forth before all the people, and affirmed (by the greateſt and holieſt othes a man might ſweare) that he had met *Romulus* on the way, farre greater and fayrer, then he had ſeene him euer before, and armed all in white armour, ſhining bright like fire: whereat being affraid in that ſort to ſee him, he asked him yet: O King, why haſt thou thus left and forſaken vs, that are ſo falſely

*Romulus conuerteth the kingdome of Alba to a common weale.*

*Romulus vaniſhed away no man knew how.*

*The 17. day of Iuly an vnfortunate day to the Romaines.*

*The death of Scipio Africanus.*

*Diuers opinions of Romulus death.*

*The goates marſhe.*

*Iulius Proculus met with Romulus after his vaniſhing.*

ſo falſely accuſed and charged to our vtter diſcredite and ſhame, by thy vaniſhing. To whom *Romulus* gaue this aunſwere. *Proculus*, it hath pleaſed the goddes from whom I came, that I ſhould remaine amongeſt men ſo long as I did: and now hauing built a citie, which in glorie and greatneſſe of empire ſhall be the chiefeſt of the worlde, that I ſhoulde returne againe to dwell with them, as before, in heauen. Therfore be of good comfort, and tell the ROMAINES, that they exerciſing proweſſe and temperancie, ſhalbe the mightieſt and greateſt people of the worlde. As for me, tell them I will henceforth be their god, protector, and patron, and they ſhall call me *Quirinus*. Theſe words ſeemed credible to the ROMAINES, aſwell for the honeſtie of the man that ſpake them, as for the ſolemne othes he made before thẽ all. Yet I wote not how, ſome celeſtiall motion, or diuine inſpiration helped it much: for no man ſaid a word againſt it. And ſo all ſuſpition and accuſation layde aſide, euery man began to call vpon *Quirinus*, to pray vnto him, and to worſhippe him. Truely this tale is much like the tales that the GRECIANS tell of *Ariſteas* the proconneſian, & of *Cleomedes* the Aſtypalæian. For they ſay, that *Ariſteas* died in a fullers worke houſe, & his friends comming to carie away his bodie, it fell out they could not tell what became of it: & at that inſtant there were ſome which came out of the fields, and affirmed they met and ſpake with him, and how he kept his way towards the citie of CROTONA. It is ſaide alſo that *Cleomedes* was more then a man naturally ſtrong and great, and therewithall madde, and furious haſtie. For after many deſperate partes he had played, he came at the laſt on a day into a ſchoole houſe full of litle children, the roofe wherof was borne with one piller, which he did hit with ſo terrible a blowe of his fiſte, that he brake it in the middeſt, ſo as the whole roofe fell and daſhed the poore children in peeces. The people ranne ſtraight after him to take him. But he threw himſelfe forthwith into a cheſt, and pulled the lid vpon him. He held it ſo faſt downe, that many ſtriuing together all they could to open it, they were not able once to ſtirre it. Wherevpon they brake the cheſt all in peeces, but they found the man neither quicke nor dead. Whereat they were maruellouſly amazed, and ſent to *Apollo Pythias*, where the propheteſſe aunſwered them in this verſe:

*Romulus oracle vnto Proculus.*

*Romulus called Quirinus, and honored as a God.*

*Ariſteas a Proconneſian taken out of mens ſight after he was dead.*

*Cleomedes Aſtypalenſis vaniſhed ſtrangely out of mens ſights, being faſt locked in a cheſt.*

*Cleomedes the laſt of the demy goddes.*

The reporte goeth alſo that *Alcmenes* corſe did vaniſh away, as they caried it to buriall, and how in ſtead thereof they found a ſtone laide in the beere. To conclude, men tell many other ſuch wonders, that are farre from any apparance of trothe: onely becauſe they would make men to be as goddes, and equall with them in power. It is true, that as to reproue and denie diuine power, it were a lewde and wicked part: euen ſo to compare earthe and heauen together, it were a meere follie. Therefore we muſt let ſuch fables goe, being moſt certaine that as *Pindarus* ſaith it is true.

*Alcmenes body vaniſhed out of the beere.*

*Each liuing corps, muſt yeeld at laſt to death,*
*and euery life muſt leeſe his vitall breath:*
*The ſoule of man, that onely liues on hie,*
*and is an image of eternity.*

*The ſoule eternall.*

For from heauen it came, and thither againe it doth returne, not with the body, but then ſooneſt, when the ſoule is furtheſt off and ſeparated from the body, and that ſhee is kept holy, and is no more defiled with the fleſh. It is that the philoſopher *Heraclitus* ment, when he ſaid. The dry light, is the beſt ſoule which flieth out of the body, as lightning doth out of the clowde: but that which is ioyned with the body being full of corporall paſſions, is a groſſe vapour, darke and maſſie, & cannot flame, riſe or ſhoote out like lightning. We muſt not beleeue therefore, that the bodies of noble and vertuous men, do goe vp together with their ſoules into heauen, againſt the order of nature. But this we are certainely to beleeue, that by the vertues of their ſoules (according to diuine nature and iuſtice) they doe of men become ſaincts, and of ſaincts halfe goddes, and of halfe goddes, entier and perfect goddes: after that they are perfectly (as it were by ſacrifices of purgation) made cleane and pure, being deliuered from all paine & mortality, and not by any ciuill ordinance, but in troth & reaſon, they receiue a moſt happy and glorious end. Now touching *Romulus* ſurname, which afterwards was called *Quirinus*: ſome ſay that it ſignifieth as much as warlike: other thinke he was ſo called becauſe the ROMAINES them ſelues were called *Quirites*. Other write, that men in old time did

*Heraclitus ſaying of the ſoule.*

*Why Romulus was called Quirinus.*

*The hill Quirinus.*
*Nonæ Capratinæ.*

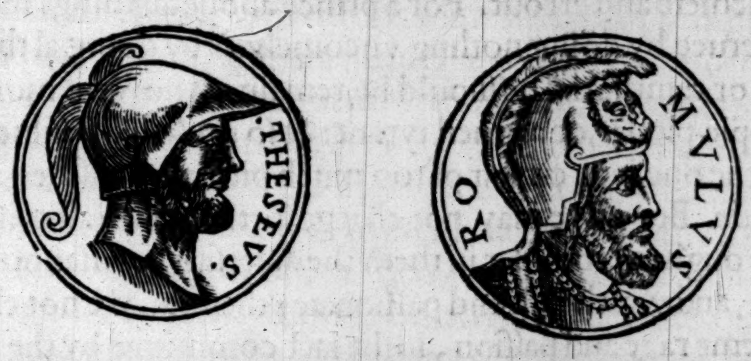
*The warre of the Latines.*
*Liuius Poſthumius generall.*

*Philotis a waiting maides ſodaine deuiſe.*

*Romulus age and raigne.*

call the poynt of a ſpeare, on the dart it ſelfe, *Quiris*: by reaſon whereof the image of *Iuno* ſurnamed *Quiritides*, was ſet vp with an iron ſpeare, and the ſpeare which was conſecrated in the Kings pallace, was called *Mars*. Furthermore it is an vſe amongſt men, to honour them with a ſpeare or dart, which haue ſhewed themſelues valiant in the warres: and that for this cauſe *Romulus* was ſurnamed *Quirinus*, as who would ſay, god of the ſpeares and wars. There was ſince built a temple vnto him, in the hill called *Quirinus*, and ſo named of him. The day whereon he vaniſhed, is called the flying of the people, or otherwiſe the Nones of the goates. For on that day, they goe out of the citie to doe ſacrifice in the place called the Fenne, or the goates marſhe: and the ROMAINES call a goate, *Capra*. As they goe thus together, they call with lowd ſhowtes and cryes vpon diuers Romaines names, as *Marcus*, *Cneus*, and *Gaius*, in token of the flying that was then: and that they called one another backe againe, as they ranne away in great feare and diſorder. Howbeit other ſay, that it is not done to ſhewe the running away, but to ſhew their ſpeede and diligence, and referre it to the ſtorie. Now after the GAVLES that had takē ROME were expulſed by *Camillus*, the citie was ſo weakned, that they could ſcant recouer their force and ſtrength againe: wherfore many of the LATINES ioyning together, went with a great mightie armie, vnder the conduct of *Liuius Poſthumius*, to warre againſt the ROMAINES. This *Poſthumius* brought his campe as neere the citie of ROME as he could, and ſent to the ROMAINES by a trumpet to let them vnderſtand, how the LATINES were deſirous by new mariages, to reſtore their old ancient amitie and kindred that was neere hand decaied betweene them: and therfore if the ROMAINES would ſend them a conuenient number of their daughters and young widowes to marie with them, they ſhould haue peace, as they had before time with the SABYNES, vpon the like occaſion. The ROMAINES hereat were ſore troubled, thinking that to deliuer their women in ſuch ſorte was no better, then to yeeld and ſubmit them ſelues to their enemies. But as they were thus perplexed, a wayting maide called *Philotis* (or as other call her, *Tutola*) gaue them counſell to doe neither the one nor the other, but to vſe a pollicie with them, by meanes whereof they ſhould ſcape the daunger of the warres, and ſhould alſo not be tyed nor bound by any pledges. The deuiſe was, they ſhould ſend to the LATINES her ſelfe, and a certaine number of their faireſt bonde maydes, trimmed vp like gentlewomen and the beſt citizens daughters, and that in the night ſhe would lifte them vp a burning torche in the ayre, at which ſigne they ſhould come armed, and ſet vpon their enemies as they lay a ſleepe. This was brought to paſſe: and the LATINES thought verely they had bene the ROMAINES daughters: *Philotis* failed not in the night to lift vp her ſigne, and to ſhewe them a burning torche in the toppe of a wilde figge tree: and did hang certaine couerlets and clothes behinde it, that the enemies might not ſee the light, and the ROMAINES cōtrariwiſe might diſcerne it the better. Thereupon ſo ſoone as the ROMAINES ſaw it, they ranne with all ſpeed, calling one another by their names, and iſſued out of the gates of the citty with great haſt: and ſo tooke their enemies vpon a ſodaine, and ſlew them. In memory of which victory, they doe yet ſolemnize the feaſt called the Nones of the goates, becauſe of the wilde figge tree called in Latine *Caprificus*. And they do feaſt the women without the city, vnder ſhadowes made of the boughs of figge trees. The wayting maides, they runne vp and downe, and play here and there together. Afterwards they ſeeme to fight, and throw ſtones one at another, as then they did when they holpe the ROMAINES in their fight. But few writers doe allow this tale, becauſe it is on the day time that they call ſo ech other by their names, and that they goe to the place which they call the goates marſhe, as vnto a ſacrifice. It ſeemeth this agreeth better with the firſt hiſtory whē they called one another by their names in the night, going againſt the LATINES: vnles peraduenture theſe two thinges after many yeares happened vpon one day. Furthermore, they ſay *Romulus* was taken out of the world, when he was foure and fifty yeares of age, and had raigned eight and thirty years by accoumpt.

# THE COMPARISON OF
## *Theſeus with Romulus*



THus haue we declared all things of *Theſeus* and R*omulus* worthie memorie. But to compare the one with the other, it appeareth first that *Theſeus* of his owne voluntarie will, without compulſion of any (whẽ he might with ſafetie haue raigned in the citie of TROEZEN, and ſucceeded his grandfather in no ſmall kingdome) did deſire of him ſelfe, and rather ſought meanes to aſpire to great things: and teat R*omulus* on the other ſide, to deliuer him ſelfe from bondage and ſeruitude that lay ſore vpon him, and to eſcape the threatned puniſhment which ſtill did hang ouer his head, was certainely compelled (as *Plato* ſayth) to ſhew him ſelfe hardie for feare: who ſeeing how extremely he was like to be handled, was of verie force conſtrained to ſeeke aduenture, and hazard the enterpriſe of attaining high & great things. Moreouer the chiefeſt act that euer he did was, when he ſlue one onely tyrant of the citie of ALBA called *Amulius*: where *Theſeus* in his iourney onely, as he trauelled, gaue his minde to greater enterpriſes, and ſlue *Sciron*, *Scinnis*, *Procruſtes*, and *Corynetes*. And by ridding them out of the world, he deliuered GRECE of all thoſe cruell tyrants, before any of thoſe knew him whõ he had deliuered from them. Furthermore, he might haue gone to ATHENS by ſea, & neuer needed to haue trauelled, or put him ſelfe in danger with theſe robbers, conſidering he neuer receiued hurt by anie of them: whereas R*omulus* could not be in ſafetie whileſt *Amulius* liued. Hereupon it may be alledged, that *Theſeus* vnprouoked by any priuate wrong or hurt receiued, did ſet vpon theſe deteſtable theeues and robbers: R*emus* and R*omulus* contrariwiſe, ſo long as the tyrant did them no harme, did ſuffer him to oppreſſe and wrong all other. And if they alledge theſe were noble deeds, and worthie memorie: that R*omulus* was hurt fighting againſt the SABINES, and that he ſlue king *Acron* with his owne hands, and that he had ouercome and ſubdued many of his enemies. Then for *Theſeus* on the other ſide may be obiected, the battell of the CENTAVRI, the warres of the AMAZONES, the tribute due to the king of CRETA: and how he ventured to go him ſelfe thither with the other yong boyes and wenches of ATHENS, as willingly offering him ſelfe to be deuoured by a cruell beaſt, or elſe to be ſlaine and ſacrificed vpon the tombe of *Androgeus*, or to become bondſlaue and tyed in captiuitie to the vile ſeruice of cruell men and enemies, if by his courage and manhood he could not deliuer him ſelf. This was ſuch an act of magnanimitie, iuſtice and glorie, & briefly of ſo great vertue, that it is vnpoſſible truly to be ſet out. Surely me thinkes the philoſophers did not ill define loue, when they ſayd ſhe was a ſeruitour of the gods, to ſaue young folks, whom they thought meete to be preſerued. For, the loue of *Ariadne* was in mine opinion the worke of ſome god, and a meane purpoſely prepared for *Theſeus* ſafetie. Therefore the woman is not

*By what meanes men are prouoked to greate enterpriſes.*

*Plato in Phædone.*

*Loue the miniſter of the goddi.*

to be reproched nor blamed for the loue ſhe bare *Theſeus*, but rather it is much to be wondred at, that euery man and woman in like wiſe did not loue him. And if of her ſelfe ſhe fell in loue with him, I ſay (and not without cauſe) ſhe afterwards deſerued to be beloued of a god, as one that of her owne nature loued valiantnes and honour, and entertained men of ſingular value. But both *Theſeus* & R*omulus* being naturally giuen to rule and raigne, neither the one nor the other kept the true forme of a King, but both of them did degenerate alike: the one chaunging himſelfe into a popular man, the other to a very tyrant. So that by ſundry humours, they both fell into one miſchiefe and errour. For a prince aboue all things muſt keepe his eſtate: which is no leſſe preſerued by doing nothng vncomely, as by doing al things honorably. But he that is more ſeuere or remiſſe thē he ſhould be, remaineth now no more a king or a prince, but becommeth a people-pleaſer, or a cruell tyrant: & ſo cauſeth his ſubiects to deſpiſe or hate him. Yet me thinkes the one is an errour of too much pittie and baſenes: and the other of too much pride and crueltie. But if we may not charge fortune with all miſchaunces happening vnto men, but that we ought to conſider in them the diuerſities of manners and paſſions, ſeeing anger is vnreaſonable, and wrath raſh and paſſionate: then can we not cleare the one, nor excuſe the other of extreme rage and paſſion, in the fact committed by the one againſt his brother, and by the other againſt his naturall ſonne. Howbeit the occaſion and beginning of anger doth much excuſe *Theſeus*, who mooued with the greateſt cauſe that might be, was put into ſuch choller and paſſion. But if R*omulus* variaunce with his brother had proceeded of any matter of counſell, or cauſe of the common weales: there is none ſo ſimple to thinke, that his wiſdome would ſo ſodainely haue ſet vpon him. Where as *Theſeus* in contrarie manner killed his ſonne, prouoked by thoſe paſſions that few men can auoide: to wit, loue, iealouſie, and falſe reporte of his wife. Moreouer R*omulus* anger went to the effect, whereof the iſſue fell out very lamentable: *Theſeus* anger ſtretched no further, then to roughe words, and olde folkes curſes in their heate. For it ſeemeth, curſed fortune, and nought els, was the cauſe of his ſonnes onely miſhap, as foreſpoken and wiſhed for ſomewhat by his father. Theſe be the ſpeciall things may be alledged for *Theſeus*. But for R*omulus* this was a notable thing in him. Firſt his beginning being very lowe and meane, and his brother and he taken for bondemen, and the children of hoggeheards, before they were themſelues all free, they ſet at libertie in manner all the LATINES, winning at one inſtant many titles of glorie and honour: as deſtroyers of their enemies, defenders of their parents, Kings of nations, founders of newe cities, and no ouerthrowers of the olde, where as *Theſeus* of many habitations and houſes made onely one, and did ouerthrowe and plucke downe diuers ſtates, bearing the names of auncient Kings, princes, and halfe goddes of ATTICA. All theſe alſo did R*omulus* afterwards, and compelled his enemies whom he had ouercome, to deſtroy their owne houſes, and to come and dwell with their conquerours. And in the beginning, he neuer chaunged nor increaſed any citie that was built before, but build him ſelfe a new city out of the ground, getting all together, land, countrey, kingdome, kindred and mariages, without loſing or killing any man: and to the contrary, rather he did good to many poore vacabonds, who had neither countrey, lands, nor houſes, and deſired nothing els but to make a people amongſt them, and to become citizens of ſome city. Alſo R*omulus* bent not him ſelfe to follow theeues and robbers, but ſubdued by force of armes many mighty and puiſſant people: he tooke cities, and triumphed ouer Kings and Princes which he had vanquiſhed in battell. And touching the murther of *Remus*, it is not certainely knowen of whoſe hands he died. The moſt part of authors do charge other with the death of him. But it is certaine that R*omulus* deliuered his mother from apparant death, and reſtored his grandfather to the royall thone of *AEneas*, who before was dopoſed and brought from a King to ſeruile obedience, without any regard of honour or dignity: to whom he did many moe great pleaſures and ſeruices. Beſides he neuer offended him willingly, no not ſo much as ignorantly. Contrarily I thinke of *Theſeus*, who fayling by negligence to put out his white ſaile at his returne, cannot be cleared of parricide, how eloquent an oration ſoeuer could be made for his excuſe: yea though it were before the moſt fauorable iudges that could be. Wherefore an ATHENIAN very well perceyuing that it was no hard thing to excuſe and defend ſo fowle a fault, doth faine that the good old man *AEgeus*

*The office of a prince.*

*Wherein Romulus was to be preferred before Theſeus.*

*Romulus loue to his kinne.*

*Theſeus detected for obliuion.*

hauing newes brought him that his ſonnes ſhippe was at hand, did ronne in ſo great haſte to his caſtell, to ſee his ſonne arriue a far off, that as hee ranne, his foote hit againſt ſome thing, and ouerthrewe him: as though he had none of his people about him, or that neuer a man ſeeing him ronne ſo haſtely to the ſea ſide, did make haſte to attende and wayte vpon him. Furthermore, *Theſeus* faultes touching women and rauiſhmentes, of the twaine, had the leſſe ſhadowe and colour of honeſtie. Becauſe *Theſeus* did attempt it very often: for he ſtole away *Ariadne*, *Antiope*, and *Anaxo* the Troezenian. Againe being ſtepped in yeares, and at later age, and paſt mariage: he ſtole awaye *Helen* in hir minoritie, being nothing neere to conſent to marrye. Then his taking of the daughters of the TROEZENIANS, of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and the AMAZONES (neither contracted to him, nor comparable to the birthe and linage of his owne countrie which were at ATHENS, and deſcended of the noble race and progenie of *Erichtheus*, and of *Cecrops*) did giue men occaſion to ſuſpect that his womanniſhenes was rather to ſatiſfie luſt, then of any great loue. *Romulus* now in a contrarie manner, when his people had taken eight hundred, or thereaboutes, of the Sabine women to rauiſh them: kept but onely one for himſelfe that was called *Herſilia*, as they ſay, and deliuered the reſt to his beſt and moſt honeſt cittizens. Afterwardes by the honour, loue, and good entertainment that he cauſed them to haue and receiue of their husbands, he changed this violent force of rauiſhment, into a moſt perfect bond and league of amitie: which did ſo knit & ioyne in one theſe two nations, that it was the beginning of the great mutuall loue which grew afterwards betwixt thoſe two peoples, and conſequently of the ioyning of their powers together. Furthermore, time hath giuen a good teſtimonie of the loue, reuerence, conſtancie, kindneſſe, and all matrimoniall offices that he eſtabliſhed by that meanes, betwixt man and wife. For in two hundred and thirtie yeares afterwards, there was neuer man that durſt forſake or put away his wife, nor the wife her husband. And as among the GRECIANS, the beſt learned men, and moſt curious obſeruers of antiquities do know his name, that was the firſt murderer of his father or mother: euen ſo all the ROMAINES knew what he was, which firſt durſt put away his wife. It was one called *Spurius Caruilius*, becauſe his wife was barren and had no children. The effects alſo do agree with the teſtimonie of the time. For the realme was common vnto the Kings of both nations, and through the alliance of theſe mariages that began firſt of rauiſhments, both nations liued peaceably, and in equalitie, vnder one ciuill pollicie, and well gouerned common weale. The ATHENIANS contrariwiſe, by *Theſeus* mariages, did get neither loue nor kinred of any one perſon, but rather they procured wars, enmities, & the ſlaughter of their citizens, with the loſſe in the end of the citie of APHIDNES: and yet verie hardly, and by the mercie of their enemies (whom they honoured as gods) they eſcaped for him, the danger which the TROIANS ſuffered afterwards, for the ſelfe act done by *Alexander Paris*. So it fell out at the laſt, that his mother was not onely in danger, but euen feelingly ſuffered like miſerie and captiuitie, which *Hecuba* did afterwards, when ſhe was forſaken of her ſonne: vnleſſe peraduenture thoſe things that they write of the impriſonment and captiuitie of *Æthra*, be found falſe, and but fables, as for the fame and memorie of *Theſeus* were behouefull, that both it, and many other things alſo, were of no more troth nor likelihood. That which they write of *Romulus* diuinements, maketh great difference betweene him and *Theſeus*. For *Romulus* in his birth was preſerued by the maruellous fauour of the gods: *Theſeus* to the contrarie, was begotten againſt the gods will, as appeared plainely by the anſwer of the oracle to *Ægeus*, that he ſhould not meddle with any woman in ſtrange and foraine countrey.

*Theſeus detected for his rauiſhmentes of women.*

*Romulus rauiſhment of women excuſed.*

*No diuorce made in Rome for 230. yeres ſpace. Val. Max. ſayth 520.*

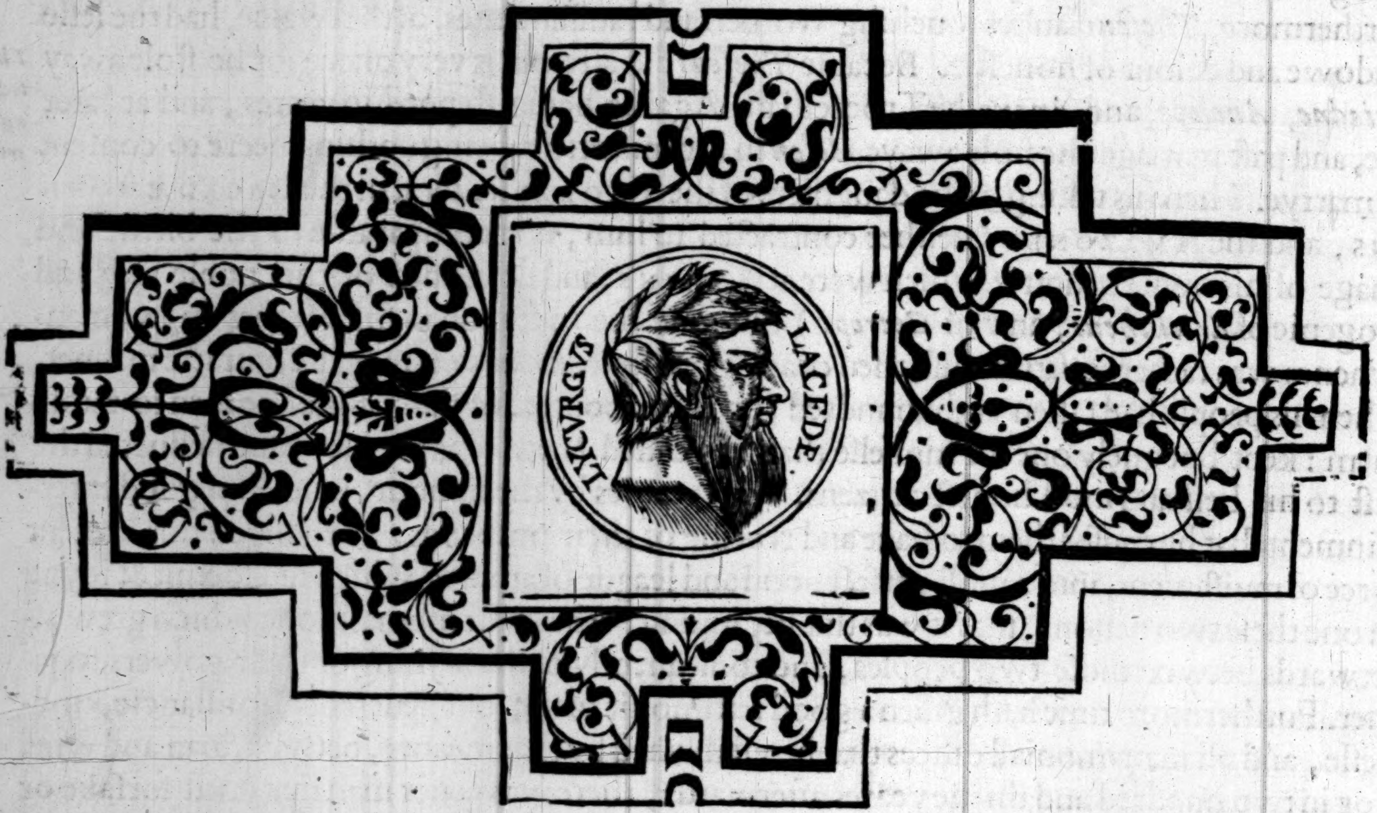
*The firſt wife put away in Rome*

*Theſeus mariages cauſe of warres and troubles.*

*Romulus more acceptable to the godds then Theſeus.*

*The end of Romulus life.*

# THE LIFE OF *Lycurgus.*



A Man cannot ſpeake any thing at all of *Lycurgus*, who made the lawes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, but he ſhal find great contrariety of him amongſt the hiſtoriographers. For, of his parentage and trauell out of his countrey, of his death and making of lawes, of his forme of gouernement, and order of executing the ſame, they haue written diuerſly. And yet aboue all things, concerning him, they agree worſt about the time he liued in. For ſome of them (and *Ariſtotle* is of that number) wil needes haue him to haue bene in the time of *Iphytus*, and that he did helpe him to ſtabliſh the ordinance that all warres ſhould ceaſe during the feaſt of the games olympicall: for a teſtimonie whereof, they alledge the copper coyte which was vſed to be throwen in thoſe games, and had found grauen vpon it, the name of *Lycurgus*. Other compting the dayes and time of the ſucceſſion of the kings of LACEDÆMON (as *Eratoſtenes*, and *Apollodorus*) ſay he was manie yeares before the firſt Olympiades. *Timæus* alſo thinketh there were two of this name, and in diuers times: howbeit the one hauing more eſtimation then the other, men gaue this *Lycurgus* the glorie of both their doings. Some ſay the eldeſt of the twaine, was not long after *Homer*: and ſome write they ſawe him. *Xenophon* ſheweth vs plainely he was of great antiquitie: ſaying he was in the time of the *Heraclides*, who were neareſt of bloud by deſcent to *Hercules*. For it is likely *Xenophon* meant not thoſe *Heraclides*, which deſcended from *Hercules* ſelfe: for the laſt kings of SPARTA were of *Hercules* progenie, aſwell as the firſt. Therefore he meaneth thoſe *Heraclides*, which doubtleſſe were the firſt and neareſt before *Hercules* time. Neuertheles though the hiſtoriographers haue written diuerſly of him, yet we will not leaue to collect that which we finde written of him in auncient hiſtories, and is leaſt to be denied, and by beſt teſtimonies moſt to be proued. And firſt of all, the poet *Simonides* ſaith, his father was called *Prytanis* and not *Eunomus*: and the moſt part do write the pedegree otherwiſe, aſwell of *Lycurgus* ſelfe, as of *Eunomus*. For they ſay, that *Patrocles* the ſonne of *Ariſtodemus* begate *Sous*, and *Sous* begate *Eurytion*, and *Eurytion* begat *Prytanis*, and *Prytanis* begat *Eunomus*, and *Eunomus* begat *Polydectes* of his firſt wife, and *Lycurgus* of the ſecond wife, called *Dianaſſa*: yet *Euthychidas* another writer, maketh *Lycurgus* the ſixt of deſcent in the right line from *Polydectes*, and the eleuenth after *Hercules*. But of all his anceſters, the nobleſt was *Sous*, in whoſe time the citie of SPARTA ſubdued the ILOTES,

*Xenophon in lib. de Lacedæmon. rep.*

*Of the Heraclides, Pauſanias, Diodorus and Cleme. Strom. lib. 1.*

*Lycurgus kinred.*

TES, made them ſlaues, and did enlarge and increaſe their dominion, with the landes and poſſeſſions they had got by conqueſt of the *Arcadians*. And it is ſayd that *Sous* himſelfe being on a time ſtraightly beſieged by the CLITORIANS, in a hard drye grounde, where no water could be founde: offered them thereupon to reſtore all their landes againe that he had gotten from them, if he and all his companie did drinke of a fountaine that was there not far off. The CLITORIANS did graunt vnto it, and peace alſo was ſworne betweene them. Then he called all his ſouldiers before him, and tolde them if there were any one amongeſt them that would refraine from drinking he would reſigne his kingdome to him: howbeit there was not one in all his companie that could (or would) forbeare to drinke, they were ſo ſore a thirſt. So they al dranke hartely except himſelf, who being the laſt that came downe, did no more but a litle moyſte his mouth without, and ſo refreſhed himſelf, the enemies ſelues ſtanding by, and dranke not a droppe. By reaſon whereof, he refuſed afterwardes to reſtore their landes he had promiſed, alledging they had not all dronke. But that notwithſtanding, he was greately eſteemed for his actes, and yet his houſe was not named after his owne name: but after his ſonnes name *Eurytion*, they of his houſe were called *Eurytionides*. The reaſon was, becauſe his ſonne *Eurytion* to pleaſe the people, did firſt let fall and giue ouer, the ſole and abſolute power of a King. Whereupon there followed afterwardes maruellous diſorder and diſſolution, which continued a greate time in the citie of SPARTA. For the people finding themſelues at libertie, became verye bolde and diſobedient: and ſome of the Kinges that ſucceeded, were hated euen to death, becauſe they would perforce vſe their auncient authoritie ouer the people. Other, either to winne the loue and goodwilles of the people, or becauſe they ſawe they were not ſtrong enough to rule them, did giue them ſelues to diſſemble. And this did ſo much increaſe the peoples loſe and rebellious mindes, that *Lycurgus* owne father being King, was ſlayne among them. For one daye, as he was parting a fraye betweene two that were fighting, he had ſuch a wounde with a kitchin knife, that he died: and left his Realme to his eldeſt ſonne *Polydectes*, who died alſo ſoon after, and without heyre of his body as was ſuppoſed. Inſomuch as euery man thought *Lycurgus* ſhould be King: and ſo he tooke it vpon him, vntil it was vnderſtood that his brothers wife was young with child. Which thing ſo ſoone as he perceiued, he publiſhed openly, that the Realme belonged to the childe that ſhould be borne, if it were a ſonne. After this he gouerned the Realme, but as the Kinges lieutenante and regent. The LACEDÆMONIANS call the regents of their Kinges that are left within age, *Prodicos*. *Lycurgus* brothers widdowe did ſend, and let him ſecretly vnderſtand, that if he would promiſe to marrye her when he ſhould be King, that ſhe woulde come before hir time, and either miſcarye or deſtroye that ſhe went with. *Lycurgus* deteſtably abhorring this brutiſh and ſauage vnnaturalneſſe of the woman, did not reiect her offer made him, but ſeemed rather to be very glad, then to diſlike of it. Neuertheleſſe he ſent her worde againe, ſhee ſhould not neede to try maſteryes, with drinkes and medicines to make her come before her time: for in ſo doing, ſhe might bring her ſelfe in daunger, and be caſt awaye for euer. Howbeit he aduiſed her to goe her full time, and to be brought a bed in good order, and then he woulde finde meanes enough to make away the childe that ſhould be borne. And ſo with ſuch perſwaſions he drewe on this woman to her full time of deliuerie. But ſo ſoone as he perceiued ſhe was neere her time, he ſent certaine to keepe her, and to be preſent at her laboure, commaunding them that if ſhe were brought a bed of a daughter they ſhould leaue her with the woman: and if it were a ſonne they ſhould forthwith bring it to him, in what place ſoeuer he was, and what buſineſſe ſoeuer he had in hand. It chaunced that ſhe came euen about ſupper time, and was deliuered of a ſonne. As he was ſitting at the table with the other magiſtrates of the citie, his ſeruantes entred the hall, and preſented to him the litle babe, which he tenderly tooke in his armes, and ſayed openly to them that were preſent: beholde my lordes of SPARTA, heere is a King borne vnto vs. And ſpeaking theſe wordes, he layed him downe in the Kinges place, and named him *Charilaus*, as much to ſay as the ioye of the people. Thus hee ſawe all the lookers on reioycinge much, and might heare them praiſe and extoll his ſinceritie, iuſtice, and vertue. By this meanes he raigned onely es King, but eight moneths. from thenceforth

*A ſubtile promiſe.*

*Prodicos, Regents, or protectours of yong Kinges in minoritie.*

*Charilaus, king of the Lacedæmonians, Herod. lib 1. Dionyſius Halic. lib.2* hee was taken and eſteemed ſo iuſt and ſincere a man among the citizens, that there were moe that willingly obeied him for his vertue, thẽ for that he was the kings regent, or that he had the gouernment of the whole Realme in his handes. Notwithſtanding there were ſome that bare him diſpleaſure and malice, who ſought to hinder & diſgrace his credit, and cheifly the freinds and kinred of the Kinges mother: whoſe power and honour were thought much impaired by *Lycurgus* authoritie, in ſo much, as a brother of hirs called *Leonidas*, entring boldly into great wordes with him on a day, did not ſticke to ſay to his face. I know for a certaintie one of theſe dayes thou wilt be king: meaning thereby to bring him in ſuſpition with the citizens. Which thing though *Lycurgus* neuer ment, yet of a ſubtile and craftie wit, *Leonidas* thought by giuing out ſuch words, that if the young King happened to die in his minoritie naturally, it would be miſtruſted that *Lycurgus* had ſecretly made him away. The Kinges mother alſo gaue out ſuch like ſpeaches, which in the end did ſo trouble him, with the feare he had, what euẽt might fall out thereof: that he determined to depart his countrie, and by his abſence to auoyde the ſuſpition that therein might grow vpon him any way. So he trauelled abroade in the worlde as a ſtranger, vntill his nephew had begotten a ſonne who was to ſucceed him in his kingdome. He hauing with this determinatiõ taken his iorney, went firſt of all into CRETA, where he diligently obſerued and conſidered the manner of their liuing, the order of the gouernment of their Cõmon weale, and euer kept company with the beſt, and euer was conferring with the moſt learned. There he founde very good lawes in his iudgment, which he noted of purpoſe to carie home to his countrie, to ſerue when time ſhould come. He found there other lawes alſo, but of them he made no reckoning. Now there was one man that aboue the reſt was reputed wiſe and ſkilfull in matters of ſtate & gouernment, who was called *Thales*: with whom *Lycurgus* did ſo much by intreatie, and for familiar frendſhippe that he perſwaded him to go with him vnto SPARTA. This *Thales* was called the Poet Harper, whereupon he had that title and name: but in effect he ſang all that the beſt and ſufficienteſt gouernours of the worlde could deuiſe. For all his ſonges were goodly ditties, wherein hee did exhort and perſwade the people to liue vnder obedience of the law, in peace & concord one with the other. His wordes were ſet out with ſuch tunes, countenance & accents, that were ſo full of ſweetnes, harmony, and pearcing: that inwardly it melted mens hartes, and drew the hearers of a loue to like the moſt honeſt things, and to leaue all hatred, enmitie, ſedition, and diuiſion, which at that time raigned ſore among them. So as it may be ſaid, he it was that prepared the way for *Lycurgus*, whereby he afterwards reformed & brought the LACEDÆMONIANS vnto reaſon. At his departing out of CRETA, he went into ASIA, with intent (as it is ſayd) to compare the mãner of life and pollicie of thoſe of CRETA (being then very ſtraight and ſeuere) with the ſuperfluities and vanities of IONIA: and thereupon to conſider the difference betweene their two manners & gouernments, as the phyſitian doth, who to know the whole & healthful the better, doth vſe to compare them with the ſicke & diſeaſed. It is very likely it was there, where he firſt ſaw *Homers* works, in the hands of the heires & ſucceſſours of *Cliophylus* & finding in the ſame, aſwell many rules of pollicie, as the greate pleaſure of poets faining, he diligently coppied it out, and made a volume thereof to carie into GRECE. It is true there was much fame abroad of *Homers* poeſies among the GRECIANS, howbeit there were few of them brought together, but were ſcattred here & there in diuers mẽs hands, in pamphlets & peeces vnſowed & without any order: but the firſt that brought thẽ moſt to light among men, was *Lycurgus*. The ÆGYPTIANS ſay, that he was in their countrey alſo, and that hauing found there one notable ordinance among other, that their ſouldiers and men of warre were ſeparated from the reſt of the people, he brought the practiſe of it into SPARTA: where ſetting the marchants, artificers & labourers euerie one a part by themſelues, he did eſtabliſh a noble Common wealth. So the ÆGYPTIAN hiſtoriographers, and ſome others alſo of GRECE do write. He was alſo in AFRICKE, and in SPAINE, & as farre as INDIA, to conferre with the wiſe men there, that were called the philoſophers of INDIA. I knowe no man that hath written it, ſauing *Ariſtocrates*, that was *Hipparchus* ſonne. The LACEDÆMONIANS wiſhed for him often when he was gone, and ſent diuers and many a time to call him home: who thought their Kings had but the honour and title of Kings, and not the vertue or maieſtie of a prince, wherby they did excell the common people.

*Lycurgus trauelled countryes.*

*Thales a poet harper.*

*Lycurgus iorney into Aſia*

*The praiſe of Homers workes.*

*Homers poemes vnknowen to the Grecians, brought to light by Lycurgus.*

people. But as for *Lycurgus*, they thought of him thus,: that he was a man borne to rule, to cōmaund, and to giue order, as hauing in him a certaine naturall grace and power, to drawe men willingly to obeye him. Moreouer the Kings thēſelues were not vnwilling to haue him to returne home, becauſe they hoped that his preſence would ſomwhat bridle, & reſtraine the people from their inſolencie & diſobediēce towards them. Wherupon *Lycurgus* returning home in this opinion and affection of men, it fell out that he was no ſooner arriued, but he began to deuiſe how to alter the whole gouernment of the common weale, & throughout to chaunge the whole courſe and order of the ſtate: thinking that to make only certaine particular lawes were to no purpoſe, but much like, as one ſhould giue ſome eaſie medicine, to purge an ouerthrowen bodye with all humors and diſeaſes. Therfore he thought firſt that all groſſe and ſuperfluous humors, were meete to be diſſolued and purged, and then afterwardes to giue them a new forme and order of gouernment. When he had thus determined with himſelf, before he would take in hād to do any thing, he went to the citie of DELPHES: where after he had ſacrificed to *Apollo*, he cōſulted with him about his matters. From whom he returned with this glorious title by the oracle of *Pythia*: ô beloued of the gods, and rather god then man. Where when he craued grace of *Apollo* to eſtabliſh good lawes in his countrie, it was anſwered him: that *Apollo* graunted his petition, and that he ſhould ordaine the beſt and perfecteſt manner of a Common wealth, that euer had or ſhould be in the worlde. This anſwer did comfort him very much, and ſo he began to breake his purpoſe to certaine of the chief of the citie, and ſecretly to pray and exhort them to helpe him, going firſt to thoſe he knew to be his friends and after by litle & litle he wan others to him, who ioyned with him in his enterpriſe. So when he ſaw the time fit for the matter, he cauſed thirtie of the chiefeſt men of the cittie in a morning to come into the market place wel appoynted & furniſhed, to ſuppreſſe thoſe that would attempt to hinder their purpoſe. *Hermippus* the hiſtoriographer rehearſeth twentie of the chiefeſt: but he that aboue all others did moſt aſſiſt him in his doings, & was the greateſt ayde vnto the ſtabliſhing of his lawes, was called *Arithmiadas*. The King *Charilaus* hearing of this aſſēbly, did feare there had bene ſome conſpiracie or inſurrection againſt his perſon, & for his ſafety he fled into the temple of *Iuno*, called *Chalceæcos*, as much to ſay, as *Iunos* braſen tēple. Howbeit afterwards when he knew the troth, he waxed bolde & came out of the temple againe, & he himſelf fauored the enterpriſe, being a prince of a noble minde, howbeit very ſoft by nature, as witneſſeth *Archelaus*(that was thē the other king of LACEDÆMON) by telling how *Charilaus* anſwered one that praiſed him to his face, in ſaying he was a good man. And how ſhould I not (quoth he) be good, when I cannot be euil to the euil? In this change of the ſtate, many things were altered by *Lycurgus*, but his chiefeſt alteration was, his law of the erection of a Senate, which he made to haue a regal power & equal authoritie with the Kings in matters of weight and importance & was (as *Plato* ſayeth) to be the healthful counterpeaſe of the whole body of the Cōmon weale. The other ſtate before was euer wauering, ſometime inclining to tirannie, when the Kings were too mightie: & ſometime to cōfuſion, when the people would vſurp authority. *Lycurgus* therfore placed betwene the kings & the people, a coūſel of Senatours, which was as a ſtrong beame, that held both theſe extreames in an euen ballance, and gaue ſure footing and ground to either part, to make ſtrong the ſtate of the cōmmō weale. For the eight & twenty Senators (which made the whole body of the Senate) tooke ſometime the Kings part, when it was needfull to pull downe the furie of the people: and contrarily, they held ſometimes with the people againſt the Kings, to bridle their tyrannical gouernment. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, he ordeined the number of Senatours to be but eight and twentie, becauſe two of thirtie that ioyned with him as afore, did for feare forſake him at his enterpriſe. Howbeit *Sphærus* writeth, that from the beginning, he neuer purpoſed to haue more then eight and twentie to be the Senate. And perhaps he had great regard to make it a perfect number, conſidering it is compounded of the number of ſeuen, multiplied by foure: and is the firſt perfect number next to ſixe, being equall to all parts gathered together. But as for me, my opinion is, he choſe this number rather then anie other, becauſe he meant the whole bodie of the counſell ſhould be but thirtie perſons, adding to that number, the two Kings. *Lycurgus* tooke ſo great care to eſtabliſh well this counſell, that he brought an oracle for it, from *Apolloes* temple in

*Lycurgus returneth and changeth al the cōmon wealth.*

*Lycurgus coūſelleth with the oracle of Apollo at Delphes.*

*Chalceæcos, Iunos braſen temple.*

*Lycurgus inſtituteth a Senate of the Lacedæmonians.*

*Plato de leg. 3.*

*28. was the number of the Senatours.*

*Retra of Lycurgus.*

*Cnacion fl.*

*The open fields appoynted for place of counſaill.*

DELPHES. This oracle is called vnto this day *Retra*, as who would ſay, the ſtatute oracle: whereof the anſwer was. Whē thou haſt built a temple vnto *Iupiter* the *Syllanian*, and to *Minerua* the *Syllanian*, and deuided the people into lineages, thou ſhalt eſtabliſh a Senate of thirtie counſellers, with the two kinges: & ſhalt aſſemble the people at times conuenient, in the place betweene the bridge and the riuer Cnacion. There the Senatours ſhall propound all matters, and breake vp after their aſſemblies: and it ſhal not be lawfull for the people to ſpeake one worde. In thoſe dayes the people were euer aſſembled betweene two riuers, for there was no hall to aſſemble a counſaill at large, nor any other place prepared for them. For *Lycurgus* thought no builded place meete for men to giue good counſell in, or to determine cauſes, but rather a hindrance: becauſe in ſuch places men be drawen to muſe on vaine thinges, and their mindes be caried away with beholdinge the images, tables, and pictures, comonly ſet vp for ornament in ſuch open places. And if it be in a Theater, then beholding the place where the playes and ſportes be made, they thinke more of them, then of any counſail. Againe, if it be in a greate hall, then of the fayer embowed or vawted roofes, or of the fretiſed ſeelinges curiouſly wrought, and ſumptuouſly ſet forth, and tend not ſtill their buſines they come for. When the people were aſſembled in counſaill, it was not lawfull for any of them to put forth matters to the counſell to be determined, neither might any of them deliuer his opinion what he thought of any thing: but the people had onely authoritie to giue their aſſent (if they thought good) to the things propounded by the Senatours, or the two Kings. Howbeit afterwards, the two Kings *Polydorus* and *Theopompus*, becauſe the people did many times croſſe and alter the determination of the Senate, by taking away or adding ſomething to it, they did adde theſe wordes to the oracle aforeſayed. That if the people would not aſſent to any ordinance of the Senate, then ſhould it be lawfull for the Kinges and Senate to breake vp the counſell, and to fruſtrate all thinges done in the ſame: the wiſe aduiſe of the Senate being encountered thus, and their meaning to the beſt, ſo peruerted to the worſe. Theſe two Kings perſwaded the people, that at the very firſt, this addition came with the oracle of *Apollo*: as the poet *Tyrtæus* maketh mention in the place, where he ſayeth:

*From Delphos Ile, this oracle is brought*
*of Pythia: into their country ſoyle.*
*The Kinges (euen they to whome of right there ought*
*a louing care in princely breſtes to boyle,*
*the Spartane wealthe, to garde from euery ſpoyle:)*
*Shalbe the chiefe, graue cauſes to decyde*
*with Senatours: whoſe ſounde aduiſe is tride.*
*And next to them, the people ſhall fulfill*
*aſmuch as ſeemes, to pleaſe their princes will.*

*The inſtitution of the Ephores.*

*Lycurgus wiſdome.*

*Lycurgus* now hauing thus tempered the forme of his common weale, it ſeemed notwithſtanding to thoſe that came after him, that this ſmall number of thirtie perſons that made the Senate, was yet too mighty, & of too great authoritie. Wherfore to bridle thē in a litle, they gaue them (as *Plato* ſayeth) a bitte in their mouths, & that was the authoritie of the Ephores, which ſignifie as much as controllers: and were erected about a hundred and thirtie yeres after the death of *Lycurgus*. The firſt which was choſe of theſe, was *Elatus*, & it was in the time of King *Theopompus*, whoſe wife on a day in her anger ſayed: how through his negligence he would leaue leſſe to his ſucceſſours, then he had receiued of his predeceſſours. To whom he anſwered againe, not leſſe but more, for that it ſhall continue longer, and with a more ſuertie. For, in loſing thus their too abſolute power, that wrought them great enuie & hatred amōg their cittizens, they did eſcape the danger & miſchief that their neighbours the ARGIVES, and MESSENIANS did feele: who would not giue ouer the ſoueraigne authority which they had gotten once. This example maketh *Lycurgus* great wiſdome & foreſight manifeſtly knowen: who ſo will deeply conſider the ſeditions & ill gouernments of the ARGIVES, & MESSENIANS (their neere neighbours and kinſmen) aſwell from the people, as from the Kings. Who from the beginning had all things alike to the SPARTANS: & in deuiding of their lands a far better order then theirs. This notwithſtanding, they did not proſper long: but through the pride of their

Kings,and the diſobedience of their people,they entred into ciuill warres one againſt another, ſhewing by their diſorders and miſfortunes the ſpeciall grace the gods did beare to SPARTA, to giue them ſuch a reformer, as did ſo wiſely temper the ſtate of their common weale, as we will ſhew hereafter. The ſecond lawe that *Lycurgus* made,and the boldeſt and hardeſt he euer tooke in hand, was the making of a new diuiſion of their lands. For he ſaw ſo great a diſorder & vnequality among the inhabitants,aſwell of the countrie, as of the citie LACEDÆMON, by reaſon ſome (and the greateſt number of them) were ſo poore,that they had not a handfull of ground, and other ſome being leaſt in number were very riche,that had all: he thought with himſelfe to baniſh out of the citie all inſolencie, enuie,couetouſneſſe,& deliciouſneſſe,and alſo all riches and pouertie,which he tooke the greateſt,and the moſt continuall plagues of a citie, or common weale. For this purpoſe, he imagined there was none ſo ready and neceſſarie a meane, as to perſuade his citizens to ſuffer all the lands, poſſeſsions, and inheritance of their countrie,to runne in common together: and that they ſhould make a new diuiſion equally in partition amongſt themſelues, to liue from thenceforth as it were like brothers together, ſo that no one were richer then another, & none ſhould ſeeke to go before each other, any other way then in vertue onely: thinking there ſhould be no difference or vnequalitie among inhabitants of one citie,but the reproches of diſhoneſtie,and the praiſes of vertue. Thus *Lycurgus* following his determination, did out of hand make a lawe of the diuiſion of their lands. For firſt he did deuide all the countrie of LACONIA, into thirtie thouſand equall parts, the which he did ſet out for thoſe that inhabited about SPARTA: and of thoſe lands that ioyned next to the citie of SPARTA,that was the chiefe metropolitan citie of LACONIA, he made other nine thouſand parts,which he deuided to the naturall citizens of SPARTA, who be thoſe that are properly called Spartans. Howbeit ſome will ſay,he made but ſixe thouſand parts,& that king *Polydorus* afterwards did adde to other three thouſand parts. Other ſay alſo, that *Lycurgus* of theſe nine thouſand parts made but the halfe onely,and *Polydorus* the reſt. Euery one of theſe parts was ſuch,as might yeeld vnto the owner yeerely,three ſcore and ten buſhels of barley for a man,and twelue buſhels for the woman,and of wine and other liquide fruites, much like in proportion: which quantitie *Lycurgus* iudged to be ſufficient, to keepe the body of a man in health,and to make him ſtrong and luſtie,without any further allowance. They ſay after this, as he returned home one day out of the fields, and came ouer the lands where wheate had bin reaped not long before,and ſaw the number of ſheaues lying in euery ſhocke together, and no one ſhocke bigger then another: he fell a laughing,& told them that were with him, me thinks all LACONIA is as it were an inheritance of many bretheren, who had newly made partition together. He gaue an attempt to haue deuided alſo moueables, & to haue made a cōmon partition betwene them,to thend he would haue vtterly taken away all vnequalitie. But finding the citizens tooke it very impatiently, that openly that which they had, ſhould be taken away; he went about to do it more ſecretly,and in a cunninger wiſe to take away that couetouſneſſe. For firſt of all he did forbid all coine of golde and ſiluer to be currant: and then he did ſet out certaine coines of iron which he commaunded only to be currant, whereof a great weight and quantitie was but little worthe. So as to lay vp thereof the value of ten Minas,it would haue occupied a whole celler in a houſe,beſides it would haue needed a yoke of oxen to carie it any where. Now golde and ſiluer being thus baniſhed out of the countrie, many lewde parts and faultes muſt needs ceaſe thereby. For who would robbe, ſteale, picke, take away, hyde, procure,or whorde vp any thing,that he had no great occaſion to deſire,nor any profit to poſſeſſe, nor would be any pleaſure to vſe or imploy. For, the iron they occupied for their coyne, they caſt vinegar vpon it while it was red hoate out of the fire,to kill the ſtrength and working of it to any other vſe. for thereby it was ſo eger & brickle,that it would bide no hammer,nor could be made,beaten,or forged to any other faſhion. By this means he baniſhed alſo, all ſuperfluous and vnprofitable ſciences,which he knew he ſhould not need to do by any proclamation: becauſe they would fall away (or the moſt part of them) euen of themſelues, when the baſeneſſe of the money they ſhould take for their worke,ſhould vndo them. For their iron moneys were not currant els where in the cities of GRECE, but euery body made a ieſte of it there. By this occaſion,the LACEDÆMONIANS could buie no forrein wares nor marchandiſes,neither

*Lycurgus maketh equall diuiſion of lands vnto the citizens.*

*All the lands through the countrie of Laconia, deuided into 30000 parts.*

*All the lands about Sparta into 9000 parts.*

*What barley euery part did yeelde.*

*Lycurgus changeth all golde and ſiluer into iron coyne.*

*Lycurgus made all ſciences and crafts of no value.*

came there any ſhip into their hauen to trafficke with them, neither any fine curious Rethorician did repaire into their countrie to teach them eloquence, and the cunning caſt of lying: nor yet came there to them any wiſard to tell them their fortune, nor any Pander to keepe any brothell houſe, nor yet goldſmithe or ieweller, to make or ſell any toyes or trifles of gold or ſiluer to ſet forth women: conſidering all theſe things are vſed to be made to get money, and to hourd vp that they had not. After this ſorte, delicatenes that wanted many things that entertained it, began by litle and litle to vaniſh away, and laſtly, to fall off from themſelues: when the moſt riche men had no more occaſion then the pooreſt, and riches hauing no meane to ſhew her ſelfe openly in the worlde, was faine to remaine ſhut at home idely, as not able to doe her maſter any ſeruice. Thereupon moueables and houſehold ſtuffe (which a man cannot be without, and muſt be dayly occupied) as bedſteads, tables, chaires, and ſuch like neceſſaries for houſe, were excellently well made: and men did greatly praiſe the faſhion of the LACONIAN cup which they called Cothon, and ſpecially for a ſouldier in the warres, as *Critias* was wont to ſay. For it was made after ſuch a faſhion, that the colour of it did let the eye to diſcerne the fowle & vnwholſome water, which men are driuen oft times to drinke in a campe, and goeth many times againſt ones ſtomack to ſee it: and if by chaunce there was any filth or mudde in the bottome, it would cleaue and ſtick faſt vpon the ribbes of the bellie, and nothing came through the necke, but cleane water to his mouth that dranke it. The reformer of their ſtate was the cauſe of all this: becauſe their artificers tending now to ſuperfluous works, were occupied about the making of their moſt neceſſarie things. Further, now to driue away all ſuperfluitie and deliciouſnes, and to roote out vtterly deſire to get and gather: he made another third law for eating and drinking, and againſt feaſts and banckets. Firſt he willed and commaunded the citizens, that they ſhould eate together all of one meate, and chieflie of thoſe he had permitted by his ordinance. Then he did expreſſely forbid them to eate alone, or apart, or ſecretly by themſelues, vpon riche tables and ſumptuous beds, abuſing the labour of excellent workemen, and the deuiſes of lickeriſh cookes to cramme themſelues in corners, as they doe fatte vp beaſts and poultrie, which doth not onely breed ill conditions in the minde, but doth marre the complexions of men, and the good ſtates of their bodie, when they giue themſelues ouer to ſuch ſenſualitie and gluttonie. Whereof it followeth in the ende that men muſt needs ſleepe much, to helpe to digeſt the exceſſe of meates they haue taken, and then muſt they goe to the hoate houſes to bathe them ſelues, and ſpend long time about the ordinarie attendance of their ſickely bodies. This was a maruellous thing for him to bring to paſſe, but much more, to make riches not to be ſtolen, and leaſt of all to be coueted, as *Theophraſtus* ſaid of him: which by this meanes of making them eate together with all ſobrietie at their ordinarie dyet, was brought to paſſe. For there was no more meane to the riche, then to the poore, to vſe to play, or ſhew riches, ſithe both of them were forced to be together in one place, and to eate all of one meate: ſo as that which is commonly ſpoken, that *Pluto* the god of riches is blinde, was truely verified onely in the citie of SPARTA, aboue all other places of the world. For there riches was laide on the ground like a corſe without a ſoule, that mooueth no whit at all: conſidering it was not lawfull for any man to eate at home ſecretly in his houſe, before he came to their open halles, nor might not come thither for a countenance onely to his meales, being already fed and full fraught. For euery mans eye was vpon thoſe ſpecially which did not eate and drinke with a good ſtomach amongſt them: and it was the vſe to reproche them as gluttons, and daintie mouthed men, which refuſed to eate as it were in common together. So as this was the ordinance they ſay, that grieued moſt the riche aboue all that *Lycurgus* made, and whereat they were moſt mad and angrie with him: in ſo much, as on a day, they all ſetting vpon him to alter it, he was compelled to runne out of the market place, and getting ground of them, he recouered the liberties of a church, before any could ouertake him: ſauing one young man called *Alcander*, who otherwiſe had no ill nature in him, but that he was ſomewhat quick of his hand, and cholericke with all. Who following *Lycurgus* neerer then any other, did giue him a blowe ouerthwart the face with a ſtaffe, and ſtrake out one of his eyes, as *Lycurgus* turned toward him. Yet for all this, *Lycurgus* neuer baſhed or made worde at the matter, but did lifte vp his head to thoſe that followed him, and

*Cothon a ſtrange kinde of cup of the Lacedæmonian ſouldiers.*

*Lycurgus apointeth order for dyet vnto the Lacedæmonians.*

*Alcander ſtrooke out Lycurgus eye.*

ſhewed them his face all a gore bloud, and his eye put out cleane: whereof they were all ſo ſore aſhamed, that there was not a man that durſt once open his mouth againſt him, but to the contrarie, they ſeemed to pitie him, and did deliuer *Alcander* into his handes that had done the deed, to puniſh him as him ſelfe pleaſed. And ſo they all brought him to his houſe, and ſhewed they were right hartely ſorie for his hurt. *Lycurgus* thanking them, returned them all backe againe, ſaue that he made *Alcander* to goe with him into his houſe, where he neuer hurte him, nor gaue him fowle worde: but commaunded him onely to waite vpon him, and made his other ordinary ſeruants to withdraw their waiting. This young man who now began to ſpie his owne faulte, did moſt willingly attend vpon him, and neuer ſpake worde to the contrarie. When he had ſerued him a certaine time, being very nere continually about him, he began to feele and taſte of his naturall liberalitie, and ſaw of what affection and intention *Lycurgus* was moued to do all he did: he perceiued what was the ſeueritie of his ordinarie life, and what his conſtancie was to endure labour without wearineſſe. *Alcander* then began to loue and honour *Lycurgus* from his heart, and tolde his parents and friends, howe he was no ſuch ſeuere man as he ſeemed, but was of ſo kinde and gentle a nature to all men as might be. See I pray you how *Alcander* was transformed by *Lycurgus*, and his puniſhment alſo, which he ſhould haue receiued: for of a fierce, raſhe, and a lewde conditioned youth he was before, he became now a very graue and wiſe man. But for memorie of this his misfortune, *Lycurgus* built a temple to *Minerua*, which he ſurnamed *Optiletide*, becauſe the DORIANS which dwell in thoſe parts of PELOPONNESVS, doe call the eyes, *optiles*. There are other writers (as *Dioſcorides* for one) which ſay *Lycurgus* had a blowe with a ſtaffe, but he had not his eye ſtriken out with it: and how contrariwiſe, he founded this temple to *Minerua*, to giue her thankes for healing of his eye. Hereof it came, that euer ſince the SPARTANS haue bene reſtrained to carie ſtaues in any aſſemblie of counſell. But to returne to their common repaſtes, which the CRETANS called *Andria*, and the LACEDÆMONIANS *Phiditia*, either becauſe they were places wherein they learned to liue ſoberly and ſtraightly (for in the GREKE tongue *Phido*, is to ſaue and ſpare) or elſe becauſe their amitie and friendſhip grewe there towards one another, as if they would haue called them *Philitia*, feaſts of loue, by changing d. into L: It may be alſo they added the firſt letter as ſuperfluous, and meant to call the places *Editia*, becauſe they did eate and drinke there. They ſat in their halles by fifteene in a companie, litle more or leſſe, and at the beginning of euery moneth, euery one brought a buſhell of meale, eight gallons of wine, fiue pound of cheeſe, and two pound and a halfe of figges for a man, beſides ſome little portion of their money to buie certaine freſh cates. And ouer and aboue all this, euery man when he did ſacrifice in his houſe, was bound to ſend the beſt and chiefeſt things of his ſacrifice to the halles to be eaten. Likewiſe if any man went on hunting, and killed any veniſon: it was an order, he ſhould ſend a peece of the fleſh thither. Hauing theſe two lawfull cauſes, they might eate and drinke by themſelues at home, either when they ſacrificed any beaſt to the goddes, or when they came late home from hunting: otherwiſe they were bounde of neceſſitie to meete in their halles at meales, if they would eate any thing. This order they kept very ſtraightly a great time: in ſo much as king *Agis* on a daye, returning from the warres, where he had ouerthrowne the ATHENIANS, and being deſirous to ſuppe at home priuately with the Queene his wiſe, he ſent to the halles for his portion. But the *Polemarchi*, that be certaine officers aſsiſting the Kings in the warres, did denie him. The next daye *Agis* left of for ſpight, to doe the accuſtomed ſacrifice they were wonte to celebrate in the ende of euery warre: whereupon they ſet a fine on his head, and condemned him to paye it. The young children alſo went to theſe repaſts, euen as they ſhould goe to ſchooles to learne grauitie and temperance, where they heard wiſe and graue diſcourſes touching the gouernment of a common weale, but not of maſters that were as hirelings. There they learned pretily to playe vpon wordes, and pleaſauntly to ſporte one with another, without any broade ſpeeches, or vncomely ieſtes, and at others handes to beare the ſame againe, without choller or anger. For this property haue the LACEDÆMONIANS aboue all other, to take and giue a mocke without any offence: neuertheles, if any mans nature could not beare it, he needed but pray the partie to forbeare his ieſting, and ſo he lefte it ſtraight.

*Lycurgus patience and gentleneſſe.*

*Minerua optiletide.*

*Andria and Phiditia, meales why ſo called.*

*Children were brought to theſe meales.*

*The propertie of a Lacedæmonian.*

And it was euer an ordinarie among them, that the eldeſt of the companie tolde the reſt that were come into the hall to meale, with ſhewing them of the dore: Sirs, remember, there goeth not a worde here out of this doore. Euen ſo he that would be receiued to meale there in their companie, muſt firſt of neceſſitie be allowed and receiued in this ſort, by all the reſt. Euery one of them tooke a litle ball of branne or dowe to waſhe their hands with, and without euer a word ſpeaking, they threw it into a baſen, which the ſeruant that waited on them at the table did carie vpon his head: he that was contented the other ſhould be receiued in companie, did caſt in his balle as he did receiue it, but if he miſliked him, then he preſſed it flat betweene his fingers, and threw it in. This ball of branne thus preſſed flat, was as much as a beane bored thorough, and was to them a ſigne of condemnation. If any one ball were found of this ſorte, the ſuter was reiected: for they would not haue any enter into their companie, that was not liked of all the reſt. He that thus was reiected, they ſay he was diſcadded: for the baſin wherein the litle balles were caried, was called *Caddos*. The beſt diſh they ſerued at theſe meales, was that they call their blacke brothe: ſo that when they had that, the olde men did eate no fleſh, but left it all to the young men, and they by them ſelues did eate the brothe. There was a king of PONTVS, that being deſirous to taſte of this blacke broth, did buie of purpoſe a LACEDÆMONIAN cooke: but after he had once taſted therof, he was very angry ſtraight. The cooke then ſaid vnto him: and it pleaſe your grace, ere one ſhall finde this brothe good, he muſt be waſhed firſt in the riuer of Eurotas. After they had eate and drunke thus ſoberly together, euery one repaired home without any light: for it was not lawfull for them to go thither, nor any where els with light, becauſe they ſhould accuſtome themſelues boldly to goe vp and downe the darke, and all about in the night. This was the order and manner of their meales. But here is ſpecially to be noted, that *Lycurgus* would in no wiſe haue any of his lawes put in writing. For it is expreſſely ſet downe in his lawes they call *Retra*, that none of his lawes ſhould be written. For he thought that which ſhould chiefly make a citie happie, and vertuous, ought throughly by education to be printed in mens hearts and manners, as to haue continuance for euer: which he tooke to be loue and good will, as a farre ſtronger knot to tie men with, then any other compulſarie lawe. Which when men by vſe and cuſtome through good education doe take in their childhood, it maketh euery man to be a lawe to him ſelfe. Furthermore, concerning buying and bargaining one with another, which are but trifles, and ſometime are changed into one ſort, and ſometime in another, as occaſion ſerueth: he thought it beſt not to conſtraine them to doe it by writing, nor to eſtabliſh cuſtomes that might not be altered, but rather to leaue them to the libertie and diſcretion of men which had bene brought vp in the ſame, bothe to take away, and to adde therein, as the caſe and time ſhould require. But to conclude, he thought the chiefeſt point of a good lawe maker or reformer of the common weale was, to cauſe men to be well brought vp and inſtructed. One of his ordinances therefore was expreſſely, that not one of his lawes ſhould be written. Another of his deuiſes was, againſt ſuperfluous charges and expences: which to auoide, he made a lawe that all roofes of houſes ſhould be made onely with the axe, and all gates and dores with the ſawe, and that without any other toole of occupation. Wherein he had the like imagination as afterwards *Epaminondas* had, when he ſaid, ſpeaking of his table: Such a borde neuer receiueth any treaſon. Euen ſo thought *Lycurgus*, that ſuch a builte houſe would neuer receiue curioſitie or daintineſſe. For no man is ſo madly diſpoſed or ſimple witted, as to bring into ſo poore and meane houſes, bedſteads with ſiluer feete, imbrodered couerlets, or counterpointes of purple ſilke, neither yet plate of golde nor of ſiluer, nor ſuch other like coſtly furniture and fineneſſe, as thoſe things require to waite vpon them: becauſe the beds muſt be aunſwerable to the meaneſſe of the houſe, the furnitures of the beddes muſt be ſutelike to the ſame, and all other houſeholde ſtuffe, dyet, meate, and drinke agreeable to the reſt. Hereof proceeded that, which *Leontychidas* the firſt King of that name, ſaied once: who ſupping on a time in the citie of CORINTH, and ſeeing the roofe of the hall where he ſate, ſumptuouſly embowed and carued, he asked ſtraight if the trees did growe carued ſo in that countrie. The third lawe was, he did forbid them to make warre often with one enemie, leaſt the enemie forced to take often armes in hand, might in the ende growe experter and valianter then they.

*The order of receiuing any man into their company at meales.*

*The blacke broth.*

*Cicero calleth this King, Dionyſius the tyran, Tuſc. 5.*

*Lycurgus would not haue his lawes written otherwiſe then in mens mindes.*

*Retra, for exceſſe or ryot.*

*Epaminondas ſaying.*

*King Leontychidas ſaying.*

*Retra for wars.*

they. For this cauſe king *Ageſilaus* was greatly blamed, who was a long time after. For by making often warres with the countrie of Boeotia, he made the Thebans in the end as expert and valiant ſouldiers, as the Lacedæmonians. Whereupon *Antalcidas* ſeeing him hurt one daye, ſayde vnto him: The Thebans haue nobly rewarded thee for their learning, ſith thou haſt made them expert ſouldiers vnwilling to learne the diſcipline of warre.

*Antalcidas ſaying.*

Theſe be the lawes *Lycurgus* ſelfe called *Retra*, and ſignifie as much as Oracles, that the god *Apollo* had diſcouered to him. Nowe the education of children, hee eſteemed the chiefeſt and greateſt matter, that a reformer of lawes ſhould eſtabliſh. Therefore beginning a farre off, he firſt conſidered the ſtate of mariage, and the generation of children. For *Ariſtotle* ſayeth, that *Lycurgus* did attempt to reforme women, and did ſoone giue it ouer againe: becauſe he could doe no good therein, by reaſon of the great libertie they had taken by the abſence of their husbandes in the warres, compelled often ſo to be abroad, and that they did leaue them miſtreſſes of their houſe, and at their returne did honour them ſo much, and make of them ſo beyonde meaſure, with calling them ladyes and miſtreſſes. Howbeit this is true, that he had an eye to the rule and order of their life, aſwell as he had of mens: and ſo reaſon did require.

*The diſcipline of women amongſt the Lacedæmonians.*
*Ariſt. polit. lib. 7. cap. 17.*
*The exerciſes and diſcipline of maydes.*

Firſt of all, he willed that the maydens ſhould harden their bodies with exerciſe of running, wreſtling, throwe the barre, and caſting the dart, to the ende that the frute wherewith they might be afterwardes conceiued, taking nouriſhment of a ſtrong and luſtie bodie, ſhould ſhoote out and ſpread the better: and that they by gathering ſtrength thus by exerciſes, ſhould more eaſely away with the paynes of child bearing. And to take away from them their womaniſh daintineſſe, and fineneſſe, he brought vppe a cuſtome, for younge maydes and boyes to goe as it were a preceſſion, and to daunce naked at ſolemne feaſtes and ſacrifices, and to ſing certaine ſonges of their owne making, in the preſence and ſight of younge men. To whom by the way they gaue manie times pretie mockes of purpoſe, as pleaſantly hitting them home, for things wherein before they had forgotten their duties: and ſometimes alſo in their ſong for their vertues, wittes, or manners, they prayſed them which had deſerued it. By this meanes, they did ſet young mens hearts a fire, to ſtriue to winne moſt prayſe and honour. For who ſo was prayſed of them for a valiant man, or whoſe worthy actes were ſung by them, he thereby was incouraged to doe the better another time: and the pretie girdes and quippes they gaue to others, was of no leſſe force, then the ſharpeſt wordes and admonitions that otherwiſe could be giuen them. This tooke place the rather, becauſe it was done in the preſence of the kings, the Senatours, and all the reſt of the citizens which came thither to ſee theſe ſportes. And though the maydes did ſhewe themſelues thus naked openly, yet was there no diſhoneſtie ſeene nor offered, but all this ſport was full of play and toyes, without any youthfull part or wantonneſſe: and rather caried a ſhew of demureneſſe, and a deſire to haue their beſt made bodies ſeene and ſpied. Moreouer, it ſomewhat lifted vp their hearts, and made them noblier minded, by giuing them to vnderſtand, that it was no leſſe comely for them, in their kinde and exerciſes to carie the bell, then it was for men in their games and exerciſes to carie the price. Hereof it came, that the women of Lacedæmon were ſo bolde to ſay, and thinke of themſelues that, which *Gorgona* the wife of king *Leonidas* one day aunſwered: being in talke with a ſtraunge woman that ſayde to her. There be no women in the world that commaund their husbandes, but you wiues of Lacedæmon. Whereto the Queene ſtraight replyed: ſo be there no women but we, which bring foorth men.

*The ſaying of a Laconian woman.*

Furthermore, theſe playes, ſports, and daunces, the maydes did naked before young men, were prouocations to drawe and allure the young men to mary: not as perſwaded by geometricall reaſons, as ſayth *Plato*, but brought to it by liking, and of very loue. Thoſe which would not marrie, he made infamous by law. For it was not lawfull for ſuch to be preſent, where theſe open games and paſtimes were ſhewed naked.

*Men that wold not marie, Lycurgus reputed infamous by lawe.*

Furthermore, the officers of the citie compelled ſuch as woulde not marie, euen in the hardeſt time of the winter, to enuirone the place of theſe ſportes, and to goe vp and downe ſtarcke naked, and to ſing a certaine ſong made for the purpoſe againſt them, which was: that iuſtly were they puniſhed, becauſe that lawe they diſobeyed. Moreouer, when ſuch were olde, they had not the honour and reuerence done them, which

*Matrimoniall ceremonies in Lacedæmon.*

*Holeſome rules for maried couples*

*Lycurgus regard to auoyde iealouſie in the common wealth*

old maried men vſually receiued. Therefore there was no man that miſliked, or reprooued that, which was ſpoken to *Dercillidas*: albeit otherwiſe he was a noble captaine. For, comming into a preſence, there was a young man which would not vouchſafe to riſe and do him reuerence, nor to giue him place for to ſit downe: and worthily, quoth he, becauſe thou haſt not gotten a ſonne, who may doe ſo much for me in time to come. Thoſe which were deſirous to marie any, were driuen to take them away by force, whom they would marie, not little young wenches I meane, which were not of age to be maried: but luſtie and ſtrong maydes of age to beare children. And when one of them was ſtolne away in this ſort, ſhe that was priuie thereto, and meane to make the mariage, came and ſhaued the hayres of her head that was maried: then ſhe put her into mans apparell, and gaue her all thinges ſute like to the ſame, and layde her vpon a mattereſſe all alone, without light or candle. After this was done, the bridegrome, being neither drunke nor finelier apparelled then he was wont to be, but hauing ſupped ſoberly at his ordinarie, came home ſecretly to the houſe where the bride was: and there vntyed his wiues girdle, tooke her in his armes, layde her vpon a bed, and talked together a while, and afterwardes fayre and ſoftly ſtole away to the place, where he was wont to ſleepe with other young men. And ſo from thenceforth, he continued alwayes to doe the like, being all the day time with his companions, and ſleeping moſt of the night, vnleſſe hee ſometime ſtale to ſee his wife, being affrayd, and aſhamed euer to be ſeene, by any of the houſe where ſhe was. And hereunto his young wife did helpe for her part, to ſpie meanes and occaſions howe they might meete together, and not be ſeene. This manner endured a great while and vntill ſome of them had children, before they boldly met together, and ſawe each other on the day time. This ſecret meeting in this ſort did ſerue to good purpoſes, not onely becauſe it was ſome meane of continencie, and ſhamefaſtneſſe, but alſo it kept their bodies in ſtrength and better ſtate, to bring foorth children. It continued alſo in both parties, a ſtill burning loue, and a new deſire of the one to the other, not as it were luke warme, nor wearie, as theirs commonly be which haue their bellies full of loue, and as much as they luſt: but they euer parted with an appetite one from another, keeping ſtill a longing deſire to deuiſe howe to meete againe. Nowe when hee had ſtabliſhed ſuch a continencie, and ſo kinde a framed honeſtie in mariage, he tooke no leſſe care to driue away all fooliſh iealouſie therein, thinking it very good reaſon to beware there ſhould be no violence, nor confuſion in mariage: and yet as reaſon would, they ſhould ſuffer thoſe which were woorthie to get children as it were in common, laughing at the madde follie of them which reuenge ſuch thinges with warre and bloudſhed, as though in that caſe men in no wiſe ſhoulde haue no fellowſhippe together. Therefore a man was not to be blamed, being ſtepped in yeares, and hauing a young wife, if ſeeing a faire young man that liked him, and knowen with all to bee of a gentle nature, he brought him home to get his wife with childe, and afterwardes would auow it for his, as if him ſelfe had gotten it. It was lawfull alſo for an honeſt man that loued another mans wife, for that he ſawe her wiſe, ſhamefaſt, and bringing forth goodly children, to intreat her husband to ſuffer him to lie with her, and that he might alſo plow in that luſty ground, and caſt abroad the ſeede of well fauoured children: which by this meanes came to be common in bloud and parentage, with the moſt honourable and honeſteſt perſons. For firſt of all, *Lycurgus* did not like that children ſhould be priuate to any men, but that they ſhould be common to the common weale: by which reaſon he would alſo, that ſuch as ſhould become citizens, ſhould not be begotten of euery man, but of the moſt honeſteſt men onely. So *Lycurgus* thought alſo there were many fooliſh vaine toyes and fanſies, in the lawes and orders of ther Nations, touching mariage: ſeeing they cauſed their bitches and mares to bee limed and couered with the fayreſt dogges and goodlieſt ſtalons that might be gotten, praying or paying the maſters and owners of the ſame: and kept their wiues notwithſtanding ſhut vp ſafe vnder locke and key, for feare leaſt other then them ſelues might get them with child, although they were ſickly, feeble brayned, and extreame olde. As if it were not firſt of all, and chiefely a diſcommoditie to the fathers and mothers, and likewiſe to thoſe that bring them vp, to haue vnperfect and feeble children borne, as it were begotten of drye and withered men: and then to the contrarie, what pleaſure and benefite is it to thoſe that haue fayre and good children, borne, as gotten of like ſeede and men. Theſe thinges were done then by naturall and ciuill reaſon, neuertheleſſe they ſay women were ſo farre off then from intreatie, as euer they were before: ſo as in old time, in SPARTA, men knew not what adulterie ment. For proofe whereof, the anſwere made by *Geradas* (one of the firſt auncient SPARTANS) vnto a ſtranger, may be alledged: that asked him, what puniſhment they had for adulterers. My friend, quoth he, there be none here. But if there were? replied the ſtranger againe. Marie ſayd he, then he muſt pay as great a bull, as ſtanding vpon the toppe of the mountaine Taygetus, may drinke in the riuer of Eurotas. Yea marie: but how is it poſſible (quoth the ſtranger) to finde ſuch a bull? *Geradas* laughing, anſwered him againe. And how were it poſſible alſo to finde an adulterer in SPARTA? And this is that which is found of *Lycurgus* lawes touching mariages. Furthermore, after the birth of euery boy, the father was no more maſter of him, to cocker and bring him vp after his will: but he himſelfe caried him to a certaine place called Leſché, where the eldeſt men of his kinred being ſet, did view the childe. And if they found him fayre, and well proportioned of all his limmes, and ſtrong: they gaue order he ſhould be brought vp, and appointed him one of the nine thouſand partes of inheritance for his education. Contrariwiſe, if they found him deformed, miſhapen, or leane, or pale, they ſent him to be throwen in a deepe pit of water, which they commonly called Apothetes, and as a man would ſay, the common houſe of office: holding opinion it was neyther good for the childe, nor yet for the common weale, that it ſhould liue, conſidering from his birth he was not well made, nor giuen to be ſtrong, healthfull, nor luſtie of bodie all his life long. For this cauſe therefore, the nurſe after their birth did not waſh them with water ſimply (as they doe euery where at that time) but with water mingled with wine: and thereby did they prooue, whether the complexion or temperature of their bodies were good or ill. For they ſuppoſe, that children which are giuen to haue the falling ſickneſſe, or otherwiſe to be full of rewmes and ſickneſſes, cannot abide waſhing with wine, but rather dry and pine away: as contrarily the other which are healthfull, become thereby the ſtronger and the luſtier. The nurces alſo of SPARTA vſe a certaine manner to bring vp their children, without ſwadling, or binding them vp in clothes with ſwadling bandes, or hauing on their heads any croſſe clothes: ſo as they made them nimbler of their limmes, better ſhaped and goodlier of bodie. Beſides that, they acquainted their children to all kinde of meates, and brought them vp without much tendance, ſo as they were neither fine nor licorous, nor fearefull to be left alone in the darke, neither were they cryers, wrallers, or vnhappy children, which be all tokens of baſe and cowardly natures. So that there were ſtraungers, that of purpoſe bought nources out of LACONIA, to bring vp their children: as they ſay *Amycla* was one of them, which nourced *Alcibiades*. But *Pericles* his tutor, gaue him afterwardes a bondman called *Zopyrus*, to be his maſter and gouernour: who had no better propertie in him, then other common ſlaues. This did not *Lycurgus*. For he did not put the education and gouernement of the children of SPARTA, into the hands of hyred maſters or ſlaues bought with money: neyther was it lawfull for the father him ſelfe to bring vp his owne childe after his owne maner and liking. For ſo ſoone as they came to ſeuen yeares of age, hee tooke and diuided them by companies, to make them to be brought vp together, and to accuſtome them to play, to learne, and to ſtudie one with another. Then he choſe out of euery companie one, whom he thought to haue the beſt wit, and had moſt courage in him to fight: to whom he gaue the charge and ouerſight of his owne companie. The reſt had their eyes waiting alwayes on him, they did obey his commaundementes willingly, they did abide patiently all corrections hee gaue them, they did ſuch taskes and workes as he appointed them: ſo that all their ſtudie was moſt to learne to obey. Furthermore, the olde gray headed men were preſent manie times to ſee them playe, and for the moſt part they gaue them occaſions to fall out, and to fight one with another, that they might thereby the better knowe and diſcerne the naturall diſpoſition of euery one of them, and whether they gaue any ſignes or tokens in time to come, to become cowardes or valiant men. Touching learning, they had as much as ſerued their turne: for the reſt of their time they ſpent in learning howe to obey, to away with paine, to endure labour, to ouercome ſtill in fight. According to their

*No adulterie ſhowen in Sparta.*

*The education of children with the Lacedæmonians.*

*Leſche.*

*Apothetes.*

*Young babes waſhed with wine.*

*The Spartan nurces.*

*Plato of the firſt Alcibiades*

*How the Lacedæmonians children were brought vp.*

groweth and yeares, they did chaunge the exerciſes of their bodies: they did ſhaue their heads, they went barelegged, they were conſtrayned to play naked together the moſt part of their time. After they were paſt twelue yeres of age, they ware no longer coates: and they gaue them yearely but one ſeely gowne. This was the cauſe they were alwayes ſo naſty & ſluttiſh, & they neuer vſed to bath or noynt themſelues, ſauing only at certaine dayes in the yeare, when they were ſuffered to taſte of this refreſhing. They lay and ſlept together vpon beds of ſtrawe, which they themſelues did make, of the toppes of reedes or canes that grewe in the riuer of Eurotas: which they were forced to goe gather and breake them ſelues with their handes, without any toole or iron at all. In the winter, they did mingle thiſtle down with theſe, which is called *Lycophonas*, becauſe that ſtuffe ſeemeth ſomewhat warme of it ſelfe. About this time, the fauourers & likers of this pretie youth, which were commonly the luſtieſt and beſt diſpoſed youthes of the citie, beganne to be ofter in their companie: and then the olde men tooke the better regard vnto them, and frequented more commonly the places of their daily exerciſes, & where their vſe was to fight together, helping them when they played, how one ſhould mocke another. This did their old men, not by way of paſtime onely, but with ſuch care and hearty loue towards them, as if they had bene altogether their fathers, maſters, & gouernours, while they were boyes; in ſo much as there was neuer time nor place, where they had not alwayes ſome to admoniſh, reproue, or correct them, if they did a fault. Notwithſtanding all this, there was euer one of the honeſteſt men of the citie, who had expreſſely the charge and gouernance of theſe boyes. He did diuide them in companies, and afterwards gaue the ouerſight of them, to ſuch a one of the boyes as was diſcreeteſt, the manlieſt, the moſt hardie, and of the beſt courage amongſt them. They called the children that were paſt infancie two yeres, ***Irenes***: and the greateſt boyes ***Melirenes***: as who would ſay, readie to go out of boyerie. This boye who was made ouerſeer of them, was commonly twentie yeres of age. He was their captaine when they fought, and did commaunde them as his ſeruantes when they were in the houſe: and willed them which were ſtrongeſt, and the moſt growen, to carie woode when they ſhould prepare dinner or ſupper, and thoſe which were leaſt and weakeſt, to goe gather herbes, which they muſt ſteale or lack them. So they went out to ſteale ſome in gardens, ſome at the markets, other in the halles where the feaſts were kept, and men did eate together, into the which they conueyed them ſelues as cloſely and cunningly as they could deuiſe: for if they were taken with the manner, they were ſcourged terribly, becauſe they were ſo groſſe & negligent, and not fine and cunning in their facultie. They ſtole alſo all other kind of meate, whatſoeuer they could get or lay hands on. They pried and ſought all occaſions how to take and ſteale meate handſomely, both when men were aſleepe, or els that they were careleſſe, or did not giue good heede vnto them. But he that was taken with the manner, had his payment roundly, and was puniſhed with faſting beſides: for they had but a ſlender pittance, becauſe neceſſitie ſhould driue them to venter boldly, and wit ſhould finde out all the deuiſes to ſteale finely. This was the chiefeſt cauſe, why they gaue them ſo ſmall a diet. The ſeconde cauſe was, that their bodies might grow vp higher in height. For the vitall ſpirites not being occupied to concoct and digeſt much meate, nor yet kept downe, or ſpread abroad by the quantitie or ouerburden thereof, doe enlarge themſelues into length, and ſhoote vp for their lightnes: and for this reaſon they thought the bodie did growe in height and length, hauing nothing to let, or hinder the riſing of the ſame. It ſeemeth, that the ſelfe ſame cauſe made them fayrer alſo. For the bodies that are leane and ſlender, doe better and more eaſely yeelde to nature, which bringeth a better proportion and forme to euery member: and contrariewiſe it ſeemeth theſe groſſe, corpulent, and ouerfedde bodies doe encounter nature, and be not ſo nimble and pliant to her, by reaſon of their heauy ſubſtance. As we ſee it by experience, the children which women bring a little before their time, & be ſomwhat caſt before they ſhould haue bene borne, be ſmaller and fayrer alſo, and more pure commonly then other that goe their time: becauſe the matter whereof the bodie is formed, being more ſupple and pliant, is the eaſilier weilded by nature, which giueth them their ſhape and forme. Touching the naturall cauſe of this effect, let vs giue place to other to diſpute it that will, without our further deciding of the ſame. But to returne to the matter of the LACEDÆMONIANS children.

*It is a kind of thiſtle in the Meſſenian tongue: reade Heſychias.*

*Irenes. Melirenes.*

*The theeuerie of the Lacedæmonians.*

*Straight dyet cauſeth growth and height.*

They did robbe with ſo great care, and feare to be diſcouered, that they tell of one, which hauing ſtollen a little foxe, did hide him vnder his cloke, and ſuffered him with his teeth and clawes to teare out all his belly, and neuer cried, for feare he ſhould haue bene betrayed, vntill he fell downe dead in the place where he ſtoode. This is not vncredible, by that we ſee young boyes doe abide at this day: for we haue ſeene diuerſe, which haue bidden whipping euen to death, vpon the altar of *Diana*, ſurnamed *Orthia*. Now this vnder maiſter, who had the charge of euery company of theſe boies, vſed after ſupper (ſitting yet at the table) to bid one of them ſing a ſong: to another he put forth a queſtion, who was to be well aduiſed of his aunſwer, as for example: Who is the honeſteſt man in the city? or how thinkeſt thou by that ſuch a-one did? By this exerciſe they were inured from boyes ſtate, to iudge of thinges well or ill done, and to vnderſtand the life and gouernment of their citizens. For which of them did not aunſwere quickely and directly to theſe queſtions, who is a good man, who is an honeſt citizen, and who not: they thought it was a ſigne of a dull wit, and careleſſe nature, not giuen to any vertue, for deſire of honour and eſtimation. Furthermore this vnder maſter was euer to waite for his aunſwer, and to ſee it ſhould be briefe and well knit vp in wordes: otherwiſe his puniſhment that aunſwered croſſely, or to little purpoſe, was that his maſter bit him by the thumbe. This he did many times in the preſence of the old men and magiſtrates of the city, that they might ſee whether he puniſhed them with reaſon or not, and according to their deſeruing. And though he did hurt him, they did not by and by reproue him, but when the children were gone away, then was he him ſelfe rebuked and puniſhed, if he had corrected them too ſore, or contrarily had fauoured them too much. Moreouer they did aſcribe the good or ill opinion conceiued of the children, vnto euery of their fauourers, and louers, which did affect and entertaine them: in as much as they ſay, a young boy vppon a time fighting with another, and a cry ſcaping out of his mouth, which his faint cowardly heart did yeeld, his fauourer and louer was ſtraight condemned by the officers of the citty to a fine. Albeit this loue was a thing euen incorporated into them, that the moſt honeſt and vertuouſeſt women loued the young maides thus alſo: yet was there no iealouſie nor ſuſpition that grew hereof, but rather to the contrary, there grew a maruellous mutuall loue and kindneſſe betweene them, which liued in one ſelfe place. For either of them by all the meanes they could, did deuiſe how to make the childe they loued in common, the wiſeſt, the gentleſt, and the beſt conditioned aboue all other. They taught theſe children to ſpeake in ſuch ſort, that their ſpeach had euer in it a pleaſaunt grace, and in few words cõprehended much matter. For *Lycurgus* ordained, a great maſſe and weight of iron money, ſhould be but little worth, and of a ſmall value, as we haue tolde you before: and contrarily, that ſpeach in few wordes, without any affectation, ſhould hold much deepe and graue matter, wherewith the children being acquainted, after long ſilence, ſhould be briefe and pithy in their aunſwers. For as the ſeede of incontinent men which are too buſie with euery ragge and colman hedge, can take no roote to bring forth frute: euen ſo immoderate ſpeach, full of wordes and buſie tattle, bringeth forth as little ſenſe. Hereof it commeth, that the aunſwers of the LACONIANS were ſo ſhort and witty. As they ſay, king *Agis* aunſwered on a day an ATHENIAN, who ieſting at the ſwords the LACEDÆMONIANS did weare, ſaid they were ſo ſhort, that theſe tumblers and iuglers did ſwallow them downe in the ſight of all the world: and yet ſaied *Agis* we hurt our enemies with them for all that. For mine owne opinion, I like well of the LACONIANS mãner of ſpeaking: which is not to ſpeake much, but when they ſpeake, to touch the matter effectually, and to make the hearers vnderſtand them. I thinke alſo, that *Lycurgus* ſelfe, was ſhort and quicke in his talke. For ſo a man may coniecture by his aunſwers which are writtten: as that which he made to one who earneſtly praied him to ſtabliſh a popular ſtate in LACEDÆMON, that the baſeſt might haue as great authority as the higheſt. Beginne (quoth he) to doe it firſt in thine own houſe. And as that alſo which he aunſwered another who asked him, why he had appointed ſo ſmall things, & ſo litle of value to be offered to the gods? Becauſe (quoth he) we ſhould neuer ceaſe to honour them. And as that which he ſpake another time, touching fightes and frayes, which was: that he did neuer forbid his citizens any of them, but thoſe wherein they vſe to giue their hand, as you would ſay to yeelde. Men finde alſo ſuch like

*Childrens exerciſe after their ſupper.*

*The Lacedænians manner of louing.*

*Short ſpeach taught among the Locedæmonians.*

*Lycurgus wiſe aunſwers.*

*Lycurgus loue to God.*

*To giue a hãd is to confeſſe him ſelfe ouercome.*

anſwers, in ſome of his letters written to his citizens, as when they asked him. How can we defend our ſelues againſt our enemies? He aunſwered: If ye be poore, and one doe couet no more then another. And in another letter that was ſent, where he diſcourſeth, whether it were requiſite to incloſe the city with walles: he ſayeth, can that city be without walles, which is enuironned with men, though it be vncompaſſed with ſtone? Neuertheleſſe it is hard to reſolue, whether thoſe letters, and other ſuch like that are ſhewed, be to be beleeued, or diſcredited to be his. But that long ſpeach was much diſliked, and reproued among the LACEDÆMONIANS, it is manifeſtly to be ſeene by the words, which ſome amongſt them haue heretofore aunſwered. As king *Leonidas* ſaid one day, to one that diſcourſed with him many good things, but out of ſeaſon: friend, thou ſpeakeſt many good wordes, but to litle purpoſe. And *Charilaus*, nephew to *Lycurgus*, being asked why his vncle made ſo few lawes: becauſe ſaid he, to men of few wordes, few lawes will ſerue. And *Archidamidas* ſayed thus to ſome which reproued *Hecatæus* the Orator, for that being bidden to ſupper at one of their feaſts, he ſpake not a word all ſupper time. He who can ſpeake wel, knoweth alſo when to ſpeake. And where I haue tolde before, that in their feat and quicke aunſwers, commonly there was ſome prety grace, it may be well ſeene and knowen by theſe that follow. *Demaratus* aunſwered a buſie fellow who troubled him too much with vaine importunate queſtions, asking him ſtill: who was the honeſteſt man of LACEDÆMON? euen he that is leaſt like thy ſelfe. And *Agis* ſayd to ſome which highly prayſed the ELIANS for their vpright iudgement, and iuſt dealing in the games Olympicall. What wonder make ye of it (quoth he) if in fiue years ſpace the ELIANS one day do good iuſtice? And *Theopompus* likewiſe to a ſtranger, who as deſirous to ſhew his affection he bare the LACEDÆMONIANS, told him how euery body called him *Philolacon* (as to ſay) a louer of LACEDÆMON. It were more honeſty for thee (ſaid he) to be named *Philopolites*, a louer of her citizens. And *Pliſtonax* the ſonne of *Pauſanias*, when an Orator of ATHENS ſaid the LACEDÆMONIANS were vnlearned, and ignorant: thou ſaieſt true quoth he, for we only of all the GRECIANS haue learned none of your ill conditions. And *Archidamidas*, to one that demanded of him, what number of fighting men there might be of the SPARTANS: Enow ſaid he, to driue away the wicked. We may coniecture alſo their manner of ſpeaking, by their words in mirth, which they ſpake ſometimes playing wiſe: for they did neuer vſe to ſpeake vain words at randone, but it had alwaies ſome ſecret meaning in it, which required anothers good obſeruation that would find it. As he which was deſired to goe heare the nightingall counterfeited naturally: I haue (ſaid he) heard the nightingall it ſelfe. And another which hauing red this inſcription vpon a tumbe.

*Short ſentences of certaine Laconians.*
*Leonidas.*
*Charilaus.*
*Archidamidas*

*Sharpe ſentences of the Laconians.*
*Demaratus.*
*Agis.*
*Theopompus.*

*Pliſtonax, Pauſanias ſonne.*

*Archidamidas.*

*In the life of Ageſilaus.*

*VVhen as they had, well quenched tyrannie*
*throughout their land, by worthy warlike power,*
*Their happe was yet in wretched wiſe to die,*
*by ſcaling Selynuntaes ſtrongeſt tower.*

They well deſerued death, ſaid he, that did but quench tyranny: they ſhould haue quite conſumed it with fire. And one younger boy to another, promiſing to giue him ſuch hardy cockes of the game, as ſhould die in the place where they fought. O giue me not thoſe (ſaid he) which will die, but thoſe which with fighting will kill others. Another ſeeing men ſitting in coches and litters as they went: god forbid (ſaid he) that I ſhould euer ſit in a chaire, where I could not riſe to my elders. Such were their aunſwers and encounters. So that ſome had reaſon which ſayed heretofore, to ſpeake LACONIAN like, was to be Philoſopher like: as you would ſay, more to exerciſe the minde, then the body. Beſides all this, they did ſtudy to ſing well, and to make goodly ditties and ſongs. Then they ſpake moſt properly and featly. There was in their ſongs alſo a certaine motion, I wote not what, which ſtirred vp the hearers hearts, and did kindle deſire in them to do notable feats. Their tongue was plaine, without affectation: their matter graue and morall, contayning for the moſt part the praiſe of thoſe, which were ſlaine in battell for the defence of their countrey, as being happy men: & a ſhame to thoſe that liue, which for fainte hearts refuſed ſo to die, to lead a miſerable and vnfortunate life. Or elſe they ſang how they were the patternes for time to come, or the right glory of the world, and the true repreſentation of vertuous men: as the ſong would beſt become their

*The Lacedæmonians ſongs.*

their ages which did ſing. It ſhall not be impertinent for the better vnderſtanding hereof, to bring you here an example. For in their open feaſts, there were alwayes three daunces, according to the difference of the three ages. The daunce of the old men, thus beganne firſt for to ſing.

*Three daunces among the Lacedæmonians.*

*VVe haue bene young and ſtrong, yet valiant heretofore,*
*till crooked age did hold vs backe, and bad vs do no more,*

The young men followed after, ſinging:

*VVe yet are young, bold, ſtrong, and ready to maintaine*
*that quarell ſtill, againſt all men that doe on earth remaine.*

The third was of children that came after and ſaide:

*And we doe hope as well, to paſſe you all at laſt,*
*and that the world ſhall witneſſe be, ere many yeares be paſt.*

To conclude, who nearely will conſider the works & makings of the LACON poets (wherof ſome are yet extant) and will marke alſo the notes and tunes of the pipe, after the ſound and meaſure whereof they marched in array, going to charge the enemy: he ſhall finde, that *Terpander* and *Pindarus*, had reaſon to ioyne hardines with muſicke. For *Terpander* ſpeaking of the LACEDÆMONIANS, ſayeth in a place:

*Terpander of the Lacedæmonians.*

*This is that land where deedes of chiualrie,*
*did floriſh moſt, in many a martiall feate:*
*VVhere muſicke made, her choiſe of harmony,*
*aud iuſtice kept her ſtately royall ſeate.*

And *Pindarus* ſpeaking of them alſo ſaieth:

*Pyndarus of the Lacedæmonians.*

*There: graue aduiſe, is found in aged braines:*
*there: gallant youths, are luſty lads in deede.*
*VVhich can both ſing, and daunce, in courtlike traines:*
*yet daunt their foes, with many a doughty deede.*

By which teſtimonies it appeareth, the one and the other made, and deſcribeth them to haue loued muſicke, and the warres together. For as another LACON Poet ſayeth:

*It fitteth well, and is a ſeemely thing,*
*for ſuch as ſpend their time in feates of warre:*
*To haue the skill, ſweete ſonnets for to ſing,*
*and touch the harpe withouten iangling iarre.*

For this cauſe therefore in all their warres, when they ſhould giue battell, the King did firſt ſacrifice to the Muſes, to put his ſouldiers in mind (as it ſhould ſeeme) of the diſcipline & wiſdome of the Muſes that they had bene brought vp in, to the end that when his ſouldiers were in the moſt extreme daunger, the Muſes ſhould preſent them ſelues before the ſouldiers eyes, to pricke them forwards to doe ſome noble actes of worthy memory. In their time of warre, they did tollerate their young men a litle of their hard & old accuſtomed life, & ſuffered them then to trim their haires, to haue braue armour, to weare gay apparell, and tooke as great delight therin, to ſee them gallant & luſty, as to behold yong neying & ſnorting horſes, deſirous for to fight. And although from the beginning of their youth, they did vſe to weare long haires: yet were they neuer ſo carefull to combe and bruſh their heads, as when they ſhould to the battell. For when they did noint them ſelues with ſweet oiles, and did ſhed their haire, remembring *Lycurgus* ſaying: who was wont to tell them, that hairs to them which were faire, did make them more faire, and to them that were fowle, they made them more vgly & dredfull. The exerciſes alſo of their bodies, were more eaſy and gentle, and not ſo hard and ſtraight in their warres, as they were in a peace: and generally, their whole mãner of life was not then ſo ſtraightly viewed, nor yet controlled. So as they only were the men of the world, to whom warres were made a reſt from labour, which men ordinarily do endure, to make them the fitter for the warres. Afterwardes when their army was ſet in battell ray, euen in the face of the enemy, the King did ſtraight ſacrifice a goate vnto the goddes, & forthwith commaunded all his ſouldiers to put their garlands of flowers on their heads, & willed that the pipes ſhould ſound the ſong of *Caſtor*, at the noiſe and tune whereof, he him ſelfe beganne firſt to marche

*The long buſhes and haire of the Laconians.*

*How the Laconians began battell.*

*The Laconians ſong when they marched. Euſt. Ilia. 15.*

forward. So that it was a maruellous pleaſure, & likewiſe a dreadful ſight, to ſee the whole battell march together in order, at the ſound of the pipes, and neuer to breake their pace, nor confound their ranckes, nor to be diſmaide nor amazed themſelues, but to go on quietly and ioyfully at the ſound of theſe pipes, to hazard them ſelues euen to death. For it is likely, that ſuch courages are not troubled with much feare, nor yet ouercom with much fury: but rather they haue an aſſured conſtancy & valiantnes in good hope, as thoſe which are backed with the aſſiſting fauour of the goddes. The King marching in this order, had alwaies ſome about him, which had before time wonne the priſes in games and iuſtes. And they ſay there was one of theſe on a time, that was offered a great ſomme of money at the games Olympical, not to preſent him ſelfe at them: but he refuſed it, liking better with great paine to winne the priſe, then for much money to loſe his honour. Whereupon one ſayd vnto him, Laconian: & what haſt thou gotten now, to cary away the priſe with ſo much ſwet? The Laconian anſwered him laughing: I ſhall fight in the battell, ſaith he, before the King. When they had once broken into their enemies, they did ſtill fiercely and fiercelier ſet vpon them, and did neuer ceaſe, vntill their enemies gaue way and fled: and then they chaſed and followed them ſtill, vntill ſuch time as their ouerthrowe and flight had aſſured them of the victory. Then they quickly and quietly returned to their campe, iudging it to be no manhood, neither the part of a noble minde, or of ſo worthy a nation as the Grecians were, to kill and hew in peeces, men ſo ſcattered and out of order, hauing forſaken all the hope of victory. This fell out not only honourable, but alſo very profitable for them. For they which were in battell againſt them, knowing they killed none but ſuch as reſiſted ſtoutly, and how they did let other goe which fled before them: they found it was more their benefite to flie, then to tary and abide the ſtrokes. *Hippias* the ſophiſter ſaith, that *Lycurgus* him ſelfe was a very good captaine, and a great ſouldier, as he that had bene in many foughten fields: and *Philrſtephanus* aſcribeth to him the deuiſe to put horſemen in troupes and companies, which they called *Oulames*, whereof fifty men at armes was a troupe, whoſe manner was to put them ſelues in ſquadrons. But *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* writeth otherwiſe, that *Lycurgus* was neuer at the wars, and that he made all his lawes and gouernment in a full peace. But in my opinion, the intermiſſion of wars during the plaies Olympicall, which they ſay he deuiſed, doth ſhew in apparaunce that he was a gentle natured man, and one that loued quietnes and peace. Some notwithſtanding (amongeſt whom *Hermippus* was one) ſay, he was not with *Iphitus* at the firſt beginning when he ordeined the playes Olympicall, but that by chaunce he happened to come thither, paſſing by in his iourney onely, and that he ſtaid there to ſee the games: where he thought he heard the voice of a man behind him, ſaying, he maruelled much why he did not perſwade his citizens alſo to be partners of this new deuiſe: and turning backe to ſee who it was that ſpake to him, he ſaw no body. Wherupon he tooke a conceite that it was a ſpeach from the gods: and went therefore preſently to ſeeke out *Iphitus*, with whom he made all the ſtatutes and orders of the feaſt, which afterwards were farre more famous, better ordered & more ſtately then before. But to returne againe to the Lacedæmonians: their diſcipline and order of life continued ſtill, after they were full growen men. For it was not lawfull for any man to liue as he liſted, but they were within their city, as if they had bene in a campe, where euery man knoweth what allowance he hath to liue withall, & what buſines he hath els to do in his calling. To be ſhort, they were all of this mind, that they were not born to ſerue themſelues, but to ſerue their countrey. Therefore if they were cōmanded nothing els, they went continually to ſee what the children did, and to teach them ſomewhat which might profite the common weale, or elſe they went to learne of thoſe which were their elders. For one of the beſt and happieſt things which *Lycurgus* euer brought into his city, was the great reſt and leyſure which he made his citizens to haue, onely forbidding them that they ſhould not profeſſe any vile or baſe occupation: and they needed not alſo to be carefull to get great riches, in a place where goods were nothing profitable nor eſteemed. For the Ilotes, which were made bond men by the warres, did till their groundes, and yeelded them a certaine reuenue euery yere. And as touching this matter, they tell of a Lacedæmonian, who being on a day at Athens where the law was pleaded, did vnderſtand that a citizen there was condemned for Idlenes, and how he went home

*How farre the Lacedæmoniās did purſue their enemies.*

*Lycurgus a very good captaine.*

*Oulames.*

*The Laconians opinion to ſerue their countrey.*

*The reſt and leyſure of the Lacedæmonians.*

*Idle liuers puniſhed at Athens.*

to his houſe very ſorowfully, accõpanied with his friends which were ſory for him, & greatly lamented his ill hap. The LACEDÆMONIAN then prayed thoſe which were about him, to ſhew him the man condemned for liuing nobly, and like a gentleman. I haue alledged this, to ſhew how he thought it a vile & ſeruil thing to exerciſe any handy craft, or to work any thing by hand to get money. For ſutes in lawe, a man may be well aſſured they were baniſhed with the golde & ſiluer from LACEDÆMON, conſidering now there was no more auarice nor couetouſnes there, nor yet pouertie nor lacke, but equalitie with aboundance, & quiet life with ſobrietie. All other times but when they had warres, they followed dauncing, feaſts, playes, bankets, hunting, or other exerciſes of body, and meetings to paſſe the time away. For the young men vntill they came to thirtie yeres of age, neuer went into the market to buie any prouiſion or things for the houſe, but did their fathers or their friends buſineſſe: nay it was a ſhame for the oldeſt men, to haunt the market too often. As to the contrary, it was honorable for them to be preſent at the ſhew place the moſt part of the day, where they diuerſely exerciſed their bodies, and likewiſe to be at the places of aſſembly, there to ſpend time with talking together, and diſcourſing honeſtly one with another, without talking of any matter of gaine, traffike, or money. For all their talke (for the moſt part) was about the praiſing of ſome honeſt thing, or ſportingwiſe to reproue ſome diſhoneſtie, which alwayes caried with it ſome gentle leſſon or monition by the way. For *Lycurgus* was not ſuch a ſower man, as they neuer ſaw him laughe: but as *Soſibius* writeth, it was he that firſt ſacrificed to the litle god of laughter, which is at LACEDÆMON, becauſe he would mingle their feaſts and aſſemblies with mirthe, as a pleaſant ſawce to eaſe the trouble of their ſtrickt and hard life. To be briefe, he did accuſtome his citizens ſo, that they neither would nor could liue alone, but were in maner as men incorporated one with another, and were alwaies in company together, as the bees be about their maiſter bee: ſtill in a continuall loue to ſerue their countrie, to winne honor, & to aduaunce the commonweale. Which affection of theirs is plaine and eaſly ſeene to be imprinted in them by certaine of their anſwers, as in that which *Pædaretus* ſaid on a time, being left out of the election of the number of the three hundred. Who departing home to his houſe mery and iocond as might be, ſaid: It did him good to ſee there were three hundred found better in the citie than himſelfe. *Piſiſtratidas* alſo being ſent ambaſſadour with certaine other to the lieutenants of the king of PERSIA, the PERSIAN lordes asked him, if they came of their owne deſire, or whether they were ſent from the whole ſtate: if we obtaine, ſaid he, it is from the ſtate: if we be denied, then we come of our ſelues. And *Argileonida* the mother of *Braſidas*, asked ſome that went to viſite her after they were returned home to LACEDÆMON from their iorney to AMPHIPOLIS, if her ſonne died like a man, and a worthie SPARTAN. And they ſtraight did commend him highly, ſaying: there was not left in all LACEDÆMON ſuch a valiant man. She replied vnto them. Say not ſo, my friends, I pray you: for *Braſidas* was indeed a valiant man, but the country of LACONIA hath many moe yet valianter then he was. Now touching their Senate: *Lycurgus* was the firſt that erected it among them. The firſt that were thereof, were *Lycurgus* chiefe aiders and aſſiſters of that erection, as we haue declared before: but afterwards he ordained, that when any of thoſe firſt ſhould happen to die, they ſhould chooſe in his place the moſt honeſt reported man in the citie, ſo he were three ſcore yeere olde and aboue. This was the nobleſt glorie that could be among men, when a man bare the bell and priſe, not that he was ſwifteſt among the ſwift, nor ſtrongeſt amongſt the ſtrong, but that he among the honeſt was honeſteſt. He had the rewarde of his vertue, as for libertie to ſpeake, ſoueraigne authoritie to gouerne, and princely power ouer the commonweale, the honour, the life, and the goods of the whole citizens: howbeit the election was made after this ſort. The people firſt aſſembled in the market place, where there were ſome appointed and ſhut vp thereabout in a houſe, from whence they could neither ſee, nor be ſeene of thoſe that were aſſembled, but only they might heare the noiſe which they made there. For the people by their crie and ſhowte, did declare whom they did chooſe, and whom they did refuſe of the competitours, as they vſed to ſhew their liking by the like crie in other things. The competitours were not brought in, and preſented all together, but one after another in order, as by lot did fall out. He on whom the lot fell, paſſed through the middeſt of the aſſembly of the people, and ſaid neuer a worde.

*Sutes in law went away with gold and ſiluer that was baniſhed.*

*How they ſpent the time in Sparta.*

*The Lacedæmonians liued not priuately to themſelues in the commonweale.*

*Pædaretus ſaying.*

*The manner of chooſing the Senate in Sparta.*

The people ſtraight that liked, made a crie or ſhowte alowde. The men appointed which were locked vp, had bookes or tables in which they wrote and noted the greatneſſe of the crie, and showt the people made, as euery competitour paſſed by, not knowing nor ſeeing who he was. Theſe hidden men did onely ſet downe in their bookes, the firſt, the ſecond, the third, and ſo many more, as by ſhowtes and cries they perceiued did paſſe thus through the aſſemblie. They noted alſo in their ſaid bookes, which of theſe had the greateſt crie and ſhowte of people at their paſſing thorough: and him they came and declared to be Senatour choſen.

*what was done the Senatour being choſen.*

Then he wearing a garland of flowers on his head, went to all the temples of the goddes in the citie to giue thankes, hauing a great traine of young men following, and prayſing of his vertues. There went alſo with him a maruellous company of women ſinging ſonges of his praiſe, and how bleſſed he was, that he had liued ſo vertuouſly. Then euery one of his kinne prepared a bancket for him at home at their houſes, and as he entred the houſe, they ſaide vnto him: *The citie honoureth thee with this bancket.* That done, he repaired afterwards to the ordinarie place of their eating, where he did in all things as he was accuſtomed, ſauing he was ſerued nowe at his table with a double allowance, whereof he reſerued the one. After ſupper, all his kinſewomen ſtood in the entrie of the hall where they had eaten: ſo he called her whom he loued beſt, and gaue her his allowance he had ſaued, and ſaid to her: This was giuen me in token I was this day rewarded for my vertue: and euen ſo I giue it thee for a like token of rewarde for thy vertue. Then was ſhe brought home by all the women there to her houſe, euen in like ſorte as he was by the men.

*The maner of buriall with the Lacedæmonians.*

Touching burials, *Lycurgus* made a wiſe order: For firſt of all, to cut off all ſuperſtition of burying places, he commaunded they ſhould burie their dead within the citie, and that their graues ſhould be round about their temples, that young perſons might haue them alwaies in their eyes, and not be affraide to ſee a dead body, as if to touche a coarſe, or to paſſe by their graues, it ſhould defile a man. Then did he forbid them to burie any thing with the coarſe, and willed they ſhould only lappe it vp in a redde clothe, with oliue leaues. It was not lawfull to graue the name of any dead body vpon his graue, but onely of ſuch a man as died in the warres, or of ſome holy woman profeſſed into their temples.

*The time of mourning.*

Furthermore, the time appointed to mourne in, was very ſhorte. For it laſted not but a eleuen dayes, and on the twelft day, they muſt doe ſacrifice to *Proſerpina*, and ſo leaue off their mourning. To conclude, he left nothing idle, or vnworking in his citizens: for to all neceſſarie things which men can not lacke, *Lycurgus* ioyned euer a certaine emulation of men. As to deſire vertue, and to contemne vice: and furniſhed his citie with many good precepts and examples, among which his citizens being ſtill borne and bred vp, and hauing the ſame in euery place before their eyes where they went, they came to paſſe in time to be framed after the very patterne and moulde of vertue it ſelfe.

*None allowed to trauell into other countries without licence.*

For this cauſe he did not ſuffer any to trauell out of the countrie, or to goe abroade as he would, without ſpeciall licence, for feare leaſt thoſe which trauelled abroad for their pleaſure, ſhould bring home ſtrange faſhions and manners, and a corrupt diſordered life, which by litle and litle might get away, and bring an alteration and change of the whole ſtate.

*No ſtrangers ſuffered to dwell in Sparta.*

Furthermore, he kept out of SPARTA all ſtrangers, except thoſe which had neceſſarie buſineſſe there, or were come thither for ſome profit to the countrie: not that he was affraide they ſhould learne ſomething whereby to loue vertue, or that they ſhould deſire to follow his faſhion and manner of gouernement as *Thucydides* was: but rather fearing they ſhould teach his citizens ſome naughtie manners, or ſome ill fauoured vice. For it muſt needs be, that ſtrangers bring euer ſtraunge and new deuiſes with them: which new deuiſes bring with them alſo new opinions: and new opinions beget new affections and mindes, that many times are repugnant to the lawe, and to the forme of the common weale eſtabliſhed before, as diſcordes doe many times in an harmonie of muſicke, that before agreed very well together. Therefore he iudged it a thing moſt neceſſarie, to keepe his citie free and ſafe from counterfaiting of any ſtrangers maners or faſhions, that were commonly as perſons infected with ſome contagious ſickneſſe. Now in all we haue ſpoken before, euen to this place, there is no maner of token or ſhew of iniuſtice, or lacke of equitie, wherewith ſome ſeeme to burden *Lycurgus* in his lawes: by ſaying they were well made, to make men warlike and valiant, but not to be iuſt or righteous.

*Cryptia with the Lacedæmonians.*

But concerning the law they call *Cryptia*, as much to ſay, as their ſecret: if it were of *Ly-*

*curgus* inſtitution, as *Ariſtotle* ſaieth, it might haue caried *Plato* into the like opinion that *Lycurgus* had of his common weale. This was the lawe: The gouernours which had the charge and ouerſight of the young men, at certaine appointed times, did chooſe out thoſe they thought to haue the beſt diſcretion, and ſent them abroade into the countrie, ſome one waye, ſome another way, who caried with them daggers, and ſome prouiſion to feede them. Theſe young men being thus diſperſed abroade in the countrie, did hide themſelues all the day cloſe in ſecret places, and there they lay and tooke their reſt: afterwards when night was come, they went to ſeeke out the high wayes, and killed the firſt of the ILOTES that they met. Sometimes euen in the broad day, they went into the countrie to kill the ſtrongeſt and ſtowteſt of them: as *Thucydides* telleth in his hiſtorie of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, where he ſaith. That a certaine conuenient number of the ILOTES were crowned, by a publicke proclamation of the SPARTANS: and being infranchiſed, for their good ſeruices they had done the common weale, they were carried to all the temples of the goddes for an honour. Within a while after, no man knew what was become of them, being about two thouſand in number: ſo that neuer man heard tell neither then nor ſince, how they came to their deaths. Howbeit *Ariſtotle* aboue all others ſaith, that the *Ephores*, ſo ſoone as they were placed in their offices, made warres with the ILOTES, becauſe they might lawfully kill them. And it is true, that in other things they did handle them very hardly. For they forced them ſometimes to drinke wine without water out of meaſure, till they had made them ſtarke drunke. Then they brought them all into their common halles where they did eate, to make their children to beholde them, and to ſee what beaſtlineſſe it was for a man to be drunke. Likewiſe they made them ſing ſongs, and daunce daunces, vnfit for honeſt men, and ſuch as were full of deriſion and mockerie, and did forbid them expreſſely to ſing any honeſt ſongs. So it is reported, that in the iourney the THEBANS made to LACONIA, many of the ILOTES were taken priſoners thereat, and when they were commaunded to ſing the verſes of *Terpander*, or of *Alcman*, or of *Spendon* the Laconian, they would not doe it: ſaying, they durſt not ſing them for their maiſters. Wherefore he that firſt ſaid in the countrie of LACEDÆMONIA, he that is free is more free, and he that is bonde, is more bonde then in other places: knew very well the diuerſitie betweene the libertie and bondage there, and the libertie and bondage of other countries. But in my opinion, the LACEDÆMONIANS began to vſe theſe great outrages and cruelties, long time after the death of *Lycurgus*, and ſpecially ſince the great earthquake that happened at SPARTA, at which time the ILOTES roſe againſt them with the MESSENIANS, and did great miſchiefe through the countrie, and put the citie to the greateſt diſtreſſe and danger that euer it had. For I cannot be perſuaded, that euer *Lycurgus* inuented, or inſtituted, ſo wicked & miſchieuous an acte, as that kinde of ordinance was: becauſe I imagine his nature was gentle and mercifull, by the clemencie and iuſtice we ſee he vſed in all his other doings, and was witneſſed beſides by open oracle from the goddes, for a iuſt and wiſe man. Furthermore, they ſay of him, that when he ſaw the chiefeſt points of his gouernement had taken deepe roote, and that the forme of his commonweale went on, and was ſtrong enough to maintaine and keepe it ſelfe a foote, like as *Plato* ſaieth, that God reioyced greatly after he had made the worlde, and ſaw the ſame turne and moone his firſt moouing: euen ſo *Lycurgus* taking ſingular pleaſure and delight in his minde, to ſee his notable lawes put in vre, & ſo well eſtabliſhed and liked of by experience, ſought yet to make them immortall, as neere as he could poſſible, by any forecaſt of man, that no after time whatſoeuer, might chaunge or put them downe. To bring this to paſſe, he cauſed all the people to aſſemble, and tolde them he thought his ciuill pollicie and ſtate of commonweale was already ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, for vertuous and happy life: yet there was one matter behinde of greater importance then all the reſt, which he could not yet declare vnto them, vntill he had firſt asked counſell of the oracle of *Apollo*. And therefore in the meane time they ſhould keepe and obſerue his lawes and ordinances inuiolablie, without changing, remoouing, or ſtaying any matter therein, vntill he were returned from the citie of DELPHES, and then they ſhould doe that other thing behinde, if the God then ſo counſelled him. They all promiſed him to doe it, and prayed him to make haſt to go on his iourney. But before he departed, he made the kings and ſenatours ſweare firſt, and conſequently all the peo-

*The cruelty of the Lacedæmonians againſt the Ilotes.*

*Diodorus lib. 2.*

*Plato in Timæo.*

*Lycurgus wonderfull counſell in ſtabliſhing his lawes.*

ple after, that they would keepe his lawes and ordinances without changing or altering any thing, vntill he did return againe. This done, he went to the citie of Delphes, where ſo ſoone as he arriued, he ſacrificed in the temple to *Apollo*, and asked him: If the lawes he had made were good to make a man an happy life. *Apollo* made him anſwer, his lawes were very good, and that his citie keeping them, ſhould be the moſt renowmed of the world. *Lycurgus* cauſed this oracle to be written, which he ſent to Sparta. After he ſacrificed to *Apollo* againe: and then taking leaue of his friends, and of his ſonne, he determined to die, becauſe his citizens ſhould neuer be releaſed of the othe they had made betweene his hands. When he had this determination, he was come to the age, wherein a man hath ſtrength enough to liue longer: and yet was olde enough alſo to die if he would. Wherefore finding himſelfe happie to haue obteined his deſire, he willingly pined himſelfe to death, by abſtinence, and lack of meate. For he thought it meete, that the very death of great perſonages ſhould bring benefit euer to the common weale, and that the end of their life ſhould be no more idle, or vnprofitable, then the reſt of their life before: nay rather, that it was one of their moſt meritorious actes, to haue their death extolled for worthineſſe. So he imagined, that his death would be the perfection and crowne of his felicitie, after he had made and ordained ſo many good and notable lawes, for the honour and benefit of his countrie: and ſhould be as a ſeale of confirmation of his lawe, and the continuall preſeruitour of this citie, conſidering all his citizens had ſworne to keepe them all inuiolably, vntill he were returned. He was not deceiued of his hope, for his citie was the chiefeſt of the world, in glorie and honour of gouernment, by the ſpace of fiue hundred yeeres. For ſo long his citie kept his lawes without any change or alteration by any of the Kings ſucceſſours, vntill King *Agis*, the ſonne of *Archidamus* began to raigne. For the creation of the *Ephores*, did not breake, nor diſcontinue any of the lawes of *Lycurgus*, but reduced them rather to a more ſtraight and ſtrickt order: although it ſeemed at the firſt that the *Ephores* were ordained, for the maintenance and defence of the libertie of the people, whereas in deed they did alſo ſtrengthen the authoritie of the Kings and Senate. Nowe in the raigne of king *Agis*, golde and ſiluer began firſt to creepe in againe to the citie of Sparta, by meanes of *Lyſander*. With money there came in ſtraight couetouſneſſe, and greedines to get and gather. And although *Lyſander* was not deſirous to get it, nor would be corrupted for any money: yet he brought riches and couetouſneſſe into the countrie, and filled the ſame with all fineneſſe, by bringing in great ſtore of golde and ſiluer from the warres, directly againſt the lawes and ordinances of *Lycurgus*. The which ſo long as they were in force and vſe, it appeared that the gouernment of Sparta ſeemed not to be a pollicy or commonweale, but rather a certaine holy place and order of religion. And euen as the Poets faine, that *Hercules* went through the world with his clubbe, and Lions skin, puniſhing cruell robbers, and vnnaturall tyrants: ſo in like caſe with a litle ſcroule of parchement, and a poore cape, did the Spartans commaund and giue lawes to all the reſt of Grece, euen with their good liking and conſent. And they chaſed the tyrants away, which vſurped tyrannicall power ouer any of their cities, and did decide all controuerſies, and oftentimes pacified their ſeditions, without ſending out one ſouldier, but onely a ſimple poore ambaſſadour. At whoſe commaundement, the people preſently aſſembled like the bees, which gather together about their King, ſo ſoone as they ſpie him: they did then ſo greatly reuerence the good gouernment & iuſtice of the Spartans. Therefore I can but wonder much at thoſe which ſay, the citie of Lacedæmon could obey well, but not commaund: and for proofe they alledge words of king *Theopompus*, who aunſwered one which ſaid, that Sparta was maintained, becauſe the Kings could commaund well. Nay the rather (ſaid he) becauſe the citizens can obey well. For men commonly diſdaine to obey thoſe, which are not wiſe in commaunding. So that the faithfull obedience of the ſubiects, dependeth much vpon the ſufficient commandement of the wiſe prince. For he that directeth well, muſt needs be well obeyed. For like as the arte of a good rider, is to make his horſe gentle, and ready at commaundement: euen ſo the chiefeſt point belonging to a prince, is to teach his ſubiects to obey. Wherefore the Lacedæmonians procured, that not onely other people did willingly obey them, but alſo deſired to be ruled, and commanded by them. For they asked them, neither ſhippes nor money, nor yet did ſend them any number of men

*Lycurgus death.*

*Sparta floriſhed fiue hundred yeares.*

*Lycurgus laws were broken in king Agis time by Lyſanders meanes.*

*Money corrupteth Lycurgus lawes.*

*See more in Lyſanders life.*

*Lyſander brought in riches againe into Sparta.*

*Theopompus words of obeying and commaunding.*

*Good gouernment breedeth due obedience.*

of warre to compell them, but onely they ſent one citizen of SPARTA to gouerne them, to whom all the other people ſubmitted themſelues, and were holpen by him in their neceſſitie, as fearing and reuerencing him. In this wiſe the SICILIANS were holpen by *Gyſippus*, the CHALCIDIANS by *Braſidas*, and all the GRECIANS inhabiting ASIA, by *Lyſander*, *Callicratidas*, and by *Ageſilaus*, who were called the reformers and directers of princes, peoples, and Kings, vnto whom they were ſent here and there: but euer they had their eye vpon the citie of SPARTA, as vpon the moſt prefect patterne to order mans life by, and to gouerne a common weale after. To this effect tended the mery word ſpoken in ieſt by *Stratonicus*: Who ſaid he did order the ATHENIANS to tend their ſacrifices, and the ELIANS to tend their games: and if they made any fault therein, the LACEDÆMONIANS ſhould be well whipped. That was merily ſpoken, and in a ieſting manner. But *Antiſthenes* (the philoſopher and one of *Socrates* ſcholers) ſeeing the THEBANS growen very hawty & glorious, after that they had conquered the LACEDÆMONIANS in the iorney of LEVCTRES: me thinketh ſaid he, theſe THEBANS here do like the ſchoole boyes, which bragge and reioyce when they haue a little beaten their maſter. But this was not *Lycurgus* meaning, to haue his citie to commaunde many. But he thought the felicitie of a citie, as of a priuate man, conſiſted chiefly in the exerciſe of vertue, and in the vnitie of the inhabitantes thereof. He framed his common wealth to this ende, that his citizens ſhould be nobly minded, content with their owne, and temperate in their doings, that thereby they might maintaine and keepe themſelues long in ſafetie. The ſelfe ſame intention had *Plato*, *Diogenes*, and *Zenon*, in ſetting forth their bookes, which they wrote of the gouernment of common weales: and ſo had likewiſe many other great and learned men which haue written of the ſame matter. Howbeit they onely left behind them, wordes, and written books: but *Lucurgus* contrariwiſe, left no written books nor pamphlets, but ſtabliſhed and left behind him, a royall forme of gouernment, which no man euer before had inuented, nor neuer after could be followed. He hath made them plainely ſee, a whole citie liue together, and gouerne it ſelfe philoſophically, according to the true rules and preceptes of perfect wiſedome: which imagined that true wiſdome was a thing hanging in the aire, and could not viſibly be ſeene in the world. Whereby he hath worthily excelled in glorie all thoſe, which euer tooke vpon them to write or ſtabliſh the gouernement of a common weale. And therefore ſayth *Ariſtotle*, that after his death they did him leſſe honour in LACEDÆMONIA, then he had deſerued: albeit they did him all the honour they poſſibly could deuiſe. And yet they built a temple for him, and made ſolemne ſacrifice to him euery yeare, as vnto a god. More, they ſay, that when the aſhes of his bodie were brought to SPARTA, there fell ſtraight lightning vpon his tombe where they were put which they had not often ſeene to happen, to other men of name after their deceaſe, ſauing only to the poet *Euripides*, who dying in MACEDONIA, was buried neere the citie of ARETHVSA. The which is ſome manifeſt argument, for ſuch as loue the Poet, to lay againſt thoſe which ſomewhat deprauc him, ſeeing this ſigne came to him after his death, which had happened before to a moſt well beloued man of the goddes. Some ſay *Lycurgus* died in the citie of CIRRHA. But *Apollothemis* ſayth, he dyed in ELIDA. *Timæus* and *Ariſtoxenus* write, he ended his dayes in CRETA. And *Ariſtoxenus* ſayth further, that thoſe of the Ile of CRETA doe ſhewe his graue in the place which they call *Pergamia*, by the broad high wayes ſide. He left one onely begotten ſonne named *Antiorus*, who died without iſſue, ſo that his houſe and name fayled with him. But his neere kinſmen and familiar friendes, did ſet vp a company or brotherhood in memorie of him, which continued a long time: and the dayes wherein they aſſembled, were called the *Lycurgides*. There is another *Ariſtocrates* (the ſonne of *Hipparchus*) who ſayth, that hee being dead in CRETA, his friends burned his bodie, and afterwardes threw his aſhes into the ſea, according as he had prayed and requeſted them. For he feared, that if any part of him ſhould at any time haue bene brought to SPARTA, the inhabitants would haue ſayd he was returned againe, and thereby would haue thought themſelues diſcharged of their oth, and might haue lawfully altered the lawes which he had appointed. And this is the diſcourſe and end of *Lycurgus* life.

*Antiſthenes, Socrates ſcholers words.*

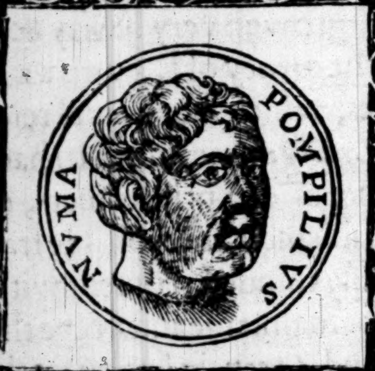
*The foundation of a common weale.*

*Diuine honours to Lycurgus after his death.*

*Antiorus Lycurgus ſonne.*

*The end of Lycurgus life.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Numa Pompilius.*



*In what time Numa was. Cicero de Or. 2. & Tuſcul. 4. Liu. Halic. li. 2.*

*whether Pythagoras had any conuerſation with Numa.*

*Pythagoras the ſecond, a Spartan borne, taught Numa, at Rome.*

THE Hiſtoriographers differ maruelouſly of the time, in which *Numa Pompilius* raigned king, albeit ſome wil deriue from him many noble houſes deſcẽded in ROME. For one *Clodius*, who wrote the booke intituled the table of time, affirmeth that the ancient regiſters of the citie of ROME were loſt when it was taken & ſacked by the GAVLES: and that thoſe which are extant at this day be not true, but were only made by men deſirous to gratifie ſome, which haue thruſt in ancient houſes and families of the firſt ROMAINES, that concerne nothing them whom they ment to repreſent. On the other ſide, although the common opinion be, that *Numa* was a familiar friend and ſcholler of *Pythagoras* the philoſopher, yet ſome ſay he was neuer learned, nor had any knowledge at all in the Greeke tongue. And yet mainteining that it is poſſible enough, that he was ſo well borne, and had ſuch perfection in all kind of vertue, that he neuer needed any maſter: & though he had neded, they had rather attribute the honour of the inſtructing of this king vnto ſome other forren perſon, that was more excellent then *Pythagoras*. Other ſay, that *Pythagoras* the philoſopher was long time after the raigne of *Numa*, & well nigh fiue ages after him. Howbeit other ſay, there was another *Pythagoras* borne in SPARTA (who hauing wonne the pryſe of running at the games Olympicall, in the ſixtenth Olympiade, & the third yeare of *Numaes* raigne) did come into ITALY, where he kept much about *Numa*, & did aſſiſt and helpe him in the gouerning & ordering of his Realme. By meanes whereof there be many cuſtomes yet of the LACONIANS, mingled with the ROMAINES, which this ſecond *Pythagoras* was ſayd to haue taught him. Neuertheleſſe it is not confeſſed that *Numa* was borne of the SABYNES, which they ſay are deſcended from the LACEDÆMONIANS. So it falleth out very hard to agree certainly of the time when *Numa* was, and chiefly for ſuch as will followe the rolle or table of thoſe, which from Olympiades to Olympiades haue wonne the pryſes of games Olympicall: conſidering the rolle or table that they haue at this preſent, was very lately publiſhed by one *Hippias* an *Elian*, who deliuereth no reaſon or argument of neceſſitie, why it ſhould be taken for an vndoubted trothe, which he in that ſort hath gathered. Yet we will not leaue to put in writing thoſe things worthy

thy of memory which we could gather by any meanes of king *Numa*, beginning at that place which we thought to be meeteſt. It was now ſince ROME was built, ſeuen and thirtie yeares (for ſo long time raigned *Romulus*) whē *Romulus* the fifth of the month of Iuly (which they call the Nones of the goates) made a ſolemne ſacrifice without the citie, neere to a certaine place cōmonly called, the goat marſh. As all the whole Senate, with the moſt part of the people were preſent at this ſacrifice, ſodainely there roſe in the ayre a very great tempeſt, and a maruellous darke thicke cloud, which fell on the earth with ſuch boyſterous windes, ſtormes, lightnings, and thunder: that the poore cōmon people being affrayd of ſo ſore a tempeſt, diſperſed themſelues ſodainly, running here and there for ſuccour, and therewithall king *Romulus* vaniſhed away in ſuch ſort, that he was neuer after ſeene aliue nor dead. This brought the Senators & noble men whom they called *Patricians*, into great ſuſpition. And there ranne a foule tale among the common people, how they had long time borne very impatiently to be ſubiects to a King, becauſe themſelues would haue had and taken vpon them ſome ſoueraign authoritie, and that for this cauſe they had killed king *Romulus*. Adding ſomewhat more vnto it, how a litle before he had vſed them more roughly, and cōmanded them more ſtraightly then he was wont or accuſtomed. Neuertheleſſe they found the meanes to quench all theſe brutes & murmurings, by doing diuine honour and ſacrifice vnto him, as one not dead, but paſſed to a better life. To confirme this, one of the nobleſt men among them called *Proclus* came in, and by oth, affirmed before all the people, that he ſaw *Romulus* aſcending vp into heauen, armed at all peeces, and that he heard a voyce ſay: from thenceforth call him *Quirinus*. This being thus appeaſed, there ſprange vp another trouble, to know whom they ſhould chooſe in his place. For the ſtrangers which were come then frō other places to dwel in ROME, were not yet throughly ioyned to the naturall borne ROMAINES: in ſo much, as the common people did not only wauer, and ſtagger vp and downe in opinion, but the Senators alſo (that were many and of diuers nations) did enter into a ſuſpition one of another. Theſe things notwithſtanding they all agreed in this, that of neceſſitie they muſt chooſe a King: howbeit in the reſt they differed much, not only whō they ſhould chooſe, but alſo of what nation he ſhould be. For thoſe which were the firſt founders & builders of the citie of ROME with *Romulus* could in no wiſe abide, nor ſuffer that the SABYNES (to whom they had diuided part of their landes, and a moytie of their citie) ſhould attempt and preſume to commaund them, whom they did receiue and aſſociate into their companie and fellowſhip. The SABYNES alledged on the other ſide for them, a good reaſon, and ſuch as caried great probabilitie. Which was, that neuer ſince the death of their king *Tatius*, they neither had in any thing diſobeyed nor diſquieted king *Romulus*, but had ſuffered him to raigne peaceably: and therefore *Romulus* being nowe deceaſed, reaſon would that the new King ſhould be choſen of their nation. And that albeit the ROMAINES had receiued them into their citie, they could not ſay therfore, that in time of this aſſociation, they were leſſe to be reckoned of in any thing, than them ſelues. Further they added, that in ioyning with them, the ROMAINES had doubly increaſed their might and power, and had made a bodie of a people, which deſerued the honour and title of a citie. Theſe were the cauſes of their contention. But to preuent that of this contention there might grow no confuſion in the citie, if it ſhould remaine without an head to commaund: the Senators which were a hundred and fiftie in number, gaue counſell that euery one of them by turnes, one after another, ſhould carie the royall ſtate of the king, and all the ſhowes and ornaments of his maieſtie, and ſhould doe the ordinarie ſacrifices of the king, and diſpatch all cauſes ſixe houres in the day, and ſixe houres in the night, as the king before had vſed. Thus they thought it beſt to deuide the rule, that one might haue aſmuch power as the other, aſwell in reſpect of thē ſelues, as alſo for regarde of the people. For they imagined, that the chaunging and remouing thus of this regall dignitie, and paſſing it from man to man, would cleane take away enuie among them, and make euery of them to rule temperately, and vprightly ſee, that in one, and the ſelfe ſame day and night, euery of them ſhould be a King and priuate perſon alſo. The ROMAINES call this manner of regiment in vacation, *Interregnum*: as you would ſay, rule for the time. Now albeit their gouernement was very modeſt and ciuill, yet they could not for all that keepe themſelues from falling into the ſuſpition, and ſlaunder of the people: who

*The death of Romulus.*

*In the life of Romulus he is named Proculus.*

*Diſſention at Rome about chooſing of their King.*

*Liuie ſaith but a hundred. Dionyſius 200. Plutar. in the life of Romulus agreeth with Dionyſius.*

*Interregnum.*

gaue it out ſtraight, that this was a fine deuiſe of theirs, to chaunge by this meanes the rule of the Realme into a few noble mens handes, to the ende that the whole authoritie and gouernement of all publique cauſes, ſhould remaine ſtill in them ſelues, becauſe it grieued them to be ſubiect to a King. And in the ende, the two partes of the citie came to this agreement: that the one part ſhould chooſe one of the bodie of the other, to be the King. This courſe they liked very well, aſwell for the pacification of preſent ſturre and diſſention amongeſt them ſelues, as for procuring equalitie of affection, and ſturring vp a likeneſſe of goodwill in the King that thus indifferently ſhould be choſen: whereby he ſhould loue the one part for that they had choſen him, and likewiſe the other part for that he was of their Nation. The SABYNES were the firſt, which referred the election to the ROMAINES choyſe: and the ROMAINES thought it better to chooſe one of the Nation of the SABYNES, then to haue a ROMAINE choſen by the SABYNES. After they had conſulted, they determined amongſt them ſelues: and did chooſe *Numa Pompilius* one of the bodie of the SABYNES to be King, who was none of the number of them which came to dwell at ROME, howbeit hee was a man ſo famous for his vertue, that the SABYNES ſo ſoone as they named him, did receiue him more willingly, then they who had choſen him. After they had thus publiſhed their election, the firſt and chiefeſt perſons of the one and the other ſide, were choſen out to goe vnto him. Now *Numa Pompilius* was borne in one of the chiefeſt and beſt cities which the SABYNES had, called *Cures*, whereuppon the ROMAINES, and their fellowes the SABYNES were called afterwards *Quirites*, and he was the ſonne of *Pomponius* a noble man, the youngeſt of foure brethren: being by the ſecret working of the goddes, borne on the very day, on the which ROME was firſt founded by *Romulus*, which was the one and twentieth day of Aprill. This man being naturally giuen and inclined vnto all vertue, did yet increaſe the ſame, by ſtudie, and all kind of good diſcipline: and by the exerciſe thereof, and of true patience, and right philoſophie, he did maruellouſly adorne himſelfe and his manners. For hee did not onely cleare his ſoule, and minde, of all paſſions and vices commonly vſed in the world: but he conquered in himſelfe all heates, violence, & couetouſneſſe. And would neither ſeeke nor vſurpe, that which was an other mans, a thing at that time honored among the moſt barbarous people: but thought that to be the true, and right victorie in man, firſt to conquer and commaund himſelfe by iudgement and reaſon, and then to ſubdue all couetouſnes and greedines. Hauing therefore this opinion, he would in no wiſe haue in his houſe any ſuperfluitie or fineneſſe. He became to euery man that would employ him (aſwell ſtraunger as his owne countrie man) a wiſe counſaillour, and an vpright iudge. He beſtowed his leaſure, not to follow his owne delight, or to gather goods together: but to ſerue the goddes, & to behold their celeſtiall nature and power, as much as mans reaſon and vnderſtanding could comprehend. Therby he got ſo great a name and reputation, that *Tatius* (which was king of ROME with *Romulus*) hauing but one onely daughter called *Tatia*, made him his ſonne in law. Howbeit this mariage put him in no ſuch iolitie, that he would dwel at ROME with his father in law, but rather kept at home at his owne houſe in the countrie of the SABYNES, there to ſerue and cheriſh his olde father with his wiſe *Tatia:* who for her part alſo liked better, to liue quietly with her husband being a priuate man, then to go to ROME where ſhe might haue liued in much honour and glory, by meanes of the King her father. She died as it is reported, 13. yeares after ſhe was maried. After her death, *Numa* leauing to dwell in the citie, was better contented to liue in the country alone, and ſolitarie, & gaue himſelfe to walke much in the fields and woods conſecrated to the gods, as one deſirous to leade alone life, farre from the companie of men. Whereupon was raiſed (in my opinion) that which is ſpoken of him, and of the goddeſſe *Egeria*. That it was not for any ſtrangeneſſe, or melancholines of nature, that *Numa* withdrew himſelf from the conuerſation and company of men, but becauſe he had found another more honorable and holy ſocietie of the *Nymph*, and goddeſſe *Egeria*, who had done him, as they ſay, that honour, as to make him her husbande: with whom as his beloued darling it is ſaide he enioyed happie dayes, and by daily frequenting of her company, he was inſpired with the loue and knowledge of all celeſtiall things. Surely, theſe deuiſes are much like vnto certaine old fables of the *Phrygians*, which they hauing learned from the father to the ſonne, do loue to tell of one *Atis*: of the *Bithynians*,

*Numa choſen King.*

*Numa borne in the citie of Cures.*

*Quirites why ſo called.*

*The life and manners of Numa before his raigne.*

*Tatia the wife of Numa.*

*Numa conuerſant with the goddeſſe Egeria* of one *Herodotus*: of the ARCADIANS, of one *Endymion*: and of many other ſuch like men, who in their liues were taken for ſaints, and beloued of the goddes. Notwithſtanding, it is likely, that the goddes loue neither birdes, nor horſe, but men, and haue ſometimes a liking to be familiar with perfect good men, and doe not diſdaine ſometime the conuerſation of ſuch as be holy, religious, and deuout. But to beleeue the goddes haue carnall knowledge, and doe delight in the outward beauty of creatures, that ſeemeth to carie a very hard beliefe. Yet the wiſe EGYPTIANS thinke it probable enough and likely, that the ſpirit of the goddes hath giuen originall of generation to women, and doe beget fruit of their bodies: howbeit they hold that a man can haue no corporall company with any diuine nature. Wherein they doe not conſider, that euery thing that ioyneth together, doth deliuer againe a like ſubſtaunce, to that wherewith it was ioyned. This notwithſtanding, it is meete we ſhould beleeue the gods beare good will to men, and that of it doth ſpring their loue, whereby men ſay the gods loue thoſe whoſe manners they purifie and inſpire with vertue. And they doe not offend, which faine that *Phorbas*, *Hyacinthus* and *Admetus*, were ſometimes the louers of *Apollo*, and alſo *Hippolytus* the SICYONIAN: of whom they report, that euer when he paſſed ouer the arme of the ſea which lieth betweene the citties of SICYONA, and of CIRRHA, the god which knew he came, reioyſed, and cauſed *Pythia* the propheteſſe to pronounce theſe heroycall verſes.

*Gods familiar with men.*

*I know full well, my deare Hippolytus.*
*returnes by ſea, my minde diuineth thus.*

*Who are beloued of the goddes.*

It is ſayd alſo that *Pan* was in loue with *Pindarus* and his verſes, and that the goddes honored the poets *Heſiodus*, and *Archilocus*, after their death by the Muſes. They ſay moreouer, that *AEſculapius* lay with *Sophocles* in his life time, and at this day they doe yet ſhow many tokens thereof: and after his death, another god (as it is reported) made him to be honorably buried. Now if they graunt, that ſuch things may be true: how can we refuſe to beleeue, that ſome goddes haue bene familiar with *Zaleuſus*, *Minos*, *Zoroaſtres*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and ſuch other like perſonages, which haue gouerned kingdoms, and ſtabliſhed common weales? and it is not vnlike that the goddes in deede did company with them, to inſpire and teach them many notable things, and that they did draw neare vnto theſe Poets and plaiers of the harpe, that made and played many dolefull and ioyfull ditties, at the leaſt for their ſport and pleaſure onely, if euer they came neare them. Neuertheleſſe if any man be of other opinion, the way is open and large as *Bacchylides* ſayd, to thinke and ſay as he luſt. For my ſelfe I doe finde, that which is written of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and other ſuch perſons, not to be without likelyhood and probability: who hauing to gouerne rude, churliſh, and ſtiffe necked people, and purpoſing to bring in ſtraunge nouelties into the gouernments of their countreis, did faine wiſely to haue conference with the gods, conſidering this fayning fell to be profitable and beneficiall to thoſe them ſelues, whom they made to beleeue the ſame. But to returne to our hiſtory. *Numa* was forty yeares old, when the ambaſſadours of ROME were ſent to preſent the kingdome vnto him, and to intreat him to accept thereof. *Proclus*, and *Veleſus*, were the ambaſſadours that were ſent. One of the which the people looked ſhould haue bene choſen for King, becauſe thoſe of *Romulus* ſide, did fauour much *Proclus*: and thoſe of *Tatius* part fauoured *Veleſus*. Now they vſed no long ſpeach vnto him, becauſe they thought he would haue bene glad of ſuch a great good fortune. But contrarily it was in deede a very hard thing, and required great perſwaſions, and much intreaty, to moue a man which had alwaies liued quietly, and at eaſe, to accept the regiment of a citty, which as a man would ſay, had bene raiſed vp and growen by warres, and martiall deedes. Wherefore he aunſwered them in the preſence of his father, and one other of his kinſemen called *Martius* in this ſort. Change and alteration of mans life is euer dangerous: but for him that lacketh nothing neceſſary, nor hath cauſe to cõplain of his preſent ſtate, it is a great folly to leaue his old acquainted trade of life, and to enter into another new and vnknowen, if there were no other but this only reſpect: that he leaueth a certainety, to venter vppon vncertainty. Howbeit there is further matter in this, that the dãgers & perils of this kingdom which they offer me, are not altogether vncertain, if we will looke back what happened vnto *Romulus*. Who was not vnſuſpected to haue laid wait, to haue had *Tatius* his fellow & cõpanion murdered: & now after *Romulus* death, the Senators ſelues are miſtruſted to haue killed him on the

*Proclus and Veleſus ambaſſadours to offer Numa the kingdome.*

*The oration of Numa to the ambaſſadours refuſing to be King.*

other ſide by treaſon. And yet they ſay it, and ſing it euery where: that *Romulus* was the ſonne of a God, that at his birth he was miraculouſly preſerued, and afterwardes he was as incredibly brought vp. Whereas for my owne part, I doe confeſſe, I was begotten by a mortall man, and was foſtered, brought vp, and taught by men as you know: and theſe few qualities which they praiſe and commend in me, are conditions far vnmeete for a man that is to raigne. I euer loued a ſolitarie life, quiet and ſtudy, and did exempt my ſelfe from worldly cauſes. All my life time I haue ſought and loued peace aboue all thinges, and neuer had to doe with any warres. My conuerſation hath bene to company with men, which meete only to ſerue and honor the goddes, or to laugh and be mery one with another, or els to ſpend their time in their priuate affaires, or otherwiſe ſometime to attend their paſtures, and feeding of their cattell. Whereas *Romulus* (my ROMAINE lords) hath left you many warres begonne, which peraduenture you could be contented to ſpare: yet now to maintaine the ſame, your city had neede of a martiall King, actiue, and ſtrong of body. Your people moreouer, through long cuſtome, and the great increaſe they are giuen vnto by feates of armes, deſire nought elſe perhappes but warres: and it is plainely ſeene, they ſeeke ſtill to grow, and commaund their neighbours. So that if there were no other conſideration in it, yet were it a meere mockerie for me, to goe to teach a city at this preſent to ſerue the goddes, to loue iuſtice, to hate warres, and to flie violence: when it rather hath neede of a conquering captaine, then of a peaceable King. Theſe and ſuch other like reaſons and perſwaſions *Numa* alledged, to diſcharge himſelfe of the Kingdome which they offered him. Howbeit the ambaſſadours of the ROMAINES moſt humbly beſought and praied him with all inſtance poſſible, that he would not be the cauſe of another new ſtur, and commotion among them, ſeeing both parts in the citty haue giuen their conſent and liking to him alone, and none other to be their King. Moreouer, when the ambaſſadours had left him vpon this ſute, his father, and *Martius* his kinſeman, beganne alſo priuately to perſwade him, that he ſhould not refuſe ſo good and godly an offer. And albeit he was contented with his preſent ſtate, and deſired to be no richer then he was, nor coueted no princely honour nor glory, becauſe he ſought only moſt famous vertue: yet hee muſt needes thinke, that to rule well, was to doe the goddes good ſeruice, whoſe will it was to employ the iuſtice they knew in him, and not to ſuffer it to be idle. Refuſe not therefore (qꝥ they) this royall dignity, which to a graue and wiſe man is a goodly field, to bring forth many commendable works & fruits. There you may doe noble ſeruice to the goddes, to humble the hearts of theſe martiall people, and to bring them to be holy and religious: for they readely turne, and eaſely conforme them ſelues vnto the nature of their prince. They dearely loued *Tatius*, although he was a ſtraunger: they haue conſecrated a memory to *Romulus* with diuine honours, which they make vnto him at this day. And it may be, that the people ſeeing them ſelues conquerers, will be full enough of warres: and the ROMAINES being now full of ſpoiles and triumphes, will be glad to haue a gentle prince, and one that loueth iuſtice, that they may thenceforth liue in peace, vnder good and holy lawes. And yet if it be otherwiſe, that their hearts be ſtill full of heate and furie to fight: is it not better to turne this their deſire to make warres ſome other way, when a man hath the bridle in his owne handes to doe it, and to be a meane in the meane time to ioyne the countrey, and all the nations of the SABINES in perpetuall loue and amity, with ſo mighty and floriſhing a citty? beſides all theſe perſwaſions and reaſons, there were many ſignes alſo (as they ſay) which promiſed him good lucke, together with the earneſt affection and liking of his owne countrey citizens. Who, ſo ſoone as they vnderſtood the comming & commiſſion of the ambaſſadours of ROME, they importunately deſired him to goe thither, and to accept the offer of the Kingdome: that he might more ſtraightly vnite and incorporate them together with the ROMAINES. Whereupon, *Numa* accepted the Kingdome. Then after he had done ſacrifice to the goddes, he ſet forwards on his iourney towardes ROME: where the people and Senate went out to meete him, with a wonderfull deſire to ſee him. The women at his entry, went bleſſing of him, and ſinging of his praiſes. They did ſacrifice for him, in all the temples of the goddes. There was neither man nor woman but ſeemed to be as ioyfull and glad: as if a new Realme, and not a new King, had beene come to the citty of ROME. Thus was he brought with this open ioy,

*Numa beginneth his kingdome with the ſeruice of the goddes.*

and reioycing, vnto the market place, where one of the Senatours, which at that time was regent, called *Spurius Vettius*, made them pronounce his open election: and ſo by one conſent he was choſen King, with all the voyces of the people. Then were brought vnto him the tokens of honour and dignity of the King. But he himſelfe commaunded they ſhould be ſtaid a while, ſaying: He muſt firſt be confirmed King by the gods. Then he tooke the wiſe men & prieſts, with whom he went vp into the Capitoll, which that time was yet called mount *Tarpeian*. And there, the chiefeſt of the ſoothſayers called *Augures*, turned him towardes the ſouth, hauing his face couered with a vaile, and ſtood behinde him, laying his right hand vpon his head, and praying to the gods that it would pleaſe them to declare their willes by flying of birdes, or ſome other token concerning this election: and ſo the ſoothſayer caſt his eyes all about, as farre as he could poſſibly diſcerne. During all this time there was a maruellous ſilence in the market place, although then an infinite number of people were aſſembled there together, attending with great deuotion what the iſſue of this diuinatiō would be: vntill there appeared vnto them on the right hand, good and lucky birdes, which did confirme the election. Then *Numa* putting on his regall robes, came downe from mount *Tarpeian*, into the market place, where all the people receiued him with wonderfull ſhoutes of ioy, as a man the moſt holy, and beſt beloued of the goddes that they could haue choſen. So hauing taken the royall ſeate of the Kingdome, his firſt act was this. That he diſcharged the guard of the three hundred ſouldiers, which *Romulus* had alwaies about his perſon, called *Celeres*: ſaying he would not miſtruſt them which truſted him, neither would he be King ouer people, which ſhould miſtruſt him. His ſecond act was, that he did adde to the two prieſts of *Iupiter* & *Mars*, a third, in the honour of *Romulus*, who was called *Flamen Quirinalis*. For the auncient ROMAINES alſo called their prieſts, inſtituted in the old time, *Flamines*, by reaſon of certaine litle narrowe hats which they did weare on their heads, as if they had called them *Pilamines*: for *Pilos* in Greeke ſignifieth a hat. And at that time (as they ſay) there were many mo Greeke wordes mingled with the Latine, then there are at this day. For they called the mantles the Kings did weare *Lænas*. And *Iuba* ſaith, that it is the very ſame which the GRECIANS call *Chlænas*, and that the young boy which was a ſeruant in the temple of *Iupiter*, was called *Camillus*, as ſome of the GRECIANS doe yet call the god *Mercurie*, becauſe hee is ſeruaunt of the gods. Now *Numa* hauing done theſe things at his firſt entrie into his Kingdome, ſtill to winne further fauour and good will of the people: beganne immediatly to frame his citizens to a certaine ciuility, being as iron wrought to ſoftnes, and brought them from their violent and warlike deſires, to temperate and ciuill manners. For out of doubt, ROME was properly that, which *Plato* aſcribeth to a city full of trouble and pride. For, firſt it was founded by the moſt couragious and warlike men of the world, which from all parts were gathered there together, in a moſt deſperate boldnes: and afterwards it increaſed, and grew ſtrong, by armes and continuall warres, like as piles driuen into the ground, which the more they are rammed in, the further they enter, and ſticke the faſter. Wherfore *Numa* iudging it no ſmall nor light enterpriſe, to plucke downe the haughty ſtomacks of ſo fierce and violent a people, and to frame them vnto a ſober and quiet life: did ſeeme to worke it by meanes of the goddes, with drawing them on thereto by litle and litle, and pacifying of their whot and fierce courages to fight, with ſacrifices, feaſtes, dauncings, and common proceſſions, wherein he celebrated euer himſelfe. In the which together with their deuotion, there was mingled now and then, paſtime and pleaſure: and ſometimes he laid the terrour and feare of the goddes before their eyes, making them beleeue that he had ſeene ſtraunge viſions, or that he had heard voyces, by which the goddes did threaten them with ſome great troubles and plagues, alwaies to pull downe and humble their hearts, vnto the feare of the goddes. This was the cauſe why they thought afterwardes that he had learned his wiſedome of *Pythagoras* the Philoſopher: becauſe the greateſt part of the philoſophy of the one, and of the gouernment of the other, conſiſted in ſuch ceremonies, and diuine ſtudies. They report alſo that *Numa* did put on the outward ſhow and ſemblaunce of *Pythagoras* holineſſe, as following his intention and example. For *Pythagoras* as they ſay, made an Eagle ſo tame and gentle, that ſhe would ſtoupe, and come downe to him by certaine voices, as ſhe flew in the aire ouer his head. And that

*Numa was conſecrated by the Augures.*

*The guard of Celeres diſcharged by Numa.*

*Flamen Quirinalis inſtituted of Numa.*

*Numa induceth ciuill and quiet life.*

*Plato de Rep. lib. 2.*

*Numa and Pythagoras inſtitutions much a like.*

paſſing through the aſſembly of the games Olympicall, he ſhewed her thigh of gold, & many other pretty feats and deedes they tell of, which ſeemed to be wonderfull, and for which *Timon Phliaſian* hath written theſe verſes of him:

*Pythagoras which loued to dwell in dignity,*
*and had an heart to glory bent, and paſt in pollicy,*
*Much like a man which ſought, by charming to enchaunt,*
*did vſe this art, to winne mens mindes, which vnto him did haunt,*
*His graue and pleaſaunt tongue, in ſugred ſpeach did flow,*
*whereby he drew moſt mindes of men, to bent of his owne bow.*

Euen ſo the fained fable of *Numa*, which he ſo cunningly diſguiſed, was about the loue of a goddeſſe, or ſome *Nymphe* of the mountaine: with whom he ſeemed to haue certaine ſecret meetings and talke, whereof we haue ſpoken before. And it is ſayed he much frequented the Muſes in the woddes. For he would ſay, he had the moſt part of his reuelations of the Muſes, and he taught the Romains to reuerence one of them aboue all the reſt, who was called *Tacita*, as ye would ſay, Lady ſilence. It ſeemeth he inuented this, after the example of *Pythagoras*, who did ſo ſpecially commaund, and recommend ſilence vnto his ſchollers. Againe, if we conſider what *Numa* ordained concerning images, and the repreſentation of the goddes, it is altogether agreable vnto the doctrine of *Pythagoras*: who thought that God was neither ſenſible, nor mortall, but inuiſible, incorruptible, and only intelligible. And *Numa* did forbid the Romaines alſo to beleeue, that God had euer forme, or likeneſſe of beaſt or man. So that in thoſe former times, there was in Rome no image of God, either painted or grauen: and it was from the beginning a hundred three ſcore and ten yeares, that they had built temples & chappels vnto the gods in Rome, and yet there was neither picture nor image of God within thē. For they tooke it at the firſt for a ſacriledge, to preſent heauenly things by earthly formes, ſeeing we cannot poſſibly any way attaine to the knowledge of God, but in minde and vnderſtanding. The very ſacrifices which *Numa* ordained, were altogether agreable, and like vnto the manner of ſeruing of the gods, which the *Pythagorians* vſed. For in their ſacrifices they ſpilt not [illegible] bloud, but they did theirs commonly, with a litle meale, a litle ſheading of wine and milke, and with ſuch other light things. Such as affirme that thoſe two men did much company and were familiar together, do laie further proofes and arguments for the ſame. The firſt is this: that the Romaines did make *Pythagoras* a free man of the city of Rome, as *Epicharmus* the Comicall poet an auncient writer (and ſometimes one of *Pythagoras* ſchollers) ſaith in a book he wrote and dedicated vnto *Antenor*. The other proofe is: That *Numa* hauing had foure children, called one of them *Mamercus*, after *Pythagoras* ſonnes name, from whom they ſay is diſcended, the houſe of the *AEmilians*, which is the nobleſt of the *Patricians*: for the King gaue him the ſurname of *AEmilius*, becauſe of his ſweet tongue and pleaſant voice. Furthermore, I my ſelfe haue heard ſay many times in Rome, that the Romaines hauing receiued an oracle, which commanded them to ſet vp images in their city, to the wiſeſt & valianteſt man that euer was among the Grecians: cauſed two ſtatues of braſſe to be ſet vp in their market place, the one of *Pythagoras*, and the other of *Alcibiades*. Howbeit to ſtriue about this matter any further, ſeeing there are ſo many doubtes: me thinketh it were but vaine. Moreouer, they attribute to *Numa*, the firſt erection of the colledge pontificall: and ſay he him ſelfe was the firſt *Pontifex* that euer was. But touching the name of *Pontifex*, ſome will ſay they were ſo called, becauſe they chiefly were ordained & appointed for the ſeruice of the almighty: for this word *Potens* in the Romaine tongue, betokeneth mighty. Other thinke this name was giuen to them by their founders, as to exempt perſons out of the world: who enioyned them to do all the ſeruice and ſacrifices to the goddes they could poſſibly, and yet notwithſtanding, if they had any other lawfull let or impediment thereof, they were not ſtraight condemned for omitting the ſame. Howbeit the moſt part doe bring out another deriuation of this name, wherein me thinkes there is little reaſon. As that they ſhould be called *Pontifices*, becauſe they had the charge and maintenaunce of the bridge. For that which the Grecians call *Gephyran*, the Latines call *Pontem*: that is, a bridge. And to ſay truely, the charges of repairing the bridge, belongeth to the Biſhops: as well as the keeping of the moſt holy

and

*Numa worſhipped Tacita one of the Muſes.*
*Pythagoras taught his ſchollers to keepe ſilence.*
*Pythagoras opinion of God*
*Numa forbad images of God.*

*Proofes for the conuerſation of Numa and Pythagoras.*

*Numa inſtituteth Biſhops.*
*Pontifices why ſo called.*

and vnchangeable ceremonies. For the ROMAINES thought it not only a thing vnlawful, but tooke it for a moſt damnable and wicked act, to deſtroy or breake the bridge of wood, which was only ioyned together (as they ſay) with pinnes of wood, & without any iron at all, by the commandement of an olde oracle. But the ſtone bridge was built long time after the raigne of *Numa*, and in the time of the raigne of his nephew *Martius*. Now the firſt and chiefeſt of theſe biſhops, which they call the great *Pontifex*, hath the place, authoritie, and dignitie of the high prieſt and maiſter, of their pontificall lawe: who ſhould be carefull, not onely about all publique ſacrifices and ceremonies, but alſo about ſuch as were priuate, and to ſee that no man priuately ſhould breake the auncient ceremonies, nor bring in any new thing into religion, but rather euery man ſhould be taught by him, how, and after what ſorte he ſhould ſerue and honour the gods. He alſo hath the keeping of the holy virgines which they call *Veſtales*. For they do giue *Numa* the firſt foundation and conſecrating of them, and the inſtitution alſo of keeping the immortall fire with honour and reuerence, which theſe virgines haue the charge of. Either for that he thought it meete to commit the ſubſtance of fire (being pure and cleane) vnto the cuſtodie of cleane and vncorrupt maides: or els becauſe he thought the nature of fire (which is barren, and bringeth forth nothing) was fitteſt, and moſt proper vnto virgines. For in GRECE, where they kept continuall fire likewiſe (as in the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES, and at ATHENS) the maidens do not keepe the ſame, but olde women which are paſt mariage. And if this fire chaunce to faile, as they ſay in ATHENS the holy lampe was put out in the time of the tyrannie of *Ariſtion*: and in the citie of DELPHES it was put out, when the temple of *Apollo* was burnt by the MEDES: and at ROME alſo, in the time of the warres that the ROMAINES had againſt king *Mithridates*: and in the time of the ciuill warres, when altar, fire, and all were burnt and conſumed together: they ſay that it muſt not be lighted againe with other common fire, but muſt be made a new, with drawing cleane and pure flame from the beames of the ſunne, and that they doe in this manner. They haue a hollowe veſſell made of a peece of a triangle, hauing a corner right, and two ſides a like: ſo that from all parts of his compaſſe and circumference, it falleth into one pointe. Then they ſet this veſſell right againſt the beames of the ſunne, ſo that the bright ſunne beames come to aſſemble and gather together in the center of this veſſell, where they doe pearce the aire ſo ſtrongly, that they ſet it a fire: and when they put to it any drie matter or ſubſtance, the fire taketh it ſtraight, becauſe the beame of the ſunne, by meanes of the reuerberation, putteth that drie matter into fire, and forceth it to flame. Some thinke that theſe *Veſtall* virgines keepe no other thing, but this fire, which neuer goeth out. Other ſay, there are other holy things alſo, which no body may lawfully ſee but they: whereof we haue written more largely in the life of *Camillus*, at the leaſt ſo much as may be learned and tolde. The firſt maidens which were vowed and put into this order of religion by *Numa*, were (as they ſay) *Gegania*, and *Verenia*: and after them, *Canuleia* and *Tarpeia*. Afterwards king *Seruius* increaſed the number with two other, and that number of foure continueth vntill this day. Their rule & order ſet downe by king *Numa* was this: that they ſhould vowe chaſtitie for the ſpace of thirtie yeares. In the firſt ten yeares they learne what they haue to doe: the next ten yeares following, they doe that which they haue learned: and the laſt ten yeares, they teach young nouices. After they haue paſſed their thirtie yeares, they may lawfully marie if they be diſpoſed, and take them to another manner of life, and leaue their religion. But as it is reported, there haue bene very few of them which haue taken this libertie, and fewer alſo which haue ioyed after they were profeſſed, but rather haue repented themſelues, and liued euer after a very grieuous and ſorowfull life. This did ſo fraye the other *Veſtalls*, that they were better contented with their vowed chaſtitie: and ſo remained virgines, vntill they were olde, or els dyed. He gaue them alſo great priuiledges, and prerogatiues. As: to make their will and teſtament, in their fathers life time. To doe all things without any gardian or ouerſeer, as women which haue three children at a birth. When they goe abroade, they carie maces before them to honour them. And if by chaunce they meete any offendour in their way, going to execution, they ſaue his life: howbeit the profeſſed *Veſtall* muſt affirme by othe, that ſhe met him vnwares, & not of ſet purpoſe. If any man preſume vnder their chaire, whereupon they are caried through the citie, he ſhall die for it. Alſo when

*The wodden bridge at Rome.*

*The highe biſhop.*

*The inſtitution of the Veſtall Nunnes.*

*The holy and immortall fire.*

*How the holy fire is drawne from the pure flame of the ſunne.*

*See the life of Camillus touching the Veſtall Nunnes.*

*The order appointed the Veſtals by Numa.*

*The Veſtals prerogatiues.*

*The puniſhmẽt of the Veſtall Nunnes.*

they themſelues do any faulte, they are corrected by the great biſhop, who ſometimes doth whip them naked (according to the nature and qualitie of their offence) in a darke place, and vnder a curten. But ſhe that hath deflowred her virginity, is buried quick by one of the gates of the citie, which they call *Collina* gate: where within the citie there is a mount of earth of a good length, and ~~with~~ by the LATINES is ſaid to be raiſed. Vnder this forced mount, they make a litle hollow vawte, and leaue a hole open, whereby one may go downe: and within it there is ſet a litle bed, a burning lampe, & ſome victuals to ſuſtaine life withall. As a litle bread, a litle water, a little milke, and a litle oyle, and that for honours ſake: to the ende they would not be thought to famiſh a body to death, which had bene conſecrated by the moſt holy and deuoute ceremonies of the world. This done, they take the offender, and put her into a litter, which they couer ſtrongly, and cloſe it vp with thick leather in ſuch ſorte, that no body can ſo much as heare her voyce, and ſo they carie her thus ſhut vp through the market place. Euery one draweth back, when they ſee this litter a farre off, and do giue it place to paſſe by: and then follow it mourningly with heauy lookes, & ſpeake neuer a word. They do nothing in the citie more fearefull to behold, then this: neither is there any day wherein the people are more ſorowfull, then on ſuch a day. Then after ſhe is come to the place of this vawte, the ſergeants ſtraight vnloſe theſe faſt bound couerings: and the chiefe biſhop after he hath made certaine ſecret prayers vnto the gods, and lift his handes vp to heauen, taketh out of the litter, the condemned *Veſtall* muffled vp cloſe, and ſo putteth her vpon the ladder, which conueyeth her downe into the vawte. That done, he withdraweth, and all the prieſts with him: and when the ſeely offendour is gone downe, they ſtraight pluck vp the ladder, and caſt aboundance of earth in at the open hole, ſo that they fill it vp to the very top of the arche. And this is the puniſhment of the *Veſtalls* which defile their virginitie.

*The temple of Veſta repreſenteth the figure of the world, where the fire abideth.*

They thinke alſo it was *Numa* that built the round temple of the goddeſſe *Veſta*, in which is kept the euerlaſting fire: meaning to repreſent not the forme of the earth, which they ſay is *Veſta*, but the figure of the whole world, in the middeſt whereof (according to the *Pythagorians* opinion) remaineth the proper ſeate and abiding place of fire, which they call *Veſta*, and name it the vnitie. For they are of opinion, neither that the earth is vnmooueable, nor yet that it is ſet in the middeſt of the world, neither that the heauen goeth about it: but ſay to the contrarie, that the earth hanged in the ayre about the fire, as about the center thereof. Neither will they graunt, that the earth is one of the firſt and chiefeſt parts of the world: as *Plato* helde opinion in that age, that the earth was in another place then in the very middeſt, and that the center of the world, as the moſt honorableſt place, did appertaine to ſome other of more worthy ſubſtance than the earth.

*The manner of buriall.*

Furthermore, the biſhops office was to ſhewe thoſe that needed to be taught, all the rites, manners, and cuſtomes of buriall: whome *Numa* taught not to beleeue that there was any corruption or diſhoneſty in burials, but rather it was to worſhip and honour the goddes of the earth, with vſuall and honourable ceremonies, as thoſe which after their death receiue the chiefeſt ſeruice of vs that they can.

*Libitina honored at funerals*

But aboue all other in burials, they did ſpecially honour the goddeſſe called *Libitina*, that is ſaid, the chiefe gouernour and preſeruer of the rites of the dead: or be it *Proſerpina*, or *Venus*, as the moſt learned men among the ROMAINES do iudge, who not without cauſe do attribute the order of the beginning and end of mans life, to one ſelfe god, and power diuine.

*The time of mourning.*

*Numa* ordained alſo, how long time euery body ſhould mourne in blacke. And for a childe from three yeares to ten yeares of age, that dyed: he ordained they ſhould mourne no more moneths then it had liued yeares, and not to adde a day more For he commanded, that the longeſt time of mourning ſhould be but ten moneths onely, and ſo long time at the leaſt he willed women ſhould remaine widdowes, after the deceaſe of their husbands: or elſe ſhe that would marie within that time, was bounde by his order to ſacrifice a whole bullock.

*Saliȷ, Feciales. Pluta. Probl. 61. Gell. lib. 16. c. 4. Feciales called Irenophylaces.*

*Numa* alſo erected many other orders of prieſts: of two ſortes whereof I will only make mention. The one ſhall be the order of the SALII, and the other of the FECIALES: for me thinkes, both the one and the other dooth manifeſtly ſhewe the great holineſſe, and ſingular deuotion which he had in him. The FECIALES are properly thoſe, which the GRECIANS call IRENOPHYLACES, as who would ſay, peacekeepers. And in my iudgement, they had their right name according to their office, becauſe they did pacifie quarels with reaſon by waye of order, and did not ſuffer (as much as in them laye) that any matter ſhould be tried by violence, vntill they were paſt all hope of any peace. For the Grecians call it properly *Irenen*, when both parties agree, and decide their controuerſie with reaſon, and not with ſworde. Euen ſo thoſe which the Romaines called the *Feciales*, went many times in perſon to thoſe that did the Romaines iniurie, and ſought to perſuade them with good reaſon, to keep promiſe with the Romaines, and to offer them no wrong. But if they would not yeeld to reaſon, whom they ſought to perſuade: then they called the gods to the witneſſe thereof, and praied them, that if they did not moſt earneſtly incenſe the Romaines, to purſue that moſt iuſtly appertained vnto their right, that all euils and miſchieues of the warres might fall vpon themſelues, and on their countrie. This done, they did threaten open warres againſt ſuch enemies. And if the Feciales would not conſent to open warres, and did happen to ſpeake againſt them: it was not lawfull in that caſe, neither for priuate perſon, nor for the King himſelfe to make any warres. But like a iuſt prince, he muſt haue leaue by their ſufferance to make the wars. Then did he conſider, and conſult, by what meanes he might beſt procure, & proſecute the ſame. Concerning this matter, they iudge that the ill hap which came to the Romaines, when the citie of Rome was taken and ſacked by the Gavles, chaunced iuſtly for breaking of this holy inſtitution. For at that time, the barbarous people beſieged the citie of the Clvsinians: and *Fabius Ambuſtus* was ſent ambaſſadour vnto them, to ſee if he could make peace betweene them. The barbarous people gaue him an ill aunſwer: whereupon *Fabius* thinking his embaſie had bene ended, and being ſomwhat hotte, and raſhe, in defence of the Clvsinians, gaue defiance to the vallianteſt Gavle there, to fight with him mã to man. Fortune fauored him in this chalenge: for he ſlew the Gavle, and ſtripped him in the field. The Gavles ſeeing their man ſlaine, ſent immediatly an heraulde to Rome, to accuſe *Fabius*, howe againſt all right and reaſon, he began warres with them, without any open proclamation made before. The Feciales being then conſulted with therabout, did declare, he ought to be deliuered into the hands of the Gavles, as one that had broken the lawe of armes, and had deſerued it: but he made friends to the people which fauored him very much, and by their meanes eſcaped his deliuerie, and puniſhment. Neuertheleſſe, the Gavles within ſhort time after, came before Rome with all their power: which they tooke, ſacked, & burnt euery whit, ſauing the Capitoll, as we haue written more amplie in the life of *Camillus*. Now concerning the Prieſts that were called *Salij*, they ſay he did inſtitute them vpon this occaſion. In the eight yeare of his reigne, there came a peſtilent diſeaſe through all Italie, and at the length it crept alſo into Rome. Whereat euery man being greatly affraide and diſcouraged, they ſay there fell from heauen a target of copper, which lighted betweene the hands of *Numa*. They tell hereof a wonderfull tale, which the King himſelfe affirmed he heard, of the *Nymphe Egeria*, and the *Muſes*. To wit, that this target was ſent from heauen, for the health and preſeruation of the citie: and therefore he ſhould keepe it carefully, and cauſe eleuen other to be caſt and made, all like vnto the ſame in faſhion and greatneſſe, to the end, that if any would enterpriſe to ſteale it, he ſhould not tell which of them to take for the right target. Moreouer he ſaid, he was commaunded to conſecrate the place to the *Muſes* (in the which he did oftentimes companie with them) and alſo the fields which were neere thereabouts: and likewiſe to giue the fountaine that ſprang in that place, vnto the *Veſtalls* profeſſed, that euery day they might drawe water at that Well, to waſh the ſanctuarie of their temple. The ſucceſſe hereof proued his words true, for the ſicknes ceaſed incontinently. So he aſſembled all the chiefe crafts men then in Rome, to proue which of them would take vpon him to make one like vnto that. Euery man deſpaired to performe it. Howbeit one called *Veturius Mamurius* (the excellenteſt workeman that was in thoſe dayes) did make them all ſo ſute like, that *Numa* himſelfe did not knowe the firſt target, when they were all laide together. So he ordained theſe prieſts *Salij*, to haue the cuſtodie of theſe targets, to ſee them ſafe kept. They were called *Salij*, not after the name of Salian borne in Samothracia, or in Mantinea, as ſome haue vntruly alleaged, who firſt inuented the manner of dauncing all armed: but they were ſo called, of their faſhion and manner of dauncing, and leaping. For in the moneth of Marche, they go skipping and leaping vp and downe the citie,

*Irenen: a quarrell pacified with reaſon, without the ſword.*

*Rome taken by the Gaules. See Camillus life.*

*The inſtitution of the Salij.*

*A target from heauen.*

*Whereof they were called Salij.*

with thoſe targets on their armes, apparelled in red caſſockes without ſleeues, and girded about with broade leather ſworde girdles, ſtudded with copper, hauing helmets of copper on their heads,& ſtriking vpon their targets with ſhort daggers, which they cary in their hands. Moreouer, all their dauncing conſiſteth in mouing of their feete: for they handle them finely, making turnes aboue ground and beneath, with a ſodaine meaſure, and a maruellous force of agilitie. They call theſe targets *Ancylia*, becauſe of their faſhion, which is not altogether compaſſe: for they are not all round as other common targets be, but they are cut with circles wreathed about, both the ends bowing in many foldes, and one ſo neere another, that altogether they come to a certaine wreathed forme, which the GRECIANS call *Ancylon*. Or els they are ſo called, becauſe *Ancon* ſignifieth an elbow, vpon which they cary them. All theſe deriuations are written in the hiſtorie of *Iuba*, who in any caſe will haue this word *Ancylia* to be drawne out of the Greeke tongue. And it may be alſo they were ſo called, becauſe the firſt came from aboue, which the GRECIANS call *Anecathen*: or els for healing the ſick, which is called *Aceſis*. Or els for ceaſing of the drineſſe, which in Greeke is called, *Anchmôn Lyſis*. Or for the ending of all diſeaſes and euils, for which cauſe the ATHENIANS call *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, *Anacas*: if they luſt to giue this word his deriuation from the Greeke tongue. Now the reward which *Mamurius* the goldſmith had for the making of theſe targets was, that the *Salij* vnto this day do make mention of him, in their ſong, which they ſing going through the citie, and dauncing of their daunce all armed. Howbeit ſome thinke they ſay not *Veturius Mamurius*, but *veterem memoriam*, auncient memorie. But *Numa* after he had ordained and inſtituted theſe orders of prieſts, built his palace neere vnto the temple of *Veſta*, which holdeth his name *Regia* at this day, to ſay, the Kings palace. In which he remained moſt part of his life, ſtudying either to ſacrifice to the gods, or to teach the Prieſts what they ſhould do, or how with them he ſhould beſt contemplate all heauenly things. It is true that he had another houſe on the hill, which they call at this day, *Quirinall*, the place whereof is yet to be ſeene. But in all theſe ſacrifices, ceremonies, and proceſſions of the Prieſts, there were alwaies huſſhers that went before, crying to the people, keepe ſilence, and tend vpon diuine ſeruice. For they ſay the *Pythagorians* thought it good, that men ſhould not worſhip the gods, nor make prayers to them in paſſing by, or doing any other thing: but they thought it meete, that men ſhould of purpoſe go out of their houſes, to ſerue and pray vnto them. Euen ſo King *Numa* thought it not meete, that his ſubiects ſhould come to ſee, and heare diuine ſeruice negligently, as it were for a faſhion, and onely to be ridde of it, as heeding an other thing: but he would haue them ſet aſide all other buſines, and employ their thoughts and hearts only vpon the principall ſeruice of religion, and deuotion towards the gods. So that during ſeruice time, he would not haue heard any noiſe, any knocking, bounſing, or any clapping, as they commonly heare in all artificers ſhops of occupation, whereof at this day yet they ſeee ſome ſignes and tokens, remaining in their ſacrifices at ROME. For all the time the *Augur* beholdeth the flying of the birds, or that he is doing any ſacrifice, the vergers crie alowde: *Hoc Age*, which meaneth, tend this. And it is a warning to thoſe that are preſent, to call their wittes home, and to thinke on that which is in hand. Alſo there are many of his orders like the precepts of the *Pythagorians*. For as they did warne men, not to ſit vpon a little buſhell, not to cut fire with a ſword, not to looke behinde them when they goe abroade: to ſacrifice to the celeſtiall goddes in odde number, and to the goddes of the earth in an euen number, of which precepts they would not haue the commõ people to haue any knowledge or vnderſtanding. Euen ſo there are many inſtitutions of *Numa*, the reaſons whereof are hiddẽ and kept ſecret: as not to offer wine to the gods of the vine neuer cut, and not to ſacrifice vnto them without meale: and to turne a turne about when they do reuerence to the gods, & to ſit downe after they haue worſhipped them. And as touching the two firſt ordinances, it ſeemeth that by them he did recõmend clemency & humanity, as being a part of the deuotion towards the gods. But as for the turning which he willeth them to make, that worſhip the gods: they ſay it preſenteth the turning which the element maketh by his mouing. But me thinketh it ſhould rather come of this: for that the temples being ſet to the eaſt, he that worſhippeth entring into the temple, ſheweth his backe to the Weſt, and for this cauſe turneth towards that part, and afterwards returneth againe towards god: doing the whole turne, & ending the con-

ſummation

*Ancylia, whereof ſo called.*

*Regia, the kings palace.*

*Them anner of the Romaine worſhipping of the gods.*

*The Pythagorians opinion touching praier.*

*Hoc age, a watcheword to tend diuine ſeruice.*

*The ſimilitude of Numa and Pythagoras precepts.*

ſummation of his prayer, by this double adoration which he maketh before & behind. Vnleſſe peraduenture that he ment ſecretly to ſignifie, & giue them to vnderſtand by this turning and chaunging of their looke, that which the EGYPTIANS figured by their wheeles: in ſhowing thereby, that theſe worldly things were neuer conſtant & in one ſtate. And therefore, that we ſhould take it thankfully, & patiently beare it, in what ſort ſo euer it pleaſed God to change or alter our life. And where he cōmanded that they ſhold ſit after they had worſhipped God: they ſaid it was a token of a good hope vnto them that praied, that their praiers ſhould be exalted, & that their goods ſhould remaine ſafe, and ſticke by them. Other ſay, that this eaſe & ſitting, is a ſeparating them from doing: and therefore he would they ſhould ſit in the temples of the gods, to ſhew they had done that which they had in hand before, to the end to take of the godds the beginning of another. And it may well be alſo, that it was referred to the thing we ſpake of a litle before. That *Numa* would accuſtome his people, not to ſerue the gods, nor to ſpeake to thē at all, as they paſſed by, or did any other thing, or were in haſte: but would haue thē pray vnto the godds when they had time & leaſure, & al other buſines at that time ſet a part. By this good inſtruction & training them vnto religion, the citie of ROME by litle & litle came to be ſo tractable, & had the great power of king *Numa* in ſuch admiratiō: that they tooke all to be as true as the goſpell that he ſpake, though it had no more likelihood of troth, then tales deuiſed of pleaſure. Furthermore, they thought nothing incredible, or vnpoſſible to him, if he wold haue it. And for proofe hereof, there goeth a tale of him, that he hauing bidden a great company of the citizens of ROME to come and ſup with him, cauſed them to be ſerued with plaine groſſe meat, and in very poore and homely veſſell. And when they were ſet, and began to fall to their meat, he caſt out words ſodainly vnto them, how the goddeſſe with whom he accompanied, was come to ſee him euen at that inſtant, & that ſodainely the hall was richly furniſhed, & the tables couered with all ſorts of excellent fine & delicate meates. Howbeit this far paſſed all the vanity of lying, which is found writtē of him, about his ſpeaking with *Iupiter*. The hill Auentine was not at that time inhabited, nor incloſed within the walles of ROME, but was full of ſprings & ſhadowed groues, whither cōmonly repaired to ſolace themſelues, the two godds, *Picus* & *Faunus*, which otherwiſe might be thought two Satyres, or of the race of the *Titaniās*: ſauing it is ſaid, that they went through all ITALY, doing the like miracles & wonders in phiſicke, charmes & art magike, which they report of thoſe the GRECIANS call *Idæes Dactyles*. There they ſay that *Numa* tooke them both, hauing put into the ſpring both wine & honnie, where they vſed to drinke. When they ſaw that they were taken, they transformed thēſelues into diuers formes, diſguiſing & disfiguring their naturall ſhape, into many terrible & fearefull ſights to behold. Neuertheles in the end, perceiuing they were ſo faſt, as to eſcape there was no reckoning: they reuealed vnto him many things to come, & taught him the purifying againſt lightning & thunder, which they make yet at this day with onions, haire, and pilchers. Other ſay, he was not taught that by them, but that they fetched *Iupiter* out of heauē, with their coniuring & magicke: whereat *Iupiter* being offended, anſwered in choller, that he ſhould make it with heads. But *Numa* added ſtraight, of onions: *Iupiter* replied, of men. Thē *Numa* asked him againe, to take a litle away the cruelty of the cōmaundement: What haires? *Iupiter* anſwered, quick haires. And *Numa* put to pilchers alſo. And it is reported that this was the goddeſſe *Egeria*, that taught *Numa* this ſubtiltie. This done, *Iupiter* returned appeaſed: by reaſon wherof the place was called *Ilicium*. For *Ileos* in the Greeke tongue ſignifieth appeaſed, & fauorable: & this purifying was afterwards made in that ſort. Theſe tales not only vaine, but ful of mockery alſo, do ſhow vs yet plainely the zeale & deuotion men had in thoſe times towards the godds: vnto which *Numa* through cuſtome had won them. And as for *Numa* himſelfe, they ſay that he ſo firmely put all his hope & confidence in the help of the godds: that one day when he was told his enemies were in armes againſt him, he did but laugh at it, & anſwered. And I do ſacrifice. It is he (as ſome ſay) that firſt built a temple to *Faith* & *Terme*: and which made the ROMAINES vnderſtand, that the moſt holy and greateſt oth they could make, was to ſweare by their faith, which they kepe yet at this day. But *Terme*, which ſignifieth bounds, is the god of confines, or borders: vnto whom they doe ſacrifice, both publiquely & priuately, vpon the limits of inheritances, & now they ſacrifice vnto him liue beaſts. Howbeit in old time they did ſacrifice vnto

*By what means Numa made the Romaines quiet & gentle*

*The wonders of Numa.*

*Numaes ſpeaking with Iupiter.*

*Picus. Faunus.*

*The purifying of thunder.*

*Ilicium, the name of the place.*

*Numa builded temples to Faith and Terme.*

him without any bloud,through the wiſe inſtitutiō of *Numa*: who declared & preached vnto them,that this God of bounds was ſincere,& vpright,without bloud or murther,as he that is a witnes of iuſtice,& a keper of peace. It was he,which in my opiniō,did firſt limit out the boūds of the territorie of ROME which *Romulus* would neuer doe,for feare leaſt in bounding out his owne,he ſhould confeſſe that which he occupied of other mens. For bounding & mearing, to him that wil keepe it iuſtly: is a bond that bridleth power & deſire. But to him that forceth not to keepe it:it is a proofe to ſhew his iniuſtice. To ſay truly,the territorie of ROME had no great bounds at the firſt beginning,& *Romulus* had got by conqueſt the greateſt part of it, and *Numa* did wholy deuide it vnto the needy inhabitants to relieue them,& to bring thē out of pouerty: (which carieth men hedlong into miſchiefe,& diſcourageth thē to labour)to the end that plowing vp the ſaid land,they ſhould alſo plow vp the weedes of their own barrennes,to become ciuill & gentle. For there is no exerciſe nor occupation in the world,which ſo ſodainly bringeth a man,to loue & deſire quietnes,as doth husbandry & tillage:& yet to defend a mans own, there is in it corage & hardines to fight. But greedy deſire,violently to take from others,& vniuſtly to occupy that is none of theirs, is neuer in right husband men. And therfore *Numa* hauing brought in husbandry amongſt his ſubiects,as a medicine and meane to make them loue quietnes: was deſirous to inure them to this trade of life,the rather to make thē humble & gentle of condition, then to increaſe them in riches. He deuided all the territorie of ROME into certaine parts which he called *Pagos*:as much to ſay,as villages. And in euery one of thē he ordeined controllers & viſiters,which ſhould ſuruey all about: & he himſelfe ſometimes went abroad in perſon, coniecturing by their labour thē manners & nature of euery man. Such as he found diligent,he aduanced them vnto honor, & gaue them countenance & authority: other which he ſaw ſlothfull & negligent,by rebuking & reprouing of them,he made them amend. But amongſt all his ordinances which he made,one aboue all the reſt caried the praiſe: & that was,that he deuided his people into ſundry occupations. For the citie of ROME ſeemed yet to be made of two nations, as we haue ſaid before: and to ſpeake more properly, it was made of two tribes. So that it could not, or would not for any thing be made one: being altogether impoſſible to take away all factions, and to make there ſhould be no quarrels nor contentions between both parts. Wherfore he conſidered,that when one will mingle two bodies or ſimples together, which for their hardnes and contrary natures cannot well ſuffer mixture: then he breakes & beates them together,as ſmall as may be. For,ſo being brought into a ſmaller & leſſer powder,they would incorporate and agree the better. Euen ſo he thought it was beſt to deuide the people alſo into many ſmall parts: by meanes whereof they ſhould be put into many parties, which would more eaſily take away the firſt & the greateſt parr, when it ſhould be deuided and ſeparated thus into ſundry ſorts. And this diuiſion he made by arts & occupations: as minſtrels,goldſmiths,carpenters,diers,ſhoemakers,tawers,tanners,bel-founders,& pot makers,& ſo forth through other craftes and occupations. So that he brought euery one of theſe into one bodie, & company by it ſelfe: and ordeined vnto euery particular myſterie or craft, their feaſts, aſſemblies,& ſeruices, which they ſhould make vnto the goddes, according to the dignitie & worthines of euery occupation. And by this meanes,he firſt tooke away al faction: that neither ſide ſaid, nor thought any more,thoſe are SABYNES, theſe are ROMAINES, theſe are of *Tatius*,theſe are of *Romulus*. Inſomuch as this diuiſion was an incorporating, & an vniting of the whole together. Among other his ordinances,they did much commend his reforming of the law,that gaue libertie vnto fathers to ſell their children. For he did except childrē already maried,ſo they were maried with their fathers cōſent & goodwill:iudging it to be too cruell & ouer hard a thing, that a woman who thought ſhe had maried a free man, ſhould find her ſelf to be the wife of a bondman. He began alſo to mend a litle the calender, not ſo exactly as he ſhould haue done,nor yet altogether ignorantly. For during the raigne of *Romulus*, they vſed the moneths confuſedly,without any order or reaſon,making ſome of them 20. dayes & leſſe, and others 35. dayes and more, without knowing the difference betweene the courſe of the ſunne and the moone: and onely they obſerued this rule, that there was 360. dayes in the yeare. But *Numa* conſidering the inequalitie ſtood vpon 11. dayes, for that the 12. reuolutions of the moone are runne in 354. dayes, and the reuolution of the ſunne, in 365. dayes,he

doubled

*Numa made the boundes of th territorie of Rome.*

*Numa aduanceth tillage.*

*Numa deuided his people into ſundry occupations.*

*Numa tooke away the factions of Romulus and Tatius.*

*The ordinance of the moneths of Numaes inſtitution.*

*Macrob.1. Satyr.13.*

doubled the 11. dayes, whereof he made a moneth: which he placed from 2. yeres to 2. yeares, after the moneth of Februarie, & the ROMAINES called this moneth put betwene, *Mercidinũ*, which had 22. dayes. And this is the correction that *Numa* made, which ſince hath had a farre better amendmẽt. He did alſo change the order of the moneths. For March which before was the firſt, he made it now the third: and Ianuary the firſt, which vnder *Romulus* was the 11. and Februarie the 12. and laſt. Yet many are of opinion, that *Numa* added theſe two, Ianuary & February. For the ROMAINES at the beginning had but 10. moneths in the yere: as ſome of the barbarous people make but three moneths for their yere. And the ARCADIANS amongſt the GRECIANS haue but foure moneths for their yeare. The ACARNANIANS haue ſixe to the yeare. And the EGYPTIANS had firſt but one moneth to their yeare: & afterwards they made foure moneths for their yeare. And this is the cauſe why they ſeeme (albeit they inhabite in a new countrie) to be neuertheles the ancienteſt people of the world: for that in their Chronicles they reckon vp ſuch infinite number of yeares, as thoſe which count the moneths for the yeares. And to proue this true, that the ROMAINES at the beginning had but 10. moneths in the yeare, & not 12. it is eaſely to be iudged by the name of the laſt, which they call at this day Decẽber. And that the moneth of March was alſo the firſt, may be coniectured by this: for the fifth moneth after that, is yet called *Quintilis*: the 6. *Sextilis*, & ſo the other in order following the nũbers. For if Ianuary & February had then bene the firſt, of neceſſitie the moneth of Iuly, which they call *Quintilis*, muſt haue bene named September: conſidering alſo that it is verie likely, that the moneth which *Romulus* had dedicated vnto *Mars*, was alſo by him ordained to be the firſt. The ſecond was Aprill: ſo called of the name *Aphrodite*, that is to ſay *Venus*, vnto whom they make open ſacrifice in this moneth. And on the firſt day of the ſame, women doe waſh themſelues, hauing a garland of myrtle vpon their heads. Howbeit ſome other ſay, that it was not called after the name of *Aphrodite*, but it was only called *Aprilis*, becauſe thẽ is the chiefeſt force & ſtrength of the ſpring, at which ſeaſon the earth doth open, and the ſeedes of plants and hearbs begin to bud & ſhew forth, which the word it ſelfe doth ſignifie. The moneth following next after that, is called Maye: after the name of *Maia*, the mother of *Mercurie*, vnto whom the moneth is conſecrated.*The month of Iune is ſo called alſo, becauſe of the qualitie of that ſeaſon, which is as the youth of the yeare. Although ſome will ſay, that the moneth of Maye was named of this word *Maiores*, which ſignifieth as much as the elders: & the moneth of Iune, of *Iuniores*, which ſignifies the yonger men. All the other following, were named in old time by the numbers according to their order, *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *Nouember*, and *December*. But *Quintilis*, was after called *Iulius*, of the name of *Iulius Caſar*, who ſlew *Pompeius*. And *Sextilis* was named *Auguſtus*, *Octauius Caſars* ſucceſſour in the empire, who was alſo ſurnamed *Auguſtus*. It is true alſo that *Domitian* would they ſhould call the two moneths following (which are *September* & *October*) the one *Germanicus*, and the other *Domitianus*. But that held not long: for ſo ſoone as *Domitian* was killed, the moneths recouered their auncient names againe. The two laſt moneths only, haue euer continued their names, without changing or altering. But of the two which *Numa* added, or at the leaſt tranſlated: the moneth of February doth ſignifie as much as purging, or at the leaſt the deriuation of the word ſoundeth neere it. In this moneth, they do ſacrifice of plants, * & do celebrate the feaſt of the Lupercales, in which there are many things agreable, and like to the ſacrifices made for purification. And the firſt, which is Ianuarie, was called after the name of *Ianus*. Wherfore me thinks that *Numa* tooke away the moneth of March from the firſt place, & gaue it vnto Ianuary: becauſe he would haue peace preferred before warre, and ciuill things before marſhall. For this *Ianus* (were he King, or demigod) in the former age was counted very ciuill & politick. For he changed the life of men, which before his time was rude, cruell, & wild: and brought it to be honeſt, gentle, & ciuill. For this cauſe they doe paint his image at this day with two faces, the one before, and the other behind, for thus chaunging the liues of men. And there is in ROME a temple dedicated vnto him, which hath two doores, that be called the doores of warre: for the cuſtome is to open them, when the ROMAINES haue any warres in any place; and to ſhut them when they be at peace. To haue them ſhut, it was a rare thing to ſee, and happened very ſeeldome: by reaſon of the greatneſſe of their empire, which of all ſides was enuironed

*The yere diuerſely counted.*

** Peraduenture ye muſt read in the Greeke (ἀπὸ τῆς ἥρας) which is to ſay, of the name of Iuno.*

** Some old Grecian copies ſay in this place. φθιτοῖς, as much to ſay, as for the dead.*

*Why Ianus is painted with two faces.*

*At what time the temple of Ianus is ſhut in Rome. Liu. lib. 1.*

*The Romaines had no warres in all Numaes time.*

with barbarous nations, whom they were cõpelled to keepe vnder with force of armes. Notwithſtanding it was once ſhut vp in the time of *Auguſtus*, after he had ſlaine *Antonie*: and once before alſo in the yere when *Marcus Attilius* & *Titus Manlius* were Cõſuls. But that cõtinued not long, for it was opened again incontinently, by reaſon of wars that came vpon them ſoone after. Howbeit during the raign of *Numa*, it was neuer one day opened, but remained ſhut continually by the ſpace of 43. yeares together. For all occaſions of wars, were then vtterly dead & forgotten: becauſe at Rome the people were not only through thexample of iuſtice, clemẽcie, & the goodnes of the King brought to be quiet, & to loue peace: but in the cities thereabouts, there began a maruellous change of maners & alteration of life, as if ſome gentle aire had breathed on them, by ſome gratious & healthfull wind, blowen from Rome to refreſh them. And thereby bred in mens minds ſuch a hearty deſire to liue in peace, to till the ground, to bring vp their children, & to ſerue the goddes truly: that almoſt through all Italy, there was nothing but feaſts, playes, ſacrifices, and bankets. The people did traffick & frequent together, without feare or danger, and viſited one another, making great cheere: as if out of the ſpringing fountaine of *Numaes* wiſdome many pretie brookes & ſtreames of good & honeſt life had run ouer all Italie, and had watered it: and that the mildnes of his wiſedome had from hand to hand bene diſpearſed through the whole world. Inſomuch, as the ouer exceſſiue ſpeeches the Poets accuſtomably do vſe, were not ſufficient enough to expreſſe the peaceable raigne of that time.

*There: ſpiders weaue, their cobwebbes day and night*
*in harneſſes, which wont to ſerue for warre:*
*there: cancred ruſt doth fret, the ſteele full bright*
*of trenchant blades, well whet in many a Iarre.*
*There: mightie ſpeares, for lacke of vſe are eaten,*
*with rotten wormes: and in that countrie there,*
*the braying trompe doth neuer ſeeme to threaten,*
*their quiet eares, with blaſts of bloudy feare.*
*There: in that land, no drowſie ſleepe is broken,*
*with hotte alarmes, which terrours do betoken.*

For during all king *Numaes* raigne, it was neuer heard that euer there were any wars, ciuill diſſention, or innouation of gouernement attempted againſt him, nor yet any ſecret enmity or malice borne him, neither any cõſpiracy once thought on to reigne in his place. And whether it was for feare of diſpleaſing the gods (which viſibly ſeemed to take him into their protectiõ) or for the reuerent regard they had vnto his vertue, or for his proſperous & good ſucceſſe all the time he raigned, I cannot tell: howbeit he ſought to keepe men ſtill pure, & honeſt, from al wickednes, & layd moſt opẽ before the eies of the whole world, a very example of that which *Plato* long time after did affirme, & ſay, concerning true gouernmẽt: which was. That the only meane of true quietnes, & remedy from al euill (which euer troubleth men) was: whẽ by ſome diuine ordinance from aboue there meeteth in one perſon, the right maieſtie of a King, & the mind of a wiſe philoſopher, to make vertue gouerneſſe & ruler ouer vice. For in deede happy is ſuch a wiſe man, & more happy are they, which may heare the graue counſaile, & good leſſons of ſuch a mouth. And there me thinkes needeth no force, no compulſion, no threats, nor extremitie to bridle the people. For mẽ ſeeing the true image of vertue in their viſible prince, & in the example of his life, doe willingly grow to be wiſe, & of them ſelues do fall into loue, liking, and friendſhip together, and doe vſe all temperance, iuſt dealing, and good order one towarde another, leading their life without offence, and with the commendation of other: which is the chiefe point of felicitie, and the moſt happie good that can light vnto men. And he by nature is beſt worthy to be a King, who through his wiſedome and vertue, can graffe in mens manners ſuch a good diſpoſition: and this, *Numa* aboue all other, ſeemed beſt to knowe and vnderſtand. Furthermore, touching his wiues and children, there are great contrarieties among the hiſtoriographers. For ſome of them ſay, he neuer maried other wife then *Tatia*, and that he neuer had any children, but one only daughter, and ſhe was called *Pompilia*. Other write to the contrarie, that he had foure ſonnes, *Pompo*, *Pinus*, *Calpus*, and *Mamercus*: of euery one of the which (by ſucceſſion from the father to the ſonne) haue deſcended the

*Platoes ſaying concerning the felicitie of a common weale.*

*Numaes wiues and poſteritie. Pompilia, Numaes daughter.*

nobleſt races, and moſt ancient houſes of the ROMAINES. As the houſe of the *Pomponians*, of *Pompo*: the houſe of the *Pinarians*, of *Pinus*: the houſe of the *Calphurnians* of *Calpus*: & the houſe of the *Mamercians*, of *Mamercus*. All which families by reaſon of their progenitor haue kept the ſurname of *Reges*, Kings. There are three other writers, which do reproue the two firſt: ſaying that they did write to gratifie the families, making them falſely to deſcend of the noble race of king *Numa*. Moreouer it is ſaid, he had his daughter *Pompilia*, not by *Tatia*, but by his other wife called *Lucretia*, whom he maried after he was made King. Howbeit they all agree, that his daughter *Pompilia* was maried vnto one *Martius*, the ſonne of the ſame *Martius*, which perſwaded him to accept the kingdome of ROME. For he went with him to ROME, to remaine there: where they did him the honour to receiue him into the number of the Senatours. After the death of *Numa*, *Martius* the father ſtoode againſt *Tullus Hoſtilius* for the ſucceſſion of the Realme, and being ouercome, he killed him ſelfe for ſorrow. But his ſonne *Martius*, who maried *Pompilia*, continued ſtill at ROME, where he begot *Ancus Martius*, who was king of ROME after *Tullus Hoſtilius*, and was but fiue yeare old when *Numa* died. Whoſe death was not ſodaine. For he died conſuming by litle and litle, as well through age, as alſo through a lingring diſeaſe that waited on him to his end, as *Piſo* hath written: and *Numa* at his death was litle more then foure ſcore yeare old. But the pompe and honour done vnto him at his funeralles, made his life yet more happy and glorious. For all the people his neighbours, friendes, kinſemen, and allies of the ROMAINES came thither, bringing crownes with them, and other publique contributions to honour his obſequies. The noble men ſelues of the citie (which were called *Patricians*) caried on their ſhoulders the very bed, on which the corſe lay, to be conuaied to his graue. The Prieſtes attended alſo on his body, and ſo did all the reſt of the people, women and children in like caſe, which followed him to his tumbe, all bewailing and lamenting his death, with teares, ſighes, and mournings. Not as a King dead for very age, but as they had mourned for the death of their deareſt kinſeman, and neareſt friend that had died before he was old. They burnt not his body, becauſe (as ſome ſay) he commaunded the contrary by his will and teſtament: but they made two coffines of ſtone, which they buried at the foote of the hill called *Ianiculum*. In the one they laide his body, and in the other the holy bookes which he had written himſelfe, much like vnto thoſe, which they that made the lawes among the GRECIANS did write in tables. But becauſe in his life time he had taught the prieſtes, the ſubſtaunce of the whole contained in the ſame: he willed the holy tables which he had written, ſhould be buried with his body. For he thought it not reaſonable that ſo holy matters ſhould be kept by dead letters and writings, but by mens manners and exerciſes. And he followed herein they ſay, the *Pythagorians*, who would not put their workes in writing, but did printe the knowledge of them in their memories, whom they knew to be worthy mẽ, and that without any writing at all. And if they had taught any manner of perſon the hidden rules and ſecrets of Geometry, which had not bene worthy of them: then they ſaide the goddes by manifeſt tokens would threaten to reuenge ſuch ſacriledge and impiety, with ſome great deſtruction and miſery. Therefore, ſeeing ſo many things agreable, and altogether like betweene *Numa* and *Pythagoras*, I eaſely pardon thoſe which maintaine their opinion, that *Numa* and *Pythagoras* were familiarly acqnainted and conuerſant together. *Valerius Antias* the hiſtorian writeth, there were twelue bookes written concerning the office of Prieſtes, and twelue other containing the philoſophy of the GRECIANS. And that foure hundred yeares after (in the ſame yeare when *Publius Cornelius*, and *Martius Bebius* were conſuls) there fell a great rage of waters and raine, which opened the earth, and diſcouered theſe coffines: and the liddes and couers thereof being caried away, they found the one altogether voide, hauing no manner of likelyhood, or token of a body that had layen in it: and in the other they found theſe bookes, which were deliuered vnto one named *Petilius* (at that time *Prætor*) who had the charge to read them ouer, and to make the report of them. But he hauing peruſed them ouer, declared to the Senate, that he thought it not conuenient the matters contained in them ſhould be publiſhed vnto the ſimple people: and for that cauſe they were caried into the market place, and there were openly burnt. Surely it is a common thing, that happeneth vnto all good and iuſt men, that

*Pompilia maried to Caius Martius Coriolanus.*

*Martius the Sabine, made Senatour at Rome.*

*Ancus Martius the ſonne of Caius Martius Coriolanus.*

*The death of Numa.*

*Numaes bookes.*

*Why the Pythagorians left nothing in writing.*

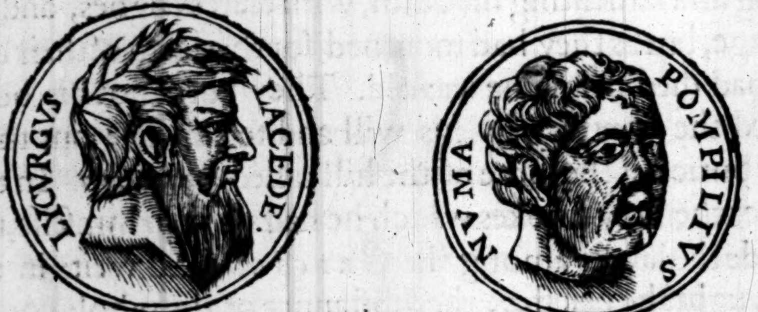
*Twelue bookes of Prieſthood.*

*Twelue bookes of philoſophy.*

*Good men prayſed after their death. The miſfortunes of Numaes ſucceſſours. Hoſtilius.*

they are far more prayſed and eſteemed after their death, then before: becauſe that enuy doth not long continue after their death,and oftentimes it dieth before them. But notwithſtanding, the miſfortunes which chaunced afterwardes vnto the fiue Kings which raigned at ROME after *Numa*, haue made his honour ſhine, with much more noble glory then before. For the laſt of them was driuen out of his Kingdome, and died in exile, after he was very old. And of the other foure, none of them died their naturall death, but three of them were killed by treaſon. And *Tullus Hoſtilius* which raigned after *Numa*,deriding and contemning the moſt part of his good and holy inſtitutions, and chiefly his deuotion towardes the goddes, as a thing which made men lowly and faint hearted: did as ſoone as euer he came to be King, turne all his ſubiects hearts to the warres. But this mad humor of his, continued not long. For he was plagued with a ſtraunge and moſt grieuous diſeaſe that followed him, which brought him to chaunge his mind, and did farre otherwiſe turne his contempt of Religion, into an ouer fearefull ſuperſtition, which did nothing yet reſemble the true Religion and deuotion of *Numa*:& beſides, he infected others with his contagious errour,through the inconuenience which happened vnto him at his death. For he was ſtriken and burnt with lightning.

# THE COMPARISON OF *Lycurgus with Numa.*



*The vertues of Numa and Lycurgus were alike,but their deedes diuerſe.*

THVS hauing written the liues of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*, the matter requireth,though it be ſomewhat hard to doe, that we comparing the one with the other, ſhould ſet out the difference betweene them. For in thoſe things wherein they were like of condition, their deedes do ſhew it ſufficiently. As in their temperaunce, their deuotion to the goddes, their wiſedome in gouerning,and their diſcrete handling of their people, by making them beleeue that the goddes had reuealed the lawes vnto them,which they eſtabliſhed. And now to come vnto their qualities,which are diuerſely,& ſeuerally commended in either of them. Their firſt quality is,that *Numa* accepted the Kingdome,and *Lycurgus* gaue it vp. The one receiued it,not ſeeking for it: and the other hauing it in his handes did reſtore it againe. The one being a ſtraunger and a priuat man: was by ſtrangers elected and choſen, their Lord and King. The other being in poſſeſſion a King,made him ſelfe againe a priuat perſon. Sure it is a goodly thing to obtaine a Realme by iuſtice: but it is a goodlier thing to eſteeme iuſtice aboue a Realme. Vertue brought the one to be in ſuch reputatiō,that he was iudged worthy to be choſen a King: and vertue bred ſo noble a mind in the other, that he eſteemed not to be a King. Their ſecond quality is,that like as in an inſtrumēt of muſicke, the one of them did tune and wreſt vp the ſlacke ſtrings which were in SPARTA: ſo the other ſlackened, and ſet them lower, which were too high mounted in ROME. Wherein *Lycurgus* difficulty was the greater For he did not perſwade his citizens, to plucke of their armour and curates, nor to lay by their ſwords: but only to leaue their gold & ſiluer, to forſake their ſoft beds, their fine wrought tables, and other curious rich furniture, and not to leaue off the trauell of wars, to giue them ſelues only vnto feaſtes, ſacrifices, and plaies. But to the contrary, to giue vp banquetting and feaſting, and continually to take paines in the wars, yeelding their bodies to al kinde of pains. By which meanes, the one for the loue and reuerence they did beare him, eaſily perſwaded all that he would: and the other, by putting him ſelfe in daunger, and being hurt alſo, obtained not without great trauell and aduenture, the end of his intended purpoſe and deſire. *Numa* his muſe was ſo gentle, louing, and curteous, that the manners of his citizens, which before were furious and violent, were now ſo tractable and ciuill, that he taught them to loue peace and iuſtice. And to the contrary, if they will compell me to number amongeſt the lawes and ordinaunces of *Lycurgus*, that which we haue written touching the ILOTES, which was a barbarous cruell thing: I muſt of force confeſſe that *Numa* was much wiſer, more gentle, and ciuill in his lawes, conſidering that euen vnto thoſe which in deede were borne ſlaues, he gaue ſome litle taſt of honor, and ſweetnes of liberty, hauing ordained, that in the feaſts of *Saturne*, they ſhould ſit down at meat at their maſters own table. Some hold opinion, that this cuſtome was brought in by king *Numa*: who willed that thoſe, which through their labour in tillage brought in much fruite, ſhould haue ſome pleaſure thereof to make good cheere with the firſt fruites of the ſame. Other imagine, that it is yet a token and remembraunce of the equality which was amongeſt men in the world in *Saturnes* time, when there was neither maſter nor ſeruant, but all men were a like equall, as brethren or kinſmen. To conclude, it ſeemeth either of them tooke a direct courſe, thought beſt to them ſelues, to frame their people vnto temperaunce, and to be contented with their own. But for their other vertues, it appeareth that the one loued warre beſt, and the other iuſtice: vnleſſe it were that men would ſay, that for the diuerſity of the nature or cuſtome of their people (which were almoſt contrary in manners) they were both compelled to vſe alſo contrary and diuers meanes from other. For it was not of a faint heart, that *Numa* tooke from his people the vſe of armes, and deſire to be in warres: but it was to the end they ſhould not doe any wrong to others. Neither did *Lycurgus* alſo ſtudy to make his people ſouldiers and warlike, to hurt others: but for feare rather that others ſhould hurt them. And ſo, to cut off the exceſſe in the one, and to ſupply the defect of the other: they were both enforced to bring in a ſtraunge manner of gouernment. Furthermore, touching their ſeuerall kind of gouernment, and diuiding of their people into ſtates and companies: that of *Numa* was maruellous meane and baſe, and framed to the liking of the meaneſt people, making a body of a city, and a people compounded together of all ſortes, as goldeſmiths, minſtrels, founders, ſhoemakers, and of all ſortes of craftes men and occupations together. But that of *Lycurgus*, was directly contrary: for his was more ſeuere and tyrannicall, in gouerning of the nobility, caſting all craftes and baſe occupations vpon bondmen and ſtraungers, and putting into the handes of his citizens the ſhield and launce, ſuffering them to exerciſe no other art or ſcience, but the art and diſcipline of warres, as the true miniſters of *Mars*: which all their life time neuer knew other ſcience, but only learned to obey their captaines, and to commaund their enemies. For to haue any occupation, to buy and ſell, or to trafficke, free men were expreſſely forbidden: becauſe they ſhould wholly & abſolutely be free. And all ſciences to get money was lawfull for ſlaues, and the ILOTES: being counted for as vile an occupation, as to dreſſe meate, and to be a ſcullian of a kitchin. *Numa* put not this difference amongſt his people, but only tooke away couetous deſire to be rich by warres: but otherwiſe, he did not forbid them to get goods by any other lawfull meanes, neither tooke any regard to bring all to equality, and to be a like wealthy, but ſuffered euery man to get what he could, taking no order to preuent pouerty, which crept in, and ſpred far in his city. Which he ſhould haue looked vnto at the beginning, at that time when there was not too great an vnequality amongeſt them, and that his citizens for ſubſtaunce were in manner equall one with another: for then was the time whē he ſhould haue made head againſt auarice, to haue ſtopped the miſchieues & inconueniences, which fell out afterwards, & they were not litle. For that only was

*What things were hard to Lycurgus.*

*Slaues ſat with their maiſters et Saturnes feaſtes.*

*Macrob. Satur. lib. 1.*

*Diuers cauſes of the diuerſity of inſtitutions of Numa and Lycurgus.*

*Deſcription of their people.*

the fountaine and roote, of the moſt part of the greateſt euils and miſchieues, which happened afterwards in ROME. And as touching the diuiſion of goodes: neither ought *Lycurgus* to be blamed for doing it, nor *Numa* for that he did it not. For this equality to the one, was a groũd and foundation of his common wealth, which he afterwards inſtituted: and vnto other, it could not be. For this diuiſion being made not long before the time of his predeceſſour, there was no great need to change the firſt, the which (as it is likely) remained yet in full perfection. As touching mariages, and their children to be in common, both the one and the other wiſely ſought to take away all occaſion of iealouſie: but yet they tooke not both one courſe. For the ROMAINE husband, hauing children enough to his contentation: if another that lacked children came vnto him, to pray him to lend him his wife, he might graunt her vnto him, and it was in him to giue her altogether, or to lend her for a time, and to take her afterwardes againe. But the LACONIAN keping his wife in his houſe, and the mariage remaining whole and vnbroken, might let out his wife to any man that would require her to haue childrẽ by her: nay furthermore, many (as we haue told you before) did them ſelues intreat men, by whom they thought to haue a trimme broode of children, and layed them with their wiues. What difference, I pray you was betweene theſe two cuſtomes? ſauing that the cuſtome of the LACONIANS ſhewed, that the husbands were nothing angry, nor grieued with their wiues for thoſe things, which for ſorrow and iealouſie doth rent the hearts of moſt maried men in the world. And that of the ROMAINS was a ſimplicity ſomewhat more ſhamefaſt, which to couer it, was ſhadowed yet with the cloke of matrimony, and contract of mariage: confeſſing that to vſe wife and children by halfes together, was a thing moſt intollerable for him. Furthermore, the keeping of maidens to be maried by *Numaes* order, was much ſtraighter & more honorable for womãhood: and *Lycurgus* order hauing too much ſcope & liberty, gaue Poets occaſion to ſpeake, and to giue them ſurnames not very honeſt. As *Ibycus* called them *Phænomeridas*: to ſay, thigh ſhewers: and *Andromanes*: to ſay manhood. And *Euripides* ſaith alſo of them.

*Reaſon for mariages.*

*Numaes order for maidens the better.*

*Good nutbrowne girles which left, their fathers houſe at large,*
*and ſought for young mens company, and tooke their ware in charge:*
*And ſhewed their thighes all bare, the taylour did them wrong,*
*on ech ſide open were their cotes, the ſlits were all too long.*

And in deede to ſay truely, the ſides of their peticotes were not ſowed beneath: ſo that as they went, they ſhewed their thighes naked and bare. The which *Sophocles* doth eaſely declare by theſe verſes:

*The ſong which you ſhall ſing, ſhall be the ſonnet ſaide,*
*by Hermony luſty laſſe, that ſtrong and ſturdy maide:*
*VVhich truſt her petticote, about her middle ſhort,*
*and ſet to ſhew her naked hippes, in francke and friendly ſort.*

And therefore it is ſaid, the LACON wiues were bold, manly, and ſtout againſt their husbands, namely the firſt. For they were wholly miſtreſſes in the houſe, and abroad: yea they had law on their ſide alſo, to vtter their minds franckly concerning the chiefeſt maters. But *Numa* euer reſerued the honor and dignity vnto the women, which was left them by *Romulus* in his time, when their husbands, after they had taken them away perforce, diſpoſed them ſelues to vſe them as gently as poſſibly they could: neuertheleſſe, he added otherwiſe thereto, great honeſty, and tooke away all curioſity from them, and taught them ſobriety, and did inure them to ſpeake litle. For he did vtterly forbid them wine, and did prohibite them to ſpeak, although it were for things neceſſary, vnles it were in the preſence of their husbands. In ſo much as it is reported, that a woman chauncing one day to plead her cauſe in perſon, openly before the iudges: the Senate hearing of it, did ſend immediatly vnto the oracle of *Apollo*, to know what that did prognoſticate to the city. And therefore *Numa* thought the memory of the naughty women, would much commend the great humility, gentlenes, & obedience of the good. For like as our GRECIAN hiſtoriographers do note thoſe which were the firſt that killed any of their citizens, or haue fought with their brethrẽ, or haue killed their fathers or mothers: euen ſo the ROMAINS doe note that *Spurius Caruilius* was the firſt that forſooke his wife, two hundred and thirtie yeares after the firſt foundation of ROME, which was neuer done by any before.

*The Laconians were too manly.*

*The Romaine women very modeſt.*

*The firſt diuorce at Rome.*

fore. And that the wife of one *Pinarius*, called *Thalæa*, was the firſt which euer brauled or quarrelled with her mother in law called *Gegania*, in the time when *Tarquine* ſurnamed the proud raigned: ſo well and honeſtly were the orders of *Numa* deuiſed concerning mariage. Moreouer, the age and time of marying of maydes, which both the one and the other ordeined: doth agree with the reſt of their education. For *Lycurgus* would not that they ſhould be maried, till they were of good yeres, and women growen: to the end that they knowing the company of man at ſuch time as nature requireth, it ſhould be a beginning of their pleaſure and loue, and not of griefe and hate, when ſhe ſhould be compelled vnto it before time agreeable by nature, and becauſe their bodies alſo ſhould be more ſtrong and able to beare children, and to indure the mothers painefull throwes and trauell in child bearing, conſidering they are maried to no other ende, but to beare children. But the ROMAINES to the contrary, doe marie them at twelue yeres of age and vnder: ſaying, that by this meanes their bodies and manners be wholy theirs, which doe marie them, being aſſured that no body els could touch them. By this reaſon it is manifeſt, that the one is more naturall, to make them ſtrong to beare children: & the other more morall, to giue them the forme and maner of conditions, which a man would haue thẽ to keepe all their life time. Moreouer touching orders for education of children, that they ſhould be brought vp, inſtructed, and taught, vnder the ſelfe ſame maſters & gouernors, which ſhould haue an eye to make them drinke, eate, play, & exerciſe themſelues honeſtly, and orderly together: *Numa* made no more prouiſion for the ſame, then the leaſt maker of lawes that euer was, and nothing in compariſon of *Lycurgus*. For *Numa* left the parents at libertie, to vſe their diſcretion (according vnto their couetouſneſſe or neceſſitie) to cauſe their children to be brought vp as they thought good: whether they would put them to be labourers, carpenters, founders, or minſtrels. As if they ſhould not frame the manners of children, and faſhion them from their cradell all to one end: but ſhould be as it were like paſſengers in one ſhip, which being there, ſome for one buſineſſe, other for another purpoſe, but all to diuerſe ends, do neuer medle one with another, but in a rough ſtorme or tempeſt, when euery man is affraide of his owne life. For otherwiſe, no man careth but for himſelfe. And other makers of lawes alſo, are to be borne withall, if any thing hath ſcaped them through ignorance, or ſome time through lacke of ſufficient power and authoritie. But a wiſe philoſopher, hauing receiued a realme of people newly gathered together, which did contrary him in nothing: whereto ſhould he moſt plie his ſtudie and indeuour, but to cauſe children to be well brought vp, and to make young men exerciſe themſelues, to the end they ſhould not differ in manners, nor that they ſhould be troubleſome, by their diuerſe manner of bringing vp, but that they ſhould all agree together, for that they had bene trained from their childhood vnto one ſelfe trade, and faſhioned vnder one ſelfe patterne of vertue? That good education, beſides other commodities, did alſo ſerue to preſerue *Lycurgus* lawes. For the feare of their othe which they had made, had bene of ſmall effect, if he had not through inſtitution, and education (as it were) died in wolle the manners of children, and had not made them from their nurſes breaſts in manner, ſucke the Iuice and loue of his lawes, and ciuill ordinaunces. And this was of ſuch force, that for the ſpace of fiue hundred years and more, *Lycurgus* chiefe lawes and ordinaunces remained in full perfection, as a deepe woded die, which went to the bottome, and pearced into the tender wolle. Contrariwiſe, that which was *Numaes* chiefe end and purpoſe, to continue ROME in peace and amity, died by and by with him. For he was no ſooner dead, but they opened both the gates of the temple of *Ianus*, which he ſo carefully had kept ſhut all his raigne, as if in deede he had kept in warres there, vnder locke and key, and they filled all ITALIE with murther and bloud: and this his godly, holy, and iuſt gouernment which his Realme enioyed all his time, did not laſt long after, becauſe it had not the bond of education, and the diſcipline of children which ſhould maintaine it. Why, may a man ſay to me here: hath not ROME excelled ſtill, and preuailed more and more in cheualry? This queſtion requireth a long aunſwer, and ſpecially vnto ſuch men as place felicity in riches, in poſſeſſions, and in the greatnes of empire, rather then in the quiet ſafety, peace, and concord of a common weale: and in clemency and iuſtice, ioyned with contentation. Neuertheles, how ſoeuer it was, that maketh for *Lycurgus* alſo, that the ROMAINES after they had chaunged the ſtate which they had of *Numa*, did

*How much education and diſcipline is worthe.*
*Ariſt. polit. 8.*

*How Lycurgus lawes were ſtabliſhed.*

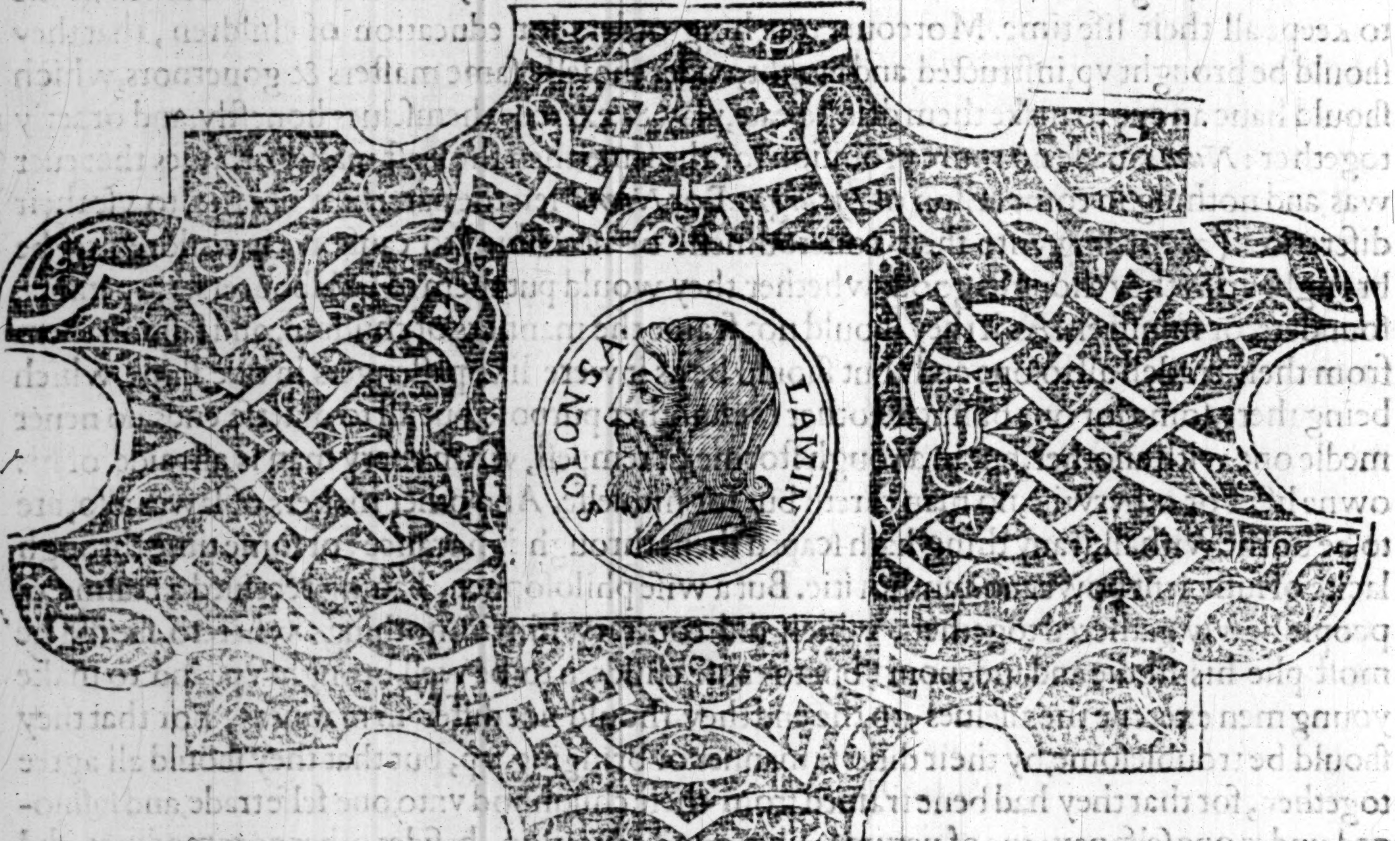
*Why Numaes orders died.*

*why Numa is to be preferred before Lycurgus.*]

ſo maruellouſly increaſe and grow mightie: and that the LACEDÆMONIANS to the contrary, ſo ſoone as they beganne to breake *Lycurgus* lawes, being of great authoritie & ſway, fell afterwardes to be of ſmall account. So that hauing loſt the ſoueraigntie & commaundement ouer GRECE, they ſtood in great hazard alſo to be ouerthrowen for euer. But in troth it was ſome diuine thing in *Numa*, that he being a meere ſtranger, the ROMAINES did ſeeke him, to make him King, and that he could ſo chaunge all, and rule a whole citie as he liſted (not yet ioyned together) without neede of any force or violence: as it was in *Lycurgus*, to be aſſiſted with the beſt of the citie, in reſiſting the commōs of LACEDÆMON, but he could neuer otherwiſe haue kept them in peace, and made them loue together, but by his only wiſedome and iuſtice.

*The end of Numa Pompilius life.*

# THE LIFE OF *Solon.*



*Solons linage.*

*Great friendſhip betwixt Solon and Piſiſtratus.*

DIDYMVS the Grammarian, in a litle booke that he wrote, & dedicated vnto *Aſclepiades*, touching the tables of the lawes of *Solon*, alleageth the wordes of one *Philocles*, in which he ſpeaketh againſt the common opinion of thoſe that haue written, that *Solons* father was called *Euphorion*. For all other writers agree, that he was the ſonne of *Execeſtides*, a man but reaſonably to liue, although otherwiſe he was of the nobleſt and moſt auncient houſe of the city of ATHENS. For of his fathers ſide, he was deſcended of king *Codrus*: and for his mother, *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth, ſhe was coſin germaine vnto *Piſiſtratus* mother. For this cauſe euen from the beginning there was great friendſhip betweene them, partly for their kindred, and partly alſo for the curteſie, and beauty of *Piſiſtratus*, with whom it is reported *Solon* on a time was in loue. Afterwards they fortuned to fall at iarre one with the other, about matter of ſtate and gouernment: yet this ſquare bred no violent inconuenience betweene them, but they reſerued in their hearts ſtill their auncient amity, which continued the memory of their loue, as a great fire doth a burning flame. That *Solon* was no ſtaied man to withſtand beauty, nor any great doer to preuaile in loue, it is manifeſt to all, aſwell by other poeticall writings that he hath made, as by a law of his owne: wherein he did forbid bondmen to perfume themſelues, or to be louers of children. Who placed this lawe among honeſt matters, and commendable: as allowing it to the better ſort, and forbidding it to the baſeſt. They ſay alſo that *Piſiſtratus* ſelfe was in loue with *Charmus*, and that he did ſet vp the litle image of loue, which is in Academia, where they were wont to light the holy candle. But *Solons* father (as *Hermippus* writeth) hauing ſpent his goods in liberalitie, and deedes of courteſie, though he might eaſily haue ben relieued at diuers mens hands with money, he was yet aſhamed to take any, becauſe he came of a houſe which was wont rather to giue & relieue others, then to take themſelues: ſo being yet a young man, he deuiſed to trade marchandiſe. Howbeit other ſay, that *Solon* trauelled countries, rather to ſee the world, and to learne: then to trafficke, or gaine. For ſure he was very deſirous of knowledge, as appeareth manifeſtly: for that being now old, he commonly vſed to ſay this verſe:

*A ſtatute for bondmen.*

*Solon gaue him ſelfe in youth to trade marchandiſe.*

*I grow old, learning ſtill.*

Alſo he was not couetouſly bent, nor loued riches too much: for he ſaid in one place:

*VVho ſo hath goods, and gold enough at call,*
*great heards of beaſtes, and flockes in many a folde,*
*both horſe and mule, yea ſtore of corne and all,*
*that may content ech man aboue the moulde:*
*no richer is, for all thoſe heapes and hoordes,*
*then he which hath, ſufficiently to feede,*
*and clothe his corpes, with ſuch as God afoordes.*
*But if his ioye, and chiefe delight do breede,*
*for to beholde the fayre and heauenly face,*
*of ſome ſweete wife, which is adornde with grace:*
*or els ſome childe, of beautie faire and bright,*
*then hath he cauſe (in deed) of deepe delight.*

*Solons iudgement of riches.*

And in another place alſo he ſaieth:

*In deed I do deſire, ſome wealth to haue at will:*
*but not vnleſſe the ſame be got, by faithfull dealing ſtill.*
*For ſure who ſo deſires by wickedneſſe to thriue:*
*ſhall finde that iuſtice from ſuch goods, will iuſtly him depriue.*

There is no law forbiddeth an honeſt man, or gentleman, greedily to ſcrape goods together, and more then may ſuffice: & likewiſe to get ſufficient to maintaine one withall, and to defray all needfull charges. In thoſe dayes no ſtate was diſcommended, as ſaith *Heſiodus*, nor any arte or ſcience made any difference betweene men: but marchandiſe they thought an honorable ſtate, as that which deliuered meanes, to trafficke into ſtrange and far countries, to get acquaintance with ſtates, to procure the loue of princes, & chiefly to gather the experiēce of the world. So that there haue bene marchants, which heretofore haue bene founders of great cities: as he which firſt built MASSILIA, after he had obtained the friendſhip of the GAVLES, dwelling by the riuer of Rhoſne. And they ſay alſo, that *Thales Mileſius* the wiſe, did trafficke marchandiſe, and that *Hippocrates* the mathematike did euen ſo: & likewiſe that *Plato* trauelling into Egypt, did beare the whole charges of his iourney, with the gaines he made of the ſale of oile he caried thither. They remēber alſo that *Solon* learned to be lauiſh in expence, to fare delicatly, & to ſpeake wantonly of pleaſures in his Poems, ſomewhat more licentiouſly then became the grauity of a Philoſopher: only becauſe he was brought vp in the trade of marchandiſe, wherin for that men are maruellous ſubiect to great loſſes and daungers, they ſeeke otherwhiles good chere to driue theſe cares away, and liberty to make much of themſelues. Yet it appeareth by theſe verſes, that *Solon* accoumpted himſelfe rather in the nūber of the poore, then of the rich.

*The commodities of marchandiſe.*

*A marchaunt builded Maſſilia.*

*Thales. Hippocrates. Plato. all marchaunts.*

*Rich men (oftimes) in lewdeſt liues do range,*
*and often ſeene, that vertuous men be poore:*
*Yet would the good, their goodneſſe neuer chaunge*
*with lewd eſtate, although their wealth be more.*
*For vertue ſtands alwaies both firme and ſtable:*
*when riches roue, and ſeldome are durable.*

*Pouerty with vertue better then riches.*

*How Solon vſed his poetrie.*

This Poetrie at the beginning he vſed but for pleaſure, and when he had leaſure, writing no matter of importance in his verſes. Afterwards he did ſet out many graue matters of philoſophie, and the moſt part of ſuch things as he had deuiſed before, in the gouernment of a cōmon weale, which he did not for hiſtorie or memories ſake, but onely of a pleaſure to diſcourſe: for he ſheweth the reaſons of that he did, and in ſome places he exhorteth, chideth, and reproueth the ATHENIANS. And ſome affirme alſo he went about to write his lawes and ordinances in verſe, and doe recite his preface, which was this:

*Vouchſafe ô mighty Ioue, of heauen and earth high King:*
*to graunt good fortune to my lawes, and heaſts in euery thing.*
*And that their glorie growe, in ſuch triumphant wiſe,*
*as may remaine in fame for aye, which liues and neuer dies.*

*Solon delighted in morall, but not in naturall philoſophie.*

He chiefely delighted in morall philoſophie, which treated of gouernement and common weales: as the moſt part of the wiſe men did of thoſe times. But for naturall philoſophie, he was very groſſe and ſimple, as appeareth by theſe verſes.

*The clattering hayle, and ſoftly falling ſnowe*
*doe breede in aire, and fall from cloudes on hie.*
*The dreadfull clappes, which thunderbolts doe throwe,*
*do come from heauen, and lightnings bright in skie.*
*The ſea it ſelfe by boiſterous blaſts dooth rore*
*which (were it not prouoked ſo full ſore)*
*VVould be both calme and quiet for to paſſe,*
*as any element that euer was.*

So in effect there was none but *Thales* alone of all the ſeuen wiſe men of GRECE, who ſearched further the contemplation of things in common vſe among men, than he. For ſetting him a parte, all the others got the name of wiſdome, onely for their vnderſtanding in matters of ſtate and gouernment. It is reported that they met on a day all ſeauen together in the citie of DELPHES, and another time in the citie of CORINTH, where *Periander* got them together at a feaſt that he made to the other ſixe. But that which moſt increaſed their glorie, and made their fame moſt ſpoken of, was the ſending backe againe of the three footed ſtoole when they all had refuſed it, and turned it ouer one to another with great humanitie. For the tale is, how certaine fiſher men of the Ile of CO, caſt their nettes into the ſea, and certaine ſtrangers paſsing by, that came from the citie of MILETVM, did buie their draught of fiſhe at aduenture, before the net was drawne. And when they driue it vp, there came vp in the net a three footed ſtoole of maſſy gold, which men ſay, *Hellen* (as ſhe did returne from TROYE) had throwne in in that place, in memory of an auncient oracle ſhe called then vnto her minde. Thereupon the ſtrangers and fiſher men firſt fell at ſtrife about this three footed ſtoole, who ſhould haue it: but afterwardes the two cities tooke part of both ſides, on their citizens behalfe. In ſo much as warres had like to haue followed betweene them, had not the propheteſſe *Pythia* giuen a like oracle vnto them both. That they ſhould giue this three footed ſtoole vnto the wiſeſt man. VVhereupon the men of CO, ſent it firſt to *Thales* in the city of MILETVM, as being willing to graunt that vnto a priuate perſon, for which they had made warres with all the MILESIANS before. *Thales* ſaide, he thought *Bias* a wiſer man then him ſelfe: and ſo it was ſent vnto him. He likewiſe ſent it again vnto another, as to a wiſer man. And that other, ſent it alſo vnto another. So that being thus poſted from man to man, and through diuerſe handes, in the end it was brought backe againe vnto the city of MILETVM, and deliuered into the handes of *Thales* the ſecond time: and laſt of all was caried vnto THEBES, and offered vp vnto the temple of *Apollo Iſmenian.* Howbeit *Theophraſtus*, writeth, that firſt it was ſent to the city of PRIENA, vnto *Bias*: and then vnto *Thales*, in the city of MILETVM, by *Bias* conſent. And after that it had paſſed through all their hands, it was brought againe vnto *Bias*: and laſtly it was ſent to the city of DELPHES. And thus much haue the beſt and moſt auncient writers written: ſauing that ſome ſay in ſteade of a three footed ſtoole, it was a cuppe that king *Crœſus* ſent vnto the city of DELPHES. Other ſay, it was a peece of

*Hellens three footed ſtoole of gold drawne vp in a drag net.*

*The rare modeſty of the wiſe men.*

plate which *Bathycles* left there. They made mention alſo of another priuate meeting betwixt *Anacharſis* and *Solon*, and of another betweene him and *Thales*, where they recite, that they had this talke. *Anacharſis* being arriued at ATHENS, went to knocke at *Solons* gate, ſaying that he was a ſtraunger which came of purpoſe to ſee him, and to deſire his acquaintance and friendſhip. *Solon* aunſwered him, that it was better to ſeeke friendſhip in his owne countrie. *Anacharſis* replyed againe: thou then that art at home, and in thine owne countrie, beginne to ſhew me friendſhip. Then *Solon* wondering at his bolde readie wit, entertained him verie courteouſly: and kept him a certain time in his houſe, and made him very good cheere, at the ſelfe ſame time wherein he was moſt buſie in gouerning the common weale, & making lawes for the ſtate thereof. Which when *Anacharſis* vnderſtoode, he laughed at it, to ſee that *Solon* imagined with written lawes, to bridle mens couetouſnes and iniuſtice. For ſuch lawes, ſayde he, doe rightly reſemble the ſpyders cobwebbes: becauſe they take holde of little flies and gnattes which fall into them, but the rich and mightie will breake and runne through them at their will. *Solon* anſwered him, that men do iuſtly keepe all couenants and bargaines which one make with another, becauſe it is to the hinderance of either partie to breake them: & euen ſo, he did ſo temper his lawes, that he made his citizens knowe, it was more for their profite to obey law and iuſtice, then to breake it. Neuertheleſſe afterwards, matters proued rather according to *Anacharſis* compariſon, then agreeable to the hope that *Solon* had conceiued. *Anacharſis* being by happe one daye in a common aſſembly of the people at ATHENS, ſaide that he maruelled much, why in the conſultations and meetings of the GRECIANS, wiſe men propounded matters, and fooles did decide them. It is ſaid moreouer, that *Solon* was ſometime in the citie of MILETVM at *Thales* houſe, where he ſaide that he could not but maruell at *Thales*, that he would neuer marrie to haue children. *Thales* gaue him neuer a word at that preſent: but within fewe dayes after he ſuborned a ſtraunger, which ſaid that he came but newly home from ATHENS, departing from thence but ten dayes before. *Solon* asked him immediately, What newes there? This ſtranger whom *Thales* had ſchooled before, anſwered: none other there, ſauing that they carried a young man to buriall, whom all the citie followed: for that he was one of the greateſt mens ſonnes of the citie, and the honeſteſt man withall, who at that preſent was out of the countrie, and had bene a long time (as they ſaide) abroade. O poore vnfortunate father, then ſaid *Solon*: and what was his name? I haue heard him named, ſaid the ſtranger, but I haue forgotten him nowe: ſauing that they all ſaide, he was a worthy wiſe man. So *Solon* ſtill trembling more and more for feare, at euery anſwer of this ſtranger: in the ende he could holde no longer, being full of trouble, but tolde his name himſelfe vnto the ſtranger, and asked him againe, if he were not the ſonne of *Solon* which was buried. The very ſame, ſaid the ſtranger. *Solon* with that, like a mad man ſtraight began to beate his head, and to ſay, and doe, like men impatient in affliction, and ouercome with ſorrow. But *Thales* laughing to ſee this pageant, ſtaid him, and ſaid. Loe, *Solon*, this is it that keepeth me from marying, and getting of children: which is of ſuch a violence, that thou ſeeſt it hath now ouercome thee, although otherwiſe thou art ſtrong, aud able to wreſtle with any. Howbeit for any thing he hath ſaid vnto thee, be of good cheere man, for it is but a tale, and nothing ſo. *Hermippus* writeth, that *Patæcus* (he which ſayd he had *Eſops* ſoule) reciteth this ſtory thus. Neuertheleſſe it lacketh iudgement, and the courage of a man alſo, to be afraid to get things neceſſary, fearing the loſſe of them: for by this reckonning, he ſhould neither eſteeme honour, goodes, nor knowledge when he hath them, for feare to loſe them. For we ſee that vertue it ſelfe, which is the greateſt and ſweeteſt riches a man can haue, decayeth oft times through ſickenes, or els by phiſicke, and potions. Furthermore *Thales* ſelfe, although he was not maried, was not therefore free from this feare, vnleſſe he would confeſſe that he neither loued friends, kinſmen, nor countrey: howbeit *Thales* had an adopted ſonne, called *Cybiſtus*, which was his ſiſters ſonne. For our ſoule hauing in it a naturall inclination to loue, and being borne as well to loue, as to feele, to reaſon, or vnderſtand, and to remember: hauing nothing of her owne whereupon ſhe might beſtow that naturall loue, borroweth of other. As where there is a houſe or inheritaunce without lawfull heires, many times ſtraungers, and baſe borne children, doe creepe into the kinde affection of the owner, and when they

*Anacharſis & Solons meeting.*

*Anacharſis ſaying of Solons written lawes.*

*Solons talke with Thales at Miletum, about mariage for hauing of children.*

*We ſhould not let to get things neceſſary, fearing to loſe them.*

*Cybiſtus Thales adopted ſonne.*

*The inſtinct of naturall loue.*

haue once wonne and poſſeſſed his loue, they make him euer after to be kinde and tender ouer them. So that ye ſhall ſee many times men of ſuch a hard and rough nature, that they like not of them that moue them to marie, and get lawfull children: and yet afterwardes are readie to die for feare and ſorow, when they ſee their baſtardes (that they haue gotten of their ſlaues or concubines) fall ſicke or die, and doe vtter wordes farre vnmeete for men of noble courage. And ſome ſuch there be, that for the death of a dogge, or their horſe, are ſo out of heart, and take ſuch thought, that they are readie to goe into the ground, they looke ſo pittifully. Other ſome are cleane contrarie, who though they haue loſt their children, forgone their friendes, or ſome gentleman deare vnto them, yet no ſorowfull worde hath commen from them, neither haue they done any vnſeemely thing: but haue paſſed the reſt of their life like wiſe, conſtant, and vertuous men. For it is not loue but weakeneſſe, which breedeth theſe extreme ſorowes, and exceeding feare, in men that are not exerciſed, nor acquainted to fight againſt fortune with reaſon. And this is the cauſe that plucketh from them the pleaſure of that they loue and deſire, by reaſon of the continuall trouble, feare and griefe they feele, by thinking how in time they may be depriued of it. Nowe we muſt not arme our ſelues with pouertie, againſt the griefe of loſſe of goods: neither with lacke of affection, againſt the loſſe of our friendes: neither with want of mariage, againſt the death of children: but we muſt be armed with reaſon againſt misfortunes. Thus haue we ſufficiently enlarged this matter. The Athenians hauing now ſuſteined a long and troubleſome warre againſt the Megarians, for the poſſeſſion of the Ile of Salamina: were in the ende wearie of it, and made proclamation ſtraightly commaunding vpon paine of death, that no man ſhould preſume to preferre any more to the counſaile of the citie, the title or queſtion of the poſſeſſion of the Ile of Salamina. *Solon* could not beare this open ſhame, and ſeeing the moſt part of the luſtieſt youthes deſirous ſtill of warre though their tongues were tyed for feare of the proclamation: he fained himſelfe to be out of his wits, and cauſed it to be giuen out that *Solon* was become a foole, & ſecretly he had made certain lamentable verſes, which he had cunned without booke, to ſing abroad the citie. So one day he ranne ſodainely out of his houſe with a garland on his head, and got him to the market place, where the people ſtraight ſwarmed like Bees about him: and getting him vp vpon the ſtone where all proclamations are vſually made, out he ſingeth theſe Elegies he had made, which began after this ſort.

*Proclamation vpon paine of death no man to mooue the counſell for the title of Salamina.*

*Solon fained madneſſe to recouer Salamina.*

*Solons Elegies of the Salaminians.*

*I here preſent my ſelfe (an Herauld) in this caſe,*
*which come from Salamina land, that noble worthy place.*
*My mind in pelting proſe, ſhall neuer be expreſt,*
*But ſong in verſe Heroicall, for ſo I thinke it beſt.*

This Elegie is intituled Salamina, & conteineth a hundred verſes, which are excellently well written. And theſe being ſung openly by *Solon* at that time, his friendes incontinently prayſed them beyond meaſure, and ſpecially *Piſiſtratus*: and they went about perſwading the people that were preſent, to credit that he ſpake. Hereupon the matter was ſo handled amongſt them, that by and by the proclamation was reuoked, and they beganne to follow the warres with greater fury then before, appointing *Solon* to be generall in the ſame. But the common tale and report is, that he went by ſea with *Pyſiſtratus* vnto the temple of *Venus*, ſurnamed *Coliade*: where he found all the women at a ſolemne feaſt and ſacrifice, which they made of cuſtome to the goddeſſe. He taking occaſion thereby, ſent from thence a truſty man of his owne vnto the Megarians, which then had Salamina: whom he inſtructed to faine himſelfe a reuolted traytour, and that he came of purpoſe to tell them, that if they would but goe with him, they might take all the chiefe ladies and gentlewomen of Athens on a ſodaine. The Megarians eaſely beleeued him, and ſhipped forthwith certaine ſouldiers to goe with him. But when *Solon* perceyued the ſhippe vnder ſaile comming from Salamina, he commaunded the women to depart, and in ſtead of them he put luſty beardleſſe ſpringalles into their apparell, and gaue them litle ſhort daggers to conuay vnder their clothes, commaunding them to play and daunce together vpon the ſea ſide, vntill their enemies were landed, and their ſhippe at anker; and ſo it came to paſſe. For the Megarians being deceyued by that they ſaw a farre off, as ſoone as euer they came to the ſhore ſide, did land in

*Of the temple of Venus Coliad. Strab. lib. 4 & Pauſan. of the Athenians.*

*Solons ſtratageme.*

heapes, one in anothers necke, euen for greedines, to take theſe women: but not a man of them eſcaped, for they were ſlaine euery mothers ſonne. This ſtrategeme being finely handled, and to good effect, the ATHENIANS tooke ſea ſtraight, and coaſted ouer to the Ile of SALAMINA: which they tooke vpon the ſodaine, and wanne it without much reſiſtance. Other ſay that it was not taken after this ſort: but that *Apollo Delphicus* gaue *Solon* firſt ſuch an oracle.

*Solon wanne Salamina.*

*Thou ſhalt firſt winne by vowes and ſacrifice,*
*the helpe of lordes and demygods full bright:*
*of whoſe dead bones, the duſt engraued lies,*
*in weſterne ſoyle, Aſopia that hight.*

By order of this oracle, he one night paſſed ouer to SALAMINA, & did ſacrifice to *Periphemus*, and to *Cichris*, demy gods of the country. Which done, the ATHENIANS deliuered him fiue hundreth men, who willingly offered themſelues: and the citie made an accord with them: that if they tooke the Ile of SALAMINA, they ſhould beare greateſt authoritie in the common weale. *Solon* imbarked his ſoldiers into diuers fiſher boates, and appointed a galliot of thirtie owers to come after him, & he ankered hard by the citie of SALAMINA, vnder the poynt which looketh towards the Ile of NEGREPONT. The MEGARIANS which were within SALAMINA, hauing by chaunce hard ſome inckling of it, but yet knew nothing of certaintie: ranne preſently in hurly burly to arme them, and manned out a ſhippe to deſcry what it was. But they fondly comming within danger, were taken by *Solon*, who clapped the MEGARIANS vnder hatches faſt bound, and in their roomes put aborde in their ſhippe the choyſeſt ſouldiers he had of the ATHENIANS, commaunding them to ſet their courſe direct vpon the citie, and to keepe themſelues as cloſe out of ſight as could be. And he himſelf with al the reſt of his ſouldiers landed preſently, and marched to encounter with the MEGARIANS, which were come out into the field. Now whileſt they were fighting together, *Solons* men whom he had ſent in the MEGARIANS ſhippe, entred the hauen and wan the towne. This is certainly true, & teſtified by that which is ſhewed yet at this day. For to keepe a memoriall hereof, a ſhippe of ATHENS arriueth quietly at the firſt, & by & by thoſe that are in the ſhippe make a great ſhowte, and a man armed leaping out of the ſhippe, runneth ſhowting towards the rocke called Sciradion, which is as they come from the firme land: and hard by the ſame is the temple of *Mars*, which *Solon* built there after he had ouercome the MEGARIANS in battell, from whẽce he ſent back againe thoſe priſoners that he had taken (which were ſaued from the ſlaughter of the battell) without any ranſome paying. Neuertheles, the MEGARIANS were ſharply bent ſtill, to recouer SALAMINA againe. Much hurt being done and ſuffered on both ſides: both partes in the end made the LACEDÆMONIANS iudges of the quarrell. But vpon iudgment giuen, common report is, that *Homers* authoritie did *Solon* good ſeruice, becauſe he did adde theſe verſes to the number of ſhippes, which are in the Iliades of *Homer*, which he rehearſed before the iudges, as if they had bene indeede written by *Homer*.

*Great ſtriſe betwixt the Megarians & Athenians for Salamina Iliad. lib 2.*

*Aiax that champion ſtowt, did leade with him in charge.*
*twelue ſhippes from Salamina ſoyle, which he had left at large,*
*and euen thoſe ſelfſame ſhippes, in battell did he caſt,*
*and place in order for to fight, with enemies force at laſt.*
*In that ſame very place, whereas it ſeemed then,*
*the captaines which from Athens came, imbatteld had their men.*

Howbeit the ATHENIANS ſelues thinke, it was but a tale of pleaſure: and ſay that *Solon* made it appeare to the iudges, that *Philæus*, and *Euryſaces* (both *Aiax* ſonnes) were made free denizẽs of ATHENS Whereupon they gaue the Ile of SALAMINA vnto the ATHENIANS, & one of them came to dwell in a place called Brauron, in the country of ATTICA: & the other in a towne called MELITUM. And for due proofe thereof, they ſay there is yet a certen canton or quarter of the country of ATTICA, which is called the canton of the *Philæides*, after the name of this *Philæus*, where *Piſiſtratus* was borne. And it is ſayed moreouer, that *Solon* (becauſe he would throughly conuince the MEGARIANS) did alleage that the SALAMINIANS buried not the dead after the MEGARIANS manner, but after the ATHENIANS manner. For in MEGARA they burie the dead with their faces to the Eaſt: and in ATHENS their faces are towards the Weſt. Yet *Hereas* the *Megarian* denieth it ſaying that the MEGARIANS did burie them

*The manner of buriall with the Megarians & the Athenians.*

*Solon defendeth the cauſe of the temple of Delphes.*

alſo with their faces towards the Weſt: alleadging moreouer, that at ATHENS euery corſe had his owne beere or coffin by it ſelfe, & that at MEGARA they did put three or foure corſes together. They ſay alſo there were certeine oracles of *Apollo Pythias*, which did greatly helpe *Solon*, by which the god called SALAMINA, IONIA. Their ſtrife was iudged by fiue Arbitrators, all SPARTANS borne: that is to ſay, *Critolaidas*, *Amompharetus*, *Hypſechidas*, *Anaxilas*, & *Cleomenes*: *Solon* vndoutedly wonne great glory & honour by this exployte, yet was he much more honoured & eſteemed, for the oration he made in defence of the temple of *Apollo*, in the citie of DELPHES: declaring that it was not meete to be ſuffered, that the CYRRHÆIANS ſhould at their pleaſure abuſe the ſanctuarie of the oracle, & that they ſhould ayde the DELPHIANS in honour and reuerence of *Apollo*. Whereupon the counſell of the *Amphictyons*, being moued with his words and perſuaſions, proclaymed warres againſt the CYRRHÆIANS: as diuers others do witneſſe, and eſpecially *Ariſtotle*, in the ſtorie he wrote of thoſe that wanne the *Pythian* games, where he aſcribeth vnto *Solon* the honour of that determination. Neuertheleſſe *Hermippus* ſayeth, *Solon* was not made generall of their armie, as *Enanthes* Samian hath written. For *AEſchines* the Orator wrote no ſuch thing of him: & in the chronicles of the DELPHIANS they find, that one *Alcmæon*, & not *Solon*, was the generall of the ATHENIANS. Now the citie of ATHENS had a long time beene vexed and troubled through *Cylons* haynous offence, euer ſince the yere that *Megacles* (gouernour of the citie of ATHENS) did with fayre words handle ſo the confederats of the rebellion of *Cylon*, which had taken ſanctuarie within the liberties of the temple of *Minerua*: that he perſuaded them to be wiſe, and to preſent themſelues before the iudges, holdinge by a threed, which they ſhould tye about the baſe of the image of the goddeſſe where ſhee ſtoode, becauſe they ſhould not loſe their libertie. But when they were come to the place of the honorable goddeſſes ſo called (which be the images of the furies) comming downe to preſent themſelues before the iudges, the threed brake of it ſelfe. Then *Megacles*, and other officers his companions, layed hold on them preſently, ſaying that it was a manifeſt ſigne that the goddeſſe *Minerua* refuſed to ſaue thẽ. So thoſe they tooke, and all they could lay hands on, were immediately ſtoned to death without the citie: the reſt which tooke the altars for refuge, were ſlaine there alſo. And none were ſaued, but ſuch as had made meanes to the gouernours wiues of the cittie, to intreate for them: which from that time forth were euer hated of the people, and commonly called the abiects and excommunicates. Who being the iſſues of the rebelles that roſe with *Cylon*, chanced to riſe againe in credit, & growing to great authoritie, they neuer left quarelling & fighting continually with the offspring of *Megacles*. Theſe factiõs were greateſt & higheſt in *Solons* time: who being of authoritie, & ſeeing the people thus diuided in two partes, he ſtepped in betweene them, with the chiefeſt men of ATHENS, & did ſo perſuade, & intreate thoſe whom they called the abiects & excõmunicates, that they were contented to be iudged. So three hundreth of the chiefeſt citizens were choſen iudges to heare this matter. The accuſer was *Myron Phlyeian*. This matter was heard and pleaded, & by ſentence of the iudges, the excommunicats were condemned. Thoſe that were aliue, to perpetuall exile: & the bones of them that were dead, to be digged vp, & throwẽ out of the confines of the territorie of ATHENS. But whileſt the cittie of ATHENS was occupied with theſe vprores, the MEGARIANS wiſely caught holde of the occaſion deliuered, and ſet vpon the ATHENIANS, tooke frõ them the hauen of NISÆA & recouered againe out of their handes the Ile of SALAMINA. Furthermore, all the cittie was poſſeſſed with a certaine ſuperſtitious feare: for ſome ſayed, that ſprites were come againe, and ſtraunge ſightes were ſeene. The prognoſticators alſo ſayed, they perceiued by their ſacrifices the cittie was defiled with ſome abhominable & wicked things, which were of neceſſitie to be purged and throwen out. Hereupon, they ſent into CRETA for *Epimenides Phæſtian*, whom they reckoned the ſeuenth of the wiſe men, at the leaſt ſuch as will not alowe *Periander* for one of the number. He was a holy and deuoute man, and very wiſe in celeſtiall thinges, by inſpiration from aboue: by reaſõ whereof, men of his time called him the new *Curetes*, that is to ſay, Prophet: and he was thought the ſonne of a Nimphe called *Balté*. When he was come to ATHENS, and growen in friendſhippe with *Solon*: he did helpe him much, and made his waye for eſtabliſhing of his lawes. For he acquainted the ATHENIANS to make their ſacrifices much lighter, and of

*Epimenides Pheſtus taken for one of the 7 ſages, excluding Periander.*

leſſe coſt: and brought the citizẽs to be more moderate in their mourning, with cutting off certaine ſeuere and barbarous ceremonies, which the moſt parte of women obſerued in their mourning, and he ordeined certen ſacrifices which he would haue done immediatly after the obſequies of the dead. But that which exceeded all the reſt was, that by vſing the citizens vnto holines & deuotion, daily ſacrifices, prayers vnto the godds, purging of themſelues, & humble offerings: he wan mens hartes by litle & litle, to yeeld them more cõfirmable to Iuſtice, and to be more inclined to cõcord & vnitie. It is reported alſo that *Epimenides* whẽ he ſaw the hauen of Munychia, & had long conſidered of it: told thoſe about him, that men were very blind in foreſeing things to come. For if the ATHENIANS, (ſayd he) knew what hurt this hauẽ would bring thẽ: they would eate it as (they ſay) with their teeth. It is ſayed alſo that *Thales* did prognoſticate ſuch alike thing, who after his death commaunded they ſhould burie his bodie, in ſome vile place of no reckoning, within the territorie of the MILESIANS, ſaying that one day there ſhould be the place of a citie. *Epimenides* therefore being marueilouſly eſteemed of euerie man for theſe cauſes, was greatly honoured of the ATHENIANS, and they offered him great preſents of mony and other things, but he would take nothing, and only prayed them to giue him a bough of the holy oliue: which they graunted him, and ſo he returned ſhortely home into CRETA. Now that this ſedition of *Cylon* was vtterly appeaſed in ATHENS, for that the excommunicates were baniſhed the country: the citie fell againe into their olde troubles and diſſentions about the gouernment of the common weale: & they were deuided into ſo diuers partes and factions, as there were people of ſundry places & territories within the cõtrie of ATTICA. For there were the people of the mountaines, the people of the vallies, and the people of the ſea coaſt. Thoſe of the mountaines, tooke the cõmon peoples part for their liues. Thoſe of the valley, would a few of the beſt citizens ſhould carie the ſway. The coaſte men would that neither of them ſhould preuaile, becauſe they would haue had a meane gouernmẽt & mingled of them both. Furthermore, the faction betwene the poore & rich, proceeding of their vnequalitie, was at that time very great. By reaſon whereof the citie was in great daunger, and it ſeemed there was no way to pacifie or take vp theſe controuerſies, vnles ſome tyrant happened to riſe, that would take vpon him to rule the whole. For all the cõmon people were ſo ſore indebted to the rich, that either they plowed their lands, and yeelded them the ſixt part of their croppe: (for which cauſe they were called *Hectemorij* and ſeruants) or els they borowed mony of them at vſurie, vpon gage of their bodies to ſerue it out. And if they were not able to pay them, then were they by the law deliuered to their creditours, who kept them as bondmen and ſlaues in their houſes, or els they ſent them into ſtraunge cõtries to be ſold: and many euen for very pouertie were forced to ſel their owne children (for there was no law to forbid the contrarie) or els to forſake their citie & country, for the extreame cruelty & hard deling of theſe abominable vſurers their creditors. Inſomuch that many of the luſtieſt & ſtowteſt of thẽ, banded together in cõpanies, & incouraged one another, not to ſuffer & beare any longer ſuch extremitie, but to chooſe them a ſtoute & truſty captaine, that might ſet them at libertie, and redeeme thoſe out of captiuity, which were iudged to be bondmen & ſeruants, for lacke of paying of their debts at their dayes appoynted: & ſo to make againe a new diuiſion of all landes and tenements, and wholy to chaũge and turne vp the whole ſtate and gouernment. Then the wiſeſt men of the citie, who ſaw *Solon* only neither partner with the rich in their oppreſſion, neither partaker with the poore in their neceſſitie: made ſute to him, that it would pleaſe him to take the matter in hand and to appeaſe and pacifie all theſe broyles and ſedition. Yet *Phanias* Leſbian writeth, that he vſed a ſubtiltie, whereby he deceiued both the one and the other ſide, concerning the cõmon weale. For he ſecretly promiſed the poore to deuide the lands againe: & the rich alſo, to confirme their couenants & bargaines. Howſoeuer it fell out, it is very certain that *Solon* frõ the beginning made it a great matter, & was very ſcrupulous to deale betwene them. fearing the couetouſnes of the one, & arrogancie of the other. Howbeit in the end he was choſen gouernour after *Philõbrotus*, & was made reformer of the rigour of the lawes, & the tẽperer of the ſtate & cõmõ weale, by cõſent & agreemẽt of both parties. The rich accepted him, becauſe he was no begger: the poore did alſo like him, becauſe he was an honeſt man. They ſay moreouer, that one word & ſentẽce which he ſpake (which at that preſent was

*Solon pacified the ſedition at Athens.*

*The miſerie of debt, & vſury.*

*Solons equitie & vprightnes.*

*Solon by ſubtiltie ſet order betwixt the poore & rich.*

*Solon choſen reformer of the lawe, and chiefe gouernour.*

riſe in euery mans mouth) that equalitie did breede no ſtriſe: did aſwell pleaſe the rich and wealthie, as the poore and needie. For the one ſort conceiued of this word equalitie, that he would meaſure all things according to the qualitie of the man: and the other tooke it for their purpoſe, that he would meaſure all things by the number, and by the polle only. Thus the captaines of both factions perſwaded and prayed him, boldly to take vpon him that ſoueraigne authoritie, ſithence he had the whole citie now at his commaundement. The neuters alſo of euery parte, when they ſaw it very hard to pacifie theſe things with law and reaſon, were well content that the wiſeſt, and honeſteſt man, ſhould alone haue the royall power in his handes. Some ſay alſo that there was ſuch an oracle of *Apollo.*

*Sitt thou at helme, as gouernour to ſteere*
*to guide our courſe, and rule the rowling ſhippe,*
*for thou ſhalt ſee, full many Athenians there,*
*will take thy parte, and after thee will trippe.*

*Solon refuſeth to be a tyrant. Tynnondas, & Pittacus tyrants.*

But his familiar friendes aboue all rebuked him, ſaying he was to be accompted no better then a beaſt, if for feare of the naine of tyrant, he would refuſe to take vpon him a Kingdome: which is the moſt iuſt and honorable ſtate, if one take it vpon him that is an honeſt man. As in olde time, *Tinnondas* made himſelfe King of thoſe of *Negrepont*, with their conſent: and as *Pittacus* was then preſently of thoſe of METELIN. Notwithſtanding, all theſe goodly reaſons could not make him once alter his opinion. And they ſay that he aunſwered his friendes, that principalitie and tirannie, was indeede a goodly place: howbeit there was no way for a man to get out, when he was once entered into it. And in certaine verſes that he wrote to *Phocus*, thus he ſayde:

*Solons anſwer for tyranny.*

*I neither bluſh, nor yet repent my ſelfe,*
*that haue preſerude, my natiue ſoyle alwaies,*
*and that therin (to hourde vp traſh and pelfe)*
*no tyrants thought, could once eclypſe my praiſe.*
*No might could moue, my mind to any wrong,*
*which might beblot, the glory of my name:*
*for ſo I thought, to liue in honour long,*
*and farre excell all other men for fame.*

Hereby appeareth plainely, that euen before he was choſen reformer of the ſtate, to ſtabliſh new lawes: he was then of great countenance and authoritie. But he himſelfe writeth, that many ſayed of him thus, after he had refuſed the occaſion of vſurping of this tyrannie:

*Sure Solon was a foole, and of a baſhfull mind*
*that would refuſe the great good happe, which godds to him aſſignde.*
*The praye was in his handes, yet durſt hee neuer draw,*
*the net therefore: but ſtood abaſht, and like a daſtard dawe.*
*For had not that ſo bene, he would (for one dayes reigne,*
*to be a kinge in Athens towne) himſelfe (all quicke) haue ſlaine.*
*And eke ſubuerted quite, his familie withall,*
*So ſweete it is to rule the roſt, yclad in princely pall.*

*Excellent temperature.*

Thus brought he common rumor to taber on his head. Now, notwithſtanding he had refuſed the kingdome, yet he waxed nothing the more remiſſe nor ſoft therefore in gouerning, neither would he bow for feare of the great, nor yet would frame his lawes to their likeing, that had choſen him their reformer. For where the miſchieſe was tollerable, he did not ſtraight plucke it vp by the rootes: neither did he ſo change the ſtate, as he might haue done, leaſt if he ſhould haue attẽpted to turne vpſide down the whole gouernment, he might afterwards haue bene neuer able to ſettle and ſtabliſh the ſame againe. Therefore he only altered that, which he thought by reaſon he would perſuade his citizens vnto, or els by force he ought to compell them to accept, mingling as he ſayd, ſowre with ſweet, and force with iuſtice. And herewith agreeth his aũſwer that he made afterwards vnto one that asked him, if he had made the beſt lawes he could for the ATHENIANS? yea ſure, ſayth he, ſuch as they were able to receiue. And this that followeth alſo, they haue euer ſince obſerued in the Athenian tong: to make certẽ things

pleaſaunt

pleaſant, that be hatefull, finely conueying them vnder colour of pleaſing names. As calling whores, lemans: taxes, contributions: garriſons, gardes: priſons, houſes. And all this came vp firſt by *Solons* inuẽtiõ, who called cleering of debts *Seiſachtheian*: in Engliſh, diſcharge. For the firſt change & reformation he made in gouernment was this: he ordeined that all manner of debts paſt ſhould be cleere, and no body ſhould aske his debtor any thing for the time paſt. That no man ſhould thenceforth lend money out to vſurie, vpon couenants for the body to be bound, if it were not repayed. Howbeit ſome write (as *Androtion* among other) that the poore were cõtẽted that the intereſt onely for vſury ſhould be moderated, without taking away the whole debt; & that *Solon* called this eaſie & gentle diſcharge, *Seiſachtheian* with crying vp the value of mony. For he rayſed the peiſe of ſiluer, being before but threeſcore and thirteene Drachmes, full vp to an hundred: ſo they which were to pay great ſummes of money, payed by tale as much as they ought, but with leſſe number of peeces then the debt could haue bene payed when it was borrowed. And ſo the detters gained much, & the crediteurs loſt nothing. Neuertheles the greater part of them which haue written the ſame, ſay, that this crying vp of money, was a generall diſcharge of all debts, conditions, & couenantes vpon the ſame: whereto the very poemes themſelues, which *Solon* wrote, do ſeeme to agree. For he glorieth, & breaketh forth in his verſes, that he had taken away all bawks & markes that ſeparated mens lands through the country of ATTICA: & that now he had ſet at libertie, that which before was in bondage. And that of the cittizens of ATHENS, which for lack of payment of their debts had bene condẽned for ſlaues to their creditours, he had brought many home againe out of ſtrange coũtries, where they had bene ſo long, that they had forgotten to ſpeake their naturall tongue: & other which remained at home in captiuitie, he had now ſet them all at good libertie. But while he was in doing this, men ſay a thing thwarted him, that troubled him maruellouſly. For hauing framed an Edict for clearing of al debts, and lacking only a litle to grace it with words, and to giue it ſome pretie preface, that otherwiſe was ready to be proclaymed: he opened him ſelfe ſomewhat to certaine of his familiars whom he truſted (as *Conon*, *Clinias*, and *Hipponicus*) & told them how he would not medle with lands and poſſeſſions, but would onely cleere and cut off all maner of debts. Theſe men before the proclamatiõ came out, went preſently to the mony men, & borrowed great ſummes of mony of them, & layed it out ſtraight vpon land. So when the proclamation came out, they kept the landes they had purchaſed, but reſtored not the mony they had borrowed. This fowle part of theirs made *Solon* very ill ſpoken of, & wrõgfully blamed: as if he had not only ſuffered it, but had bene partaker of this wrong & iniuſtice. Notwithſtanding he cleared himſelfe of this ſlaunderous report, loſing fiue talents by his owne law. For it was well knowne that ſo much was due vnto him, & he was the firſt that following his owne proclamation, did clearly releaſe his debtors of the ſame. Other ſay he was owing fifteene talents: and among the ſame, *Polyzelus* the *Rhodian* is one that affirmeth it. Notwithſtanding they euer after called *Solons* friendes, *Greocopides*, cutters of debts. This law neither liked the one nor the other ſort. For it greatly offended the rich, for cancelling their bonds: and it much more miſliked the poore, because all landes and poſſeſſions they gaped for, were not made againe common, and euery body a like rich and wealthie, as *Lycurgus* had made the LACEDÆMONIANS. But *Lycurgus* was the eleuẽth deſcended of the right line from *Hercules*, & had many yeres bene king of LACEDÆMON, where he had gotten great authoritie, and made himſelf many friends: all which things together, did greatly help him to execute that, which he wiſely had imagined for the order of his common weale. Yet alſo he vſed more perſuaſion then force, a good witnes thereof the loſſe of his eye: preferring a law before his priuate iniurie, which hath power to preſerue a citie long in vnion and concorde, and to make cittizens to be neither poore nor rich. *Solon* could not attaine to this, for he was borne in a popular ſtate, & a man but of meane wealth: Howbeit he did what he could poſſible, with the power he had, as one ſeeking to win no credit with his citizẽs, but onely by his counſaile. Now, that he got the ill will of the greater part of the cittie, by his proclamation which he made: he himſelfe doth witneſſe it ſaying:

*Things hatefull made pleaſant with ſweete wordes.*

*Cleering of debts, Solons firſt law.*

*Vſurie forbidden vpon gage of the bodie.*

*The value of money cryed vp by Solon.*

*Lawes would be kept ſecret till they be publiſhed.*

*Ill conſciences by craft preuent lawe.*

*A good lawmaker, beginneth to do iuſtice in himſelf.*

*Euen thoſe which earſt, did beare me frendly face,*
*and ſpake full fayer, where euer I them met:*

*gan now beginne, to looke full grim of grace,*
*and were (like foes) in force againſt me ſet.*
*As if I had done them, ſome ſpite or ſcorne,*
*or open wrong, which were not to be borne,*

Neuertheles he ſayeth immediatly after, that with the ſame authoritie and power he had, a man poſſibly

*Could not controll, the peoples mindes:*
*nor ſtill their braynes, which wrought like windes.*

*Solons abſolute authoritie in the common weale.*

*Solon tooke away all Dracons lawes.*

*Solon rateth euerie cittizen at a certen ſumme.*
*Pentacoſiomedimni.*
*Zeugitæ.*
*Thetes.*

*The darknes of the law increaſed, the authoritie of the iudge.*

But ſhortly after, hauing a feeling of the benefite of his ordinance, and euery one forgetting his priuate quarrell: they altogether made a common ſacrifice, which they called the ſacrifice of *Seiſachthia*, or diſcharge, and choſe *Solon* generall reformer of the law, and of the whole ſtate of the cōmon weale, without limiting his power, but referred all matters indifferently to his will. As the offices of ſtate, common aſſemblies, voyces in election, iudgments in iuſtice, and the bodie of the Senate. And they gaue him alſo full power and authoritie, to ſeſſe and taxe any of thē, to appoint the number, what time the ſeſſe ſhould continue, and to keepe, confirme, and diſanull at his pleaſure, any of the auncient lawes and cuſtomes then in being. To begin withall, he firſt tooke away all *Dracons* bloudie lawes, ſauing for murther, and manſlaughter, which were too ſeuere & cruel. For almoſt he did ordaine but one kind of puniſhment, for all kind of faultes and offences which was death. So that they which were condemned for idlenes, were iudged to dye. And pety larceny, as robbing mens hortyards, & gardens of frute, or herbes, was as ſeuerely puniſhed: as thoſe who had committed ſacriledge or murder. *Demades* therefore encountered it pleaſantly, when he ſayed: that *Dracons* lawes were not written with inck, but with bloud. And *Draco* himſelfe being asked one day, why his puniſhmēts were ſo vnequall, as death for all kind of faultes: he aunſwered. Becauſe he thought the leaſt offence worthie ſo much puniſhment: and for the greateſt: he found none more grieuous. Then *Solon* being deſirous to haue the chiefe offices of the citie to remaine in rich mens handes, as already they did, and yet to mingle the authoritie of gouernment in ſuch ſort, as the meaner people might beare a litle ſway, which they neuer could before: he made an eſtimate of the goodes of euery priuate citizen. And thoſe which he found yerely worth fiue hūdreth buſhells of corne, and other liquide frutes and vpwardes, he called *Pentacoſiomedimnes*: as to ſay, fiue hundreth buſhell men of reuenue. And thoſe that had three hundred buſhells a yere, and were able to keepe a horſe of ſeruice, he put in the ſecond degree, and called them knightes. They that might diſpend but two hundreth buſhells a yere, were put in the thirde place, & called *Zeugites*. All other vnder thoſe, were called *Thetes*, as ye would ſay, hierlings, or craftes men liuing of their labour: whome he did not admit to beare any office in the cittie, neither were they taken as free citizens, ſauing they had voyces in elections, and aſſemblies of the cittie, and in iudgments, where the people wholy iudged. This at the firſt ſeemed nothing, but afterwards they felt it was to great purpoſe, for hereby the moſt part of priuate quarrelles and ſtrifes that grew among them, were in the end layed open before the people. For he ſuffered thoſe to appeale vnto the people, which thought they had wrong iudgment in their cauſes. Furthermore becauſe his lawes were written ſomewhat obſcurely, and might be diuerſely taken and interpreted: this did giue a great deale more authoritie and power to the iudges. For, conſidering all their controuerſies could not be ended, and iudged by expreſſe lawe: they were driuen of neceſſitie alwaies to runne to the iudges, and debated their matters before them. In ſo much as the iudges by this meanes came to be ſomewhat aboue the lawe: for they did euen expound it as they would themſelues. *Solon* ſelfe doth note this equall diuiſion of the publicke authoritie, in a place of his poeſies, where he ſayeth.

*Such power haue I giuen, to common peoples hand,*
*as might become their meane eſtate, with equitie to ſtande:*
*and as I haue not pluct, from them their dignitie,*
*ſo haue I not too much increaſt, their ſmall authoritie.*
*Vnto the rich likewiſe, I haue allowed no more,*
*then well might ſeeme (in iuſt conceit) ſufficient for their ſtore.*

*And ſo I haue for both prouided in ſuch wiſe,*
*that neither ſhall each other wrong, nor ſeeme for to deſpiſe.*

Yet conſidering it was meete to prouide for the pouertie of the common ſorte of people: he ſuffered any man that would, to take vpon him the defence, of any poore mans caſe that had the wrong. For if a man were hurt, beaten, forced, or otherwiſe wronged: any other man that would, might lawfully ſue the offendour, and proſecute lawe againſt him. And this was a wiſe lawe ordeined of him, to accuſtome his citizens to be ſorie one for anothers hurt, and ſo to feele it, as if any part of his owne body had bene iniured. And they ſay he made an anſwer on a time agreeable to this law. For, being asked what citie he thought beſt gouerned: he anſwered. That citie where ſuch as receiue no wrong, do as earneſtly defend wrong offered to other, as the very wrong and iniury had bene done vnto themſelues. He erected alſo the counſell of the *Areopagites*, of thoſe magiſtrates of the citie, out of which they did yeerely chooſe their gouernour: and he himſelfe had bin of that number, for that he had bin gouernour for a yeare. Wherfore perceiuing now the people were growne to a ſtomack, and haughtineſſe of minde becauſe they were cleare diſcharged of their debts: he ſet one vp for matters of ſtate, another counſell of an hundred choſen out of euery tribe, wherof foure hundred of them were to conſult and debate of all matters, before they were propounded to the people: that when the great counſell of the people at large ſhould be aſſembled, no matters ſhould be put forth, vnles it had bin before well conſidered of, & digeſted, by the counſell of the foure hundred. Moreouer, he ordeined the higher court ſhould haue the chiefe authoritie and power ouer all things, and chiefly to ſee the lawe executed and maintained: ſuppoſing that the common weale being ſetled, and ſtayed with theſe two courts (as with two ſtrong anker holdes) it ſhould be the leſſe turmoiled and troubled, and the people alſo better pacified and quieted. The moſt part of writers hold this opinion, that it was **Solon** which erected the counſaile of the *Areopagites*, as we haue ſaid, and it is very likely to be true, for that **Dracon** in all his lawes and ordinances made no manner of mention of the *Areopagites*, but alwayes ſpeaketh to the *Ephetes* (which were iudges of life and death) when he ſpake of murther, or of any mans death. Notwithſtanding, the eight law of the thirteenth table of *Solon* ſaith thus, in theſe very words. All ſuch as haue bene baniſhed or detected of naughty life, before *Solon* made his lawes, ſhalbe reſtored againe to their goods and good name, except thoſe which were condemned by order of the counſaile of the *Areopagites*, or by the *Ephetes*, or by the Kings in open courte, for murther, and death of any man, or for aſpiring to vſurpe tyrannie. Theſe words to the contrarie ſeeme to proue and teſtifie, that the counſell of the *Areopagites* was, before *Solon* was choſen reformer of the lawes. For how could offenders and wicked men be condemned, by order of the counſell of the *Areopagites* before *Solon*, if *Solon* was the firſt that gaue it authoritie to iudge? vnleſſe a man will ſay peraduenture, that he would a litle helpe the matter of his lawes which were obſcure and darke, and would ſupply that they lacked, with expounding of the ſame by them. Thoſe which ſhall be found attainted and conuicted of any matter, that hath bene heard before the counſell of the *Areopagites*, the *Ephetes*, or the gouernours of the citie when this law ſhall come forth: ſhall ſtand condemned ſtill, and all other ſhall be pardoned, reſtored, and ſet at libertie. Howſoeuer it is, ſure that was his intent and meaning. Furthermore amongſt the reſt of his lawes, one of them indeed was of his owne deuiſe: for the like was neuer ſtabliſhed elſe where. And it is that lawe, that pronounceth him defamed, and vnhoneſt, who in a ciuill vprore among the citizens, ſitteth ſtill a looker on, and a neuter, and taketh part with neither ſide. Whereby his minde was as it ſhould appeare, that priuate men ſhould not be only carefull to put themſelues and their cauſes in ſafetie, nor yet ſhould be careleſſe for other mens matters, or thinke it a vertue not to medle with the miſeries and miſfortunes of their countrie, but from the beginning of euery ſedition that they ſhould ioyne with thoſe that take the iuſteſt cauſe in hand, and rather to hazard themſelues with ſuch, then to tarie looking (without putting themſelues in daunger) which of the two ſhould haue the victorie. There is another lawe alſo, which at the firſt ſight me thinketh is very vnhoneſt and fond. That if any man according to the lawe hath matched with a riche heire and inheritour, and of himſelfe is impotent, and vnable to do the office of a husband, ſhe may law-

*The counſell of the Areopagites.*

*3 Counſels erected in Athens.*

*Other lawes of Solon.*

*A law againſt neuters.*

*An acte for matching with inheritours.*

fully lie with any whom ſhe liketh, of her husbands neareſt kinſemen. Howbeit ſome affirme, that it is a wiſe made lawe for thoſe, which knowing themſelues vnmeete to entertaine wedlocke, will for couetouſneſſe of lands, mary with riche heires and poſſeſsioners, and minde to abuſe poore gentlewomen vnder the colour of lawe: and will thinke to force and reſtraine nature. For, ſeeing the lawe ſuffereth an inheritour or poſſeſsioner thus ill beſtowed, at her pleaſure to be bolde with any of her husbands kinne: men will either leaue to purchaſe ſuch mariages, or if they be ſo careleſſe that they will needs mary, it ſhalbe to their extreame ſhame and ignominie, and ſo ſhall they deſeruedly pay for their greedie couetouſneſſe. And the lawe is well made alſo, becauſe the wife hath not ſcope to all her husbands kinſemen, but vnto one choice man whome ſhe liketh beſt of his houſe: to the ende that the children that ſhall be borne, ſhalbe at the leaſt of her husbands bloud and kindred. This alſo confirmeth the ſame, that ſuch a new maried wife ſhould be ſhut vp with her husband, and eate a quince with him: and that he alſo which marieth ſuch an inheritour, ſhould of duetie ſee her thriſe a moneth at the leaſt. For although he get no children of her, yet it is an honour the husband doth to his wife, arguing that he taketh her for an honeſt woman, that he loueth her, and that he eſteemeth of her. Beſides, it taketh away many miſlikings and diſpleaſures which oftentimes happen in ſuch caſes, and keepeth loue and good will waking, that it dye not vtterly betweene them. Furthermore, he tooke away all ioynters and dowries in other mariages, and willed that the wiues ſhould bring their husbands but three gownes onely, with ſome other litle moueables of ſmall value, and without any other thing as it were: vtterly forbidding that they ſhould buie their husbands, or that they ſhould make marchandiſe of mariages, as of other trades to gaine, but would that man and woman ſhould marrie together for iſſue, for pleaſure, and for loue, but in no caſe for money. And for proofe hereof, *Dionyſius* the tyrant of SICILE, one day anſwered his mother (which would needes be maried to a young man of SYRACVSA) in this ſort. I haue power (ſaieth he) to breake the lawes of SYRACVSA, by hauing the Kingdome: but to force the lawe of nature, or to make mariage without the reaſonable compaſſe of age, that paſſeth my reache and power. So is it not tollerable, and much leſſe allowable alſo, that ſuch diſorder ſhould be in well ordered cities, that ſuch vncomely and vnfit mariages ſhould be made, betweene couples of ſo vnequall yeares: conſidering there is no meete nor neceſſarie ende of ſuch matches. A wiſe gouernour of a citie, or a iudge and reformer of lawes and manners, might well ſaye to an olde man that ſhould marie with a young maide, as the Poet ſaieth of *Philoctetes*:

*Solon forbiddeth ioynters and dowries.*

*Dionyſius ſaying of mariages.*

*Ah ſillie wretche, how trim a man art thou,*
*at theſe young yeares, for to be maried now?*

And finding a young man in an olde riche womans houſe, getting his liuing by riding of her errants, and waxing fat as they ſay the Partridge dooth by treading of the hennes: he may take him from thence, to beſtowe him on ſome young maide that ſhall haue neede of a husband. And thus much for this matter. But they greatly commend another lawe of *Solons*, which forbiddeth to ſpeake ill of the dead. For it is a good and godly thing to thinke, that they ought not to touche the dead, no more than to touche holy things: and men ſhould take great heed to offend thoſe that are departed out of this world, beſides it is a token of wiſedome and ciuilitie, to beware of immortall enemies He commanded alſo in the ſelfe ſame lawe, that no man ſhould ſpeake ill of the liuing, ſpecially in Churches, during diuine ſeruice, or in counſell chamber of the citie, nor in the Theaters whileſt games were a playing: vpon paine of three ſiluer * Drachmes to be paied to him that was iniured, and two to the common treaſurie. For he thought it too much ſhamleſſe boldneſſe, in no place to keepe in ones choller, and moreouer, that ſuch lacked ciuilitie and good manners: and yet altogether to ſuppreſſe and ſmother it, he knew it was not onely a harde matter, but to ſome natures vnpoſſible. And he that maketh lawes, muſt haue regarde to the common poſsibilitie of men, if he will puniſh litle, with profitable example, and not much without ſome profit. So was he maruelouſlie well thought of, for the lawe that he made touching wils and teſtaments. For before, men might not lawfully make their heyres whom they would, but the goods came to the children or kindred of the teſtatour. But he leauing it at libertie, to diſpoſe their goods where they

*A law forbidding to ſpeake euill of the dead.*

**Drachme.*

*A lawe for willes and teſtaments.*

they thought good, ſo they had no children of their owne: did therein preferre friendſhip before kindred, and good will and fauour before neceſſitie and conſtrainte, and ſo made euery one lorde and maiſter of his owne goods. Yet he did not ſimply and a like allowe all ſorts of giftes, howſoeuer they were made: but thoſe onely which were made by men of ſound memorie, or by thoſe whoſe wittes failed them not by extreame ſickneſſe, or through drinkes, medicines, poyſonings, charmes, or other ſuch violence and extraordinarie meanes, neither yet through the intiſements and perſwaſions of women. As thinking very wiſely, there was no difference at all betweene thoſe that were euidently forced by conſtraint, and thoſe that were compaſſed and wrought by ſubornation at length to do a thing againſt their will, taking fraude in this caſe equall with violence, and pleaſure with ſorrow, as paſſions with madneſſe, which commonly haue as much force the one as the other, to drawe and driue men from reaſon. He made another lawe alſo, in which he appointed women their times to go abroade into the fields, their mourning, their feaſts and ſacrifices, plucking from them all diſorder and wilfull libertie, which they vſed before. For he did forbid that they ſhould carie out of the citie with them aboue three gownes, and to take victuals with them aboue the value of an halfe pennie, neither basket nor pannier aboue a cubite high: and ſpecially he did forbid them to go in the night, other then in their coche, and that a torche ſhould be caried before them. He did forbid them alſo at the buriall of the dead, to teare and ſpoile themſelues with blowes, to make lamentations in verſes, to weepe at the funerals of a ſtranger not being their kinſeman, to ſacrifice an oxe on the graue of the dead, to burie aboue three gownes with the corſe, to go to other mens graues, but at the very time of burying the corſe: all which or the moſt part of them, are forbidden by our lawes at this day. Moreouer, thoſe lawes appoint a penaltie vpon ſuch women as offend in the ſame, to be diſtrained for, by certaine officers expreſſely named, to controll and reforme the abuſes of women, as womaniſh perſons and fainte harted, which ſuffer themſelues to be ouercome with ſuch paſſions and fondneſſe in their mourning. And perceiuing that the citie of ATHENS began to repleniſh dayly more and more, by mens repairing thither from all parts, and by reaſon of the great aſſured ſafetie, and libertie that they found there: and alſo conſidering howe the greateſt parte of the Realme became in manner heathy, and was very barren, and that men traffequing the ſeas, are not wonte to bring any marchandiſe to thoſe, which can giue them nothing againe in exchange: he began to practiſe that his citizens ſhould giue themſelues vnto craftes and occupations, and made a lawe, that the ſonne ſhould not be bound to relieue his father being olde, vnleſſe he had ſet him in his youth to ſome occupation. It was a wiſe part of *Lycurgus* ( who dwelt in a citie where was no reſorte of ſtrangers, and had ſo great a territorie, as could haue furniſhed twiſe as many people, as *Euripides* ſaith, and moreouer on all ſides was enuironed with a great number of ſlaues of the ILOTES, whom it was needfull to keepe ſtill in labour and worke continually ) to haue his citizens alwaies occupied in exerciſes of feates of armes, without making them to learne any other ſcience, but diſcharged them of all other miſerable occupations and handy crafts. But *Solon* framing his lawes vnto things, and not things vnto lawes, when he ſaw the countrie of ATTICA ſo leane and barren, that it could hardly bring forth to ſuſtaine thoſe that tilled the ground onely, and therefore much more impoſsible to keepe ſo great a multitude of idle people as were in ATHENS: thought it very requiſite to ſet vp occupations, and to giue them countenance and eſtimation. Therefore he ordeined, that the counſell of the *Areopagites*, ſhould haue full power and authoritie to enquire how euery man liued in the citie, and alſo to puniſh ſuch as they found idle people, and did not labour. But this was thought too ſeuere and ſtraight a lawe which he ordained ( as *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth ) that the children borne of common harlots and ſtrumpets ſhould not be bound to relieue their fathers. For he that maketh no accompt of matrimonie, plainely ſheweth that he tooke not a wife to haue children, but onely to ſatiſfie his luſt and pleaſure: and ſo ſuch an one hath his iuſt reward, and is diſappointed of the reuerence that a father ought to haue of his children, ſince through his owne faulte the birth of his childe falleth out to his reproche. Yet to ſay truly, in *Solons* lawes touching women, there are many abſurdities, as they fall out ill fauoredly. For he maketh it lawfull for any man to kill an

*A lawe for womens going abroade.*

*Craftes and occupations aduannced.*

*The authoritie of the court & counſell of the Areopagites.*

adulterer taking him with the fact. But he that rauiſheth or forciblie taketh away a free woman, is onely condemned to pay a hundred ſiluer * drachmes. And he that was the *Pandor* to procure her, ſhould only pay twentie drachmes. Vnleſſe ſhe had bene a common ſtrumpet or curtiſan: for ſuch do iuſtifie open acceſſe, to all that will hire them. Furthermore, he doth forbid any perſon to ſell his daughters or ſiſters, vnleſſe the father or brother had taken them, abuſing themſelues before mariage. Me thinketh it is farre from purpoſe and reaſon with ſeueritie to puniſh a thing in one place, and ouer lightly to paſſe it ouer in another: or to ſet ſome light fine on ones head for a great fault, and after to diſcharge him, as it were but a matter of ſporte. Vnleſſe they will excuſe it thus, that money being very hard and ſcante at that time in ATHENS, thoſe fines were then very great and grieuous to pay. For in ſetting out the charges of offerings which ſhould be made in ſacrifices, he appointed a weather to be a conuenient offering, and he ſetteth a buſſhell of corne at a ſiluer drachme. More he ordained, that they which wunne any of the games at ATHENS, ſhould pay to the common treaſurie an hundred drachmes. And thoſe that wunne any of the games *Olympicall*, fiue hundred drachmes. Alſo he appointed that he which brought a he woolfe, ſhould haue fiue drachmes, & him one drachme for reward of a ſhe woolfe. Wherof as *Demetrius Phalerian* writeth: the one was the price of an oxe, and the other of a mutton. For, touching the rates he ordained in the ſixteenth table of his lawes meete for burnt ſacrifices, it is likely he did rate them at a much higher price, then ordinarily they were worth: and yet notwithſtanding, the price which he ſetteth, is very litle in compariſon of that which they are worth at this day. Now it was a cuſtome euer amongſt the ATHENIANS to kill their woolues, becauſe all their countrie laye for paſture, and not for tillage. Some there be that ſay, the tribes of the people of ATHENS haue not bene called after the names of the children of *Ion*, as the common opinion hath bene: but that they were called after their diuers trades and manners of liuing, which they tooke themſelues vnto from the beginning. For, ſuch as gaue themſelues vnto the warres, were called *Oplites*: as who would ſay, men of armes. Thoſe that wrought in their occupations, were called *Ergades*: as much to ſay, as men of occupation. The other two which were husbandmen, & followed the plough, were calld *Teleontes*: as you would ſay, labouring men. And thoſe that kept beaſts and cattell, were called *Ægicores*: as much to ſay, as heardmen. Now, foraſmuch as the whole prouince of ATTICA was very drye, and had great lack of water, being not full of riuers, running ſtreames, nor lakes, nor yet ſtored with any great number of ſprings, in ſo much as they are driuen there to vſe (through the moſt part of the countrie) water drawne out of welles made with mens hands: he made ſuch an order, that where there was any Well within the ſpace of an Hippicon, that euery body within that circuite, might come and draw water only at that Well, for his vſe and neceſſitie. Hippicon is the diſtaunce of foure furlongs, which is halfe a mile: and thoſe that dwelt further off, ſhould go ſeeke their water in other places where they would. But if they had digged ten yardes deepe in their ground, and could finde no water in the bottome, in this caſe, they might lawfully go to their next neighbours well. and take a pot full of water containing ſixe gallons, twiſe a day: iudging it great reaſon that neceſſitie ſhould be holpen, but not that idleneſſe ſhould be cheriſhed. He appointed alſo the ſpaces that ſhould be kept and obſerued by thoſe, that would ſet or plant trees in their ground, as being a man very ſkilfull in theſe matters. For he ordained, that whoſoeuer would plante any kinde of trees in his ground, he ſhould ſet them fiue foote a ſunder one from another: but for the figge tree and olyue tree ſpecially, that they ſhould in any caſe be nine foote a ſunder, becauſe theſe two trees do ſpread out their branches farre off, and they cannot ſtand neere other trees, but they muſt needs hurt them very much. For beſides that they drawe away the ſame that doth nouriſh the other trees, they caſt alſo a certaine moiſture and ſteame vpon them, that is very hurtfull and incommodious. More he ordained, that whoſoeuer would digge a pit or hole in his ground, he ſhould digge it as farre off from his neighbours pit, as the pit he digged was in depth to the bottome. And he that would ſet vp a hiue of bees in his ground, he ſhould ſet them at the leaſt three hundred foote from other hiues ſet about him before. And of the frutes of the earth, he was contented they ſhould tranſporte and ſell onely oyle out of the Realme to ſtrangers, but no other frute or graine. He ordained that the go-

*Drachma.

*The tribes of the Athenians how they were called.*

*An acte for welles.*

*An acte for planting and ſetting of trees.*

uernour of the citie ſhould yearely proclaime open curſes againſt thoſe that ſhould doe to the contrarie, or elſe he himſelfe making default therein, ſhould be fined at a hundred drachmes. This ordinance is in the firſt table of *Solons* lawes, and therefore wee may not altogether diſcredite thoſe which ſay, they did forbid in the olde time that men ſhould carie figges out of the countrie of Attica, and that from thence it came that theſe picke thankes, which bewray and accuſe them that tranſported figges, were called *Sycophantes*. He made another law alſo againſt the hurt that beaſtes might doe vnto men. Wherein he ordeined, that if a dogge did bite any man, he that ought him ſhould deliuer to him that was bitten, his dogge tyed to a logge of timber of foure cubites long: and this was a very good deuiſe, to make men ſafe from dogges. But he was very ſtraight in one lawe he made, that no ſtranger might be made denizen and free man of the citie of Athens, vnleſſe he were a baniſhed man for euer out of his countrie, or elſe that he ſhould come and dwell there with all his family, to exerciſe ſome craft or ſcience. Notwithſtanding, they ſay he made not this lawe ſo much to put ſtraungers from their freedome there, as to drawe them thither, aſſuring them by this ordinance, they might come and be free of the citie: and he thought moreouer, that both the one & the other would be more faithfull to the common weale of Athens. The one of them, for that againſt their wils they were driuen to forſake their countrie: and the other ſort, for that aduiſedly and willingly they were contented to forſake it. This alſo was another of *Solons* lawes, which he ordeined for thoſe that ſhould feaſt certaine dayes at the towne houſe of the citie, at other mens coſt. For he would not allow, that one man ſhould come often to feaſts there. And if any man were inuited thither to the feaſt, and did refuſe to come: he did ſet a fine on his head, as reprouing the miſerable niggardlineſſe of the one, and the preſumptuous arrogancie of the other, to contemne & deſpiſe common order. After he had made his lawes, he did ſtabliſh them to continue for the ſpace of one hundred yeares, and they were written in tables of wood called *Axones*, which were made more long then broad, in the which they were grauen: whereof there remaine ſome monuments yet in our time, which are to be ſeene in the towne hall of the citie of Athens. *Ariſtotle* ſayth, that theſe tables were called *Cyrbes*. And *Cratinus* alſo the Comicall poet ſayth in one place, of *Solon* and *Dracon*: that *Cyrbes* was a veſſell or pan wherin they did frie millet or hirſe. Howbeit others ſay, that *Cyrbes* properly were the tables, which conteined the ordinances of the ſacrifices: and *Axones* were the other tables, that concerned the common weale. So, all the counſels & magiſtrates together did ſweare, that they would keepe *Solons* lawes themſelues, and alſo cauſe them to be obſerued of others throughly & particularly. Then euery one of the *Theſmothetes* (which were certaine officers attendant on the counſell, and had ſpeciall charge to ſee the lawes obſerued) did ſolemnly ſweare in the open market place, neere the ſtone where the proclamations are proclaimed: and euery of them both promiſed, and vowed openly to keepe the ſame lawes, and that if any of them did in any one point breake the ſaid ordinances, then they were content that ſuch offender ſhould pay to the tẽple of *Apollo*, at the citie of Delphes, an image of fine golde, that ſhould waigh as much as himſelf. Moreouer, *Solon* ſeeing the diſorder of the moneths, and the mouing of the moone, which followed not the courſe of the ſunne, and vſed not to riſe & fal when the ſunne doth, but oft times in one day, it doth both touch and paſſe the ſunne: he was the firſt that called the chaunge of the moone, Ene caì néa, as much to ſay, as olde and new moone. Allowing that which appeared before the coniunction, to be of the moneth paſt: and that which ſhewed it ſelfe after the coniunction, to be of the moneth following. And he was the firſt alſo (in my opinion) that vnderſtoode *Homer* rightly, when he ſayd: then beginneth the moneth when it endeth. The day following the chaunge, he called *Neomenia*, as much to ſay, as the new moneth, or the newe moone. After the twenty day of the moneth which they called *Icada*, he reckoned not the reſt of the moneth, as increaſing, but as in the wane: & gathered it by ſeeing the light of the moone decreaſing vntill the thirtie day. Now after his lawes were come abroad, and proclaimed, there came ſome daily vnto him, which either praiſed them, or miſliked them: & praied him either to take away, or to adde ſome thing vnto them. Many againe came and asked him, how he vnderſtoode ſome ſentence of his lawes: and requeſted him to declare his meaning, and how it ſhould be taken. Wherfore conſidering how it were to no purpoſe to refuſe to do it, & againe

*Drachma.*

*Feaſtes for townes men in the towne hall of Athens.*

*Axones.*

*Cyrbes.*

*Theſmothetes.*

how it would get him much ennie and ill will to yeelde thereunto: hee determined (happen what would) to wind himſelfe out of theſe bryers, and to flie the gronings, complaints, and quarrels of his citizens. For he ſayth himſelfe:

*Full hard it is, all mindes content to haue,*
*and ſpecially in matters hard and graue.*

*Solons trauell.*

So, to conuey himſelfe a while out of the way, he tooke vpon him to be maſter of a ſhippe in a certaine voyage, and aſked licence for ten yeares of the ATHENIANS to goe beyonde ſea, hoping by that time the ATHENIANS would be very well acquainted with his lawes. So went he to the ſeas, & the firſt place of his arriuall was in EGYPT, where he remained a while, as he himſelfe ſayth.

*Euen there where Nylus, with his crooked cranckes*
*by Canobe, falles into the ſea banckes.*

*Clarius fl.*

*Æpia called Soles.*

He went to his booke there, and did conferre a certaine time with *Pſenophis Heliopolitan*, and *Sonchis Saitan*, two of the wiſeſt prieſtes at that time that were in EGYPT: whom when he heard rehearſe the ſtorie of the Iles ATLANTIDES as *Plato* writeth, he proued to put the ſame into verſe, and did ſend it abroad through GRECE. At his departure out of EGYPT he went into CYPRVS, where he had great courteſie and friendſhip of one of the princes of that countrie, called *Philocyprus*, who was lord of a pretie litle citie which *Demophon* (*Theſeus* ſon) cauſed to be built vpon the riuer of Clarie, and was of a goodly ſtrong ſituation, but in a very leane and barren countrie. Whereupon *Solon* told him, it would do better a great deale to remoue it out of that place, into a very fayre and pleaſant valley that lay vnderneath it, and there to make it larger and ſtatelier then it was: which was done according to his perſwaſion. And *Solons* ſelfe being preſent at it, was made ouerſeer of the buildings, which he did helpe to deuiſe and order in good ſort, aſwell in reſpect of pleaſure, as for force and defence: inſomuch as many people came from other places to dwell there. And herein many other lordes of the countrie did follow the example of this *Philocyprus*, who to honour *Solon*, called his citie SOLES, which before was called ÆPIA. *Solon* in his Elegies maketh mention of this foundation, directing his words vnto *Philocyprus*, as followeth.

*So graunt the goddes, that thou, and thine offſpring*
*may clyme to great and paſsing princely ſtate:*
*long time to liue, in Soles flouriſhing.*
*And that they graunt, my ſhippe and me good gate*
*when I from hence, by ſeas ſhall take my way:*
*that with her harpe, dame Venus doe vouchſafe*
*to waft me ſtill, vntill ſhe may conuey*
*my ſelfe againe, into my countrie ſafe.*
*Since I haue bene, the onely meane and man,*
*which here to build, this citie firſt began.*

*Solon ſaw king Cræſus in the citie of Sardis.*

And as for the meeting and talke betwixt him & king *Cræſus*, I know there are that by diſtance of time will proue it but a fable, and deuiſed of pleaſure: but for my part I wil not reiect, nor cōdemne ſo famous an hiſtorie, receiued & approued by ſo many graue teſtimonies. Moreouer it is very agreeable to *Solons* maners & nature, and alſo not vnlike to his wiſdom & magnanimity: although in all points it agreeth not with certaine tables (which they call Chronicles) where they haue buſily noted the order and courſe of times which euen to this day, many haue curiouſly ſought to correct, and could yet neuer diſcuſſe it, nor accord all contrarieties & manifeſt repugnances in the ſame. *Solon* at the deſire and requeſt of *Cræſus*, went to ſee him in the citie of SARDIS. When *Solon* was come thither, he ſeemed to be in the ſelfe ſame taking that a man was once reported to be: who being borne and bred vp on the maine land, and had neuer ſeene the ſea neither farre nor neere, did imagine euery riuer that he ſawe had bene the ſea. So *Solon* paſſing alongſt *Cræſus* palace, and meeting by the way many of the lordes of his Court richly apparelled, and carying great traines of ſeruing men, and ſouldiers about them: thought euer that one of them had bene the King, vntill hee was brought vnto *Cræſus* ſelfe. Who was paſſing richly attrayed, what for precious ſtones and iewels, and for rich colloured ſilkes, layd on with curious goldſmithes worke,& all to ſhew himſelfe to *Solon* in moſt ſtately, ſumptuous, and magnificent manner. Who perceiuing by *Solons* repayre to his preſence, that he ſhewed no manner of ſigne,nor countenance of wondring, to ſee ſo great a ſtate before him, neither had giuen out any worde neere or likely to that which *Cræſus* looked for in his owne imagination,but rather had deliuered ſpeeches for men of iudgement & vnderſtanding to know, how inwardly he much did miſlike *Cræſus* fooliſh vanitie & baſe mind: then *Cræſus* commanded all his treaſuries to be opened where his gold and ſiluer lay,next that they ſhould ſhewe him his rich and ſumptuous wardroppes, although that needed not: for to ſee *Cræſus* ſelfe,it was enough to diſcerne his nature and condition. After he had ſeene all ouer and ouer, being brought againe vnto the preſence of the King: *Cræſus* asked him,if euer he had ſeene any man more happy than himſelfe was? *Solon* anſwered him, I haue: and that was one *Tellus* a citizen of ATHENS, who was a maruellous honeſt man,and had left his children behind him in good eſtimation,and wel to liue,& laſtly,was moſt happy at his death,by dying honorably in the field,in defence of his countrie. *Cræſus* hearing this anſwere, began to iudge him a man of litle wit,or of groſſe vnderſtanding, becauſe he did not thinke that to haue ſtore of gold & ſiluer,was the only ioy & felicitie of the world, and that he would preferre the life & death of a meane & priuate man as more happie,than all the riches & power of ſo mightie a King. Notwithſtanding all this,*Cræſus* yet asked him againe: What other man beſide *Tellus* he had ſeene happier than himſelf? *Solon* anſwered him,that he had ſeene *Cleobis* & *Biton*,which were both brethren, and loued one another ſingularly well, and their mother in ſuch ſort: that vpon a ſolemne feſtiual day,when ſhe ſhould go to the temple of *Iuno* in her couch drawen with oxen: becauſe they taried too long ere they could be brought, they both willingly yoaked thēſelues by the neckes,& drue their mothers couch in ſtead of the oxen,which maruellouſly reioyced her,and ſhe was thought moſt happy of all other,to haue borne two ſuch ſonnes. Afterwards when they had done ſacrifice to the goddeſſe, & made good cheere at the feaſt of this ſacrifice, they went to bed: but they roſe not againe the next morning, for they were found dead without ſuffering hurt or ſorow,after they had receiued ſo much glorie and honour. *Cræſus* then could no longer bridle in his patience, but breaking out in choller,ſaid vnto him: why, doeſt thou recken me than in no degree of happie men? *Solon* would neither flatter him,nor further increaſe his heate, but aunſwered him thus: O King of LYDIANS, the goddes haue giuen vs GRECIANS all things in a meane, and amongſt other things chiefly, a baſe and popular wiſedome, not princely nor noble: which, conſidering how mans life is ſubiect to infinite chaunges,doth forbid vs to truſt or glorie in theſe worldly riches. For time bringeth daily miſfortunes vnto man,which he neuer thought of,nor looked for.But when the goddes haue continued a mans good fortune to his end,then we thinke that man happy & bleſſed,and neuer before. Otherwiſe, if we ſhould iudge a man happie that liueth, conſidering he is euer in danger of chaunge during life: we ſhould be much like to him, who iudgeth him the victory before hand,that is ſtill a fighting,and may be ouercome,hauing no ſuertie yet to carie it away. After *Solon* had ſpoken theſe wordes, he departed from the Kings preſence, and returned backe againe, leauing King *Cræſus* offended, but nothing the wiſer, nor amended. Now *Æſope* that wrote the fables,being at that time in the citie of SARDIS,& ſent for thither by the King,who entertained him very honorably: was very ſory to ſee that the King had giuen *Solon* no better entertainment: ſo by way of aduiſe he ſaid vnto him. O *Solon*, either wee muſt not come to princes at all, or elſe we muſt ſeeke to pleaſe and content them. But *Solon* turning it to the contrarie, aunſwered him: either we muſt not come to princes, or els wee muſt needes tell them truely, and counſell them for the beſt. So *Cræſus* made light account of *Solon* at that time. But after he had loſt the battell againſt *Cyrus*, and that his citie was taken, him ſelfe became priſoner, and was bound faſt to a gibbet, ouer a great ſtake of wood, to be burnt in the ſight of all the PERSIANS, and of *Cyrus* his enemie: he then cryed out as lowde as he could, thriſe together. O *Solon*. *Cyrus* being abaſhed, ſent to aske him, whether this *Solon* he onely cryed vpon in his extreme miſerie, was a god or man. *Cræſus* kept it not ſecret from him, but ſaid: he was one of the wiſe men of GRECE, whom I ſent for to come vnto me on a certaine time, not to learne any thing of him which I ſtood in neede of, but only that he might witnes my felicitie,

*Cræſus queſtion to Solon touching happineſſe.*

*Solon eſteemed Tellus a happie man.*

*Cleobis and Biton,happy men.*

*Solon commendeth the meane*

*No man happy before his end.*

*Æſops ſaying to Solon.*

*Solons anſwere to Æſope.*

*King Cræſus wordes of Solon hanging vpon a gibbet to be burnt.*

*Riches are but wordes and opinion.*

*Sedition at Athens in Solons abſence.*

*Solon returneth to Athens.*

*Piſiſtratus wicked craft and ſubtiltie*

*Theſpis a maker of tragedies*

*Solon reproued Theſpis for lying.*

which then I did enioy: the loſſe whereof is now more hurtfull, than the enioying of the ſame was good or profitable. But now (alas) too late I knowe it, that the riches I poſſeſſed then, were but words and opinion, all which are turned now to my bitter ſorrow, and to preſent & remedileſſe calamitie. Which the wiſe GRECIAN conſidering then, and foreſeeing a farre off by my doings at that time, the inſtant miſerie I ſuffer now: gaue me warning I ſhould marke the end of my life, and that I ſhould not too farre preſume of my ſelfe, as puffed vp then with vaine glorie of opinion of happines, the ground thereof being ſo ſlipperie, and of ſo litle ſuertie. Theſe words being reported vnto *Cyrus*, who was wiſer than *Crœſus*, & ſeeing *Solons* ſaying confirmed by ſo notable an example: he did not only deliuer *Crœſus* from preſent perill of death, but euer after honoured him ſo long as he liued. Thus had *Solon* glorie, for ſauing the honor of one of theſe Kings and the life of the other, by his graue & wiſe counſell. But during the time of his abſence, great ſeditions roſe at ATHENS amongeſt the inhabitantes, who had gotten them ſeuerall heads amongſt them: as thoſe of the vallie had made *Lycurgus* their head. The coaſt men, *Megacles*, the ſonne of *Alcmæon*. And thoſe of the mountaines, *Piſiſtratus*: with whom all artificers & crafts men liuing of their handie labour were ioyned, which were the ſtowteſt againſt the rich. So that notwithſtanding the citie kept *Solons* lawes & ordinances, yet was there not that man but gaped for a chaunge, and deſired to ſee things in another ſtate: either parties hoping their condition would mend by chaunge, and that euery of them ſhould be better than their aduerſaries. The whole common weale broyling thus with troubles, *Solon* arriued at ATHENS, where euery man did honour and reuerence him, howbeit hee was no more able to ſpeake alowde in open aſſembly to the people, nor to deale in matters as he had done before, becauſe his age would not ſuffer him: & therefore he ſpake with euery one of the heads of the ſeuerall factions a part, trying if he could agree & reconcile them together againe. Whereunto *Piſiſtratus* ſeemed to be more willing then any of the reſt, for he was courteous, and maruellous fayre ſpoken, and ſhewed him ſelfe beſides, very good & pitifull to the poore, and temperate alſo to his enemies: further, if any good qualitie were lacking in him, he did ſo finely counterfeate it, that men imagined it was more in him, than in thoſe that naturally had it in them in deede. As to be a quiet man, no medler, contented with his owne, aſpiring no higher, and hating thoſe which would attempt to chaunge the preſent ſtate of the common weale, and would practiſe any innouation. By this art and fine manner of his, hee deceiued the poore common people. Howbeit *Solon* found him ſtraight, and ſaw the marke he ſhot at: but yet hated him not at that time, and ſought ſtill to winne him, and bring him to reaſon, ſaying oft times, both to him ſelfe, and to others. That who ſo could plucke out of his head the worme of ambition, by which hee aſpired to be the chiefeſt, and could heale him of his greedie deſire to rule: there could not be a man of more vertue, or a better citizen than hee would proue. About this time began *Theſpis* to ſet out his tragedies, which was a thing that much delighted the people for the rareneſſe thereof, being not many Poets yet in number, to ſtriue one againſt another for victorie, as afterwards there were. *Solon* being naturally deſirous to heare and learne, and by reaſon of his age ſeeking to paſſe his time away in ſportes, in muſicke, and making good cheere more then euer he did: went one day to ſee *Theſpis*, who playd a part himſelfe, as the old faſhion of the Poets was, and after the play was ended, he called him to him & asked him: if he were not aſhamed to lye ſo openly in the face of the world. *Theſpis* anſwered him, that it was not materiall to doe or ſay any ſuch things, conſidering all was but in ſport. Then *Solon* beating the ground with his ſtaffe he had in his hand: but if we cōmend lying in ſport (quoth he) we ſhall finde it afterwards in good earneſt, in all our bargaines and dealings. Shortly after *Piſiſtratus* hauing wounded himſelfe, and bloudied all his bodie ouer, cauſed his men to carie him in his couch into the market place, where he put the people in an vproare, and told them that they were his enemies that thus traiterouſly had handled and arraied him, for that he ſtood with them about the gouerning of the common weale: inſomuch as many of them were maruellouſly offended, and mutined by & by, crying out it was ſhamefully done. Then *Solon* drawing neere ſaid vnto him, O thou ſonne of *Hippocrates*, thou doeſt ill fauouredly counterfeate the perſon of *Homers Vlyſſes*: for thou haſt whipped thy ſelfe to deceiue thy citizens, as he did teare & ſcratch him ſelfe, to deceiue his enemies. Notwithſtanding this, the common people were ſtill in vprore, being ready to take armes for *Piſiſtratus*: and there was a generall counſell aſſembled, in the which one *Ariſton* ſpake, that they ſhould grant fifty men, to cary holdberds and maſes before *Piſiſtratus* for guard of his perſon. But *Solon* going vp into the pulpit for orations, ſtoutly inuayed againſt it: and perſwaded the people with many reaſons, like vnto theſe he wrote afterwards in verſe.

*Ech one of you (ô men) in priuate actes,*
*can play the foxe, for ſlie and ſubtill craft:*
*But when you come, yfore (in all your factes)*
*then are you blinde, dull witted and bedaſt,*
*For pleaſaunt ſpeach, and painted flatterie,*
*beguile you ſtill, the which you neuer ſpie.*

But in the end, ſeeing the poore people did tumult ſtill, taking *Piſiſtratus* part, and that the rich fled here and there, he went his way alſo, ſaying: he had ſhewed him ſelfe wiſer then ſome, and hardier then other. Meaning, wiſer then thoſe which ſaw not *Piſiſtratus* reach and fetch: and hardier then they which knew very well he did aſpire to be King, and yet neuertheleſſe durſt not reſiſt him. The people went on with the motion of *Ariſton*, and authoriſed the ſame, touching the graunt of holberders: limiting no number, but ſuffered him to haue about him and to aſſemble, as many as he would, vntill ſuch time as he had gotten poſſeſſion of the caſtle. Then the city was maruellouſly affraide and amazed: and preſently *Megacles*, and all thoſe which were of the houſe of the *Alcmeonides* did flie. *Solon*, who for yeares was now at his laſt caſt, and had no man to ſticke vnto him: went notwithſtanding into the market place, and ſpake to the citizens whom he found there, and rebuked their beaſtlineſſe, and faint cowardly harts, and encouraged them not to loſe their liberty. He ſpake at that time notably, and worthy memory, which euer after was remembred. Before, ſaid he, you might more eaſely haue ſtaide this preſent tyranny: but now that it is already faſhioned, you ſhal winne more glory, vtterly to ſuppeſſe it. But for all his goodly reaſons, he found no man that would hearken to him, they were all ſo amazed. Wherefore he hied him home againe, and tooke his weapons out of his houſe, and laid them before his gate in the middeſt of the ſtreete, ſaying. For my part, I haue done what I can poſſible, to helpe and defend the lawes and liberties of my countrey. So from that time he betooke him ſelfe vnto his eaſe, and neuer after dealt any more in matters of ſtate, or common weale. His friends did counſell him to flie: but all they could not perſwade him to it. For he kept his houſe, and gaue him ſelfe to make verſes: in which he ſore reproued the ATHENIANS faults, ſaying:

*Solons liberty and conſtancy.*

*If preſently, your burden heauy be:*
*yet murmur not againſt the goddes therefore.*
*The fault is yours, as you your ſelues may ſee,*
*which graunted haue of mighty Mars the lore*
*to ſuch as now, by your direction*
*doe hold your neckes, in this ſubiection.*

His friends hereupon did warne him, to beware of ſuch ſpeaches, and to take heede what he ſaid: leaſt if it came vnto the tyrants eares, he might put him to death for it. And further, they asked him wherin he truſted, that he ſpake ſo boldly. He aunſwered them, in my age. Howbeit *Piſiſtratus* after he had obtained his purpoſe, ſending for him vpon his worde and faith, did honour and entertaine him ſo well, that *Solon* in the end became one of his counſell, and approoued many things which he did. For *Piſiſtratus* him ſelfe did ſtraightly keepe, and cauſed his friends to keepe *Solons* lawes. Inſomuch as when he was called by proces into the court of the *Areopagites* for a murther, euen at that time when he was a tyrant: he preſented him ſelfe very modeſtly to aunſwer his accuſation, and to purge him ſelfe thereof. But his accuſer let fall the matter, and followed it no further. *Piſiſtratus* him ſelfe alſo did make new lawes: as this. That he that had bene maymed, and made lame of any member in the warres, ſhould be maintained all his life long, at the common charges of the city. The ſelfe ſame was before decreed by *Therſippus* (as *Heraclides* writeth) by *Solons* perſwaſion: who did preferre it to the counſell. *Piſiſtratus* afterwards tooke hold of the motion, and from thence

*A good law for reward of ſeruice.*

forth made it a generall law. *Theophraſtus* ſaith alſo, it was *Piſiſtratus*, and not *Solon*, that made the law for idleneſſe: which was the only cauſe that the countrey of ATTICA became more frutefull, being better manured: and the city of ATHENS waxed more quiet. But *Solon* hauing begon to write the ſtory of the Iles ATLANTIDES in verſe (which he had learned of the wiſe men of the city of SAIS in EGYPT, and was very neceſſary for the ATHENIANS) grew weary, and gaue it ouer in mid way: not for any matters or buſines that trobled him, as *Plato* ſaid, but only for his age, and becauſe he feared the tediouſneſſe of the worke. For otherwiſe he had leyſure enough, as appeareth by theſe verſes where he ſaith:

*I grow old, and yet I learne ſtill.*

And in another place where he ſaieth,

*Now Venus yeelds me ſweete delights,*
*and Bacchus lends me comfort ſtill:*
*the Muſes eke, refresh my ſprights,*
*and much relieue my weary will.*
*Theſe be the pointes of perfect eaſe,*
*which all mens mindes oft times do pleaſe.*

*Plato* afterwards for beautifying of the ſtory and fables of the Iles of ATLANTIDES, was deſirous to dilate them out at length, as if he would by way of ſpeach haue broken vp a field or lay land of his owne, or that this gift had deſcended to him of right from *Solon*. He began to raiſe vp a ſtately front vnto the ſame, and encloſed it with high walles, and large ſquared courts at the entry thereof: ſuch was it, as neuer any other worke, fable or poeticall inuention had euer ſo notable, or the like. But becauſe he began a litle too late, he ended his life before his work, leauing the readers moſt ſorrowfull for that was left vnwritten, then they toke pleaſure in that they found written. For euen as in the city of ATHENS, the temple of *Iupiter Olympian* only remained vnperfect: ſo the wiſedome of *Plato* (amongeſt many goodly matters of his that haue come aboad) left none of them vnperfect, but the only tale of the Iles ATLANTIDES. *Solon* liued long time after *Piſiſtratus* had vſurped the tyranny, as *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth. Howbeit *Phanias Epheſian* writeth, that he liued not aboue two yeares after. For *Piſiſtratus* vſurped tyrannicall power in the yeare that *Comias* was chiefe gouernour in ATHENS. And *Phanias* writeth, that *Solon* died in the yeare that *Hegeſtratus* was gouernour, which was the next yeare after that. And where ſome ſay, the aſhes of his body were after his death ſtrawed abroade through the Ile of SALAMINA: that ſeemeth to be but a fable, and altogether vntrue. Neuertheleſſe it hath bene written by many notable authors, and amongeſt others, by *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher.

*The end of Solons life.*

# THE LIFE OF PVBLIVS *Valerius Publicola.*

VALERIVS PVBLICOLA

NOW we haue declared what *Solon* was, we haue thought good to compare him with *Publicola*, to whom the ROMAINE people for an honour gaue that ſurname: for he was called before *Publius Valerius*, deſcended from that auncient *Valerius*, who was one of the chiefeſt workers and meanes, to bring the ROMAINES and the SABINES that were mortall enemies, to ioyne together as one people. For it was he that moſt moued the two Kings to agree, and ioyne together. *Publicola* being deſcended of him, whileſt the Kings did rule yet at ROME, was in very great eſtimation, as well for his eloquence, as for his riches: vſing the one rightly and freely for the maintenaunce of iuſtice, and the other liberally and curteouſly, for the reliefe of the poore. So that it was manifeſt, if the Realme came to be conuerted into a publicke ſtate, he ſhould be one of the chiefeſt men of the ſame. It chanced that King *Tarquine* ſurnamed the proude, being come to the crowne by no good lawfull meane, but contrarily by indirect and wicked waies, and behauing him ſelfe not like a King, but like a cruell tyrant; the people much hated and deteſted him, by reaſon of the death of *Lucretia*(which killed her ſelfe for that ſhe was forcibly rauiſhed by him) and ſo the whole city roſe and rebelled againſt him. *Lucius Brutus* taking vpon him to be the head and captaine of this inſurrection and rebellion, did ioyne firſt with this *Valerius*: who did greatly fauour and aſſiſt his enterpriſe, and did helpe him to driue out king *Tarquine* with all his houſe and family. Now whileſt they were thinking that the people would chooſe ſome one alone to be chiefe ruler ouer them, in ſtead of a king: *Valerius* kept him ſelfe quiet, as yelding willingly vnto *Brutus* the firſt place, who was meeteſt for it, hauing bene the chiefe authour and worker of their recouered liberty. But when they ſaw the name of *Monarchy*(as much to ſay, as ſoueraintу alone) was diſpleaſant to the people, and that they would like better to haue the rule deuided vnto two, and how for this cauſe they would rather chooſe two Conſuls: *Valerius* then beganne to hope, he ſhould be the ſecond perſon with *Brutus*. Howbeit this hope failed him. For againſt *Brutus* will, *Tarquinius Collatinus*(the husband of *Lucretia* was choſen Cõſul with him: not becauſe he was a man of greater vertue, or of better eſtimation then *Valerius*. But the

*The houſe of P. Valerius.*

*Tarquinius Superbus.*

*Valerius, Brutus companion, in expulſing the Kings.*

*Lucius Brutus, Tarquinius Collatinus Conſuls.*

noble men of the city fearing the practiſes of the Kings abroade, which ſought by all the faire and flattering meanes they could to returne againe into the citie: did determine to make ſuch a one Conſull, whom occaſion forced to be their hard and heauie enemie, perſwading themſelues that *Tarquinius Collatinus* would for no reſpect yeeld vnto thē. *Valerius* tooke this matter grieuouſly, but they had a miſtruſt in him, as if he would not do any thing he could, for the benefit of his countrie: notwithſtanding he had neuer any priuate iniurie offered him by the tyrants. Wherefore, he repaired no more vnto the Senate to pleade for priuate men, and wholy gaue vp to meddle in matters of ſtate: in ſo much as he gaue many occaſion to thinke of his abſence, and it troubled ſome men much, who feared leaſt vpon this his miſliking and withdrawing, he would fall to the Kings ſide, and ſo bring all the citie in an vprore, conſidering it ſtoode then but in very tickle termes. But when *Brutus*, who ſtood in ielouſie of ſome, would by oth be aſſured of the Senate, and had appointed them a day ſolemnely to take their othes vpon the ſacrifices: *Valerius* then with a good cheerefull countenaunce came into the market place, and was the firſt that tooke his oth he would leaue nothing vndone that might preiudice the *Tarquines*, but with all his able power he would fight againſt them, and defend the liberty of the city. This oth of his maruellouſly reioyced the Senate, and gaue great aſſuraunce alſo to the Conſuls; but ſpecially, becauſe his deedes did ſhortly after performe his wordes. For there came ambaſſadours to ROME which brought letters from king *Tarquine*, full of ſweete and lowly ſpeaches to win the fauour of the people, with commiſſion to vſe all the mildeſt meanes they could, to dulce and ſoften the hardened harts of the multitude: who declared how the King had left all pride & cruelty, and ment to aske nought but reaſonable things. The Conſuls thought beſt to giue them open audience, and to ſuffer them to ſpeake to the people. But *Valerius* was againſt it, declaring it might perill the ſtate much, and deliuer occaſion of new ſturre vnto a multitude of poore people, which were more affraide of warres, then of tyranny. After that, there came other ambaſſadours alſo, which ſaide that *Tarquine* would from thenceforth for euer giue ouer and renounce his title to the kingdome, and to make any more warres, but beſought them only, that they would at the leaſt deliuer him and his friends their money and goods, that they might haue wherwithall to keepe them in their baniſhment. Many came on a pace, and were very ready to yeeld to this requeſt, and ſpecially *Collatinus*, one of the Conſuls who did fauour their motion. But *Brutus* that was a faſt and reſolute man, and very fierce in his heart, ranne immediatly into the market place, crying out that his fellow Conſull was a traytour, and contented to graunt the tyraunts matter, and meanes to make warre vpon the city, where indeede they deſerued not ſo much, as to be relieued in their exile. Hereupon the people aſſembled together, and the firſt that ſpake in this aſſembly, was a priuat man called *Gaius Minutius*, who ſpeaking vnto *Brutus*, and to the whole aſſembly, ſaid vnto them. O noble Conſul and Senate, handle ſo the matter, that the tyraunts goods be rather in your cuſtody to make warre with them, then in theirs, to bring warre vpon your ſelues. Notwithſtanding the ROMAINS were of opinion, that hauing gotten the liberty, for which they fought with the tyrants: they ſhould not diſappoint the offered peace, with keeping backe their goods, but rather they ſhould throw their goods out after them. Howbeit this was the leaſt part of *Tarquines* intent, to ſeeke his goods againe: but vnder pretence of that demaund, he ſecretly corrupted the people, and practiſed treaſon, which his ambaſſadours followed, pretending only to get the Kings goods and his fauourers together, ſaying, that they had already ſold ſome part, and ſome part they kept, and ſent them daily. So as by delaying the time in this ſort with ſuch pretences, they had corrupted two of the beſt and auncienteſt houſes of the city: to wit, the family of the *Aquilians*, whereof there were three Senatours: and the family of the *Vitellians*, whereof there were two Senatours: all which by their mothers, were Conſul *Collatinus* nephewes. The *Vitellians* alſo were allied vnto *Brutus*, for he had maried their own ſiſter, and had many children by her. Of the which the *Vitellians* had drawen to their ſtring, two of the eldeſt of them, becauſe they familiarly frequented together, being coſin germains: whom they had intiſed to be of their conſpiracy, allying them with the houſe of the *Tarquines*, which was of great power, & through the which they might perſwade themſelues to riſe to great honour and preferment by meanes of the Kings, rather then

*The firſt ambaſsiate of king Tarquine for recouering his Realme.*

*Another ambaſsiate from Tarquine demaunding his goods.*

*Good counſell of Minutius.*

*Tarquines ambaſſadours practiſe treaſon.*

*The Aquilij and Vitellij with Brutus ſonnes, traytours to their countrey.*

to truſt to their fathers wilfull hardneſſe. For they called his ſeueritie to the wicked, hardneſſe: for that he would neuer pardon any. Furthermore *Brutus* had fained himſelfe madde, and a foole of long time for ſafetie of his life, becauſe the tyrantes ſhould not put him to death: ſo that the name of *Brutus* onely remained. After theſe two young men had giuen their conſent to be of the confederacie, and had ſpoken with the *Aquilians*: they all thought good to be bound one to another, with a great and horrible othe, drinking the bloude of a man, and ſhaking hands in his bowels, whom they would ſacrifice. This matter agreed vpon betweene them, they met together to put their ſacrifice in execution, in the houſe of the *Aquilians*. They had fitly pickt out a darke place in the houſe to do this ſacrifice in, and where almoſt no body came: yet it happened by chaunce, that one of the ſeruants of the houſe called *Vindicius*, had hidden him ſelfe there, vnknowing to the traitours, and of no ſet purpoſe, to ſpie and ſee what they did, or that he had any manner of inckling thereof before: but falling by chaunce vpon the matter, euen as the traitours came into that place with a countenance to do ſome ſecret thing of importance, fearing to be ſeene, he kept him ſelfe cloſe, and lay behinde a coffer that was there, ſo that he ſawe all that was done, and what they ſaid and determined. The concluſion of their counſell in the ende was this, that they would kill both the Conſuls: and they wrote letters to *Tarquinius* aduertiſing the ſame, which they gaue vnto his ambaſſadours, being lodged in the houſe of the *Aquilians*, & were preſent at this concluſion. With this determination they departed from thence, and *Vindicius* came out alſo as ſecretly as he could, being maruellouſly troubled in minde, and at a maze how to deale in this matter. For he thought it dangerous (as it was in deed) to go and accuſe the two ſonnes vnto the father (which was *Brutus*) of ſo wicked and deteſtable a treaſon, and the nephewes vnto their vncle, which was *Collatinus*. On the other ſide alſo, he thought this was a ſecret, not to be imparted to any priuate perſon, and not poſſible for him to conceale it, that was bounde in duetie to reueale it. So he reſolued at the laſt to go to *Valerius* to bewraye this treaſon, of a ſpeciall affection to this man, by reaſon of his gentle and courteous vſing of men, giuing eaſie acceſſe and audience vnto any that came to ſpeake with him, and ſpecially for that he diſdained not to heare poore mens cauſes. *Vindicius* being gone to ſpeake with him, and hauing tolde him the whole conſpiracie before his brother *Marcus Valerius*, and his wife, he was abaſhed and fearefull withall: whereupon he ſtaied him leaſt he ſhould ſlip away, and locked him in a chamber, charging his wife to watche the doore, that no body went in nor out vnto him. And willed his brother alſo, that he ſhould go and beſet the Kings palace round about, to intercept theſe letters if it were poſſible, and to ſee that none of their ſeruants fled. *Valerius* ſelfe being followed (according to his manner) with a great traine of his friends and people that waited on him, went ſtraight vnto the houſe of the *Aquilians*, who by chaunce were from home at that time: and entring in at the gate, without let or trouble of any man, he found the letters in the chamber, where king *Tarquines* ambaſſadours laye. Whileſt he was thus occupyed, the *Aquilians* hauing intelligence thereof, ranne home immediatly, and found *Valerius* comming out at their gate. So they would haue taken thoſe letters from him by force and ſtrong hand. But *Valerius* and his company did reſiſt them, and moreouer hudded them with their gownes ouer their heads, and by force brought them (do what they could) into the market place. The like was done alſo in the Kings palace, where *Marcus Valerius* found other letters alſo wrapt vp in certaine fardels for their more ſafe cariage, and brought away with him by force into the market place, all the Kings ſeruants he found there. There the Conſuls hauing cauſed ſilence to be made, *Valerius* ſent home to his houſe for this bondman *Vindicius*, to be brought before the Conſuls: then the traytours were openly accuſed, and their letters redde, and they had not the face to anſwer one worde. All that were preſent, being amazed, hung downe their heads, and beheld the ground, and not a man durſt once open his mouth to ſpeake, excepting a fewe, who to gratifie *Brutus*, began to ſay that they ſhould baniſh them: and *Collatinus* alſo gaue them ſome hope, becauſe he fell to weeping, and *Valerius* in like manner for that he held his peace. But *Brutus* calling his ſonnes by theyr names: come on (ſaid he) *Titus* and thou *Valerius*, why do you not aunſwer to that you are accuſed off? and hauing ſpoken thryſe vnto them to aunſwer, when he ſawe they ſtood

*The confederacie confirmed with drinking of mans bloud.*

*Vindicius heareth all their treaſon.*

*The concluſion of their treaſon*

*Vindicius bewrayeth the treaſon vnto Valerius.*

*Titus & Valerius, Brutus ſonnes.*

*Brutus ſeeth his owne ſonnes puniſhed & executed.*

*Brutus, praiſed & reproued for the death of his ſonnes.*

*Collatinus ſoftneſſe perilous.*

*Valerius boldly appeacheth Collatinus of iniuſtice.*

*Collatinus reſigneth his Conſulſhip, and departeth Rome.*

*Valerius choſen Conſull in his place.*

*Vindicius the firſt bondman manumiſſed.*

mute, and ſaid nothing: he turned him to the ſergeants, and ſaid vnto them. They are now in your hands, do iuſtice. So ſoone as he had ſpoken theſe words, the ſergeants layde holde immediately vpon the two young men, and tearing their clothes off their backs, bound theyr hands behinde them, and then whipped them with roddes: which was ſuch a pitifull ſight to all the people, that they could not finde in their hearts to behold it, but turned them ſelues another waye, becauſe they would not ſee it. But contrariwiſe, they ſay that their owne father had neuer his eye off them, neither did chaunge his auſtere and fierce countenance, with any pitie, or naturall affection towards them, but ſtedfaſtly did beholde the puniſhment of his owne children, vntill they were laied flat on the ground, and both their heads ſtriken off with an axe before him. When they were executed, *Brutus* roſe from the benche, and left the execution of the reſt vnto his fellow Conſull. This was ſuch an acte, as men cannot ſufficiently prayſe, nor reproue enough. For either it was his excellent vertue, that made his minde ſo quiet, or elſe the greatneſſe of his miſerie that tooke away the feeling of his ſorowe: whereof neither the one nor the other was any ſmall matter, but paſſing the common nature of man, that hath in it both diuineneſſe, and ſomtime beaſtly brutiſhneſſe. But it is better the iudgement of men ſhould commend his fame, then that the affection of men by their iudgements ſhould diminiſh his vertue. For the ROMAINES holde opinion, it was not ſo great an acte done of *Romulus* firſt to build ROME: as it was for *Brutus* to recouer ROME, and the beſt liberty thereof, and to renew the auncient gouernment of the ſame. When *Brutus* was gone, all the people in the market place remained as they had bene in a maze, full of feare and wonder, and a great while without ſpeaking to ſee what was done. The *Aquilians* ſtraight grew bold, for that they ſawe the other Conſul *Collatinus* proceede gently, and mildely againſt them: and ſo made petition they might haue time giuen them to aunſwer to the articles they were accuſed of, and that they might haue their ſlaue and bondman *Vindicius* deliuered into their hands, becauſe there was no reaſon he ſhould remaine with their accuſers. The Conſull ſeemed willing to yeeld thereto, and was ready to breake vp the aſſembly therevpon. But *Valerius* ſaid, he would not deliuer *Vindicius* (who was among the aſſembly that attended vpon his perſon) and ſtayed the people beſides for departing away, leaſt they ſhould negligently let thoſe eſcape that had ſo wickedly ſought to betray their countrie. Vntill he himſelfe had layed handes vpon them, calling vpon *Brutus* to aſſiſt him, with open exclamation againſt *Collatinus*, that he did not behaue himſelfe like a iuſt and true man, ſeeing his fellow *Brutus* was forced for iuſtice ſake to ſee his owne ſonnes put to death: and he in contrarie manner, to pleaſe a few women, ſought to let go manifeſt traitours, and open enemies to their countrie. The Conſull being offended herewith, commanded they ſhould bring away the bondman *Vindicius*. So the ſergeants making way through the preaſe, layde hands vpon him to bring him away with them, and began to ſtrike at them which offered to reſiſt them. But *Valerius* friends ſtept out before them, and put them by. The people ſhowted ſtraight, & cried out for *Brutus*: who with this noiſe returned againe into the market place, and after ſilence made him, he ſpake in this wiſe. For mine owne children, I alone haue bene their ſufficient iudge, to ſee them haue the law according to their deſeruings: the reſt I haue left freely to the iudgement of the people. Wherefore (ſaid he) if any man be diſpoſed to ſpeake, let him ſtand vp, and perſuade the people as he thinketh beſt. Then there needed no more words, but onely to hearken what the people cried: who with one voice and conſent condemned them, & cried execution, & accordingly they had their heads ſtriken off. Now was Conſull *Collatinus* long before had in ſome ſuſpition, as allied to the Kings, and diſliked for his ſurname, becauſe he was called *Tarquinius*: who perceiuing himſelfe in this caſe much hated and miſtruſted of the people, voluntarilye yeelded vp his Conſulſhip, and departed the citie. The people aſſembling then themſelues, to place a ſucceſſour in his roome: they choſe *Valerius* in his roome, without the contradiction of any, for his faithfull trauaile and diligence beſtowed in this great matter. Then *Valerius* iudging that *Vindicius* the bondman had well deſerued alſo ſome recompence, cauſed him not only to be manumiſſed by the whole graunt of the people, but made him a free man of the citie beſides: and he was the firſt bondman manumiſſed, that was made citizen of ROME, with permiſion alſo to giue his voice in all elections of officers, in any company or tribe he would be enrolled in. Long time after that, and very lately, *Appius* to currie fauour with the common people, made it lawfull for bondmen manumiſſed, to giue their voices alſo in elections, as other citizens did: and vnto this day the perfect manumiſſing and freeing of bondmen, is called *Vindicta*, after the name of this *Vindicius*, that was then made a free man. Theſe things thus paſſed ouer, the goods of the Kings were giuen to the ſpoile of the people, and their palaces were raced and ouerthrowne. Now amongſt other lands, the goodlieſt part of the field of *Mars* was belonging vnto king *Tarquine*: the ſame they conſecrated forthwith vnto the god *Mars*, and not long before they had cut downe the wheat thereof. The ſheaues being yet in ſhocks in the field, they thought they might not grinde the wheate, nor make any commoditie of the profit thereof: wherfore they threw both corne & ſheaues into the riuer, & trees alſo which they had hewen downe & rooted vp, to the end that the field being dedicated to the god *Mars*, ſhould be left bare, without bearing any frute at all. Theſe ſheaues thus throwne into the riuer, were caried downe by the ſtreame not far from thence, vnto a forde and ſhallowe place of the water, where they firſt did ſtaye, and did let the other which came after, that it could go no further: there theſe heapes gathered together, and lay ſo cloſe one to another, that they began to ſincke and ſettle faſt in the water. Afterwards the ſtreame of the riuer brought downe continually ſuch mud and grauell, that it euer increaſed the heape of corne more and more in ſuch ſorte, that the force of the water could no more remoue it from thence, but rather ſoftly preſſing and driuing it together, did firme and harden it, and made it growe ſo to land. Thus this heape riſing ſtill in greatneſſe and firmneſſe, by reaſon that all that came downe the riuer ſtaied there, it grewe in the end, and by time to ſpred ſo farre, that at this day it is called the holy Iland in ROME: in which are many goodly temples of diuerſe gods, and ſundry walkes about it, and they call it in Latine, *Inter duos pontes*: in our tongue, betweene the two bridges. Yet ſome write, that this thing fell not out at that time when the field of the *Tarquines* was conſecrated vnto *Mars*: but that it happened afterwards, when one of the *Veſtall Nunnes*, called *Tarquinia*, gaue a field of hers vnto the people, which was hard adioyning vnto *Tarquines* field. For which liberalitie and bountie of hers, they did graunt her in recompence many priuiledges, and did her great honour beſides.. As amongſt others, it was ordained, that her word and witneſſe ſhould ſtand good, and be allowed, in matters iudiciall: which priuiledge, neuer woman beſides her ſelf did enioy. By ſpecial grace of the people alſo, it was granted her, that ſhe might mary if ſhe thought it good: but yet ſhe would not accept the benefit of that offer. Thus you heare the report how this thing happened. *Tarquinius* then being paſt hope of euer entring into his kingdome againe, went yet vnto the THVSCANS for ſuccour, which were very glad of him: and ſo they leauied a great armie together, hoping to haue put him in his kingdome againe. The Conſuls alſo hearing thereof, went out with their armie againſt him. Both the armies preſented themſelues in battell raye, one againſt another, in the holy places conſecrated to the gods: whereof the one was called the wood *Arſia*, and the other the meadowe *Æſuuia* And as both armies began to giue charge vpon each other, *Arnus* the eldeſt ſonne of king *Tarquine*, and the Conſull *Brutus* encountered together, not by chance, but ſought for of ſet purpoſe to execute the deadly fode and malice they did beare each other. The one, as againſt a tyraunt and enemie of the libertie of his countrie: the other, as againſt him that had bene chiefe authour and worker of their exile and expulſion. So they ſet ſpurres to their horſes, ſo ſoone as they had ſpyed each other, with more furie then reaſon, and fought ſo deſperately together, that they both fell ſtarke dead to the ground. The firſt onſet of the battell being ſo cruell, the end thereof was no leſſe bloudie: vntill both the armies hauing receiued and done like damage to each other, were parted by a maruellous great tempeſt that fell vpon them. Now was *Valerius* maruelouſly perplexed, for that he knew not which of them wanne the field that day: ſeeing his ſouldiers as ſorowfull for the great loſſe of their men lying dead before them, as they were glad of the ſlaughter and victorie of their enemies. For, to viewe the multitude of the ſlaine bodies of either ſide, the number was ſo equall in ſight, that it was very hard to iudge, of which ſide fell out the greateſt ſlaughter: ſo that both the one and the other viewing by the eye the remaine of their campe, were perſwaded in their opinion, that they had rather loſt then wun,

*Vindicta ſo called, by reaſon of Vindicius.*

*Tarquines field conſecrated to Mars.*

*Whereof the holy Iland came in Rome, that lyeth betweene both bridges.*

*Tarquine commeth with a great power of the Thuſcans to wage battell with the Romaines.*

*Arſia ſilua.*

*Arnus & Brutus encountered and ſlue each other.*

coniecturing a farre off the fall of their enemies. The night being come, ſuch things fell out, as may be looked for after ſo terrible a battell For when both campes were all laied to reſt, they ſay the wood wherein they lay incamped, quaked and trembled: and they heard a voyce ſay, that onely one man more was ſlaine on the THSCANS ſide, than on the ROMAINES part. Out of doubt this was ſome voice from heauen: for the ROMAINES thereupon gaue a ſhrill ſhout, as thoſe whoſe hearts receiued a new quickening ſpirit or courage. The THVSCANS on the contrarie part were ſo afraide, that the moſt part of them ſtole out of the campe, and ſcattered here and there: and there remained behinde about the number of fiue thouſand men, whom the ROMAINES tooke priſoners euery one, & had the ſpoile of their campe. The carkaſſes were viewed afterwards, and they found that there were ſlaine in that battell, eleuen thouſand and three hundred of the THVSCANS: and of the ROMAINES, ſo many ſauing one. This battell was fought (as they ſay) the laſt day of Februarie, and the Conſull *Valerius* triumphed, being the firſt of the Conſuls that euer entered into ROME triumphing vpon a chariot drawne with foure horſes; which ſight the people found honorable and goodly to behold, and were not offended withall (as ſome ſeeme to report) nor yet did enuie him for that he began it. For if it had bin ſo, that cuſtome had not bin followed with ſo good acceptation, nor had continued ſo many yeares as it did afterwards. They much commended alſo the honor he did to his fellow Conſul *Brutus*, in ſetting out his funerals and obſequies, at the which he made a funerall oration in his praiſe. They did ſo like and pleaſe the ROMAINES, that they haue euer ſince continued that cuſtome at the buriall of any noble man, or great perſonage, that he is openly praiſed at his buriall, by the worthieſt man that liueth among them. They report this funerall oration is far more ancient then the firſt, that was made in GRECE in the like caſe: vnleſſe they will confirme that which the orator *Anaximenes* hath written, that the manner of praiſing the dead at their funerals, was firſt of all inſtituted by *Solon*. But they did moſt enuie *Valerius*, and beare him grudge, becauſe *Brutus* (whom the people did acknowledge for father of their liberty) would neuer be alone in office, but had procured twiſe, that they ſhould appoint *Valerius* fellow conſul with him. This man in contrariwiſe (ſaid the people) taking vpon him alone the rule and ſoueraignty, ſheweth plainly he wil not be *Brutus* ſucceſſour in his Conſulſhip, but *Tarquinius* ſelf in the kingdom. For to great purpoſe was it to praiſe *Brutus* in words, and to follow *Tarquinius* in deeds: hauing borne before him ſelfe only all the maſes, the axes and the rods, when he commeth abroade out of his owne houſe, which is far greater, & more ſtately, then the kings palace which he himſelfe ouerthrew. And to ſay truly, *Valerius* dwelt in a houſe a little too ſumptuouſly built and ſeated, vpon the hanging of the hill called mount Velia: & becauſe it ſtood high, it ouerlooked all the market place, ſo that any man might eaſily ſee from thence what was done there. Furthermore, it was very ill to come to it: but when he came out of his houſe, it was a maruellous pompe and ſtate to ſee him come downe from ſo high a place, and with a traine after him, that caried the maieſtie of a Kings courte. But herein *Valerius* left a noble example, ſhewing how much it importeth a noble man and magiſtrate, ruling weighty cauſes, to haue his eares open to heare, and willingly to receiue free ſpeache in ſteed of flatteries, and plaine troth in place of lyes For, being enformed by ſome of his friends how the people miſliked and complained of it, he ſtood not in his owne conceit, neither was angry with them: but forthwith ſet a world of workmen vpon it, early in the morning before breake of day, and commanded them to pluck downe his houſe, and to race it to the ground. Inſomuch as the next day following, when the ROMAINES were gathered together in the market place, and ſaw this great ſodaine ruine, they much commended the noble acte and minde of *Valerius*, in doing that he did: but ſo were they angry, and ſory both, to ſee ſo faire and ſtatelie a built houſe (which was an ornament to the citie) ouerthrowne vpon a ſodaine. Much like in compariſon to a man, whom through ſpite and enuie they had vniuſtly put to death: and to ſee their chiefe magiſtrate alſo like a ſtranger and a vagabond, compelled to ſeeke his lodging in another mans houſe. For his friends receiued him into their houſes, vntill ſuch time as the people had giuen him a place, where they did build him a newe houſe, farre more orderly, and nothing ſo ſtately and curious as the firſt was, and it was in the ſame place, where the temple called *Vicus Publicus* ſtandeth at this day. Now becauſe he would not onely reforme

*The victory of the Romaines againſt the Thuſcans.*

*Valerius the firſt Conſull that euer triumphed vpon a charret.*

*The firſt beginning of funerall oration among the Romaines.*

*Anaximenes ſaieth, Solon was the firſt that inſtituted praiſes for the dead.*

*Valerius ſtately houſe ſtanding on mount Velia.*

*Valerius a good example for magiſtrates.*

*Valerius ouerthrew his ſtately houſe.*

*The temple called Vicus Publicus.*

reforme his perſon, but the office of his Conſulſhippe, and alſo would frame himſelfe to the good acceptation and liking of the people: where before hee ſeemed vnto them to be fearefull, he put away the carying of the axes from the roddes, which the ſergeants vſed to beare before the Conſull. Moreouer when he came into the market place, where the people were aſſembled, he cauſed the roddes to be borne downewardes, as in token of reuerence of the ſoueraigne maieſtie of the people: which all the magiſtrates obſerue yet at this day. Now in all this humble ſhewe and lowlineſſe of his, hee did not ſo much imbaſe his dignitie and greatneſſe, which the common people thought him to haue at the firſt: as he did thereby cut off enuie from him, winning againe as much true authoritie, as in ſemblance hee would ſeeme to haue loſt. For this made the people willinger to obey, and readier to ſubmit them ſelues vnto him: inſomuch as vpon this occaſion he was ſurnamed *Publicola*, as much to ſay, as the people pleaſer. Which ſurname he kept euer after, and we from henceforth alſo writing the reſt of his life, will vſe no other name: for he was contented to ſuffer any man that would, to offer him ſelfe to aske the Conſulſhippe in *Brutus* place. But he yet not knowing what kinde of man they would ioyne fellowe Conſull with him, and fearing leaſt through enuie or ignorance, the party might thwart his purpoſe and meaning: employed his ſole power and authoritie whileſt he ruled alone, vpon high and noble attempts. For firſt of all he ſupplyed vp the number of Senatours that were greatly decayed, becauſe King *Tarquine* had put ſome of them to death not long before, and other alſo had bene lately ſlaine in the warres: in whoſe places he had choſen new Senatours, to the number of a hundred three ſcore and foure. After that, he made newe decrees and lawes, which greatly did aduance the authoritie of the people. The firſt lawe gaue libertie to all offenders, condemned by iudgement of the Conſuls, to appeale vnto the people. The ſecond, that no man vpon paine of death ſhould take vpon him the exerciſe of any office, vnleſſe he had come vnto it by the gift of the people. The third was, and all in fauour of the poore, that the poore citizens of ROME ſhould pay no more cuſtome, nor any impoſt whatſoeuer. This made euery man the more willing to giue himſelfe to ſome craft or occupation, when he ſawe his trauell ſhould not be taxed, nor taken from him. As for the law that he made againſt thoſe that diſobeyed the Conſuls, it was found to be ſo fauourable to the cōmunaltie, as they thought it was rather made for the poore, than for the rich and great men. For the offenders and breakers of that law, were condemned to pay for a penaltie, the value of fiue oxen, and two muttons. The price of a mutton was then, ten oboles, and of an oxe, a hundred oboles. For in thoſe dayes, the ROMAINES had no ſtore of coined money, otherwiſe, they lacked no ſheepe, nor other rother beaſts. Hereof it came, that to this day they call their riches or ſubſtance, *Peculium*, becauſe *Pecus* ſignifieth ſheepe and muttons. And in the olde time the ſtampe vpon their money was an oxe, a mutton, or a hogge: & ſome of them called their childrē *Bubulci*, which ſignifieth cowheards: others *Caprarij*, to ſay goateheards: and others *Porcij*, as you would ſay, ſwineheardes. Now though in all his other lawes, he was very fauourable and temperate toward the people: yet in that moderation, ſometimes he did ſet grieuous paines and puniſhments. For he made it lawfull to kill any man without any accuſation, that did aſpire to the kingdome, and he did ſet the murderer free of all puniſhment: ſo he brought forth manifeſt proofe, that the partie ſlaine, had practiſed to make himſelfe King. As being impoſſible a man ſhould pretend ſo great a matter, and no man ſhould find it: and contrariwiſe being poſſible, albeit he were ſpyed, that otherwiſe he might attempt it, by making himſelfe ſo ſtrong, that he needed not paſſe for the law. In this caſe he gaue euery man libertie by ſuch act or meane, to preuent him if he could of diſcretion: who by ſtrength otherwiſe ſought to aſpire to reigne. They greatly commended him alſo for the law that he made touching the treaſure. For being very neceſſarie that euery priuate citizen ſhould according to his abilitie, bee contributer to the charges and maintenance of the warres: he him ſelfe would neither take ſuch collection into his charge, nor ſuffer any man of his to meddle with the ſame, nor yet that it ſhould be laide in any priuate mans houſe, but he did ordeine that *Saturnes* temple ſhould be the treaſurie thereof. This order they keepe to this preſent day. Furthermore, he graunted the people to chuſe two young men *Quæſtores* of the ſame, as you would ſay the treaſurers, to take the charge of this money:

*Why Valerius was ſurnamed Publicola.*

*Publicolaes actes & lawes.*

*Whereof Peculium was called*

*The firſt Quæſtores.*

*Publius Veturius, Marc. Minutius.*

*Lucretius & Publicola Conſuls.*

*Publicola and Marcus Horatius Conſuls.*

and the two firſt which were choſen, were *Publius Veturius*, and *Marcus Minutius*, who gathered great ſummes of money together. For numbring the people by the polle, there were found a hundred and thirtie thouſande perſons which had payde ſubſidie, not reckoning in this account, orphans, nor widowes, which were excepted from all payments. After he had eſtabliſhed all theſe things, he cauſed *Lucretius* (the father of *Lucretia*) to be choſen fellowe Conſull with him, vnto whom, for that he was his auncient, hee gaue the vpper hande, and commaunded they ſhould carrie before him the roddes, which were the ſignes of the chiefe magiſtrate: and euer ſince they haue giuen this honour vnto age. But *Lucretius* dying not long after his election, they choſe againe in his place *Marcus Horatius*, who helde out the Conſulſhippe with *Publicola* the reſt of the yeare. Nowe about that time King *Tarquine* remained in the countrie of THVSCANE, where he prepared a ſeconde armie againſt the ROMAINES, and there fell out a maruellous ſtraunge thing thereupon. For when hee raigned king of ROME, he had almoſt made an ende of the building of the temple of *Iupiter Capitolin*, and was determined (whether by any oracle receiued, or vpon any fantaſie it is not knowen) to ſet vp a couch of earth baked by a potter, in the higheſt place of the temple, and hee put it out to be done by certaine THVSCAN workemen of the citie of VEIES: but whileſt they were in hand with the worke, he was driuen out of his Realme. When the workemen had formed this couch, and that they had put it into the furnace to bake it, it fell out contrarie to the nature of the earth, and the common order of their worke put into the furnace. For the earth did not ſhut and cloſe together in the fire, nor dryed vp all the moiſture thereof: but rather to the contrarie it did ſwell to ſuch a bigneſſe, and grew ſo hard and ſtrong withall, that they were driuen to breake vp the head and walles of the furnace to get it out. The ſoothſayers did expound this, that it was a celeſtiall token from aboue, and promiſed great proſperitie and increaſe of power vnto thoſe, that ſhould enioy this couch. Whereuppon the VEIANS reſolued not to deliuer it vnto the ROMAINES that demaunded it, but aunſwered that it did belong vnto King *Tarquine*, and not vnto thoſe that had baniſhed him. Not manie dayes after, there was a ſolemne feaſt of games for running of horſes in the citie of VEIES, where they did alſo many other notable actes, worthy ſight according to their cuſtome. But after the game was playde, he that had wonne the bell, being crowned in token of victorie as they did vſe at that time, brought his couch & horſes faire and ſoftly out of the ſhew place: and ſodainely the horſe being affrayde vpon no preſent cauſe or occaſion ſeene, whether it was by chance, or by ſome ſecret working from aboue, ranne as they had bene mad with their couch to the citie of ROME. The couch driuer did what he could poſſible at the firſt to ſtay them, by holding in the raynes, by clapping them on the backes, and ſpeaking gently to them: but in the ende, perceiuing he could doe no good, and that they would haue their ſwinge, he gaue place to their furie, and they neuer linne running, till they brought him neere to the Capitoll, where they ouerthrewe him and his couch, not farre from the gate called at this preſent, *Ratumena*. The VEIANS wondering much at this matter, and being affrayde withall: were contented the workmē ſhould deliuer their couch made of earth vnto the ROMAINES. Now concerning *Iupiter Capitolins* temple, king *Tarquine* the firſt (which was the ſonne of *Demaratus*) vowed in the warres that he made againſt the SABYNES, that he would build it. And *Tarquine* the proude, being the ſonne of him that made this vowe did build it: howbeit he did not conſecrate it, becauſe he was driuen out of his Kingdome before hee had finiſhed it. When this temple was built and throughly finiſhed, and ſet forth with all his ornaments: *Publicola* was maruellouſly deſirous to haue the honour of the dedication thereof. But the noble men and Senatours enuying his glorie, being very angrie that he could not content him ſelfe with all thoſe honours that he had receiued in peace, for the good lawes he had made, & in warres for the victories he had obteined and well deſerued, but further that he would ſeeke the honour of this dedication, which nothing did pertaine vnto him: they then did egge *Horatius*, and perſwaded him to make ſute for the ſame. Occaſion fell out at that time, that *Publicola* muſt haue the leading of the ROMAINES armie into the fielde: in the meane time, while *Publicola* was abſent, it was procured that the people gaue their voyces to *Horatius*, to conſecrate the temple, knowing they could not ſo well haue brought it to paſſe he being preſent. Other ſay, the Conſuls drewe lots betweene them, and that it lighted vpon *Publicola* to leade the armie againſt his will, and vpon *Horatius* to conſecrate this temple, which may be coniectured by the thing that fortuned in the dedication thereof. For all the people being aſſembled together in the Capitoll with great ſilence, on the fifteenth day of the moneth of September, which is about the new moone of the moneth which the GRECIANS call *Metagitnion*: *Horatius* hauing done all the ceremonies needefull in ſuch a caſe, and holding then the doores of the temple, as the vſe was euen to vtter the ſolemne wordes of dedication: *Marcus Valerius*, the brother of *Publicola*, hauing ſtoode a long time there at the temple doore, to take an oportunitie to ſpeake, beganne to ſay a lowde in this wiſe. My lorde Conſull, your ſonne is dead of a ſickeneſſe in the Campe. This made all the aſſembly ſorie to heare it, but it nothing amaſed *Horatius*, who ſpake onely thus much. Caſt his bodie then where you will for me, the thought is taken. So he continued on to ende his conſecration. This was but a deuiſe and nothing true, of *Marcus Valerius*, onely to make *Horatius* leaue off his conſecration. *Horatius* in this ſhewed him ſelfe a maruellous reſolute man, were it that hee ſtreight found his deuiſe, or that he beleeued it to be true: for the ſodaineneſſe of the matter nothing altered him. The very like matter fell out in conſecrating of the ſecond temple. For this firſt which *Tarquine* had built and *Horatius* conſecrated, was conſumed by fire in the ciuill wars: and the ſecond was built vp againe by *Sylla*, who made no dedication of it. For *Catulus* ſet vp the ſuperſcription of the dedication, becauſe *Sylla* died before he could dedicate it. The ſecond temple was burnt againe not long after the troubles and tumultes which were at ROME, vnder *Vitellius* the Emperour. The third in like manner was reedified and built againe by *Veſpaſian*, from the ground to the toppe. But this good happe he had aboue other: to ſee his worke perfected and finiſhed before his death, & not ouerthrowen as it was immediatly after his death. Wherein he did farre paſſe the happineſſe of *Sylla*, who dyed before he could dedicate that he had built: and the other deceaſed before hee ſawe his worke ouerthrowen. For all the Capitoll was burnt to the ground incontinently after his death. It is reported the onely foundations of the firſt temple, coſt *Tarquinius* fortie thouſand *Pondos* of ſiluer. And to gilde onely the temple which we ſee now in our time, they ſay all the goods and ſubſtance that the richeſt citizen of ROME then had, will come nothing neere vnto it: for it coſt aboue twelue thouſand talents. The pillers of this temple are cut out of a quarrie of marble, called pentlike marble, and they were ſquared parpine, as thicke as long: theſe I ſaw at ATHENS. But afterwardes they were cut againe, and poliſhed in ROME, by which doing they got not ſo much grace, as they loſt proportion: for they were made too ſlender, and left naked of their firſt beautie. Now he that would wonder at the ſtately building of the Capitoll, if he came afterwardes vnto the palace *Domitian*, and did but ſee ſome galerie, porch, hall, or hotte houſe, or his concubines chambers: he would ſay (in my opinion) as the Poet *Epicharmus* ſayd of a prodigall man.

*How oft Iupiter Capitolins temple was burnt and built againe.*

*How much was ſpent in building the Capitoll.*

*It is a fault, and folly both in thee*
*to laſh out giftes, and prodigall rewardes:*
*For fond delights, without all rule that be,*
*regarding not what happens afterwardes.*

So might they iuſtly ſay of *Domitian*. Thou art not liberall, nor deuout vnto the goddes: but it is a vice thou haſt to loue to build, and deſireſt (as they ſay of olde *Midas*) that all about thee were turned to gold, and precious ſtones. And thus much for this matter. *Tarquine* after that great foughten battell wherein he loſt his ſonne (that was ſlaine by *Brutus* in fighting together hand to hande) went to the citie of CLVSIVM, vnto king *Claras Porſena*: the mightieſt prince that raigned at that time in all ITALIE, and was both noble & a courteous prince. *Porſena* promiſed him aide: and firſt of all he ſent to ROME to ſummone the citizens to receiue their King againe. But the ROMAINES refuſing the ſummones, he ſent forthwith an Herauld to proclaime open warres againſt them, and to tell them where, and when he would meete them: and then marched thitherwardes immediatly with a great armie. *Publicola* now being abſent, was choſen Conſull the ſecond time, and *Titus Lucretius* with him. When he was returned home againe to ROME, becauſe he would exceede king *Porſena* in greatneſſe of mind,

*Domitians mad building humor.*

*Porſena proclaimeth wars with Rome.*

*Publicola and Titus Lucretius Conſuls.*

he began to build a citie called SIGLIVRIA, euen when the King with all his armie was not farre from ROME: and hauing walled it about to his maruellous charge, he ſent thither ſeuen hundred citizens to dwell there, to ſhew that he made litle account of this war. Howbeit *Porſena* at his comming did giue ſuch a luſtie aſſault to the mount *Ianiculum*, that they draue out the ſouldiers which kept the ſame: who flying towards ROME, were purſued ſo harde with the enemies, that with them they had entered the town, had not *Publicola* made a ſaly out to reſiſt them. Who began a hotte skirmiſh hard by the riuer of Tyber, & there ſought to haue ſtaied the enemies to follow any further: which being the greater nūber, did ouerlay the ROMAINES, and did hurt *Publicola* very ſore in this skirmiſh, ſo as he was caried away into the citie in his ſouldiers armes. And euen ſo was the other Conſull *Lucretius* hurt in like caſe: which ſo diſcouraged and frayed the ROMAINES, that they all tooke them to their legges, & fled towards the citie. The enemies purſued them at their heeles as far as the wodden bridge: ſo that the citie was in maruellous hazard of taking vpon the ſodaine. But *Horatius Cocles*, and *Herminius*, and *Lucretius*, two other of the chiefeſt noble young men of the citie, ſtood with them to the defence of the bridge, and made head againſt the enemie. This *Horatius* was ſurnamed *Cocles* (as much to ſay, as one eye) becauſe he had loſt one of them in the warres. Howbeit other writers ſay, it was becauſe of his flat noſe which was ſo ſuncke into his head, that they ſaw nothing to part his eyes, but that the eye browes did meete together: by reaſon whereof the people thinking to ſurname him *Cyclops*, by corruption of the tongue they called him (as they ſay) *Cocles*. But howſoeuer it was, this *Horatius Cocles* had the courage to ſhew his face againſt the enemy, and to keepe the bridge, vntil ſuch time as they had cut & broken it vp behind him. When he ſaw they had done that, armed as he was, & hurt in the hippe with a pike of the THVSCANS, he leaped into the riuer of Tyber, and ſaued himſelfe by ſwimming vnto the other ſide. *Publicola* wondring at this manly act of his, perſwaded the ROMAINES ſtraight, euery one according to his abilitie, to giue him ſo much as he ſpent in a day, : & afterwards alſo he cauſed the common treaſurie to giue him as much lande as he could compaſſe about with his plow in a day. Furthermore he made his image of braſſe to be ſet vp in the temple of *Vulcane*, comforting by this honour his wounded hippe, whereof he was lame euer after. Now whileſt King *Porſena* was hottely bent, very ſtraightly to beſiege ROME, there begane a famine among the ROMAINES: and to encreaſe the danger, there came a new armie out of THVSCANE, which ouerranne, burnt, and made waſte, all the territorie of ROME. Whereupon *Publicola* being choſen Conſull, then the third time, thought he ſhould neede to doe no more to reſiſt *Porſena* brauely, but to be quiet only, and to looke well to the ſafe keeping of the citie. Howbeit ſpying his oportunitie, he ſecretly ſtole out of ROME with a power, and did ſet vpon the THVSCANS that deſtroyed the countrie about: and ouerthrew & ſlew of them, fiue thouſand men. As for the hiſtorie of *Mutius*, many do diuerſely report it: but I will write it in ſuch ſort, as I thinke ſhall beſt agree with the trueth. This *Mutius* was a worthie man in all reſpectes, but ſpecially for the warres. He deuiſing how he might come to kill King *Porſena*, diſguiſed himſelfe in THVSCANS apparell, and ſpeaking Thuſcan very perfectly, went into his campe, and came to the Kinges chayre, in the which he gaue audience: and not knowing him perfectly, hee durſt not aske which was he, leaſt he ſhould be diſcouered, but drew his ſworde at aduenture, and ſlew him whom he tooke to be King. Vpon that they layde holde on him, and examined him. And a panne full of fire being brought for the King that entended to doe ſacrifice vnto the goddes, *Mutius* held out his right hand ouer the fire, and boldly looking the King full in his face, whileſt the fleſh of his hand did frye off, he neuer chaunged hewe nor countenance: the King wondering to ſee ſo ſtraunge a ſight, called to them to withdrawe the fire, and he himſelfe did deliuer him his ſword againe. *Mutius* tooke it of him with his left hand, whereupon they ſay afterwardes, he had giuen him the ſurname of *Sceuola*, as much to ſay, as left handed, and tolde him in taking of it. Thou couldeſt not *Porſena* for feare haue ouercomed me, but now through courteſie thou haſt wonne me. Therefore for good will I will reueale that vnto thee, which no force, nor extremitie could haue made mee vtter. There are three hundred ROMAINES diſperſed through thy campe, all which are prepared with like minds to followe that I haue begunne, only gaping for opportunitie to put it in practiſe.

*Horatius Cocles why ſo called.*

*Good ſeruice rewarded.*

*Publicola Conſull.*

*The noble acts of Mutius Sceuola.*

*How Mutius came by the name of Sceuola.*

The lot fell on me to be the firſt to breake the Iſe of this enterpriſe: and yet I am not ſory my hand failed to kill ſo worthy a man, that deſerueth rather to be a friend then an enemy vnto the ROMAINES. *Porſena* hearing this, did beleeue it, and euer after he gaue the more willing eare to thoſe that treated with him of peace: not ſo much (in my opinion) for that he feared the three hundred lying in wait to kill him, as for the admiration of the ROMAINES noble minde and great courage. All other writers call this man, *Mutius Scæuola*: howbeit *Athenodorus* ſurnamed *Sandon*, in a booke he wrote vnto *Octauia*, *Auguſtus* ſiſter, ſaieth that he was alſo called *Opſigonus*. But *Publicola* taking king *Porſena* not to be ſo daungerous an enemy to ROME, as he ſhould be a profitable friend and allie to the ſame: let him vnderſtand that he was contented to make him iudge of the controuerſie between them & *Tarquine*. Whom he did many times prouoke to come and haue his cauſe heard before king *Porſena*, where he ſhould iuſtifie to his face, that he was the naughtieſt and moſt wicked man of the world, and that he was iuſtly driuen out of his countrey. *Tarquine* ſharpely anſwered, that he would make no man his iudge, and *Porſena* leaſt of all other, for that hauing promiſed him to put him again in his Kingdome, he was now gone from his word, and had changed his minde. *Porſena* was very angry with this aunſwer, iudging this a manifeſt token that his cauſe was ill. Wherefore *Porſena* being ſollicited againe by his owne ſonne *Aruns*, who loued the ROMAINES, did eaſily grant them peace vpon condition: that they ſhould redeliuer backe againe to him the lands they had gotten before within the country of THVSCAN, with the priſoners alſo which they had taken in this war, and in lieu thereof he offered to deliuer to them againe the ROMAINS, that had fled from them vnto him. To confirme this peace, the ROMAINS deliuered him hoſtages, tenne of the nobleſt mens ſonnes of the city, and ſo many of their daughters: among which was *Valeria*, *Publicolaes* owne daughter. Peace being thus concluded, *Porſena* brake his army, and withdrew his ſtrengh, truſting to the peace concluded. The ROMAINES daughters deliuered for hoſtages, came down to the riuers ſide to waſh them, in a quiet place where the ſtreame ran but gently, without any force or ſwiftnes at all. When they were there, and ſaw they had no guard about them, nor any came that way, nor yet any botes going vp nor downe the ſtreame: they had a deſire to ſwim ouer the riuer, which ran with a ſwift ſtreame, and was maruellous deepe. Some ſay, that one *Clælia* ſwam the riuer vpon her horſe backe, and that ſhee did imbolden and incorage the other to ſwim hard by her horſe ſide: and recouering the other bancke, and being paſt all daunger, they went and preſented them ſelues before *Publicola* the Conſul. Who neither commended them, nor liked the part they had plaid, but was maruellous ſory, fearing leaſt men would iudge him leſſe carefull to kepe his faith, then was king *Porſena*: and that he might ſuſpect the boldneſſe of theſe maidens, was but a crafty ſleight deuiſed of the ROMAINES. Therefore he tooke them all againe, and ſent them immediatly vnto King *Porſena* Whereof *Tarquine* hauing intelligence, he laide an ambuſh for them, that had the conduction of them. Who ſo ſoone as they were paſt the riuer, did ſhew them ſelues, & brake vppon the ROMAINES: they being farre fewer in number then the other, did yet very ſtoutly defend thē ſelues Now whileſt they were in earneſt fight together, *Valeria Publicolaes* daughter, and three of her fathers ſeruaunts, eſcaped through the middeſt of them, and ſaued them ſelues. The reſidue of the virgines remained in the middeſt among their ſwords, in great daunger of their liues. *Aruns* king *Porſenas* ſonne aduertiſed hereof, ranne thither incontinently to the reſcue: but when he came the enemies fled, and the ROMAINES held on their iourney to redeliuer their hoſtages. *Porſena* ſeeing them againe, asked which of them it was that beganne firſt to paſſe the riuer, and had encouraged the other to follow her. One pointed him vnto her, and told him her name was *Clælia*. He looked vpon her very earneſtly, and with a pleaſaunt countenaunce, and commaunded they ſhould bring him one of his beſt horſes in the ſtable, and the richeſt furniture he had for the ſame, and ſo he gaue it vnto her. Thoſe which hold opinion that none but *Clælia* paſſed the riuer a horſe backe, doe alledge this to proue their opinion true. Other doe deny it, ſaying that this THVSCAN king, did only honor her noble courage. Howſoeuer it was, they ſee her image a horſe backe in the holy ſtreete, as they goe to the pallace: and ſome ſay it is the ſtatue of *Valeria*, other of *Clælia*. After *Porſena* had made peace with the ROMAINES, in breaking vp his campe, he ſhewed his noble

*Publicola maketh Porſena iudge, betwixt them and the Tarquines.*

*Peace graunted the Romaines by Porſena.*

*The boldnes of Clælia and other Romaine virgines.*

*The liberality of king Porſena to the Romaines.*

minde vnto them in many other things, and ſpecially in that he commaunded his ſouldiers they ſhould cary nothing but their armour and weapon onely, leauing his campe full of corne, victuals, and other kinde of goods. From whence this cuſtome came, that at this day when they make open ſale of any thing belonging to the common weale, the ſergeant or common crier crieth, that they are king *Porſenas* goods, and taken of thankefulneſſe and perpetuall memory of his bounty and liberality towardes them. Further, *Porſenas* image ſtandeth adioyning to the pallace where the Senate is vſed to be kept, which is made of great antique worke. Afterwardes the SABINES inuading the ROMAINES territory with a great force, *Marcus Valerius Publicolaes* brother, was then choſen Conſul, with one *Poſthumius Tubertus*. Howbeit all matters of waight and importaunce paſſed by *Publicolaes* counſell and authority, who was preſent at any thing that was done: and by whoſe means *Marcus* his brother wanne two great battells, in the laſt whereof he ſlew thirteene thouſand of his enemies not loſing one of his owne men. For which his victories, beſides the honour of triumphe he had, the people alſo at their owne charges, built him a houſe in the ſtreete of mount Palatine, and graunted him moreouer that his doore ſhould open outwardes into the ſtreete, where all other mens doores did open inwards into their houſe: ſignifying by grant of this honour and priuiledge, that he ſhould alwaies haue benefit by the common weale. It is reported that the GRECIANS doores of their houſes in olde time, did all open outwards after that faſhion, and they doe coniecture it by the comedies that are played. Where thoſe that would goe out of their houſes; did firſt knocke at their doores, and make a noiſe within the houſe, leaſt in opening their doore vppon a ſodaine, they might ouerthrow or hurt him that taried at the ſtreete doore, or paſſed by the way: who hearing the noyſe, had warning ſtraight to auoide the daunger. The next yeare after that, *Publicola* was choſen Conſul the fourth time, becauſe they ſtoode in great doubt that the SABINES and LATINES would ioyne together to make warres vpon them: beſides all this, there was a certaine ſuperſtitious feare ranne through the city, of ſome ill happe toward it, becauſe moſt part of the women with childe were deliuered of vnperfect children, lacking ſome one limme or other, and all of them came before their time. Wherefore *Publicola* looking in ſome of *Sybillaes* books, made priuat ſacrifice vnto *Pluto*, and did ſet vp againe ſome feaſts and ſolemne games that were left off, and had bene commaunded before time to be kept by the oracle of *Apollo*. Theſe meanes hauing a litle reioyced the city with good hope, becauſe they thought that the anger of the goddes had bene appeaſed: *Publicola* then began to prouide for the daungers that they were threatned withall by men, for that newes was brought him that their enemies were vp in all places, and made great preparation to inuade them. Now there was at that time amongſt the SABINES, a great rich man called *Appius Clauſus*, very ſtrong and actiue of body, and otherwiſe a man of great reputation and eloquence, aboue all the reſt of his countrey men: but notwithſtanding he was much inuied, & could not auoide it, being a thing common to great men. He went about to ſtay thoſe intended warres againſt the ROMAINES. Whereupon, many which before tooke occaſion to murmur againſt him, did now much more increaſe the ſame: with ſaying he ſought to maintaine the power of the ROMAINES, that afterwards by their aide he might make him ſelfe tyraunt and King of the countrey. The common people gaue eaſie eare vnto ſuch ſpeaches, and *Appius* perceiuing well enough how the ſouldiers hated him deadly, he feared they would complaine and accuſe him. Wherfore being well backed and ſtood to by his kinſemen, friends, and followers, he practiſed to make a ſturre among the SABINES, which was the cauſe of ſtaying the warres againſt the ROMAINES. *Publicolca* alſo for his part was very diligent, not only to vnderſtand the originall cauſe of this ſedition, but to feed on further and encreaſe the ſame, hauing gotten men meete for the purpoſe, which caried *Appius* ſuch a meſſage from him. That *Publicola* knew very well he was a iuſt man, and one that would not be reuenged of his citizens to the generall hurt of his countrey, although the iniuries he receiued at their hands, deliuered him iuſt occaſion to doe it: neuertheleſſe if he had any deſire to prouide for his ſafety, and to repaire to ROME, leauing them which cauſeles wiſhed him ſo much euill, they would both openly and priuatly receiue him with that due honour which his vertue deſerued, and the worthineſſe of the ROMAINE people required. *Clauſus* hauing long and many times conſidered

*Marcus Valerius, Poſthumius Tubertus Conſuls.*

*Marcus Valerius, the brother of Publicola, triumpheth of the Sabines.*

ſidered this matter with himſelf, reſolued that it was the beſt way he could take, making vertue of neceſſity; and therefore being determined to do it, he did procure his friends to do as he did, and they got other alſo vnto them, ſo that he brought away with him out of the countrey of the SABINES, fiue thouſand families with their wiues and children (of the quieteſt & moſt peaceable people among the SABINES) to dwell at ROME. *Publicola* being aduertiſed thereof before they came, did receiue them at their comming to ROME with great ioy, and all maner of good curteous entertainement. For at their firſt comming, he made them all and their families free citizens, and aſſigned vnto euery perſon of them two *iugera* of land, (which contained one acre, one roode, eleuen pole, and 69. parts of a pole) by the riuer of Tyber: and vnto *Appius* ſelfe he gaue 25. *iugera* (to wit, 16. acres and a halfe, 4. pole and 76. parts of a pole) and receiued him into the number of the Senatours. And thus came he firſt vnto the gouernment of the common weale in ROME, where he did ſo wiſely behaue himſelfe, that in the end he came to be the chiefeſt man of dignity and authority in ROME, ſo long as he liued. After his death, he left behind him the family of the *Claudians*, deſcending from him: which for honor, and worthines, gaue no place to the nobleſt family in ROME. But now the ſedition amongſt the SABINES being pacified, by the departure of thoſe that were gone to ROME: the ſeditious gouernors would not ſuffer thoſe that remained to liue in peace, but ſtill cried out, it were too much ſhame for them, that *Clauſus* being a fugitiue, and become an enemy, ſhould honor their enemies abroad, that being preſent durſt not ſhew ſo much at home, and that the ROMAINES ſhould eſcape vnreuenged, who had done them ſuch apparaunt wrongs. So they raiſed great force and power, and went and encamped with their army neare the city of FIDENES, and laid an ambuſh hard by ROME, in certaine hidden and hollow places, where they put a two thouſand choiſe footmen, very well armed, and did appoint the next morning to ſend certaine light horſemen to runne and pray to ROME gates: commaunding them, that when the ROMAINES came out of the city to charge them, they ſhould ſeeme leyſurely to retire, vntill they had drawen them within daunger of their ambuſh. *Publicola* receiuing full intelligence of all their intention, by a traytour that fled from them vnto him, made due preparation to encounter with their priuy ambuſh, and ſo deuided his army in two parts: for he gaue his ſon in law *Poſthumius Balbus*, three thouſand foootemen, whom he ſent away by night, commaunding them the ſame night to take the hilles, in the bottome wherof the SABINES were laid in ambuſh. *Lucretius*, fellow Conſull with *Publicola*, hauing the lighteſt and luſtieſt men of the city, was appointed to make head againſt the vauncurriers of the SABINES that minded to approch the gates. And *Publicola* with the reſt of the army, marched a great compaſſe about to incloſe his enemies behind. The next morning betimes, by chaunce it was a thicke miſte, and at that preſent time *Poſthumius* comming downe from the hilles, with great ſhouts, charged them that lay in ambuſh. *Lucretius* on the other ſide, ſet vppon the light horſemen of the SABINES: and *Publicola* fell vpon their campe. So that of all ſides the SABINES enterpriſe had very ill ſucceſſe, for they had the worſt in euery place, & the ROMAINS killed them flying, without any turning again to make reſiſtance. Thus the place which gaue them hope of beſt ſafety, turned moſt to their deadly ouerthrow. For euery one of their companies ſuppoſing the other had bene whole and vnbroken, when a charge was giuen vpon them, did ſtraight breake, and neuer a company of them turned head toward their enemy. For they that were in the campe, ran toward them which lay in ambuſh: and thoſe which were in ambuſh on the contrary ſide, ran towards them that were in campe. So that in flying, the one met with the other, & found thoſe, towards whom they were flying to haue bene ſafe, to ſtand in as much neede of helpe as them ſelues. That which ſaued ſome that were not ſlaine, was the city of FIDENES, which was neare the campe, and ſpecially ſaued thoſe which fled thither. But ſuch as came ſhort of the city, and could not in time recouer it, were all ſlaine in the field, or taken priſoners. As for the glory of this honourable victory, albeit the ROMAINES were wont to aſcribe all ſuch great notable matters to the ſpeciall prouidence and grace of the goddes, yet at that time notwithſtanding, they did iudge that this happy ſucceſſe fell out by the wiſe foreſight and valiantneſſe of the captaine. For euery man that had ſerued in this iourney, had no other talke in his mouth, but that *Publicola* had deliuered their enemies into their handes, lame, and blinde, and

*Appius Clauſus goeth to dwell at Rome.*

*The famely of the Claudians.*

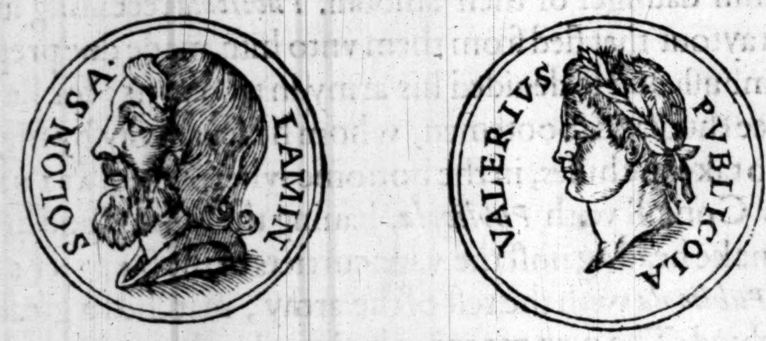
*The Sabines ſlaine.*

as a man might ſay, bound hand and feete to kill them at their pleaſure. The people were maruellouſly enriched by this victory, aſwell for the ſpoile, as for the raunſome of the priſoners that they had gotten. Now *Publicola* after he had triumphed, and left the gouernment of the city to thoſe, which were choſen Conſuls for the yere following: died incontinently, hauing liued as honorably and vertuouſly all the daies of his life, as any man liuing might doe. The people then tooke order for his funerals, that the charges thereof ſhould be defrayed by the city, as if they had neuer done him any honour in his life; and that they had bene ſtill debters vnto him for the noble ſeruice he had done vnto the ſtate and common weale whileſt he liued. Therfore towards his funerall charges, euery citizen gaue a peece of money called a Quatrine. The women alſo for their part to honour his funerals, agreed among them ſelues to mourne a whole yeare in blacke for him, which was a great and honourable memoriall. He was buried alſo by expreſſe order of the people, within the city, in the ſtreete called Velia; and they graunted priuiledge alſo vnto all his poſterity, to be buried in the ſelfe ſame place. Howbeit they doe no more bury any of his there. But when any die, they bring the corſe vnto this place, and one holding a torch burning in his hand, doth put it vnder the place, and take it ſtraight away againe, to ſhew that they haue liberty to bury him there, but that they willingly refuſe this honour: and this done, they cary the corſe away againe.

*The death of Publicola.*

*His funerals.*

# THE COMPARISON OF
## *Solon with Publicola.*



NOW preſently to compare theſe two perſonages together, it ſeemeth they both had one vertue in them: which is not found in any other of their liues which we haue written of before. And the ſame is, that the one hath bene a witnes, and the other a follower of him, to whom he was like. So as the ſentence that *Solon* ſpake to king *Cræſus*, touching *Tellus* felicity and happines, might haue better bene applied vnto *Publicola*, then to *Tellus*: whom he iudged to be very happy, becauſe he died honourably, he had liued vertuouſly, and had left behinde him goodly children. And yet *Solon* ſpeaketh nothing of his excellency or vertue in any of his poems: neither did he euer beare any honorable office in all his time, nor yet left any children that caried any great fame or renowme after his death. Whereas *Publicola* ſo long as he liued, was alwaies the chiefe man among the ROMAINS, of credit and authority: and afterwards ſince his death, certaine of the nobleſt families, and moſt auncient houſes of ROME, in theſe our daies, as the PVBLICOLES, the MESSALES, and the VALERIANS, for ſix hundred yeares continuance, doe referre the glory of the nobility and auncientry of their houſe vnto him. Furthermore, *Tellus* was ſlain by his enemies, fighting valiantly

*Publicola happy.*

liantly like a worthy honeſt man. But *Publicola* died after he had ſlaine his enemies: which is farre more great good hap, then to be ſlaine. For after he as generall had honourably ſerued his countrie in the wars, and had left them conquerers, hauing in his life time receiued all honours and triumphes due vnto his ſeruice: he attained to that happy end of life, which *Solon* accompted and eſteemed, moſt happie and bleſſed. Alſo in wiſhing manner, he would his end ſhould be lamented to his praiſe, in a place where he confuteth *Mimnermus*, about the continuance of mans life, by ſaying:

*Let not my death without lamenting paſſe,*
*but rather let my friends bewaile the ſame:*
*VVhoſe grieuous teares, and cries of out alas,*
*may oft reſound the Eccho of my name.*

If that be good hap, then moſt happy maketh he Publicola: for at his death, not only his friends and kinſfolks, but the whole city alſo, and many a thouſand perſons beſides, did bitterly bewaile the loſſe of him. For all the women of ROME did mourne for him in black, and did moſt pitifully lament his death, as euery one of thē had loſt either father, brother or husband.

*True it is, that I couet goods to haue:*
*but yet ſo got as may me not depraue.*

*Solon* ſaieth this, becauſe vengeance followed ill gotten goods. And *Publicola* tooke great heed, not onely to get his goods moſt iuſtly, but had regarde that thoſe which he had, he ſpent moſt honeſtly in helping the needie. So that if *Solon* was iuſtly reputed the wiſeſt man, we muſt needs confeſſe alſo that Publicola was the happieſt. For what the one deſired for the greateſt and moſt perfect good, a man can haue in this world: the other hath wunne it, kept it, and vſed it all his life time, vntill the hower of his death. And thus hath *Solon* honoured *Publicola*, and *Publicola* hath done like vnto *Solon*, ſhewing himſelfe a perfect example and looking glaſſe, where men may ſee how to gouerne a popular ſtate: when he made his Conſulſhip voide of all pride and ſtately ſhew, and became himſelfe affable, courteous, and beloued of euerie body. So tooke he profit by many of his lawes. As when he ordained, that the people only ſhould haue authoritie to chooſe and create all common officers and magiſtrates, and that they might appeale from any iudge to the people: as *Solon* when he ſuffered them to appeale vnto the iudges of the people. In deed *Publicola* did not create any new Senate, as *Solon* did: but he did augment the firſt number, with as many perſons almoſt as there were before. He did alſo firſt erect the office of *Quæſtores*, for keeping of all fines, taxes, and other collections of money. Becauſe the chiefeſt magiſtrate, if he were an honeſt man, ſhould not for ſo light an occaſion be taken, from the care of better and more waightie affaires: and if he were wickedly giuen and ill diſpoſed, that he ſhould haue no ſuch meane or occaſion to worke his wicked will, by hauing the treaſure of the citie in his hands, and to command what he liſt. Moreouer in hating the tyrantes, *Publicola* therein was farre more ſharpe and terrible. For *Solon* in his lawes puniſhed him that went about to make himſelfe a tyrant, yet after he was conuicted thereof by lawe: but *Publicola* ordained that they ſhould kill him, before the lawe did paſſe on him, that ſought to be King. And where *Solon* iuſtly and truly vaunteth himſelfe, that being offered to be King and Lord of ATHENS, and that with the whole conſent of the citizens: yet he did notwithſtanding refuſe it. This vaunte and glorie is as due vnto *Publicola*: who finding the dignitie of a Conſull tyrannicall, he brought it to be more lowly and fauourable for the people, not taking vpon him all the authoritie he might lawfully haue done. And it ſeemeth that *Solon* knew before him, what was the true and direct way to gouerne a common weale vprightly. For he ſaieth in one place:

*Publicola erected the office of Quæſtores.*

*Both great and ſmall of power, the better will obaye:*
*if we too litle or too much, vpon them do not lay.*

The diſcharging of debts was proper to *Solon*, which was a full confirmation of libertie. For litle preuaileth lawe to make equalitie among citizens, when debts do hinder the poore people to enioy the benefit thereof. And where it ſeemeth that they haue moſt libertie, as in that they may be choſen iudges and officers, to ſpeake their opinion in the counſell, and giue their voices alſo: there in deed are they moſt bound and ſubiect, becauſe they do but obaye the rich, in all they doe commaund. But yet in this acte there is a thing more wonderfull, and worthie to be noted. That commonly diſcharging of debts, was wont to breed great tumults and ſeditions in common weales: And *Solon* hauing vſed it in a very good time (as the Phiſitian ventring a dangerous medecine) did appeaſe the ſedition already begun, and did vtterly quenche through his glory, and the common opinion they had of his wiſdome and vertue, all the infamie and accuſation that might haue growne of that acte. As for their firſt entrie into the gouernment, *Solons* beginning was farre more noble. For he went before, and followed not another: and himſelfe alone without any others helpe, did put in execution the beſt, and more part of all his notable and goodly lawes. Yet was *Publicolaes* end and death much more glorious and happie. For *Solon* before he dyed, ſaw all his commonwealth ouerthrowne: but *Publicolaes* commonweale continued whole as he left it, vntill the broile of ciuill warres began againe among them. *Solon*, after he had made his lawes, and written them in wodden tables, leauing them without defence of any man, went his way immediatly out of the citie of ATHENS. *Publicola* abiding continually in ROME gouerning the ſtate, did throughly ſtabliſh and confirme the lawes he made. Furthermore *Solon* hauing wiſely foreſeene *Piſiſtratus* practiſes, aſpiring to make him ſelfe King: he could neuer let him for all that, but was himſelfe ouercome and oppreſſed with the tyranny he ſaw ſtabliſhed in his owne ſight, and in deſpight of him. Where *Publicola* ouerthrew and did put downe a mightie Kingdome, that had continued of long time, and was throughly ſtabliſhed: his vertue and deſire being equall with *Solons*, and hauing had beſides fortune fauourable, and ſufficient power to execute his vertuous and well diſpoſed minde. But as for warres and marſhall deedes, there is no compariſon to be made betweene them. For *Daimachus Plataian*, doth not attribute the warres of the MEGARIANS vnto *Solon*, as we haue written it: where *Publicola* being generall of an army, and fighting himſelfe in perſon, hath wonne many great battels. And as for matters of peace and ciuill gouernment, *Solon* neuer durſt preſent himſelfe openly to perſuade the enterpriſe of SALAMINA, but vnder a counterfait madneſſe, and as a foole to make ſport. Where *Publicola* taking his aduenture from the beginning, ſhewed himſelfe without diſſimulation, an open enemie to *Tarquine*, and afterwards he reuealed all the whole conſpiracie. And when he had bene the only cauſe and author of puniſhing the traitours, he did not only driue out of ROME the tyrants ſelues in perſon, but tooke from them alſo all hope of returne againe. Who hauing alwaies thus nobly and valiantly behaued himſelfe, without ſhrinking back, or flying from ought that required force, a manly courage, or open reſiſtance: did yet ſhew himſelfe diſcreet, where wiſdome was requiſite, or reaſon and perſwaſion needfull. As when he cunningly wanne king *Porſena*, who was a dreadfull enemie vnto him, and inuincible by force: whom he handled in ſuch good ſort, that he made him his friend. Peraduenture ſome might ſtand in this and ſay: that *Solon* recouered the Ile of SALAMINA vnto the ATHENIANS, which they would haue loſt. *Publicola* to the contrary, reſtored the lands vnto *Porſena* againe, which the ROMAINES had conquered before, within the countrie of THVSCAN. But the times in which theſe things were done, are alwaies to be conſidered of. For a wiſe gouernour of a Realme, and politick man, doth gouerne diuerſely according to the occaſions offred, taking euery thing in his time wherein he will deale. And many times, in letting go one thing, he ſaueth the whole: and in loſing a litle, he gaineth much. As *Publicola* did, who loſing a litle peece of another mans countrie, which they had vſurped, ſaued by that meanes all that was aſſuredly his owne. And wheras the ROMAINES thought he ſhould do very much for them, to ſaue their citie onely, he got them moreouer, all the goods that were in their enemies campe, which did beſiege them. And in making his enemie iudge of his quarrell, he wanne the victorie: winning that moreouer, which he would gladly haue giuen to haue ouercome, and haue ſentence paſſe on his ſide. For the king their enemy did not only make peace with them, but did alſo leaue them all his furniture, prouiſion, and munition for the warres: euen for the vertue, manhood, and iuſtice, which the great wiſedome of this Conſull perſwaded *Porſena* to beleeue to be in all the other ROMAINES.

*A politick precept.*

*The end of Publicolaes life.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Themiſtocles.*

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ
ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

*THEMISTOCLES* parentage did litle aduaunce his glorie: for his father *Neocles* was of ſmall reputation in ATHENS, being of the hundred of *Phrear*, & tribe of *Leontis*: of his mother an allien or ſtranger: as theſe verſes do witneſſe,

*Abrotonon I am, yborne in Thracia,*
*and yet this high good hap I haue, that into Grecia:*
*I haue brought forth a ſonne, Themiſtocles by name,*
*the glory of the Greekish blouds, and man of greateſt fame.*

Howbeit *Phanias* writeth, that his mother was not a THRACIAN, but borne in the countrie of CARIA: and they do not call her *Abrotonon*, but *Euterpé*. And *Neanthes* ſaieth furthermore, that ſhe was of HALICARNASSVS, the chiefeſt citie of all the Realme of CARIA. For which cauſe when the ſtrangers did aſſemble at *Cynoſargos* (a place of exerciſe without the gate dedicated to *Hercules*, which was not a right god, but noted an alien, in that his mother was a mortall woman:) *Themiſtocles* perſuaded diuers youthes of the moſt honorable houſes, to go downe with him, and to annoint themſelues at *Cynoſargos*, cunningly thereby taking away the difference between the right & alien ſort. But ſetting a part all theſe circumſtances, he was no doubt allied vnto the houſe of the *Lycomedians*: for *Themiſtocles* cauſed the chappell of this family, which is in the village of PHLYES, being once burnt by the barbarous people, to be built vp againe at his owne charges: and as *Simonides* ſaieth, he did ſet it forth and enriche it with pictures. Moreouer euery man doth confeſſe it, that euen from his childhood they did perceiue he was giuen to be very whote headed, ſturring, wiſe, and of good ſpirite, and enterpriſing of him ſelfe to do great things, and borne to rule weighty cauſes. For at ſuch dayes and howers as he was taken from his booke, and had leaue to play, he neuer plaied, nor would neuer be idle, as other children were: but they alwayes found him conning ſome oration without booke, or making it alone by himſelfe, and the ground of his matter was euer commonly, either to defend, or accuſe ſome of his companions. Wherupon his ſchoolemaiſter obſeruing him, oft ſaid vnto him: ſure ſome great matter hangeth ouer thy head my boy, for it cannot be choſen but that one day thou ſhalt do ſome notable

*Cynoſargos, a place of exerciſe, dedicated to Hercules.*

*Themiſtocles towardneſſe.*

good thing, or ſome extreame miſchieſe. Therefore when they went about to teache him any thing, only to checke his nature, or to faſhion him with good maner and ciuilitie, or to ſtudy any matter for pleaſure or honeſt paſtime: he would ſlowly and careleſlie learne of them. But if they deliuered him any matter of wit, and things of weight concerning ſtate: they ſawe he would beate at it maruellouſly, and would vnderſtand more then any could of his age and cariage, truſting altogether to his naturall mother wit. This was the cauſe, that being mocked afterwards by ſome that had ſtudied humanitie, and other liberall ſciences, he was driuen for reuenge and his owne defence, to aunſwer with great and ſtoute words, ſaying, that in deed he could no skill to tune a harpe, nor a viol, nor to play of a pſalterion: but if they did put a citie into his hands that was of ſmall name, weake, and litle, he knew wayes enough how to make it noble, ſtrong, and great. Neuertheleſſe, *Steſimbrotus* writeth, how he went to *Anaxagoras* ſchoole, and that vnder *Meliſſus* he ſtudied naturall Philoſophie. But herein he was greatly deceaued, for that he tooke no great heed vnto the time. For *Meliſſus* was captaine of the SAMIANS againſt *Pericles*, at what time he did lay ſiege vnto the citie of SAMOS. Now this is true, *Pericles* was much younger then *Themiſtocles*, & *Anaxagoras* dwelt with *Pericles* in his owne houſe. Therefore we haue better reaſon and occaſion to beleeue thoſe that write, *Themiſtocles* did determine to follow *Mneſiphilus Phrearian*. For he was no profeſſed Orator, nor naturall Philoſopher, as they termed it in that time: but made profeſſion of that which then they called wiſedome. Which was no other thing, but a certaine knowledge to handle great cauſes, and an indeuour to haue a good wit and iudgement in matters of ſtate and gouernement: which profeſſion beginning in *Solon*, did continue, and was taken vp from man to man, as a ſecte of Philoſophie. But thoſe that came ſithence, haue mingled it with arte of ſpeache, and by litle and litle haue tranſlated the exerciſe of deeds, vnto bare and curious wordes: whereupon they were called *Sophiſters*, as who would ſay, counterfaite wiſe men. Notwithſtanding, when *Themiſtocles* began to medle with the gouernment of the common weale, he followed much *Mneſiphilus*. In the firſt part of his youth, his behauiour and doings were very light and vnconſtant, as one caried away with a raſh head, and without any order or diſcretion: by reaſon whereof his manners and conditions ſeemed maruellouſly to change, and oftimes fell into very ill fauored euents, as himſelfe did afterwards confeſſe by ſaying: that a ragged colt oft times prooues a good horſe, ſpecially if he be well ridden, and broken as he ſhould be. Other tales which ſome will ſeeme to adde to this, are in my opinion but fables. As that his father did diſinherite him, and that his mother for very care and ſorow ſhe tooke to ſee the lewde life of her ſonne, did kill her ſelfe. For there are that write to the contrarie, that his father being deſirous to take him from dealing in gouernment, did go and ſhewe him all alongſt the ſea ſhore, the ſhipwracks and ribbes of old gallyes caſt here and there, whereof no reckoning was made, and ſaid to him: thus the people vſe their gouernours, when they can ſerue no longer. Howſoeuer it was, it is moſt true that *Themiſtocles* earneſtly gaue himſelfe to ſtate, and was ſuddenly taken with deſire of glory. For euen at his firſt entry, becauſe he would ſet foote before the proudeſt, he ſtood at pike againſt the greateſt and mightieſt perſons, that bare the ſway and gouernment, and ſpecially againſt *Ariſtides, Lyſimachus* ſonne, who euer encountered him, and was ſtill his aduerſarie oppoſite. Yet it ſeemeth the euill will he conceiued toward him, came of a very light cauſe. For they both loued *Steſilaus*, that was borne in the citie of TIOS, as *Ariſton* the Philoſopher writeth. And after this iealouſie was kindled betweene them, they alwaies tooke contrarie part one againſt another, not onely in their priuate likings, but alſo in the gouernment of the commonweale. Yet I am perſuaded, that the difference of their manners and conditions, did much encreaſe the grudge and diſcorde betwixt them. For *Ariſtides* being by nature a very good man, a iuſt dealer, and honeſt of life, & one that in all his doings would neuer flatter the people, nor ſerue his owne glorie, but rather to the contrary, would do, would ſay, and counſell alwaies for the moſt benefit & commodity of the commonweale: was oft times enforced to reſiſt *Themiſtocles*, & diſappoint his ambition, being euer buſily mouing the people, to take ſome new matter in hand. For they reporte of him, that he was ſo inflamed with deſire of glory, & to enterpriſe great matters, that being but a very young man at the battel of *Marathon* where there was no talke but of the worthines of

*Themiſtocles was Anaxagoras & Meliſſus ſcholler.*

*Mneſiphilus Phrearian.*

*What wiſedome was in olde time.*

*How the name of Sophiſters came vp.*

*Themiſtocles youth.*

*The priuie grudge betwixt Themiſtocles and Ariſtides.*

*Ariſtides a iuſt man.*

*Themiſtocles ambition.*

captaine *Miltiades* that had wonne the battell: he was found many times ſolitarily there alone deuiſing with himſelf: beſides, they ſay he could then take no reſt in the night, neither would go to playes in the day time, nor would keepe cōpany with thoſe whom he was accuſtomed to be familiar withall before. Furthermore, he would tell them that wondred to ſee him ſo in his muſes, & changed, and asked him what he ayled that *Miltiades* victory would not let him ſleepe, becauſe other thought this ouerthrow at MARATHON, would haue made an end of all wars. Howbeit *Themiſtocles* was of a contrary opinion, & that it was but a beginning of greater troubles. Therefore he daily ſtudied how to preuent them, and how to ſee to the ſafetie of GRECE, and before occaſion offered, he did exerciſe his citie in feates of warre, foreſeeing what ſhould folow after. Wherfore, where the citizens of ATHENS before did vſe to deuide among themſelues the reuenue of their mines of ſiluer, which were in a part of ATTICA called LAVRION: he alone was the firſt that durſt ſpeake to the people, & perſwade them, that frō thenceforth they ſhould ceaſe that diſtribution among themſelues, & employ the money of the ſame in making of gallyes, to make wars againſt the ÆGYNETES. For their warres of all GRECE were moſt cruell, becauſe they were lords of the ſea, & had ſo great a number of ſhips. This perſwaſion drue the citizens more eaſily to *Themiſtocles* mind, than the threatning thē with King *Darius*, or the *Perſians* would haue done: who were farre from them, and not feared that they would come neere vnto them. So this oportunitie taken of the hatred & ielouſie between the ATHENIANS and the ÆGINETES, made the people to agree, of the ſaid money to make an hundred gallies, with which they fought againſt king *Xerxes*, and did ouercome him by ſea. Now after this good beginning & ſucceſſe, he wan the citizēs by degrees to bend their force to ſea, declaring vnto them, how by land they were ſcant able to make head againſt their equals, whereas by their power at ſea, they ſhould not only defend thēſelues from the barbarous people, but moreouer be able to command all GRECE. Hereupon he made them good mariners, & paſſing ſea men, as *Plato* ſayth, where before they were ſtout and valiant ſouldiers by land. This gaue his enemies occaſion to caſt it in his teeth afterwards, that he had taken away from the ATHENIANS the pike & the target, and had brought them to the banke & the ower: and ſo he got the vpper hand of *Miltiades*. Who inueyed againſt him in that, as *Steſimbrotus* writeth. Now after he had thus his wil, by bringing this ſea ſeruice to paſſe, whether therby he did ouerthrow the iuſtice of the cōmon weale or not, I leaue that to the philoſophers to diſpute. But that the preſeruation of all GRECE ſtood at that time vpon the ſea, & that the gallies only were the cauſe of ſetting vp ATHENS againe: *Xerxes* himſelfe is a ſufficient witnes, beſides other proofes that might be brought therof. For his armie by land being yet whole, & vnſet on, when he ſaw his armie by ſea broken, diſpearſed, & ſunke, he fled ſtraight vpon it, confeſſing as it were that he was now too weake to deale any more with the GRECIANS, & left *Mardonius* his lieutenāt in GRECE, of purpoſe in my opinion, rather to let that the GRECIANS ſhould not follow him, then for any hope he had to ouercome them. Some write of *Themiſtocles*, that he was a very good husband for his owne profit, & carefull to looke to his things: for he did ſpend liberally, & loued oft to make ſacrifices, and honorably to receiue & entertaine ſtrangers: wherfore he had good reaſon to be carefull to get, to defray his charges. Other to the contrary, blame him much, that he was too neere, & miſerable: for ſome ſay, he wold ſel preſents of meat that were giuen him. He did aske one *Philides* on a time, which had a breed of mares, a colt of gift: who denying him flatly, he was ſo angry, that he threatned him ere it were long he would make his houſe the horſe of wood, with the which TROIA was taken. Meaning couertly to let him vnderſtand, that he would ſhortly ſet ſtrife & quarrell betwixt him, & his neareſt kinſmen & familiar friends. It is true that he was the moſt ambitious man of the world. For when he was but a yong man, and ſcantly knowen, he earneſtly intreated one *Epicles* borne at HERMIONNA, an excellent player of the citherne, & counted at that time the cunningeſt man in all ATHENS at that inſtrument, that he would come and teach his art at his houſe: and all was no more, but that many people being deſirous to heare him play, ſhold aske for his houſe & come thither to him. And one yeare when he went vnto the feaſt & aſſembly of the playes Olympicall, he would needes keepe open houſe for all commers, haue his tents richly furniſhed, and a great traine of ſeruants and all other furniture, only to contend with *Cimon*. This maruellouſly

*Themiſtocles perſwaded his cuntriemen to make gallyes.*

*The Athenians bent their force to ſea, by Themiſtocles perſwaſion.*

*Themiſtocles a good husband to looke for his profite.*

*Themiſtocles extremely ambitious.*

ſpighted the Grecians, who thought *Themiſtocles* expences fit for *Cimons* countenance, and abilitie, becauſe he was a young gentleman, and of a noble houſe: but for him that was but a new come man, & would beare a greater port, then either became his calling or abilitie, they thought it not onely vnallowable in him, but meere preſumption and vaine glorie. Another time he defrayed the whole charges of a tragedie which was playd openly: and being ſet out therein to haue won the priſe, and the Athenians being maruellous deſirous of the honour in ſuch playes, he cauſed this victorie of his to be painted in a table, which he did dedicate and ſet vp in a temple, with this inſcription. ***Themiſtocles Phrearian defrayed the charges: Phrynicus made it: Adimantus was chiefe ruler.*** Yet notwithſtanding he was well taken of the common people, partly becauſe he would ſpeake to euery citizen by his name, no man telling him their names: and partly alſo becauſe he ſhewed himſelfe an vpright iudge in priuate mens cauſes. As one day he aunſwered the Poet *Simonides*, borne in Chio, who did requeſt an vnreaſonable matter at his hands, at that time when he was gouernor of the citie. Thou couldeſt be no good Poet, *Simonides*, if thou diddeſt ſing againſt the rules of muſicke: neither my ſelf a good gouernour of a citie, if I ſhould do any thing againſt the law. And mocking the ſame *Simonides* another time, he told him he was but a foole to ſpeake ill of the Corinthians, conſidering they were lords of ſo great & ſtrōg a city. Likewiſe he was not wiſe to make himſelf to be drawen, being ſo deformed & ill fauoured. But being growen in credite, and hauing won the fauour of the people, he was ſuch an enemie to *Ariſtides*, that in the end he made him to be expulſed and baniſhed Athens, for 5. yeres. When newes were brought that the king of Persia was onwards on his iourney & comming downe to make wars vpon the Grecians: the Athenians conſulted whom they ſhould make their generall. And it is reported, that all their cōmon counſellers which were wont to ſpeake in matters, fearing the daunger, did draw backe, ſaue an orator called ***Epicydes, Euphemides*** ſonne, very eloquent in ſpeech, but ſomewhat womaniſh, faint hearted and gredie of money, offred himſelfe to ſue for this charge, and had ſome hope to obtaine it. Wherefore ***Themiſtocles*** fearing all would not be well, if it fell to this man to be general of the armie, he bought out ***Epicydes*** ambitiō with ready money, & ſo made him let fall his ſute. It fell out *Themiſtocles* was greatly cōmended, about that was done to the interpreter, that came with the king of Persiaes ambaſſadours, & demanded the empire of the Grecians both by ſea & land, that they ſhould acknowledge obedience to the King. For he cauſed him to be taken, & put to death by a cōmon conſent, for vſing the Greeke tongue in the ſeruice & commandement of the barbarous people. It was a notable thing alſo, that at his motion, *Arthmius* borne at Zelea, was noted of infamy, both he, his children, & all his poſteritie after him, becauſe he brought gold from the king of Persia, to corrupt & win the Grecians. But the greateſt & worthieſt act he did in thoſe parts, was this: that he pacified all ciuill wars among the Grecians, perſwading the cities to leaue off their quarrels vntill the wars were done, in the which they ſay ***Chileus Arcadian*** did helpe him more then any other man. He being now choſen generall of the Athenians, went about preſently to imbarke his citizens into gallyes, declaring to them they ſhould leaue their citie, and go meete with the barbarous King by ſea, ſo farre from the coaſt of Grece as they could: but the people did not thinke that good. Wherefore he led great numbers of ſouldiers by land, into the countrie of Tempes with the Lacedæmonians, to keepe the paſſage & entry into Thessaly, againſt the barbarous people, which countrie ſtood yet ſound to Grece, and not reuolted to the Medes. Afterwards the Grecians comming from thence without any act done, and the Thesalians alſo being won ſomewhat on the Kings ſide, for that all the whole countrie vnto Boeotia was at the deuotion & goodwill of the barbarous people: then the Athenians began to find, how *Themiſtocles* opinion to fight by ſea was very good. Whereupon they ſent him with their nauie to the citie of Artemisium, to keepe the ſtraight. There the other Grecians would haue had the Lacedæmonians and their admirall ***Eurybiades*** to haue had the authoritie & commandement of the reſt. But the Athenians would not ſet ſayle vnder any other admirall then their owne, becauſe theirs were the greateſt number of ſhips in the armie, and aboue all the other Grecians. ***Themiſtocles*** foreſeeing the danger that was likely to fall out amongſt themſelues, did willingly yeeld the whole authoritie vnto ***Eurybiades***, & got the

Athe-

*A wiſe ſaying of Themiſtocles*

*Themiſtocles made Ariſtides to be baniſhed.*

*Epicydes an oratour ſued to be generall.*

*Arthmius defamed for bribing.*

*Themiſtocles generall of the Athenians againſt Xerxes.*

ATHENIANS to agree vnto it: aſſuring them, that if they behaued thẽſelues valiantly in theſe wars, the other GRECIANS of their owne accord would afterwards ſubmit themſelues vnto their obedience. Hereby it appeareth, that he only of all other was at that time, the originall cauſe of the ſauing of GRECE, and did moſt aduance the honor & glory of the ATHENIANS, by making them to ouercome their enemies by force, and their friends & allyes with liberalitie. In the meane time, ***Eurybiades*** ſeeing the barbarous fleete riding at anker, all alongeſt the Ile of APHETES, with ſuch a great number of ſhips in the vaward, he began to be affraid. And vnderſtanding moreouer, there were other 200. ſayle that went to caſt about the Ile of SCIATHE, & ſo to come in: he preſently would haue retyred further into GRECE, & would haue drawen neerer vnto PELOPONNESVS, to the end their armie by ſea might be neere their army by land, as thinking it vnpoſſible to fight with king *Xerxes* power by ſea. Wherupon the inhabitants of the Ile of EVBOEA, fearing leaſt the GRECIANS would to the ſpoile of the enemy, they cauſed *Themiſtocles* ſecretly to be ſpoken withall, & ſent him a good ſũme of mony by one called *Pelagõ*. *Themiſtocles* tooke the mony, as *Herodotus* writeth, & gaue it to *Eurybiades*. But there was one *Architeles* amõgſt the ATHENIANS, captain of the galley called the holy galley, that was much againſt *Themiſtocles* intended purpoſe: who hauing no money to pay his mariners, did what he could that they might depart with ſpeede from thence. *Themiſtocles* ſturred vp then his ſouldiers more againſt him then before, inſomuch as they went abord his galley, & tooke his ſupper frõ him. *Architeles* being maruellous angry & offẽded withal, *Themiſtocles* ſent him both bread & meat in a pannier, & in the bottome therof he had put a talent of ſiluer, bidding him for that night to ſup with that, & the next morning he ſhold prouide for his mariners, or els he would cõplaine, & accuſe him to the citizens that he had taken money of the enemies. Thus it is written by *Phanias Lesbiã*. Moreouer theſe firſt fights in the ſtraite of EVBOEA, between the GRECIANS, & the barbarous people, were nothing to purpoſe to end the wars betweene them. For it was but a taſte giuen vnto thẽ, which ſerued the GRECIANS turne very much, by making them to ſee by experience, & the manner of the fight, that it was not the great multitude of ſhips, nor the pompe & ſumptuous ſetting out of the ſame, nor the proud barbarous ſhouts & ſongs of victorie that could ſtand them to purpoſe, againſt noble harts and valiant minded ſouldiers, that durſt grapple with them, and come to hands ſtrokes with their enemies: and that they ſhould make no reckoning of all that brauery & brags, but ſhould ſticke to it like men, and lay it on the iacks of them. The which (as it ſeemeth) the poet *Pindarus* vnderſtood very well, when he ſaid touching the battell of ARTEMISIVM.

*The ſtout Athenians, haue now foundation layed,*
*vnto the libertie of Greece, by theſe aſſaults aſſayed.*

For out of doubt the beginning of victorie, is to be hardie. This place ARTEMISIVM is a part of the Ile of EVBOEA, looking towards the North, aboue the citie of ESTIÆA, lying directly ouer againſt the country which ſomtimes was vnder the obedience of the PHILOCTETES, and ſpecially of the citie of OLIZON. There is a little temple of *Diana*, ſurnamed *Oriental*l, round about the which there are trees, and a compaſſe of pillers of white ſtone, which when a man rubbes with his hande, they ſhew of the colour and ſauour of ſaffrone. And in one of thoſe pillers there is an inſcription of lamentable verſes to this effect.

*The coaſt of Artemiſium.*

*VVhen boldeſt blouds of Athens by their might*
*had ouercome the numbers infinite*
*of Aſia: they then in memorie,*
*of all their deedes, and valiant victorie*
*beganne to build, this noble monument*
*and to Diane the ſame they did preſent,*
*for that they had the Medes likewiſe ſubdued,*
*and with their bloud, their hardy hands embrued.*

There is a place ſeene alſo vpon that coaſt at this day, a good way into the lande, in the middeſt whereof are great ſands full of blacke duſt as aſhes: and they thinke that they burnt in that place all dead bodies and olde ſhipwrackes. Newes being brought what had bene done in the countrie of THERMOPYLES, how that king *Leonidas* was dead, and howe that *Xerxes* had won that entrie into GRECE by land: the GRECIANS then brought their whole army by ſea more into GRECE, the ATHENIANS being in the rereward in this retire, as men whoſe hearts were lift vp with the glorie of their former valiant deedes. Now *Themiſtocles* paſſing by thoſe places where he knew the enemies muſt of neceſsitie fall vpon the lee ſhore for harborow: he did ingraue certaine wordes ſpoken vnto the IONIANS, in great letters in

*Themiſtocles ſtratageme.*

ſtone, which he found there by chaunce, or purpoſely brought thither for that purpoſe, where there was very good harbour for ſhips, and fit places alſo to lie in. Theſe were the words, that the IONIANS ſhould take the GRECIANS parts being their founders and auncesters, and ſuch as fought for their libertie: or at the leaſt they ſhould trouble the armie of the barbarous people, and do them all the miſchiefe they could, when the GRECIANS ſhould come to fight with them. By theſe wordes he hoped either to bring the IONIANS to take their part, or at the leaſt he ſhould make the barbarous people iealous & miſtruſtfull of them. *Xerxes* being already entred in the vppermoſt part of the prouince of DORICA, into the countrie of PHOCIDA, burning and deſtroying the townes and cities of the PHOCIANS: the other GRECIANS lay ſtill and ſuffered the inuaſion, notwithſtanding the ATHENIANS did requeſt them to meete with the barbarous armie in BOEOTIA, to ſaue the country of ATTICA, as before they had done, when they went by ſea to ARTEMISIVM. But they would not hearken to it in no wiſe, & all was becauſe they were deſirous they ſhould draw to the ſtraite of PELOPONNESVS, & there they ſhould aſſemble the whole ſtrength & power of GRECE within the barre of the ſame, & make a ſtrong ſubſtantiall wall from the one ſea to the other. The ATHENIANS were very angry at this deuiſe, & were halfe diſcouraged & out of hart, to ſee themſelues thus forſaken & caſt off, by the reſt of the GRECIANS. For it was out of all ſpeech that they alone ſhould fight againſt ſo many thouſands of enemies: & therfore their only remedy was, to leaue their citie: and to get them to the ſea. The people were very vnwilling to liſten hereunto, making their reckoning it was needles to be carefull to ouercome, or to ſaue thẽſelues, hauing once forſaken the temples of their goddes, & the graues of their parents. Wherfore *Themiſtocles* ſeeing that neither reaſon, nor mans perſwaſion could bring the people to like his opinion: he began to frame a deuiſe (as men doe vſe ſometimes in tragedies) and to threaten the ATHENIANS with ſignes from heauen, with oracles & anſwers from the goddes. And the occaſion of *Mineruaes* dragon ſerued his turne for a celeſtial ſigne and token, which by good fortune did not appeare in thoſe daies in the temple as it was wont to do: & the prieſts found the ſacrifices which were daily offered to him, whole & vntouched by any. Wherefore being enformed by *Themiſtocles* what they ſhould doe, they ſpread a brute abroad amongeſt the people, that the goddeſſe *Minerua*, the protector and defendor of the citie, had forſaken it, pointing them the way vnto the ſea. And againe he wanne them by a prophecie, which commaunded them to ſaue themſelues in wals of wood: ſaying, that the walles of wood did ſignifie nothing els but ſhips. And for this cauſe he ſaid, *Apollo* in his oracle called SALAMINA diuine, not miſerable nor vnfortunate, becauſe it ſhould giue the name of a moſt happy victorie which the GRECIANS ſhould get there. And ſo at the laſt they following his counſell, he made this decree, that they ſhould leaue the citie of ATHENS to the cuſtodie of the goddeſſe *pallas*, that was lady & gouernour of the country, & that all thoſe which were of age to carie any weapon ſhould get them to the gallyes: and for the reſt, that euery man ſhould ſee his wife, children, & bondmẽ placed in ſome ſure place as well as he could. After this decree was paſt & authoriſed by the people, the moſt part of them did conuey their aged fathers & mothers, their wiues and litle children, into the citie of TROEZEN, where the TROEZENIANS receiued them very louingly & gently. For they gaue order that they ſhould be entertained of the cõmon charge, allowing them a peece, two obulos of their money a day, and ſuffered the young children to gather frute wherſoeuer they found it: and furthermore did hire ſchoolemaſters at the charge of the cõmon wealth, to bring thẽ vp at ſchoole. He that was the penner of this decree, was one called *Nicagoras*. The ATHENIANS at that time, had no cõmon mony, but the Senate of the *Areopagites* (as *Ariſtotle* ſayth) furniſhed euery ſouldier with eight drachmas, which was the onely meane that the gallyes were armed. Yet *Clidemus* writeth, that this was a craft deuiſed of *Themiſtocles*. The ATHENIANS being come downe vnto the hauen of PIRÆA, he made as though *Pallas* target (on the which *Meduſaes* head was grauen) had bene loſt, and was not found with the image of the goddeſſe: and faining to ſeeke for it, he ranſacked euery corner of the gallyes, and found a great deale of ſiluer which priuate perſons had hidden amongeſt their fardels. This money was brought out vnto the people, and by this meanes the ſouldiers that were ſhipped had wherewithall, to prouide them of neceſſarie things. When time came that they were

*wodden walles ſignifie ſhips.*

*The Athenians forſake Athens by Themiſtocles perſwaſion, and do go to the ſea.*

to depart the hauen, and that all the city of ATHENS had taken ſea: one way it was a pitty to behold them. Another way it made all ſorts to wonder, that conſidered the boldneſſe and courage of thoſe men, which before ſent away their fathers and mothers from them, and were nothing moued at their teares, cries, ſhrikes, & imbracinges of their wiues, their children, and departures, but ſtoutly and reſolutely held on their courſe to SALAMINA. Notwithſtanding, there were many old citizens left ſtill of neceſſity in ATHENS, becauſe they could not be remoued for very extream age, which ſturred many with compaſſion toward them. There was beſides, a certaine pitty that made mens hearts to yerne, when they ſaw the poore doggs, beaſts, and cattell run vp and downe bleating, mowing, and howling out a loud, after their maſters, in token of ſorrow, when they did imbarke. Amongſt theſe, there goeth a ſtraunge tale of *Xanthippus* dog, who was *Pericles* father: which for ſorrow his maiſter had left him behinde him, did caſt him ſelfe after into the ſea, and ſwimming ſtill by the gallies ſide wherein his maſter was, hee held on to the Ile of SALAMINA, where ſo ſoone as the poore curre landed, his breath failed him, and died preſently. They ſay, at this day the place called the dogs graue, is the very place where he was buried. Theſe were ſtraunge acts of *Themiſtocles*, that beholding the ATHENIANS fory for the abſence of *Ariſtides*, & fearing leaſt of ſpite he taking part with the barbarous nation, might haue bene the ruine and deſtruction of the ſtate of GREECE, being baniſhed fiue yeares alſo before the wars by *Themiſtocles* procurement: that he did ſet forth a decree, that al thoſe which had bene baniſhed for a time, might returne home againe, to do, to ſay, and to giue counſel to the citizens in thoſe things, which they thought beſt for the preſeruation of GREECE. And alſo where *Eurybiades* being generall of the GRECIANS whole army by ſea, for the worthineſſe of the city of SPARTA, but otherwiſe a rancke coward at time of neede, would in any caſe depart from thence, & retire into the goulſe of PELOPONNESVS, where all the army of the PELOPONNESIANS was by land aſſẽbled: that *Themiſtocles* withſtood him, and did hinder it all he could. At that time alſo it was, that *Themiſtocles* made ſo notable anſwers, which ſpecially are noted and gathered together. For when *Eurybiades* ſaid one day vnto him. *Themiſtocles*, thoſe that at playes & games do riſe before the company, are whiſtled at. It is true, ſaid *Themiſtocles*: but thoſe that tary laſt ſo, do neuer win any game. Another time *Eurybiades* hauing a ſtaffe in his hand lift it vp, as though he would haue ſtriken him. Strike and thou wilt, ſaid he, ſo thou wilt heare me. *Eurybiades* wondring to ſee him ſo patient, ſuffered him then to ſay what he would. Then *Themiſtocles* began to bring him to reaſon: but one that ſtood by, ſaid vnto him. *Themiſtocles*, for a man that hath neither city nor houſe, it is an ill part to will others that haue, to forſake all. *Themiſtocles* turning to him, replied. We haue willingly forſaken our houſes and wals, ſaid he, cowardly beaſt that thou art, becauſe we would not become ſlaues for feare to loſe things, that haue neither ſoule nor life. And yet our city I tell thee is the greateſt of all GREECE: for it is a fleete of two hundred gallies ready to fight, which are come hither to ſaue you if you liſt. But if you will needes goe your waies and forſake vs the ſecond time: you ſhall heare tell ere it be long, that the ATHENIANS haue another free city, and haue poſſeſſed againe as much good land, as that they haue already loſt. Theſe wordes made *Eurybiades* preſently thinke, and feare, that the ATHENIANS would not goe, and that they would forſake them. And as another *Eretrian* was about to vtter his reaſon againſt *Themiſtocles* opinion: he could not but aunſwere him. Alas, and muſt you my maiſters talke of warres to, that are like to a Sleeue? In deede you haue a ſword, but you lacke a heart. Some write, that whileſt *Themiſtocles* was talking thus from his gally, they ſpied an owle flying on the right hande of the ſhippes which came to light on one of the maſtes of the gallies: and that hereupon all the other GRECIANS did agree to his opinion, and prepared to fight by ſea. But when the fleete of their enemies ſhippes ſhewed on the coaſtes of ATTICA, hard by the hauen *Phalericus*, and couered all the riuers thereabouts, as farre as any body could ſee, and that king *Xerxes* him ſelfe was come in perſon with all his army by land, to campe by the ſea ſide: ſo that his whole power both by land and ſea might be ſeene in ſight: then the GRECIANS had forgotten all *Themiſtocles* goodly perſuaſions, and beganne to incline againe to the PELOPONESIANS, conſidering how they might recouer the gulſe of PELOPONNESVS, and they did grow very angry, when any man

*Xanthippus dogge.*

*The dogges graue.*

*Ariſtides returneth from baniſhment by Themiſtocles decree.*

*Notable aunſwers of Themiſtocles.*

*The Sleeue is a fiſh faſhioned like a ſword.*

*Themiſtocles ſtratagem, by the which he wan the battell at Salamina.*

*Themiſtocles and Ariſtides conſent together to giue battell.*

wentabout to talke of any other matter. To be ſhort, it was concluded that they ſhould ſaile away the next night following, and the maiſters of the ſhippes had order giuen them to make all thinges ready for them to depart. *Themiſtocles* perceiuing their determination, he was maruellous angry in his minde, that the GRECIANS would thus diſperſe them ſelues a ſunder, repairing euery man to his owne city, and leauing the aduantage which the nature of the place, and the ſtraight of the arme of the ſea, where they lay in harbor together, did offer them: and ſo he bethought him ſelfe how this was to be holpen. Sodainely the practiſe of one *Sicinus* came into his minde, who being a PERSIAN borne, and taken priſoner before in the warres, loued *Themiſtocles* very well, and was ſchoolemaiſter to his children. This *Sicinus* he ſecretly ſent vnto the king of PERSIA, to aduertiſe him that *Themiſtocles* (generall of the ATHENIANS) was very deſirous to become his maieſties ſeruaunt, and that he did let him vnderſtand betimes, that the GRECIANS were determined to flie: and therefore that he wiſhed him not to let them eſcape, but to ſet vppon them, whileſt they were troubled and affraide, and farre from their army by land, to the end that vpon a ſodaine he might ouerthrow their whole power by ſea, *Xerxes* ſuppoſing this intelligence came from a man that wiſhed him well, receiued the meſſenger with great ioy, and thereuppon gaue preſent order to his captaines, by ſea, that they ſhould imbarke their men into the other ſhippes at better leyſure, and that preſently they ſhould put out with all poſſible ſpeede, two hundred ſaile to followe the GRECIANS in the taile, to ſhut vp the foreland of the ſtraight, and to compaſſe the Iles all about, that not one of his enemies ſhippes might eſcape: and ſo it fell out. Then *Ariſtides* (*Lyſimachus* ſonne) being the firſt that perceiued it, went to *Themiſtocles* tent, though he was his enemy, and through his onely meanes had bene baniſhed before, as ye haue heard: and calling him out, told him how they were enuironed. *Themiſtocles*, who knew well enough the goodneſſe of this man, being very glad he came at that time to ſeeke him out, declared vnto him the pollicy he had vſed by the meſſage of *Sicinus*, praying him to put to his helpe to ſtay the GRECIANS, and to procure with him, conſidering his word had more authority among them, that they would fight within the ſtraight of SALAMINA. *Ariſtides* commending his great wiſedome, went to deale with the captaines of the other gallies, and to procure them to fight. For all this, they would not credite that he ſaid, vntill ſuch time as there arriued a galley of TENEDIENA, whereof one *Panetius* was captaine, who being ſtolen out of the hoſte of the barbarous army, brought certaine newes, that the ſtraight out of doubt was ſhut vp. So that beſides the neceſſity which did vrge them, the ſpite which the GRECIANS conceiued thereof, did prouoke them to hazard the battell. The next morning by breake of day, King *Xerxes* placed him ſelfe on a maruellous ſteepe high hill, from whence he might diſcerne his whole fleete, and the ordering of his army by ſea, aboue the temple of *Hercules*, as *Phanodemus* writeth. Which is the narrow way or channell betwixt the Ile of SALAMINA, and the coaſt of ATTICA: or as *Aceſtodorus* ſaith, vppon the confines of the territories of MEGARA, aboue the point which they commonly call the hornes. There *Xerxes* ſet vp a throne of golde, and had about him many ſecretaries to write all that was done in the battell. But as *Themiſtocles* was ſacrificing vnto the goddes in his galley that was admirall, they brought to him three yong priſoners, faire of complexion, richly arrayed with gold and iuels, whom they ſaide were the children of *Sandauce* the kings ſiſter, and of prince *Autarctus*. So ſoone as *Euphrantides* the ſoothſayer had ſeene them, and at their arriuall obſerued there roſe a great bright flame out of the ſacrifice, and at the very ſelfe ſame inſtant that one on his right hand had ſneeſed: he tooke *Themiſtocles* by the hand, and willed him to ſacrifice all thoſe three priſoners vnto the god *Bacchus*, ſurnamed *Omeſtes*, as much to ſay, as the cruell *Bacchus*: for in doing it, the GRECIANS ſhould not only be ſaued, but they ſhould haue the victory ouer their enemies. *Themiſtocles* woundred much, to heare ſo ſtraunge and terrible a commaundement of the ſoothſaier. Neuertheles, the common ſort following his cuſtome, which is, to promiſe ſafety ſooner in the greateſt dangers, & moſt deſperate caſes, by ſtrange and vnreaſonable, rather then by reaſonable and ordinary meanes: they beganne to call vpon the god with one voice, and briuging the three priſoners neare vnto the altar, they compelled him to performe the ſacrifice in that ſort as the ſoothſaier had appointed. *Phanias Leſbian*, an excellent Philoſopher, and well ſcene in ſtories and antiquities, reporteth this matter thus. As for the number of the ſhippes of the barbarous nauy: *Æſchylus* the poet, in a tragedy which he intituled the Persians, knowing certainly the troth, ſaieth thus:

*Xerxes king of Perſia had a thouſand ſhips.*

*King Xerxes had a thouſand ſhippes I know,*
*amongeſt the which, two hundred were (I trow)*
*and ſeuen: which all the reſt did ouerſaile*
*with ſwifter courſe. This is withouten faile.*

The Athenians had nine ſcore, in euery one of the which there were eighteen ſouldiers, whereof foure of them were archers, and all the reſt armed men. *Themiſtocles* alſo did with no leſſe skill & wiſdome chooſe his time & place to fight, forbearing to charge his enemies, vntil the hower was come, that of ordinary cuſtom the ſea wind aroſe, and brought in a rough tide within the channell, which did not hurt the Grecian gallies, being made low and ſnug, but greatly offended the Persian gallies, being high cargged, heauy, & not yare of ſteredge, and made them lie ſidelong to the Grecians, who fiercely ſet vpon them, hauing alwaies an eie to *Themiſtocles* direction, that beſt foreſaw their aduantage. At the ſame time, *Ariamenes, Xerxes* admirall, a man of great valure & worthieſt of the Kings brethren, beſtowed arrowes and darts as it were from the wals of a caſtle, charging the gally of *Aminias Decelian*, and *Soſicles Pedian*, which were ioyned and grappled with him, and fiercely entring the ſame, was by them valiantly receiued vpon their pikes, and thruſt ouer bord into the ſea. Whoſe body floting amongſt other ſhipwracks Artemisia knowing, cauſed to be caried to king *Xerxes*. Now whileſt this battell ſtoode in theſe termes, they ſay that there appeared a great flame in the element toward the city of Elevsin, and that a loude voice was heard through all the plaine of Thriasia vnto the ſea, as if there had bene a number of men together, that had ſung out aloud, the holy ſong of *Iacchus*. And it ſeemed by litle and litle, that there roſe a cloud in the aire from thoſe which ſang: that left the land, and came and lighted on the gallies in the ſea. Other affirmed, that they ſaw armed men, which did reach out their hands from the Ile of Ægina, towards the Grecian gallies: and they thought they were the Æacides, for whoſe helpe they all praid before the battell was begunne. The firſt man of the Athenians that tooke any of the enemies ſhips, was *Lycomedes*, a captaine of a gally: who hauing taken very rich furniture and flags, did afterwards conſecrate them to *Apollo* laurell: as ye would ſay, victorious. The other Grecians in the front being equally in number with the barbarous ſhips, by reaſon of the ſtraightnes of the arme of the ſea wherin they fought, and ſo ſtraightned as they could not fight but by one & one, whereby the Barbarians diſorderly laide one another abourd, that they did hinder them ſelues with their ouer multitude: & in the end were ſo ſore preſſed vpon by the Grecians, that they were conſtrained to flie by night, after they had fought and maintained battell, vntill it was very darke. So that the Grecians wan that glorious and famous victory: of the which may truely be affirmed that, as *Simonides* ſaieth:

*Ariamenes Xerxes admirall.*

*The Grecians victory of the Perſians nauy by ſea.*

*VVas neuer yet, nor Greeke nor barbarous crew*
*that could by ſea, ſo many men ſubdew:*
*Nor that obtainde, ſo famous victorie*
*in any fight, againſt their enemie.*

Thus was the victory wonne through the valiantnes and courage of thoſe that fought that battell, but eſpecially through *Themiſtocles* great policy and wiſdome. After this battell *Xerxes* being madde for his loſſe, thought to fill vp the arme of the ſea, and to paſſe his army by land, vpon a bridge, into the Ile of Salamina. *Themiſtocles*, becauſe he would feele *Ariſtides* opinion, told him as they were talking together, that he thought beſt to goe and occupy the ſtraight of Hellespont with the army by ſea, to breake the bridge of ſhippes which *Xerxes* had cauſed to be made: to the end, ſaid he, that we may take Asia into Evrope. *Ariſtides* liked not this opinion, for we haue (ſaid he) fought all this while againſt this barbarous King, who thought but to play with vs: but if we ſhut him within Greece, and bring him to fight of neceſſity to ſaue his life: ſuch an enemy that commandeth ſo great an army, will no more ſtand ſtill as a looker on, and ſet at his eaſe vnder his golden pauilion, to ſee the paſtime

*Ariſtides counſell vnto Themiſtocles, for the breaking of Xerxes bridge.*

*Themiſtocles ſtratageme.*

*Themiſtocles honored aboue all the Greciãs.*

*Themiſtocles ambition noted.*

*Themiſtocles ſayings.*

of the battell, but will prooue euery way, and be him ſelfe in euery place at all aſſaies to ſaue him ſelfe from ſuch a ſtraight and daunger. Thus with politicke care and foreſight, he may eaſely amend his former fault committed by negligence, and doe well enough, when he ſhall ſee his life and Kingdome both depend vppon it. Therefore *Themiſtocles*, I would thinke not beſt to breake his bridge at all, which he hath cauſed to bee made; but rather if wee could, to build another to it, to driue him out of EVROPE as ſoone as we could. *Themiſtocles* then replied: Seeing you thinke this were good to be done, we muſt all lay our heades together, to deuiſe how he may be forced to come out as ſoone as we could. They breaking off with this reſolution, *Themiſtocles* ſent immediately one of the Kings Eunuches, called *Arſaces*, that was one of the groomes of his chamber, whom he found out amongeſt the priſoners, and by him he ſent this meſſage vnto the King. That the GRECIANS hauing wonne the battell of him by ſea, had decreed in their counſell, how they would goe to the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, to breake the bridge of the ſhippes he had cauſed to be made there. Wherof he thought good to aduertiſe him for the good will he did beare him, and to the end he might bethinke him betimes, to get him away to the ſea within his owne dominion, and ſo paſſe backe againe into ASIA as ſoone as he could, whileſt he gaue order to his allies and confederates, to ſtay following him at the poope. The barbarous King vnderſtanding theſe newes, was ſo affraid, that he hoiſed away with all poſſible ſpeede. The further foreſight and great wiſedome of *Themiſtocles*, and *Ariſtides*, in marine cauſes, did manifeſtly appeare afterwards in the battell the GRECIANS fought before the city of PLATEA, againſt *Mardonius*, king *Xerxes* lieutenant: who hauing but a ſmall power of the King his ſoueraignes there, did yet put the GRECIANS to great diſtreſſe, and in hazard to haue loſt all. Of all the townes and cities that fought in this battell, *Herodotus* writeth, that the city of ÆGINA wanne the fame for valiantneſſe aboue the reſt: and of priuat men, among the GRECIANS, *Themiſtocles* was iudged the worthieſt man: although it was ſore againſt their wils, becauſe they enuied much his glory. For after the battell done, all the captaines being gotten into the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, and hauing ſworne vppon the altar of their ſacrifices, that they would giue their voices after their conſciences, to thoſe they thought had beſt deſerued it: euery one gaue him ſelfe the firſt place for worthines, & the ſecond vnto *Themiſtocles*. The LACEDÆMONIANS caried him into SPARTA, where they iudged the honour and dignity to their admirall *Eurybiades*: but the wiſdome and pollicy they attributed to *Themiſtocles*. In token thereof they gaue him an oliue braunch, and the goodlieſt coche that was in their city: and moreouer they ſent three hundred of their luſty youthes to accompany him, and conduct him out of their countrey. They ſay, at the next feaſtes and aſſemblies of the playes Olympicall that were made after this victory, when *Themiſtocles* was once come into the ſhew place where theſe games were plaide, the people looked no more on them that fought, but all caſt their eies on him, ſhewing him to the ſtrangers which knew him not, with their fingers, and by clapping of their handes did witneſſe howe much they eſteemed him. Whereat he him ſelfe tooke ſo great delight, that he confeſſed to his familiar friends, he then did reape the fruite and benefit of his ſundry and painefull ſeruices he had taken in hand, for the preſeruation of GREECE: ſo ambitious was he of nature, and couetous of honour, as we may eaſily perceiue by certaine of his deedes and notable ſayings they haue noted of him. For being choſen admirall of ATHENS, he neuer diſpatched any cauſes priuate or publicke, howſoeuer they fell out, vntill the very day of his departure, and taking ſhippe: and all becauſe that men ſeeing him rid much buſineſſe at once, and to ſpeake with ſo many perſons together, they ſhould eſteeme him to be the notabler man, and of the greater authority. Another time he walked vppon the ſands by the ſea ſide, beholding the dead bodies of the barbarous people, which the ſea had caſt vp vpon the ſhore: and ſeeing ſome of them that had on ſtill their chaines of golde, and bracelets, he paſſed by on his way, but ſhewed them yet to his familiar friend that followed him, and ſaide vnto him: take thou thoſe, for thou art not *Themiſtocles*. And vnto one *Antiphates*, who in his youth had bene a goodly yong boy, and at that time did ſcornefully behaue him ſelfe vnto him, making no reckoning of him: and now that he ſaw him in authority came to ſee him, he ſaide. O my young ſonne, and friend: we are both euen at one time (but too late) growen wiſe. He ſaide the ATHENIANS did not eſteeme of him in time of peace: but when any ſtorme of warres were towardes, and they ſtoode in any daunger, they ranne to him then, as they runne to the ſhadowe of a plane tree, vpon any ſodaine raine: and after fayre weather come againe, they cut away then the braunches, and boughes thereof. There was a man borne in the Ile of SERIPHA, who being fallen out with him, did caſt him in the teeth, that it was not for his worthineſſe, but for the noble citie wherein he was borne, that he had wonne ſuch glorie. Thou ſayeſt true ſayde he: but neither ſhould I euer haue wonne any great honour, if I had bene a SERIPHIAN, nor thou alſo if thou haddeſt bene an ATHENIAN. An other time one of the Captaines of the citie, hauing done good ſeruice vnto the common weale, made boaſt before *Themiſtocles*, and compared his ſeruice equall with his. *Themiſtocles* to aunſwere him, tolde him a pretie tale. That the working day brauled on a time with the holy day, repining againſt her, that he laboured for his liuing continually, and how ſhe did nothing but fill her bellie, and ſpend that they had gotten. Thou haſt reaſon ſaide the holy day. But if I had not bene before thee, thou hadſt not bene here now. And ſo, if I had not bene then: where had you my maſters bene now? His owne ſonne was a little too ſawſie with his mother, and with him alſo, bearing himſelfe ouer-boldly of her good will, by meanes of her cockering of him. Whereupon being merrily diſpoſed, he would ſay that his ſonne could doe more then any man in all GRECE. For, ſaieth he, the ATHENIANS commaunde the GRECIANS, I commaund the ATHENIANS, my wife commaundeth me, and my ſonne commaundeth her. Moreouer becauſe he would be ſingular by himſelfe aboue all other men: hauing a peece of land he would ſell, he willed the crier to proclaime open ſale of it in the market place, and with all he ſhould adde vnto the ſale, that his land lay by a good neighbour. Another time, two men being ſuters to his daughter, he preferred the honeſter before the richer, ſaying: he had rather haue to his ſonne in lawe a man that lacked goods, then goods to lacke a man. Theſe were *Themiſtocles* pleaſant conceits and aunſwers. But after he had done all theſe things we haue ſpoken of before, he tooke in hand to builde againe the citie and walles of ATHENS, and did corrupt the officers of LACEDÆMONIA with money, to the end they ſhould not hinder his purpoſe, as *Theopompus* writeth. Or as all other ſay when he had deceiued them by this ſubtiltie, he went vnto SPARTA as ambaſſadour, ſent thither of purpoſe vpon the complaints of the LACEDÆMONIANS, for that the ATHENIANS did incloſe their citie againe with walles, who were accuſed vnto the counſell of SPARTA, by an orator called *Poliarchus*, who was ſent thither from the ÆGINETES, of purpoſe to proſecute this matter againſt the ATHENIANS. *Themiſtocles* ſtoutely denied it to them, and prayed them for better vnderſtanding of the trothe, they would ſend ſome of their men thither to ſee it. This was but a fetch onely to winne by this delaye, the ATHENIANS ſo much more time to raiſe vp their walles, and that the ATHENIANS ſhould keepe as hoſtages for ſurety of his perſonne, thoſe they ſhould ſend to ATHENS, to bring backe the report thereof: and ſo it fell out. For the LACEDÆMONIANS being enformed of the troth as it was, did him no hurt, but diſſembling the miſliking they had to be thus abuſed by him, ſent him away ſafe and ſound. Afterwardes he made them alſo mend and fortifie the hauen of PIRÆA, hauing conſidered the ſituation of the place, and all to encline the city to the ſea. Wherein he did directly contrary to all the counſell of the auncient kinges of ATHENS: who ſeeking (as they ſay) to withdraw their people from the ſea, and to accuſtome them to liue vppon the land, by planting, ſowing, and plowing their grounds, did deuiſe and giue out abroad, the fable they tell of the goddeſſe *Pallas*. And that is this, how ſhe contending with *Neptune* about the patronage of the countrey of ATHENS, brought forth and ſhewed to the iudges the oliue tree, by meanes whereof ſhe preuailed, and obtained the preheminence. Euen ſo *Themiſtocles* did not ioyne the hauen of PIRÆA, vnto the city of ATHENS, as the Comicall poet *Ariſtophanes* ſayeth: but rather ioyned the city vnto the hauen PIRÆA, and the land vnto the ſea. By this meanes he made the people ſtrong againſt the nobility, and brought the comminalty to waxe bolder then they were before, by reaſon the rule and authoritie fell into the handes of ſaylers, mariners, pilots, ſhippemaiſters, and ſuch kinde of ſeafaring men: ſo as the pulpit where all the oracles were

*A pretie tale of Themiſtocles.*

*Themiſtocles ſaying of his ſonne.*

*Themiſtocles built againe the walles of the citie of Athens.*

*A ſubtill fetche of Themiſtocles*

*The hauen of Piræa fortified.*

made, ſtoode in the market place of PNYX, and did looke towardes the ſea. Put the thirtie tyrants that came in afterwardes, did remooue it, and turne it towardes the lande: holding opinion to be ſtrong by ſea, was it that did maintaine the authoritie of the popular ſtate. And that contrariwiſe they which liue by the labour and toyle of the earth, doe more willingly like the gouernement of Nobilitie. *Themiſtocles* called to minde another matter alſo of greater importance, to make the citie of ATHENS of a greater power by ſea. For after the retire of *Xerxes*, and that all the fleete and nauie of the GRECIANS wintered in the hauen of PAGASES: he ſaide one day in an open aſſembly of the people, that he had thought of a thing which would be very profitable and beneficiall for them, but it was not to be tolde openly. The people willed him then to impart it to *Ariſtides*: and if he thought it good, they would execute it ſpeedily. *Themiſtocles* then tolde *Ariſtides*: the thing hee had conſidered of, was to burne the Arcenall where the GRECIANS nauie lay; and to ſet on fire all their ſhippes. *Ariſtides* hearing his purpoſe, returned to the people, and tolde them: how nothing could be more profitable, but with all more vniuſt, then that which *Themiſtocles* had deuiſed. The ATHENIANS then willed *Ariſtides* it ſhould be let alone altogether. Furthermore when the LACEDÆMONIANS had exhibited their petition to the counſell of the *Amphictyons* (that is the generall counſell of all the ſtates of GRECE aſſembled) how the townes and cities of GRECE which had not bene parties with the GRECIANS to the league, againſt the barbarous people, ſhould be put off wholly from this counſell. *Themiſtocles* doubting of the ARGIVES, the THESSALIANS, and the THEBANS alſo ſhould by this meanes be exempted, that the LACEDÆMONIANS would be then the greater number in voices, and by this meanes might do what they would in this counſell: he ſpake ſo conſideratly for the cities which they would haue thus diſcharged, that he made the petitioners in the aſſembly vtterly to change their opinion. Declaring, how there were but one and thirtie cities compriſed onely the league, and yet that ſome of them were very weake and ſmall: and how it were no reaſon, that reiecting all the reſt of GRECE, the greateſt authoritie of this counſell ſhould fall into the hands of two or three of the chiefeſt cities alone. For this cauſe chieflie the LACEDÆMONIANS did euer beare him extreame hatred, and did ſet vp *Cimon* all they could, to be alwayes aduerſarie oppoſite vnto him, and as it were to beard him in all matters of ſtate, and the gouernment of ATHENS. They procured him beſides the ill will and diſpleaſure of all the friends and confederates of the ATHENIANS, for that he went ſayling ſtill too and fro alongſt the Iles, exacting money of the inhabitants of the ſame. And this is to be knowne by the matter propounded by him to the ANDRIANS (of whom he would haue had money) and by the aunſwer they made him, as *Herodotus* writeth. Which was, how he had brought them two mightie gods: Loue, and Force. And they anſwered him again, that they alſo had two great goddeſſes, which kept them from giuing of him any money: Pouerty, and Impoſſibility. And to make this good alſo: *Timocreon* the *Rhodian* Poet galled him to the quicke, when he ſharpely taunted him, for calling many home againe for money that were baniſhed: and how for coueteouſneſſe of money he had betraied, and forſaken his hoſte and friend. The verſes wherein this matter is mentioned, are to this effect.

*The equitie of the Athenians.*

*Themiſtocles godds, Loue and Force.*
*The Andrians goddeſſes. Pouerty, Impoſſibility.*

*VVho liſt commend worthy Pauſanias,*
*Zanthippus or good Leotychides*
*yet ſhall I ſeeme but light thereof to paſſe,*
*compared with valiant Ariſtides.*
*For yet was nay, the like in Athens towne,*
*nor neuer ſhall come none of like renowne.*
*Themiſtocles by right and due deſert,*
*is hated of Latona, for his lies,*
*and for he bare a traytrous wicked heart,*
*who like a wretch, and niggard did deuiſe,*
*for ſmall reward, his hoſt Timocreon*
*to holde out of his countrey Ialiſon.*

*He tooke for bribe ( vniuſtly yet therewhile)*
*of readie coyne three talents fayre and bright,*
*reuoking ſuch as pleaſd him, from exile,*
*and baniſhing full many a worthy wight.*
*Or putting them to death, without cauſe told,*
*he gate thereby, great heapes of coyne and gold.*
*But in the end ( ô right reward for ſuch)*
*this bribing wretch, was forced for to hold,*
*a typling booth, moſt like a clowne or ſnuch,*
*at holy feaſtes and paſtimes manifold,*
*which were amongeſt the people in thoſe dayes*
*Iſtmiciane folke, did vſe the like alwayes.*
*And there he ſerued, his geſts with cold meat ſtill,*
*whileſt they that taſted of his cookerie,*
*gan wiſh that they ( to eaſe their wearie will)*
*had neuer liued to ſee the trecherie,*
*of falſe Themiſtocles, and that he might*
*no longer liue, which wrought them ſuch deſpight.*

After this, he did more openly blaſe him to the world, when he was baniſhed and condemned: in a ſong that had beginning thus:

*O Muſe, let theſe my verſes be diſperſt,*
*throughout all Greece, ſince they deſerue no leſſe:*
*and ſince the truth which is in them rehearſt,*
*deſerueth fame, whom no man ſhould ſuppreſſe.*

They ſay the cauſe was, why this *Timocreon* was baniſhed: the friendſhip which he had with the Barbarous people, and for giuing them intelligence. Whereof *Themiſtocles* was one that iudicially condemned him. Wherefore when *Themiſtocles* himſelfe was accuſed afterwards of the ſame fault, *Timocreon* then made theſe verſes following againſt him.

*Timocreon was not without his pheere,*
*which did confer with Medes priuely,*
*Since others mo, the ſelfe ſame blame might beare,*
*mo foxes lurke in dennes as well as I.*

Beſides theſe verſes, *Themiſtocles* owne citizens for the ill will they bare him, were contented to heare him ill ſpoken of. Therfore while he ſought waies, to redreſſe all this: he was driuen to vſe ſuch meane, which more increaſed their hatred toward him. For in his orations to the people, he did ofte remember them of the good ſeruice he had done them: and perceyuing how they were offended withall, he was driuen to ſay. Why, are ye weary ſo oft to receiue good by one man? Many of them were very angry with him alſo, when he ſurnamed *Diana* (in the dedication of her temple he made vnto her) *Ariſtobule*, as much to ſay, as the good counſeller: meaning thereby, how he had giuen graue and wiſe counſell, both vnto his city, and to all the reſt of the GRECIANS. He built this temple alſo neare his houſe, in a place called *Melita*, where the hang-men doe caſt the dead bodies of thoſe that were executed, and throw the ragges and halters endes of thoſe that were hanged, or otherwiſe put to death by law. There was alſo in our daies in the temple of *Diana Ariſtobule*, a litle image of *Themiſtocles*, which ſhewed plainly, that he was not only wiſe, and of a noble mind, but alſo of a great maieſty and countenance in the face. In the end the ATHENIANS baniſhed him ATHENS for fiue yeares, becauſe they would plucke downe his ouergreat courage and authority, as they did vſe to ſerue thoſe, whoſe greatnes they thought to be more, then common equality that ought to be among citizens would beare. For this manner of baniſhment for a time, called *Oſtraciſmon*, was no puniſhment for any fault committed, but a mitigation and taking away of the enuy of the people, which delighted to plucke downe their ſtomacks that too much ſeemed to exceede in greatnes: and by this meanes they tooke away the poiſon of his malice, with diminiſhing his glory & honor. So *Themiſtocles* being baniſhed ATHENS, went

*Themiſtocles baniſhed for fiue yeares.*

*Pauſanias reuealeth his treaſon vnto Themiſtocles.*

*Themiſtocles ſuſpected of treaſon.*

*Themiſtocles fled vnto the Ile of Corphu.*

*The manner of ſupplication among the Moloſſians.*

to dwell in ARGOS. In this meane ſeaſon, *Pauſanias* trechery fell out, which gaue his enemies occaſion to lye heauie on his backe. But he which became his accuſer, and was partner of the treaſon, was one called *Leobotes* (*Alcmeons* ſonne) borne in a village called AGRAVLA. Beſides this, the SPARTANS alſo did ſit on his ſkirtes, & charged him ſorely. For *Pauſanias* neuer beſore reuealed to *Themiſtocles* the treaſon he had purpoſed, although hee was his very familiar friend. But after he ſawe *Themiſtocles* was baniſhed, and did take his exile very vnpaciently: then *Pauſanias* was bolde to open his treaſon to him, to procure him to take his part, and ſhewed him the letters the king of PERSIA had written to him, and all to ſtirre him vp againſt the GRECIANS, as againſt vngratefull and vnnaturall people. Howbeit *Themiſtocles* ſhooke him off, and told him plainely he would be no partner of his treaſon. Notwithſtanding, hee neuer reuealed it to any liuing creature, nor diſcouered the practiſe he intended: hoping either he would haue giuen it ouer, or that ſhortly it would appeare by ſome other meane, conſidering he ſo fondly aſpired to thinges of great daunger, and without purpoſe or poſſibilitie. After *Pauſanias* was condemned, and had ſuffered paines of death for the ſame: they found amongeſt his papers, certaine writings and letters, which made *Themiſtocles* to be very ſore ſuſpected. Whereupon the LACEDÆMONIANS on the one ſide cryed out of him: & his enemies and ill willers at ATHENS accuſed him on the other ſide. To the which he made anſwere by letters from the beginning, and wrote vnto the people, it was not likely that he (who ſought all the waies to rule, and was not borne to ſerue, neither had any minde thereto) would euer haue thought in his head, to ſell his owne libertie, and the GRECIANS alſo vnto the Barbarous people their enemies. Notwithſtanding this purgation of his, the people by the procurement of his enemies, ſent to apprehend him, and to bring him before the ſtates of all GRECE, to be iudged by that counſell. Whereof *Themiſtocles* hauing intelligence in time, he did conueigh himſelfe into the Ile of CORPHV, becauſe the citie there was greatly beholding to him, for a certaine pleaſure in time paſt he had done them. For they being at ſute and ſtriſe with the CORINTHIANS, he tooke vp the matter betweene them, and gaue iudgement on their ſide, & condemned the CORINTHIANS to pay them twenty talents damages: & did ſet down an order, that they ſhould occupy the Ile of LEVCADE in common together, as ground that had bene inhabited with the people, aſwell of the one city, as of the other. From thence he fled to *Epirus*, whither being followed by the ATHENIANS, and the LACEDÆMONIANS, he was compelled to venter himſelfe vpon a doubtfull and very dangerous hope. For he went to yeelde himſelfe into the hands of *Admetus*, king of the MOLOSSIANS. Who hauing heretofore made certaine requeſts vnto the ATHENIANS, and being ſhamefully denyed them by meanes of *Themiſtocles* (who then was at his chiefeſt height and authority) the king was maruellouſly offended with him: and it was a cleere caſe in deed, that if he could then haue layde hands on him, he would haue bene reuenged of him throughly. Howbeit feeling the preſent miſery of his exile, he thought he might leſſe feare the Kings olde quarrell and diſpleaſure, then the freſh hate and enuy of his countrey men. Whereupon he went vnto King *Admetus*, truſting to his mercy, and became an humble ſuter to him in a ſtrange extraordinary ſort. For he tooke the Kings litle young ſonne in his armes, and went and kneeled downe before the altar in his chappell: which humble manner of ſuing the MOLLOSSIANS take to be moſt effectuall, and ſuch as they dare not deny nor refuſe. Some ſay that Queene *Phthia* her ſelfe, the Kings wiſe, did enforme him of this their countrey cuſtome and manner, and brought her litle ſonne alſo neare vnto the altar. Other write alſo, that it was *Admetus* him ſelfe that taught and ſhewed him this enforcing manner of petition, only for a cloke to excuſe himſelfe to thoſe that ſhould come to demaund *Themiſtocles* of him: that by duetie of religion he was ſo ſtraightly bound and reſtrained, that he might not deliuer him out of his protection. In this meane time, *Epicrates Acharnian* found the meanes ſecretly to conuay *Themiſtocles* wiſe and children out of ATHENS, and did ſend them priuily vnto him: whereupon he was afterwardes accuſed, and put to death, vpon *Cimons* accuſation and motion, as *Steſimbrotus* writeth. Who not remembring thoſe matters I know not how, or making as though *Themiſtocles* had not remembred him ſelfe doth ſay, that *Themiſtocles* ſailed into SICILE, where he ſought to mary *Hierons* daughter, the tyrant of SIRACVSA: promiſing him if he would let him haue her, he would aſſure him to conquer all GRECE for him,and to bring them vnder his obedience.But *Hieron* refuſing this offer, *Themiſtocles* went from thence into ASIA: but that is not likely. For *Theophraſtus* writeth in his booke intituled of Kingdoms,that *Hieron* hauing ſent certain running horſes to the feaſt of games Olympicall,& hauing ſet vp a maruellous rich and ſumptuous tent there: *Themiſtocles* made an oration to the GRECIANS,declaring vnto them how they ſhould teare the tyrants tent in peeces, and not to ſuffer his horſes to runne with other ſwift and light horſes, and to carie away the pryſe in thoſe holy games. *Thucydides* againe declareth, how he went vnto the other ſea,and imbarked in the citie of PYDNE, being knowen of neuer a man in the ſhippe, vntill ſuch time as the winde beganne to carie them into the Ile of NAXOS, which the ATHENIANS by chaunce did beſiege at that time, where being a feard to be ſet on land, he was forced to bewray himſelfe to the maſter of the ſhippe,and the maſters mate,and wrought them, what with faire words and what with threates(by ſaying he would accuſe them to the ATHENIANS, that they did not ignorantly receiue him in, but hyred for money) ſo as he compelled them to ſayle on further, and to carie him into ASIA. As for his goods, his friendes ſaued the moſt part of them, and ſent them into ASIA to him. But for thoſe that came to light, and were confiſcate vnto the ſtate: *Theopompus* writeth, they did amount to the value of one hundred * talents. And *Theophraſtus* ſayth, but to foure ſcore talents only. So that all his goods was not worth three* talents, when he beganne to gouerne the ſtate of the common weale. When he came vnto the citie of CVMA, he perceiued that all the coaſtes by ſea were laide for him to apprehend him, and that he had many ſpials vpon him: among the which, theſe were two ſpeciall noted men, *Ergoteles*, and one *Pythodorus*, the reward being very great, for mē that ſought their gaine any way they could. For the king of PERSIA had proclaimed by ſound of trumpet, two hundred talents to him that brought him *Themiſtocles*. Whereupon he fled vnto a litle towne of ÆOLIA, called ÆGES, where no liuing body knew him, but his hoſt only, called *Nicogenes*: who was the richeſt man of all the ÆOLIANS, and knew all the noble men of authoritie that were about the king of PERSIA. *Themiſtocles* continued hidden certaine daies in his houſe: in which time, on a night after the feaſt of a ſacrifice, one *Olbius*, ſchoolemaiſter to *Nicogenes* children, by ſome ſecret working of the gods, ſuddenly fell beſides himſelfe, and began to ſing theſe verſes out alowde.

*Do thou beleeue, what ſo the night thee tels*
*and giue thy voice, thy counſell and conceipts*
*Vnto the night, in darkſomneſſe that dwels,*
*thereon alſo thy victorie awaits.*

*Themiſtocles dreame.*

The next night following, *Themiſtocles* being faſt a ſleepe in his bed, dreamed that a ſnake wound it ſelfe round about his bellie, and glided vpwards to his necke, vntill it touched his face, and ſuddenly then it became an Eagle, and imbraced him with his winges: and ſo at length did lift him vp into the aire, and caried him a maruellous way off, vntill he thought he ſaw a golden rodde (ſuch as Herauldes vſe to carry in their handes) whereuppon the Eagle did ſet him, and ſo was deliuered of all this feare and trouble he thought him ſelfe in. The troth was, *Nicogenes* had this deuiſe in his head, how he might bring him ſafe to the King of PERSIAES court. The barbarous nations for the moſt part (and ſpecially the PERSIANS) are of a very ſtrange nature, and maruellous iealous ouer their women, and that not onely of their wiues, but alſo of their bond women, and concubines: which they keepe ſo ſtraightly locked vp, that no man euer ſeeth them abroade at any time, but are alwaies like houſedoues kept within doores. And when they haue any occaſion to go into the countrey, they are caried in cloſe coches couered all about, that no man can looke into them. *Themiſtocles* was conuaied into one of theſe coches dreſt after this manner, and had warned his men to aunſwer thoſe they met by the way, that asked whom they caried: how it was a young GRECIAN gentlewoman of the countrey of IONIA, which they carried to the court for a noble man there. *Thucydides*, and *Charon Lampſacenian* ſay, he went thither after the death of *Xerxes*, and ſpake with his ſonne there. But *Ephorus*, *Dino*, *Clitarchus*, *Heraclides*, and many other write, that he ſpake with him ſelfe. Yet notwithſtanding it appeareth that *Thucydides* wordes doe beſt agree with the chronicles and tables, recording the ſucceſſion of times,

*The Perſians iealous of their wiues.*

*How Themiſtocles was conuaied to the king of Perſias court.*

*The Perſians honour their King as the image of the god of nature.*

*Themiſtocles talke with the king of Perſia.*

although they be of no great certaintie. *Themiſtocles* being come now to the ſwordes point (as it were) and to the extremitie of his daunger: did firſt preſent him ſelfe vnto one *Artabanus*, Colonell of a thouſand footmen, and ſayd vnto him. Sir, I am a GRECIAN borne, and deſire to ſpeake with the King: I haue matters of importance to open to his maieſtie, and ſuch as I know he will thankefully receiue. *Artabanus* aunſwered him in this manner. My friend ſir ſtraunger, the lawes and cuſtomes of men are diuerſe, and ſome take one thing for honeſt, others ſome another thing: but it is moſt honeſty for all men, to keepe and obſerue the lawes and manners of their owne countrie. For you GRECIANS haue the name to loue libertie, and equalitie aboue all things: and for vs, amongſt all the goodly lawes and cuſtomes we haue, we eſteeme this aboue the reſt: to reuerence and honour our King, as the image of the god of nature, who keepeth all things in their perfect life and ſtate. Wherefore, if thou wilt faſhion thy ſelfe after our manner to honour the King, thou mayeſt both ſee him, and ſpeake with him: but if thou haue another minde with thee, then muſt thou of neceſſitie vſe ſome third perſon for thy meane. For this is the manner of our countrie: the King neuer giueth audience to any man, that hath not firſt honoured him. *Themiſtocles* hearing what he ſayd, aunſwered him againe. My lord *Artabanus*, the great good will I beare vnto the King, and the deſire I haue to aduaunce his glorie and power, is the onely cauſe of my preſent repaire vnto his court: therefore I meane not onely to obey your lawes (ſince it hath ſo pleaſed the goddes to raiſe vp the noble empire of PERSIA vnto this greatneſſe) but will cauſe many other people alſo to honour the King, more then there do at this preſent. Therefore let there be no ſtay, but that my ſelfe in perſon may deliuer to the King that I haue to ſay vnto him. Well, ſaied *Artabanus*: whom then ſhall we ſay thou art? For by thy ſpeeche it ſeemeth, thou art a man of no meane ſtate and condition. *Themiſtocles* aunſwered him: as for that *Artabanus*, none ſhall know before the King himſelfe. Thus doth *Phanias* report it. But *Eratoſthenes*, in his booke he wrote of riches, addeth further: how *Themiſtocles* had acceſſe vnto this *Artabanus*, being recommended to the King by a woman of ERETRIA, whom the King kept. *Themiſtocles* being brought to his preſence, after he had preſented his humble dutie and reuerence to him, ſtood on his feete, and ſayd neuer a word, vntill the King commaunded the interpreter to aske him what he was? and he aunſwered. May it pleaſe your maieſtie, ô noble King: I am *Themiſtocles* the ATHENIAN, a baniſhed man out of my countrie by the GRECIANS, who humbly repaireth to your highnes, knowing I haue done great hurt to the PERSIANS, but I perſuade my ſelfe I haue done them far more good then harme. For I it was that kept the GRECIANS back they did not follow you, whẽ the ſtate of GRECE was deliuered from thraldome, and my natiue countrie from danger, and that I knew I ſtood then in good ſtate to pleaſure you. Now for me, I finde all mens good wils agreeable to my preſent miſery and calamity: for I come determined, moſt humbly to thanke your highneſſe, for any grace and fauour you ſhall ſhew me, and alſo to craue humble pardon, if your maieſty be yet offended with me. And therefore licence me (moſt noble king) to beſeech you, that taking mine enemies the GRECIANS for witneſſes of the pleaſures I haue done the PERSIAN nation, you will of your princely grace vſe my hard fortune, as a good occaſion to ſhew your honorable vertue, rather then to ſatisfie the paſſion of your heate and choller. For in ſauing my life, your maieſty ſaueth an humble ſuter that put him ſelfe to your mercy: and in putting me to death, you ſhall rid away an enemy of the GRECIANS. Hauing ſpoke thus theſe words, he ſaid further: That the goddes by diuerſe ſignes and tokens had procured him to come to ſubmit him ſelfe vnto him, and tolde the King what viſion he had ſeene in his dreame in *Nicogenes* houſe: and declared alſo the oracle of *Iupiter Dodonian*, who had commaunded him that he ſhould goe vnto him that was called as a god, and how he thought it was the perſon of his maieſty, becauſe that god and he in troth were called both great Kings. The King hauing thus heard him ſpeake, gaue him then no preſent anſwer againe, notwithſtanding he maruellouſly wondred at his great wiſedome and boldnes. But afterwards amongeſt his familiars the King ſaide, he thought him ſelfe very happy to meete with the good fortune of *Themiſtocles* comming to him: and ſo beſought his great god *Arimanius*, that he would alwaies ſend his enemies ſuch mindes, as to baniſh the greateſt and wiſeſt men amongeſt them.

It is reported alſo he did ſacrifice vnto the goddes, to giue them thankes therfore, and diſpoſed himſelfe preſently to be merry. Inſomuch as dreaming in the night, in the middeſt of his dreame he cried out three times together for ioy: I haue *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian*. The next morning the King hauing ſent for the chiefeſt lordes of his court, he made *Themiſtocles* alſo to be brought before him: who looked for no goodnes at all, ſpecially when he ſaw the ſouldiers warding at the court gates, giue him ill countenance and language both, when they beheld him, and vnderſtood his name. Moreouer, *Roxanes*, one of the captaines, as *Themiſtocles* paſſed by him going to the King (who was ſet in his chayre of ſtate, and euery man keeping ſilence) ſoftly ſighing, ſayed vnto him, O thou Greekiſh ſerpent, ſubtill and malicious: the Kings good fortune hath brought thee hither. Neuertheles when he came to the King, & had once againe made him a very humble and low reuerence: the King ſaluted him, & ſpake very curteouſly to him, ſaying. I am now your detter of two hundred talents, for preſenting your ſelfe. It is good reaſon I ſhould deliuer you the money promiſed him that ſhould haue brought you: but I giue you a further warrant, be bold I charge you, and ſpeake your mind freely, ſay what you thinke of the ſtate of GRECE. *Themiſtocles* then aunſwered him. That mens words did properly reſemble the ſtories and imagery in a peece of arras: for both in the one and in the other, the goodly images of either of them are ſeene, when they are vnfolded and layed open. Contrariwiſe they appeare not, but are loſt, when they are ſhut vp, & cloſe folded: whereupon he ſayed to the king, he muſt needes require ſome further time of aunſwer. The King liked his compariſon paſſingly well, & willed him to appoint his owne time. *Themiſtocles* asked a yere: in which time hauing pretily learned the Perſian tongue, he afterwards ſpake to the King himſelfe without any interpreter. So, ſuch as were no courtiers, thought he only talked with the King of matters of GRECE. But becauſe the chaunge and alteration of the court fell out great at that time, the noblemen imagined he had bene ſo bold to common with the King of them alſo. Thereupon they greatly enuied him, & afterwards murmured much againſt him. For indeede the King did honour *Themiſtocles* aboue all other ſtrangers whatſoeuer they were. On a time the King had him out a hunting with him, he made him ſee his mother, with whom he grew familiar: and by the Kings owne commaundement he was to heare the diſputations of the wiſe men of PERSIA touching ſecret philoſophie, which they call magike. *Demaratus* the LACEDÆMONIAN being at that time in the court of PERSIA, the king willing him to aske what gift he would, he beſought the King to grant him this fauour: to licence him to go vp & down the citie of SARDIS, with his royall hat on his head as the Kings of PERSIA do. *Mithropauſtes*, the Kings coſin, taking him by the hand, ſayd vnto him *Demaratus*, the kings hatte thou demaundeſt, and if it were on thy heade, it would couer but litle wit: Naye though *Iupiter* did geue thee his lightning in thy hande, yet that would not make thee *Iupiter*. But the king gaue him ſo ſharpe a repulſe for his vnreaſonable requeſt, & was ſo angrie with him for it, that it was thought he would neuer haue forgeuen him: howbeit *Themiſtocles* was ſo earneſt a ſuter for him, that he brought him into fauour againe. And the reporte goeth, that the kings ſucceſſours which haue bene ſince that time, vnder whom the PERSIANS haue had more dealings with the GRECIANS, then in former dayes: when they would retaine any great ſtate or perſonage of GRECE into their ſeruice, they wrote vnto him, and promiſed him they would make him greater about them, then euer was *Themiſtocles* about *Xerxes*. That which is written of him, doth alſo confirme it. For he being ſtept vp to great countenaunce and authoritie, & followed with great traines of ſuters after him by reaſon of his greatnes: ſeeing him ſelf one daye very honorably ſerued at his table, & with all ſortes of daintie meates, he turned him to his childrẽ, & ſayed vnto them. My ſonnes, we ſhould haue bene vndone, if we had not bene vndone. The moſt writers do agree, that he had giuen him the reuenue of three cities for his allowāce of bread, wine & victuals: to wit, MAGNESIA, LAMPSACVS, & MYVNTA. But *Neãthes Cyzicenã*, & *Phanias*, do adde two other cities more, PERCOTA, & PALESCEPSIA: the one to defray his charges of apparel, & the other for his lodging. Afterwards *Themiſtocles* going into the low countries towards the ſea, to take order againſt the practiſes of the GRECIANS: there was a PERSIAN lord called *Epixies* (gouernour of the high PHRYGIA) that had laid a traine to kill him (hauing of long time hired certaine murderers of PISIDIA to doe it) ſo ſoone as he

*An excellent compariſon of Themiſtocles.*

*Themiſtocles honoured of the king of Perſia.*

*Demaratus fond demaũde of the King.*

*Themiſtocles had the reuenue of three citties allowed him for his diet.*

*Themiſtocles eſcaped murder by a warning he had in his ſleepe.*

ſhould come into a towne of his gouernment, called the Lyons head. But as he ſlept on a day in his houſe in the after noone, the mother of the goddes appeared vnto him, and ſayed, *Themiſtocles*, go not to the Lyons head, for feare thou meete with the Lyon: and for this warning, I do aſke thy daughter *Mneſiptolema* for my ſeruant. *Themiſtocles* waking ſodainely out of his dreame, made his prayer vnto the goddeſſe, and turning out of the high way, fetched another compaſſe about. Afterwardes hauing paſſed that towne, he tooke his lodging being benighted: but one of the beaſtes which caried his tent, fell by the way, vnfortunately in a riuer, and all his arras and tapeſtry hanginges being throughly wet, his ſeruantes were driuen to lay them out a drying, by moone light. The *Piſidians* that lay in wayt, and could not diſcerne by moone light that they were hangings layed out to dry, thought it had bene the very tent *Themiſtocles* ſelfe did lye in: whereupon they went vnto it with their ſwords drawne in their hands, hoping to haue taken him ſleeping. But when they were come thither, and began to lift vp a peece of the hãgings: ſome of the people of *Themiſtocles* (which kept watch) perceiuing them, ran vpon them, and tooke them. So *Themiſtocles* hauing eſcaped this danger, wondred greatly at the fauor of the goddeſſ which had appered vnto him. In recõpence wherof, when he was in the citie of MAGNESIA, he built a temple vnto *Dindymena*, and made his daughter *Mneſiptolema* prioreſſe of the ſame. As he paſſed by the citie of SARDIS for his recreation, he went to viſit the temples, and offerings that had bene giuen there. So he ſaw an image of a mayden in copper, in the temple of the mother of the gods, being two yardes high, which they called the *Hydrophora*: as much to ſay, as the watercarier. And it was a ſtatue, which himſelfe had heretofore dedicated and cauſed to be made, with the fines of thoſe that had payed forfeytures, for ſtealing or turning away the water courſe at ATHENS, at ſuch time as he was maiſter ſurueyer of the water workes and conduites there. Wherfore, whether *Themiſtocles* was ſory to ſee this goodly image a priſoner in the handes of the Barbarous people, or that he would ſhew vnto the ATHENIANS the greatnes of his credit and authoritie through all the Kings dominions: he ſpake to the gouernour of LIDIA, and prayed him for his ſake that he would ſend this image againe to ATHENS. But this Barbarous gouernour was very angry with his requeſt, and told him he would aduertiſe the King therof. Then *Themiſtocles* began to be afeard, and was driuen to ſeeke to the gouernours women and concubines, whome he got for money to intreat him, and ſo made faire weather again with the gouernour. But frõ thẽceforth, he tooke better garde of himſelfe in all his doinges, greatly fearing the enuie of the Barbarous people. For he progreſſed not vp and downe ASIA, as *Theopompus* writeth, but lay a long time in the citie of MAGNESIA, quietly enioying the Kings gratious gifts beſtowed on him: where he was honoured and reuerenced for one of the greateſt perſons of PERSIA, whileſt the King was els where occupied in the affairs of the high prouinces of ASIA, & had no leyſure to think vpõ thoſe of GRECE. But whẽ newes was brought him, that ÆGYPT was rebelled, by meanes of the fauour and aſſiſtance of the ATHENIANS, and that the GRECIANS gallies did ſcowre the ſeas euen vnto the Ile of CYPRVS, and vnto the coaſtes of CILICIA, and that *Cimon* had all the ſea in ſubiection: that made him then to bend all his thoughts how to reſiſt the GRECIANS, that their greatnes might not turne to his harme. Then commiſſions went out to leauy men, to aſſemble captaines, and to diſpatch poaſtes vnto *Themiſtocles* at MAGNESIA, with the Kings letters, ſtraightly charging him to haue an eye to the GRECIANS doings, and moreouer that he ſhould faythfully keepe his promiſe he had made to him. But he, to ſhewe that he neither maliced his citizens, nor was mooued with the deſire of greatnes and authoritie he might haue growne vnto in thoſe warres, or elſe for that he thought the Kings expectation would prooue to a greater matter, then he could ende or wade through, conſidering GRECE was full at that time of famous captaines, and that *Cimon* amongſt the reſt had maruellous good fortune, and that it ſhould be a reproach to him to ſtaine the glorie of ſo many noble actes, ſo many triumphes, and ſo great victories as *Cimon* had done and wonne: he tooke a wiſe reſolution with himſelfe, to make ſuch an end of his life, as the fame thereof deſerued, for he made a ſolemne ſacrifice vnto the goddes, & feaſted at the ſame all his friends. And after he had taken his leaue of them all, he dranke bulles bloud, as moſt men thinke (or as other ſay), poyſon, which diſpatcheth a man in foure and twentye howers, and ſo ended

*Themiſtocles loue to his country.*

*The manner of Themiſtocles death.*

dayes in the citie of MAGNESIA, after he had liued threeſcore & fiue yeres, & the moſt part of them alwayes in office, and great charge. It is written, that the King of PERSIA vnderſtāding the cauſe and manner of his death, did more eſteeme him afterwards, then he did before, and that euer after he continued to vſe his friends and familiars in very good ſort. For he left children behind him, which he had of *Archippa* (*Lyſanders* daughter) of the towne of ALOPECIA: *Archeptolis*, *polyeuctus*, and *Cleophantus*, of whom *Plato* the philoſopher maketh mention, ſaying that he was a good man at armes, but otherwiſe that there was no goodnes in him. His other ſonnes that were elder, as *Neocles*, died being bitten with a horſe: and as for *Diocles* another ſonne, his grandfather *Lyſander* did adopt him for his ſonne. He had many daughters, of the which *Mneſiptolema* (which he had by a ſecond wiſe) was maried vnto her halfe brother *Archeptolis*, for they were not both of one venter. Another called *Italia*, was maried vnto one *Panthides* of CHIO. *Sybaris*, vnto *Nicomedes* an ATHENIAN. And *Nicomacha*, vnto *Pharſicles*, *Themiſtocles* nephewe: vnto whom her brethren did marry her within the cittie of MAGNESIA, after the death of their father. This *Pharſicles* did bring vp ASIA, which was the yongeſt of all his daughters. Furthermore his ſumptuous tumbe ſtandeth yet in the market place of MAGNESIA. But that *Andocides* writeth of his bones, in a booke he made to his friendes, is not to be credited, which was: that the ATHENIANS hauing found the aſhes of his bones, did caſt them vp into the ayer, as a deuiſe to ſturre vp the noble men againſt the people. And *Phylarchus* in his hiſtorie (much like vnto the fayned ſubtilties of a tragedie) bringeth in I cannot tell what *Neocles* and *Demopolis*, for *Themiſtocles* ſonnes, to moue the readers with compaſſion. Howbeit no man is ſo ſimple, but will iudge it ſtraight a very fayning and deuiſe. *Diodorus* the coſmographer alſo in a booke he hath written of tumbes and monuments ſayeth, by coniecture, rather then of any certen knowledge: that alongſt the hauen of PIRCEA, coming towards the head of *Alcimus*, there is a forelande in forme of an elbowe, within the which when they haue doubled the poynt, the ſea is alwaies calme, and there they finde a great and long foundation or baſe, vpon the which there is as it were the forme of an alter, and that is (ſayeth he) *Themiſtocles* tumbe. And he ſuppoſeth that *Plato* the comicall poet doth witneſſe it in theſe verſes.

*Themiſtocles children.*

*Themiſtocles tumbe and reliques.*

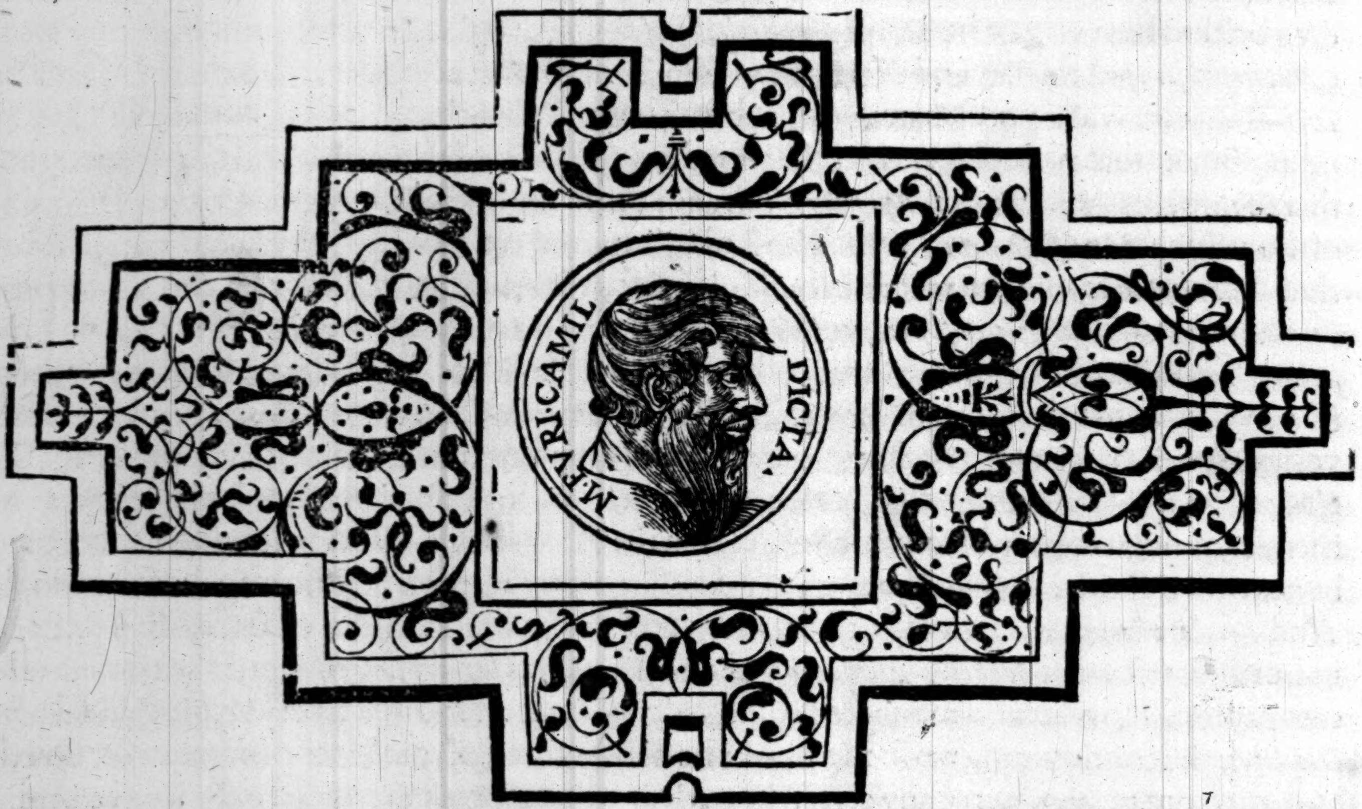
*Thy graue is ſet and plaſt, commodiouſly,*
*where paſſengers and marchants that come by*
*may viſite thee, and where it may regard,*
*all ſuch as ſeeke that port to be their warde.*
*Sometimes alſo, it may reioyce to ſee,*
*the blouddy fightes, vpon the ſea that be.*

And furthermore, thoſe of MAGNESIA did inſtitute certen honours vnto the iſſue of *Themiſtocles*, which continue yet vnto this day. And in my time, another *Themiſtocles* alſo of ATHENS did enioy the ſame honours, with whom I was familiarly conuerſant in the houſe of *Ammonius* the philoſopher.

*Honour done to Themiſtocles after his death.*

*The ende of Themiſtocles life.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Furius Camillus.*


M.FVRI.CAMIL DICTA.

AMONGST many great matters which are ſpoken of this *Furius Camillus*, this ſeemeth moſt ſtraunge and wonderfull aboue the reſt. That he hauing borne the chiefeſt offices of charge in his countrie, and hauing done many notable and worthy deedes in the ſame: as one that was choſen fiue times *Dictator*, and had triumphed foure times, and had wonne himſelf the name and title of the ſecond founder of ROME, and yet neuer came to be Conſul. But the onely cauſe thereof was, that the common weale of ROME ſtoode then in ſuch ſtate and ſort. The people were then at diſſention with the Senate. They would chuſe no more Conſuls, but other kinde of gouernours whom they called *Tribuni militares*: theſe did all things with like power & authoritie as the Conſuls, yet were they nothing ſo odious vnto the people, by reaſon of the number that was of them. For it was ſome hope to them that could ill beare the rule of the ſmall number of nobilitie, that the gouernment of the ſtate being put into ſixe, and not into two officers hands, their rule would be the eaſier, and tollerabler. Now *Camillus* being at that time in his beſt credit and authoritie, and in the prime and glorie of his doings, did not deſire to be made Conſul without the goodwill of the people, although whileſt he was in authoritie, there were many times Conſuls created. But to all other offices and dignities, he was called, and choſen. He behaued himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that when he was alone, he made his authoritie common to other: and when he had companions and aſſociates, the glorie of all redounded to himſelfe alone. The cauſe whereof, was his modeſtie on the one ſide, for he commaunded euer without enuie: and his great wiſdome and ſufficiencie on the other ſide, for the which all others willingly gaue him place, and yeelded to him. The houſe of the *Furians* being at that time of no great fame, he was the firſt that beganne to ſet himſelf forwards. For in a great battell which was fought againſt the *Æques* and *Volſces*, he being but a priuate man at armes vnder the *Dictator Poſthumius Tubertus*, was the firſt that riding out of the army, aduaunced himſelfe and gaue the charge. And being runne into the thigh at that time with a ſtaffe broken vpon his thigh, he plucked the trunchen out and retired not for all that: but giuing charge againe vpon the ſtouteſt of the enemies, he fought it out ſo valiantly to the encouraging of other, that he was the chief cauſe they turned their backes. Whereupon, to requite his ſeruice done at that time (beſides other honours

*Why Camillus neuer came to be Conſul.*

*The authoritie of a few, odious to the common people.*

*Camillus wiſdome and modeſtie.*

*Camillus hurt.*

honours they did him ) they made him *Cenſor* : an office at that time of great preheminence & dignitie. In his office of Cenſorſhip, he did two notable acts. The one very honeſt: when he brought men that were not maried, to marry the womẽ whom the wars had left widows which were in number many. To this he got thẽ partly by perſuaſiõ, & partly by threatnings, to ſet roũd fines vpõ their heads that refuſed. The other very neceſſary: in that he brought the orphanes to be contributories, vnto taxes, & ſubſidies, which before payed nothing. The cauſe therof was, the continuall warres, about the which the common weale ſuſtained great charges but ſpecially about the ſiege of the citie of the VEIANS (which ſome cal VENETANIANS) that was a very ſore burden to thẽ at that time. For it was the capital citie of all THVSCAN, the which for ſtore of armour, & nũber of ſoldiers, was nothing inferiour to the cittie of ROME. For the VEIANS being growẽ to ſtomake & courage in time, by reaſõ of their wealth & proſperitie, & for the ſundry great battels they had fought againſt the RONAINES, that contẽded with them for glory & empire: and now it fel ſo out, that they finding themſelues weakned by many great ouerthrowes, which they had receiued of the ROMAINES, they did let fall their former peacocks brauery & ambitiõ, to bid them battell any more in the fielde. Howbeit the inhabitants of the cittie of VEIES hauing raiſed the walles & made very great high rãpers, began to fortifie themſelues, & made good prouiſion for armour & munition, beſides ſtore of corne, ſhotte, & other neceſſary things: they valiantly, & without feare of any thing, defended the ſiege of the ROMAINES, that cõtinued a long time, & was no leſſe hard & painful vnto thẽ that did beſiege, then it was vnto thoſe that were beſieged. For where the ROMAINES were wont beforetime to keepe their houſes in the winter ſeaſon, and the field only in the ſummer time: that was the firſt time they were compelled by the captaines and *Tribuni militares*, to build fortes, and to entrench their campe with a wall, euen in their enemies country, and to winter abroad as they were wont to lye in the campe in ſõmer. Now this ſiege had continued ſeuen yeres together. The captaines were burdened that they did not their duties, nor ſtood manfully to their charge: whereupon in the end they were diſcharged, and other captaines placed in their roomes to follow the ſiege. Amõg thoſe, *Camillus* was one, whom then the ſecond time they created *Tribunus militaris*. Who notwithſtanding did nothing then in that ſiege, becauſe it was his happe by lot, to make warrs vpon the PHALERIANS and, the CAPENATES. Theſe people whileſt the ROMAINES were occupied other where, had inuaded their countrie and done them great harme, during the time of their warre with the THVSCANS. But *Camillus* hauing ouerthrowne a great number of them in the fielde, had the reſt in chaſe, and draue them to take their cittie, and did ſhut them vp within their onwe walles. The chaunce that happened at the lake of ALBANVS, about the time the THVSCAN warres were greateſt, did maruellouſly amate the ROMAINES, being no leſſe wonderfull, thẽ the moſt ſtraunge and vncredible thing that could be told by man. For they could not finde out the cauſe of it by common reaſon, nor any naturall ground: conſidering it was in the later end of Autumne, and ſommer was ended, and that there had not bene much raine, nor notable ſowth windes. And although there are many lakes, many brookes, and riuers, many ſprings, and other waters in ITALIE: yet ſome of them dried vp altogether, other ranne but faintly by reaſon of the drought, and all the riuers then were (as they are wont to be cõmonly in ſommer) very lowe, and there was ſcant any water. But the lake ALBANVS contrariwiſe, that cometh from no other place, neither runneth any whither out of it ſelfe, being enuironned all about with hilles and mountaines, and where the earth is good: beganne to ſwell, and riſe to euery mans ſight, without any cauſe at all (but ſecret and hidden vnto the goddes alone) and went allwayes increaſing alongeſt thoſe hilles ſides, vntill ſuch time as it came to be euen with the hight of the higheſt mountaine, gathering vpwardes ſtill without any waues or tempeſt of weather at all. This at the firſt, made poore ſheepeheardes and heardemen, keeping their cattell thereaboutes, maruellouſly afrayde. But at the lengh when the earthe and the waight of one of the hilles ( which kepte in the lake as a walle, from running ouer into the fielde ) beganne to breake by reaſon of the wayght, and great quantitie of water, that ranne ſtraight with a maruellous extreame force and violence ouer all the arable landes and groundes planted with trees, and ſo tooke his courſe into the

*Camillus acts in his Cenſorſhippe.*

*The cittie of Veies beſieged.*

*The ſiege cõtinued ſeuen yeres together.*

*Camillus twiſe choſen Tribune of the ſoldiers.*

*The wonderful ouerflowing of the lake Albanus.*

ſea: the ROMAINES then not alone, but the whole inhabitants of ITALY were wonderfully affrayde, and iudged that it was ſome ſigne and prognoſtication of ſome wonderful thing to come. And there was no other newes currante in the campe, which lay at ſiege of the cittie of VEIES: inſomuch as the very brute of it flewe ouer the walles of the cittie, vnto them that were beſieged. And as it happeneth very ofte in long ſieges, that thoſe which lye in campe do often times talke with them that are beſieged: there was a ROMAINE who fell acquainted, and commonly vſed to talke familiarly with one of the citie, who could tell of many olde and ſtraunge things done and happened, and was very skilfull aboue any other in the cittie, in the arte of diuination, or ſoothſaying. The ROMAINE then told him one day the violent breaking out of the lake ALBANVS, and perceiuing that the other after he had heard him, was as merrie as a pye at the matter, and that he gibed at their ſiege: he told him further, that this wonderfull chaunce was not onely happened vnto the ROMAINES at that time, but that they had beene acquainted with many other farre more ſtraunge then this, which he would very willingly open vnto him, to ſee if there were any remedy, that though the affaires of the common weale had but hard ſucceſſe, yet he would procure that his owne priuate matters might proſper wel with him. The VEIAN anſwered them, he would heare them with a good wil, & gaue good eare vnto him, hoping to haue heard ſome great ſecret. So the ROMAINE training him on ſtill from one matter to another, holding on his way, vntill he ſaw he was a good diſtance off from the gates of the cittie, he ſodainly caught hold on him, and by ſtrong hand caried him away with him, and with helpe of other ſouldiers which came running out of the campe vnto him, he brought him to the captaines. The VEIAN ſeeing himſelf thus forciblie vſed, and knowing alſo that fatall deſtiny cannot be auoyded, beganne to declare vnto the ROMAINES, the auncient oracles and propheſies touching the fortune of their cittie: by which it was reported vnto them, that the cittie of VEIES ſhould neuer be taken, vntill the enemie had cauſed the water of the lake ALBANVS (which ſhould breake out) to be brought backe againe, and to turne it ſome other way from thence, that it ſhould not fall into the ſea. This was caried vnto the Senate at ROME, to be conſulted of in the counſell: & there it was determined they ſhould ſend to the oracle of *Apollo*, at the cittie of DELPHES, and aſke him what they ſhould do therein. So thither were ſent great and notable men, *Coſſus Licinius*, *Valerius Politus* and *Fabius Ambuſtus*: who hauing ended their iorney by ſea, and receiued anſwer of that they demaunded, returned home againe, and amongeſt other oracles they brought one that ſayed thus. That through negligence they had omitted ſome auncient ceremonies in the holy dayes of the Latines. And another willed them, that they ſhould by all poſſible meanes they could, keepe the water of the lake ALBANVS that it fell not into the ſea, and ſhould (if it were poſſible) bring it backe againe into his old place: if not, that yet they ſhould cut as many trenches and ditches as might be, that it might be drunke vp in the middeſt of the fieldes. When theſe oracles were vnderſtanded, the prieſtes prepared all things for diuine ſeruice, and the people went about the water of the lake to turne it againe. After theſe things were done, the Senate in the tenth yere of the warres againſt the VEIANS, put off all thoſe which did beare office, and created *Camillus Dictator*, who named for generall of the horſe men, *Cornelius Scipio*. And before he went in hand with any thing, he made a vow vnto the goddes, that if it pleaſed them to graunt a happy ende of theſe warres, in honour of them he would celebrate great playes, and build a temple vnto the goddeſſe which the ROMAINES call *Matuta*: which ſeemeth to be her whom we call *Leucothea*, conſidering the ceremonies done in theſe ſacrifices. For they cauſe a chambermayde to enter into her temple, and there they boxe her about the eares. Then they put her out of the temple, and do embrace their brothers childrē rather then their owne. They make many other ceremonies, and they are much like vnto thoſe that are done vnto *Bacchus* nurces, and to the miſfortunes that chaunced vnto *Ino*, by reaſon of her huſbands concubine. After all theſe vowes and prayers made, he entred with his armie into the FALISSIANS territories, whom he ouerthrew in a great battell, together with the CAPENATES alſo, which came to aide them. From thence he went to the ſiege of the cittie of VEIES, where perceiuing to take it by aſſault, was not to be wonne without great daunger: he beganne to vndermine it (finding the earth all about very minable) and with

*The craſt of a Romaine.*

*An oracle brought from Delphes.*

*Camillus choſē Dictator.*

*Matuta. Leucothea.*

all ſo deepe, that the enemies could perceiue nothing. Now when his mining fell out according to his good hope, he gaue an aſſaulte to the walles in all places alike about the citie at one inſtant, to bring out all the inhabitants of the citie to man the walles. Whileſt they were all thus vpon the walles to make defence: *Camillus* ſouldiers entred ſecretly through the mines within the caſtell, hard by the temple of *Iuno*: which was the chiefe Church of all the citie, and whereunto the cittizens had moſt deuotion. They ſay that euen at that preſent time the generall of the Thuscans did ſacrifice vnto the goddes, and that his ſoothſaier hauing conſidered the intrels of the beaſts offered vp in ſacrifice, cried out aloude, that the goddes gaue the victorie vnto him, which ſhould happen to come vpon them in this ſacrifice. The Romaines which were within the mine hearing this, brake the earth incontinently, and leaped out, crying, and making noiſe with their weapons: wherewith the enemies were ſo aſtonied, that they fled vpon it, and ſo the Romaines tooke the intrels and caried them vnto *Camillus*. And theſe be euen much like the Poets tales and fables. Howbeit *Camillus* hauing by this meanes taken the citie, and ſeeing from the toppe of the caſtell the infinite goods and riches within the citie, which the ſouldiers ſpoiled and made hauoke of, he wept for very pittie. And when thoſe that were about him tolde him he was a happie man: he lift vp his hands vnto heauen, and made this praier. O mightie god *Iupiter*, and you ô goddes, which ſee and iudge mens good and ill works: you know right well, that we haue not willingly (without wrong and cauſe offered vs) begunne this warre, but iuſtly, and by compulſion, to be reuenged of a citie our enemie, which hath done vs great iniuries. But if to counteruaile this our great good proſperitie, and victorie, ſome bitter aduerſitie and ouerthrowe be predeſtined vnto vs: I beſeech you then (moſt mercifull goddes) in ſparing our citie of Rome, and this her armie, you will (with as litle hurte as may be) let it all fall and light vpon my perſon alone. And as he had ſpoken theſe words, and was turning on his right hand (according to the manner of the Romaines after they haue prayed vnto the goddes) he fell downe flat before them all. The ſtanders by taking this fall for an ill token, were ſomwhat troubled with the matter: but after he got vp on his feete againe, he tolde them that the thing he requeſted of the gods was happened vnto him. And that was, a little hurte, in exchange of a great good fortune. So the whole citie being ſpoiled and rifled, he was alſo deſirous to carie *Iunos* image to Rome, to accompliſh the vowe he had made. And hauing ſent for workemen for this purpoſe, he did ſacrifice firſt vnto the goddeſſe, beſeeching her to accept well of the Romaines good will, and that ſhe would willingly vouchſafe to come and dwell with the other gods, who had the protection of the citie of Rome. Some ſay, that the image aunſwered, ſhe was contented. But *Liuius* writeth that *Camillus* made this praier, as he touched the image, and that the aſſiſtants anſwered ſhe was contented, and would go with a goodwill. Yet they which do affirme, it was the image ſelfe that ſpake, do fauour this miracle, grounding their proofe vpon the opinion of the fortune of Rome: the which, from ſo baſe and meane beginning had impoſſibly attained vnto ſo high glory and power as it had, without the ſingular fauour of the goddes, and that hath manifeſtly appeared vnto the world, by ſundry great proofes and examples. They bring forth alſo ſuch other like wonders. As, that images haue heretofore let fall drops of ſwet from them: that they haue bene heard to ſighe: that they haue turned: and that they haue made certaine ſignes with their eyes, as we finde written in many ancient ſtories. And we could our ſelues alſo tell ſuch like wonders, which we haue heard men of our time affirme, which are not vncredible, nor lightly to be condemned. But for ſuch matters, it is as daungerous to giue too much credit to them, as alſo to diſcredit them too much, by reaſon of the weakeneſſe of mans nature, which hath no certaine bounds, nor can rule it ſelfe, but runneth ſomtimes after vanity and ſuperſtition, and otherwhile alſo deſpiſeth and contemneth holy and diuine matters: and therefore the meane is the vertue, and not to go too farre in this, as in all other things beſides, it is the beſt. Now *Camillus*, whether his late enterpiſe performed, in winning a citie that ſtood out with Rome, and held ſiege with them ten yeares together, had put him into an ouerweening or conceipt of him ſelfe: or that the words of the people, which did bleſſe and praiſe him, had made him looke high, and preſume vpon himſelfe, more then became the modeſtie of a ciuill magiſtrate, and gouernour of the common

*The citie of Veies taken by mining.*

*Camillus praier when Veies was taken.*

*Fained wonders of images.*

*Plutarches iudgement of miracles.*

weale, & one that was ſubiect to the law: he ſhewed a ſtately triumphe, ſet forth with all riche furniture, & ſpecially for that himſelfe was caried through ROME vpon his triumphant charret drawne with foure faire white courſers. This, neuer captaine nor general before him durſt vndertake to do, neither any euer after him attempted it: for they thinke it as a ſacred cariage, and onely meete for the king, and father of the gods. This bred him much enuie amongſt the cittizens, which had not bene acquainted with ſo great ſtatelineſſe. There was another occaſion alſo that made them miſlike him much: which was, becauſe he ſtood againſt the lawe put forth that they ſhould deuide the citie of ROME. For the *Tribunes* of the people did ſet out an Edict, that the Senate & people of ROME ſhould be deuided into two parts: and that thoſe on whom the lotte ſhould fall, ſhould abide ſtill in ROME, and the other ſhould go dwell in the new wunne citie of VEIES. Theſe were the reaſons to perſwade this: that both the one and the other ſort ſhould be richer then they were before, and ſhould more eaſily keepe their lands and goods from the inuaſion of their enemies, by meanes of theſe two great cities. The people which were multiplyed now into great numbers, and had ſerued dutifully and dangerouſlie, thought it the beſt way in the world: Therefore they ſtill cried out, and thronged with great tumult, about their pulpit for orations, praying that this lawe might be put vnto the voices of the people. But the whole Senate, and wiſeſt cittizens among them, iudging this motion of the Tribunes would be the deſtruction, and not the diuiſion of the citie of ROME: could in no wiſe abide it ſhould go any further. Whereupon they went and prayed *Camillus* helpe: who fearing to bring it to the point, whether the law ſhould paſſe or no, did alwaies ſeeke new occaſions and lets, ſtill to delay and put off the matter, and ſtay the confirmation of this law. For theſe cauſes, he was hated of the common people. But the originall and apparant cauſe of the peoples ill will towards him, was for taking from them the tenth part of their ſpoiles: and it was not altogether without ſome reaſon, and to ſay truly the people did him much wrong to beare him ſuch malice for that. For before he went to the citie of VEIES, he made a ſolemne vowe to offer the tenth part vnto the gods, of the ſpoiles of the citie, if he wanne the ſame. But when it was taken and ſacked, whether it was that he was lothe to trouble the cittizens, or hauing a world of buſineſſe in his head, that he eaſily forgat his vowe: he ſuffered the ſouldiers to deuide the ſpoile amongſt them, and to take the benefit to themſelues. Shortly after he was diſcharged of his charge, he did enforme the Senate of his vowe. Furthermore, the ſoothſayers made report at that very time, how they knew by certaine ſignes and tokens of their ſacrifices, that the gods were offended for ſomewhat, and how they muſt of neceſſitie be pacified againe. Whereupon the Senate preſently made an order, where it was vnpoſſible euery man ſhould bring in againe the ſelfe ſame things he had gotten, to make a new diuiſion of euery mans ſhare: that euery one therefore vpon his othe ſhould preſent the tenth part of his gaines he had gotten by that bootie. There was great trouble about it. They were driuen to vſe great extremitie to the poore ſouldiers (which had trauelled ſore, and taken great paines in the warres) to make them to reſtore back ſuch a colloppe out of their gaine, and the rather becauſe many of them had already ſpent it euery penny: and for this trouble, they all cryed out with open mouth againſt *Camillus*. But he being ſet vp, and not knowing otherwiſe how to excuſe himſelfe, was forced to bring forth as cold and as vnreaſonable an excuſe as he could make, which was: forſooth he had forgotten his vowe he had made. The people notwithſtanding were eger ſtill againſt him, ſaying: how he had vowed then to offer the tenth part of the enemies goods to the goddes, and that nowe he would performe it with the tenths of the cittizens goods. Neuertheleſſe, euery man hauing brought that he ſhould for his part: it was thought good they ſhould cauſe a maſſye cuppe of golde to be made, to ſend to the temple of *Apollo* at DELPHES. And ſmall ſtore of golde being in the citie of ROME, as the officers of the citie were ſearching vp and downe to get it: the women of ROME of their owne voluntarie willes without motion, agreed among themſelues, that they would depart with all the iewels they had towards the making vp of this offering, which came to the weight of eight talents. In recompence whereof to honour them withall: the Senate ordained that they ſhould be praiſed openly with funerall orations at their buriall, as they did vſe at honourable and noble mens obſequies. For before that lawe, it was not

*Camillus ſtately triumphe of the Veians.*

*A lawe for the people of Rome to dwell at Veies.*

*The chiefeſt cauſe of the peoples malice againſt Camillus.*

*A cup of golde ſent to Delphes.*

*The ladies of Rome gaue their iewels towards the making of it.*

*What time womens praiſes began at funerals in Rome.*

the manner to praiſe women openly at their funerals. Now there were appointed three of the nobleſt men of the citie to go to carie this offering, and they ſent them out in a galley well manned, ſtored alſo with good mariners, & trimly ſet forth in all triumphing maner: howbeit both in ſtorme, and calme weather, they were in danger of their liues. For after that they had ſcaped drowning very narrowly by tempeſt, when the winde was down againe, they fell into another danger, which they eſcaped alſo beyond all hope. For hard by the Iles of Æolus, the galleys of the Liparians fell vpon them, as if they had bene rouers. But when the Liparians ſawe they made no reſiſtance, and intreated them, holding vp their hands: they gaue no further charge vpon them, but only faſtened their galley vnto theirs. So when they had haled them to the ſhore, they declared they were pirats, and offered to make port ſale of the men and goods, as if they had bene a lawfull priſe: and had ſold them in deed, had not the wiſedom and authoritie of *Timeſitheus* letted them, who was gouernour at that time of the citie, and had great a do to perſwade them to let them go. And he did not ſo leaue them, but ſent out certaine of his owne ſhippes to accompanie them in their iourney, who did helpe them to go and performe their offering. For which curteſie of his, the Romaines afterwards did him great honour at Rome, according to his well deſeruing. The Tribunes of the people began now to ſet a foote againſt the law for the deuiding of the inhabitants of Rome vnto the citie of Veies. But the warres of the Faliſces fell out happely at that time, whereby the noble men did chooſe ſuch officers as they would. So they choſe *Camillus*, *Tribunus militaris* of the ſouldiers, and fiue other to aſſiſt him, the ſeruice in that caſe requiring a generall, that caried both authoritie and reputation among them, as an olde experienced ſouldier in the warres. When the people had confirmed the election, *Camillus* immediatly entred the territories of the Faliſces with the Romaines armie, where he laide ſiege vnto the citie of the Falerians, being very well fortified, victualed & ſtored, with all other munition of warre. Knowing therefore that it was no ſmall attempt to winne this citie, and that it would not be done in a ſhort time: he politickely ſought (whatſoeuer came of it) to keepe his countrimen occupied about ſome thing, & to ſtay them for going home, leaſt by repairing to Rome, they ſhould haue many occaſions to rebell, and raiſe ſome ciuill diſſention. For the Romaines did wiſely vſe this remedie: to diſperſe abroad like good phiſicians, the humors which troubled the quiet ſtate of their commonweale at home. But the Falerians truſting in the ſituation of their citie, which was very ſtrong in all parts, made ſo litle accompt of the ſiege: that thoſe which kept not watch vpon the walles, walked vp and downe in their gownes in the citie, without any weapon about them, and their children went to ſchoole, the ſchoolemaiſter alſo would commonly leade them abroad out of the citie a walking, to play and paſſe the time by the towne walles. For the whole citie had one common ſchoolemaiſter, as the Grecians alſo haue, which do bring vp their children from litle ones in company together, becauſe one may be familiarly acquainted with another. This ſcholemaſter ſpying his time to do the Falerians a ſhrewd turne, did accuſtomably take all his ſcholers out of the city with him, to play not farre from the walles at the beginning, and afterwards brought them into the citie againe after they had played their fill. Now after he had led them abroade thus once or twiſe, he trained them out euery day a litle further, to make them to be bolde, perſuading them there was no danger. But at the length, one day hauing gotten all the citizens children with him, he led them within the watch of the Romaines campe, and there deliuered all his ſcholers into their hands, and praied them they would bring him vnto their generall. So they did. And when he came before *Camillus*, he began to tell him that he was ſchoolemaiſter vnto all theſe children, neuertheleſſe that he did more eſteeme to haue his grace and fauour, then regard his office he had by this name and title. *Camillus* hearing what he ſaid, and beholding his treacherous part, he ſaid to thoſe that were about him Warre of it ſelfe ſurely is an euill thing, for in warres many iniuries and miſchieues are done: neuertheleſſe, among good men there is a law and diſcipline, which doth forbid them to ſeeke victorie by wicked and traiterous meanes, and that a noble and worthie generall ſhould make warre, and procure victorie, by truſting to his owne valiantnes, & not by anothers vileneſſe & villanie. Therfore he commanded his ſergeants to teare the clothes off the back of this vile ſcholemaſter, and to bind his hands behinde him: and

*Camillus choſen Tribune of the ſouldiers.*

*Camillus beſiegeth the Falerians.*

*Camillus worthy acte to the ſchoolemaſter, betraying the Falerians children.*

*A noble ſaying of Camillus, & wiſe precept for warres.*

*Valiantnes to be preferred before villanie.*

that they ſhould giue the children roddes and whippes in their hands, to whippe the traitour backe againe into the citie, that had betraied them, and grieued their parents. Now when the Falerians heard newes that the ſchoolemaiſter had thus betrayed them, all the citie fell a weeping (as euery man may thinke for ſo great a loſſe) and men and women ranne together one in anothers neck, to the towne walles, and gates of the citie, like people out of their wits, they were ſo troubled. When they came thither, they ſaw their childrẽ bringing their ſcholemaiſter back againe, ſtarke naked and bound, whipping of him, and calling *Camillus* their father, their god, and their ſauiour: ſo that not only the fathers and mothers of the children, but all other the cittizens alſo in generall, did conceiue in themſelues a wonderfull admiration and great loue, of the wiſedome, goodneſſe, and iuſtice of *Camillus*. So that euen preſently they called a counſell, and there it was concluded they ſhould ſend ambaſſadours forthwith vnto him, to put their liues and goods to his mercie and fauour. *Camillus* ſent their ambaſſadours vnto Rome, where audience being giuen vnto them by the Senate, the ambaſſadours ſayd: Becauſe the Romaines preferred iuſtice aboue victorie, they taught them to be better contented to ſubmit themſelues vnto them, then to be their owne men at liberty: confeſſing their vertue did more ouercome them, then any force or power could do. The Senate diſpatched letters vnto *Camillus*, giuing him commiſſion to do and determine as he thought good. So he hauing taken a certaine ſumme of money of the Falerians, did furthermore make peace & league with all the reſt of the Falisces: and thereupon returned back againe to Rome. But the ſouldiers grudged maruellouſly at it. For they ſtood in hope to haue had the ſacking of the citie. When there was no remedie, but they muſt needes returne home emptie handed, they began to accuſe *Camillus* to the reſt of the citizens, as ſoone as they came to Rome, ſaying: he loued not the common people, and how for ſpight he diſappointed their armie of the ſpoile. On the other ſide, the Tribunes of the people began to reuiue the lawe, for the deuiding of the inhabitants of Rome, and were ready to paſſe it by the voices of the people. *Camillus* not fearing the ill will of the commons, did boldly ſpeake, and do in open preſence, all he could againſt it. So that plainely he was the chiefeſt cauſe, that the people againſt their willes (intreate what they could) were driuen to let it alone. But withall they were ſo ſpightful againſt him, that notwithſtanding his ſorowe and misfortune for the death of his ſonne (dying of a ſickneſſe) was great: they would not of malice once take pitty or compaſſion of him. The loſſe wherof (albeit he was of a very good & courteous nature (was ſo grieuous, and made him ſo vnquiet: that being accuſed before the people, he ſturred not once out of his houſe, but was locked vp with the women, which lamented for his ſonne departed. He that did accuſe him, was one *Lucius Apuleius*, burthening him that he had ſtolne and taken away, part of the ſpoyle of the Thuscans: and ſaid they had ſeene certaine braſen gates at his houſe, which had bene brought out of Thuscan. Now the people were ſo maliciouſly bent againſt him, that euery man might ſee, if they could once take him in a trippe, vpon any aduantage whatſoeuer, they would doubtleſſe haue condemned him. Wherefore calling together his friends and ſouldiers that had ſerued vnder him in the warres, or that had taken charge with him, which were many in number: he earneſtly beſought thẽ, that they would not ſuffer him thus vilely to be condemned, through falſe and vniuſt accuſations laide againſt him, nor to be ſo ſcorned and defamed by his enemies. His friends hauing laide their heads together, and conſulted thereupon, made him aunſwer: how for his iudgement they could not remedie it, but if he were condemned, they would all ioyne together with a very goodwill, to helpe to pay his fine. But he being of minde not to beare ſuch an open ſhame and ignominie, determined in choller to leaue the citie, and to exile him ſelfe from it. And after he had taken his leaue of his wife and children, bidding them farewell: he went out of his houſe to the gates of the city, and ſaid neuer a word. When he came thither, he ſtayed ſodainly, and returning back againe, he lift vp his hands towards the Capitoll, and made his prayers vnto the gods: that if it were of very ſpight and mallice, and not of iuſt deſeruing, that the common people compelled him thus ſhamefully to forſake the citie, that the Romaines might quickly repent them, and in the face of the world might wiſh for him, and haue neede of him. After he had made theſe prayers againſt the cittizens (as *Achilles* did againſt the Grecians) he went his way, & was condem-

*The Faliſcians by their ambaſſadours do yeeld themſelues & goods vnto Camillus.*

*The meſſage of the ambaſſadours of the Faliſcians vnto the Romaines.*

*Camillus tooke a ſumme of mony of the Falerians, and made peace withall the reſt of the Faliſces.*

*Lucius Apuleius accuſed Camillus.*

*The equitie of the Romaines who would not peruert the law though they dearely loued Camillus: but willingly offered to pay his fine.*

*Camillus prayer before his departure out of Rome.*

*Camillus exileth himſelfe from Rome.*

condemned for his contempt, in the ſumme of fifteene thouſande *Aſſes* of the ROMAINE coyne, which make of Greekiſh money, a thouſand fiue hundred *Drachmas* of ſiluer: for an *As* was a litle peece of money, wherof ten of them made a ROMAINE penny. Howbeit there was not a ROMAINE of any vnderſtanding, but beleeued certainly that ſome great puniſhmẽt would follow them incontinently, and that the wrong and iniurie they had done him would be quickly requited, with ſome moſt ſharpe & terrible reuenge, not only vnpleaſant to thinke vpon, but further moſt notable to be ſpoken of through the world. There fell out ſo ſodainly vpon it, ſuch miſchief toward the citie of ROME, and the preſent time alſo brought forth ſuch occaſion of daunger and deſtruction thereof, to their ſhame & infamie: that it was vncertaine whether it happened by chaunce, or els it was the handie worke of ſome god, that would not ſuffer vertue recompenced with ingratitude, to paſſe vnreuenged. Their firſt token that threatned ſome great miſchiefe to light vpon them, was the death of *Iulius*, one of the Cenſors: for the ROMAINES doe greatly reuerence the office of a Cenſor, and eſteeme it as a ſacred place. The ſecond token that happened a litle before *Camillus* exile, was: that one *Marcus Cæditius*, a man but of meane qualitie, and none of the Senatours (but otherwiſe a faire conditioned honeſt man, and of good conſcience) told the *Tribuni militares* of a thing that was to be well conſidered of. For he ſayde that the night before, as he was going on his way in the newe ſtreete, he heard one call him aloud: and returning backe to ſee what it was, he ſawe no liuing creature, but onely heard a voyce bigger then a mans, which ſayd vnto him. *Marcus Cæditius*, goe thy way to morrow morning to the *Tribuni militares*, and bid them looke quickly for the GAVLES. The *Tribunes* were merie at the matter, and made but a ieaſt at his warning, and ſtraight after followed the condemnation of *Camillus*. Nowe as touching the GAVLES. They came (as they ſay) of the CELTÆ, whoſe countrie not being able to maintaine the multitudes of them, they were driuen to goe ſeeke other countries to inhabite in: and there were amongſt them many thouſands of young men of ſeruice and good ſouldiers, but yet more women and litle children by a great number. Of theſe people, ſome of them went towardes the North ſea, paſſing the mountaines RIPHEI, and did dwell in the extreme partes of EVROPE. Other of them remained betweene the mountaines PIRENEI, & the greateſt mountaines of the ALPES, neere vnto the SENONES, and the CELTORII. There they continued a long time, vntill they fortuned in the ende to taſte of the wine, which was firſt brought out of ITALY vnto them. Which drinke they found ſo good, and were ſo delighted with it, that ſodainely they armed themſelues: and taking their wiues and children with them, they went directly towards the ALPES, to goe ſeeke out the countrie that brought forth ſuch frute, iudging all other countries in reſpect of that, to be but wilde and barren. It is ſayd, that the firſt man which brought wine vnto them, and that did procure them to paſſe into ITALY, was a noble man of THVSCAN called *Arron*, and otherwiſe of no ill diſpoſed nature: howbeit he was ſubiect to this misfortune following. He was tutor vnto an orphan child, the richeſt that was at that time in all the countrie of THVSCAN, and of complexion was wonderfull fayre: he was called *Lucumo*. This orphan was brought vp in *Arrons* houſe of a childe, and though he was growen to mans ſtate, yet he would not go from him, fayning he was ſo well, & to his liking. But in deede the cauſe was, that he loued his miſtreſſe (*Arrons* wife) whõ ſecretly he had enioyed a long time, and ſhe him, that made him like his continuance there. Howbeit in the ende, loue hauing ſo poſſeſſed them both, that neither part could withdraw from other, much leſſe colour that they had long enioyed: the yong man ſtole her away from him, and kept her ſtill by force. *Arron* put him in ſute, but he preuayled not: for *Lucumo* ouerweyed him with friends, money, giftes, and charges. But he tooke it ſo grieuouſly, that he left his country: and hauing heard talke of the GAVLES, he went vnto them, and was their guide to bring them into ITALY. So they conquered at their firſt comming all that countrie which the THVSCANS helde in old time, beginning at the foote of the mountaines, and ſtretched out in length from one ſea vnto the other which enuironeth ITALY, as the names themſelues doe witneſſe. For they call yet that ſea which looketh vnto the North, the Adriaticke ſea: by reaſon of a citie built ſometime by the THVSCANS, which was called *Adria*. The other, which lieth directly ouer againſt the South, is called the THVSCAN ſea. All that countrie

*Tokens of the warres of the Gaules.*

*The originall beginning of the Gaules.*

*Arron a Thuſcan the procurer of the Gaules comming into Italy.*

*Lacke of iuſtice the cauſe of the destruction & conqueſt of Thuſcan by the Gaules.*

*The power of the Thuſcans in old time.*

*Cluſium a citie of Thuſcan beſieged by the Gaules.*

*Brennus king of the Gaules.*

*Fabius Ambuſtus a Romaine breaketh the common law of all nations.*

*Brennus reproueth Fabius for breaking the law of armes.*

*Numa Pompilius erected the colledge of the Faciales.*

is well planted with trees, and hath goodly pleaſant paſtures for beaſtes and cattell to feede in, & is notably watered with goodly running riuers. There was alſo at that time eighteene fayre great cities in that countrie, all of them very ſtrong and well ſeated, aſwell for to enrich the inhabitants thereof by trafficke, as to make them to liue delicately for pleaſure. All theſe cities the GAVLES had won, and had expulſed the THVSCANS, but this was done long time before. Now the GAVLES being further entred into THVSCAN, did beſiege the citie of CLVSIVM. Thereupon the CLVSIANS ſeeking aide of the ROMAINES, beſought them they would ſend letters and ambaſſadours vnto theſe barbarous people in their fauour. They ſent vnto them three of the beſt and moſt honorable perſons of the citie, all three of the houſe of the *Fabians*. The GAVLES receiued them very courteouſly, becauſe of the name of ROME: and leauing to aſſault the citie, they gaue them audience. The ROMAINE ambaſſadours did aske them, what iniurie the CLVSIANS had done vnto them, that they came to make wars with them. *Brennus* king of the GAVLES, hearing this queſtion, ſmiled, and anſwered them thus. The CLVSIANS do vs wrong in this: they being but few people together, & not able to occupie much land, do notwithſtanding poſſeſſe much, and will let vs haue no part with them, that are ſtrangers, and out of our countrie, and ſtand in neede of ſeat and habitation. The like wrong was offered vnto you ROMAINES in olde time, by thoſe of ALBA, by the FIDENATES, and the ARDEATES: and not long ſithence, by the VEIANS, and the CAPENATES: & partly by the FALISCES & the VOLSCES: againſt whom ye haue taken, & do take armes, at all times. And as oft as they wil let you haue no part of their goods, ye impriſon their perſons, robbe & ſpoile their goods, and deſtroy their cities. And in doing this, ye do them no wrong at all, but follow the oldeſt law that is in the world, which euer leaueth vnto the ſtronger, that which the weaker cannot keepe and enioy. Beginning with the goddes, and ending with beaſts: the which haue this propertie in nature, that the bigger and ſtronger haue euer the vantage of the weaker & leſſer. Therfore, leaue your pittie to ſee the CLVSIANS beſieged, leaſt you teach vs GAVLES to take compaſſion alſo of thoſe you haue oppreſſed. By this anſwere the ROMAINES knew very well, there was no way to make peace with king *Brennus*. Wherefore they entred into the citie of CLVSIVM, and incouraged the inhabitants to ſalie out with them vpon theſe barbarous people: either becauſe they had a deſire to proue the valiantneſſe of the GAVLES, or elſe to ſhew their owne courage and manhood. So the citizens went out, & skirmiſhed with them hard by the walles: in the which one of the *Fabians*, called *Quintus Fabius Ambuſtus*, being excellently well horſed, and putting ſpurres to him, did ſet vpon a goodly bigge perſonage of the GAVLES, that had aduaunced himſelfe farre before all the troupe of his companions. He was not knowen at the firſt encounter, aſwell for the ſodaine meeting and skirmiſhing together, as for that his gliſtering armour dimmed the eyes of the enemies. But after he had ſlaine the GAVLE, and came to ſtrip him: *Brennus* then knew him, and proteſted againſt him, calling the goddes to witneſſe, how he had broken the law of armes, that comming as an ambaſſadour, he had taken vpon him the forme of an enemie. Hereupon *Brennus* foorthwith left skirmiſhing, and raiſing the ſiege from CLVSIVM, marched with his armie vnto ROME gates. And to the end the ROMAINES might know, that the GAVLES were not well pleaſed for the iniurie they had receiued: to haue an honeſt colour to beginne warres with the ROMAINES, he ſent an Herauld before to ROME, to demaund liuerie of the man that had offended him, that he might puniſh him accordingly. In the meane time, he himſelf came marching after, by ſmall iourneyes to receiue their aunſwere. The Senate hereupon aſſembled, and many of the Senators blamed the raſhnes of the *Fabians*: but moſt of all, the prieſts called *Faciales*. For they followed it very earneſtly, as a matter that concerned religion & the honor of the goddes: declaring how the Senate, in diſcharge of all the reſidue of the citie of the offence committed, ſhould lay the whole waight and burden of it vpon him alone, that only had done the fact. *Numa Pompilius*, the iuſteſt and moſt peaceable of all the Kings of ROME that had bene, was he that firſt erected the Colledge of theſe *Fæciales*, and did ordeine that they ſhould be the keepers of peace, and the iudges to heare and allow all the cauſes, for the which they ſhould iuſtly beginne any warres. Neuertheleſſe, the Senate in the end turned ouer the ordering of the matter, vnto the whole will and iudgement of the people, before whom theſe prieſts *Faciales* did alſo accuſe *Fabius Ambuſtus*. The people made ſo little account of their propounded religion, and honour of the goddes in that caſe: that in ſteede of deliuering of this *Fabius* vnto the enemie, they did chooſe him for one of the Tribunes of the ſouldiers with his brothers. The GAVLES vnderſtanding this, were ſo furious & angry thereat, that they would no longer linger their iorneis, but marched with al ſpeed vnto ROME. The people that dwelt by the high waies where they ſhould paſſe by, were maruellouſly affrayd to ſee the multitude of them, & their braue and vniuerſall furniture: and beginning to doubt the furie of their rage, they imagined firſt of all that they would deſtroy all the champion countrie before them, and afterwards would take all the ſtrong cities. They cōtrariwiſe did take nothing at all out of the fields, neither did any hurt or diſpleaſure vnto any bodie: but paſſing by their cities, cryed out they went to ROME, and would haue no wars but with the ROMAINES, and how otherwiſe they deſired to be friends with al the world. Theſe barbarous people marching on in this wiſe towards ROME, the Tribunes of the ſouldiers brought their armie to the field to encounter them. They were no leſſe in number then the GAVLES, for they were fortie thouſand footmen. Howbeit moſt part of them were raw ſouldiers, that had neuer ſerued in the warres before. They were very careles of the goddes, and diſſolute in matters of religion: for they paſſed neither for good ſignes in their ſacrifices, neither to aske counſell of their ſoothſayers, which the ROMAINES were religiouſly wont to do, before they gaue any battell. To make the matter worſe, the number of the captaines hauing power & authoritie alike, did aſmuch (or more then the reſt) diſorder and confound their doings. For oft times before, in farre leſſer matters and daungers then theſe, they did vſe to chuſe ſpeciall officers that had ſole and ſoueraine authoritie, which they called *Dictators*: knowing very well of how great importance it is, in dangerous times to haue but one head and generall, to commaund all and to haue ſupreme authoritie of iuſtice in his hands, and not to be bound to deliuer account of his doings to any. The iniury alſo which they had too vngratefully done to *Camillus*, brought great miſchiefe & inconuenience then vpon them. For the captaines after him, durſt no more cōmand the people roughly, but euer after did flatter them much. When their armie was now brought into the field, they encamped thēſelues by a litle riuer called *Allia*, about the eleuenth ſtone frō ROME, and not farre from the place where the ſame riuer falleth into *Tyber*. Thither came the barbarous armie to them, who ouerthrew them in battell, by their diſorder & lack of gouernment. For the left point or wing of their battell was broken off at the firſt by the GAVLES, who charged them ſo furiouſly, that they draue them hedlong into the riuer. The right wing then retiring out of the plaine, before they had any charge giuen, and hauing gotten certaine hilles hard by them: they had litle hurt, & moſt of them ſauing thēſelues, did recouer ROME againe. The reſt that eſcaped after the enemies were wearie of killing, fled by night vnto the citie of VEIES, thinking ROME had bene loſt, & all the citie put to the ſword. This ouerthrow was on the longeſt day in ſommer, the moone being at the full: and the day before fortuned the great ſlaughter of the *Fabians*, of the which were ſlaine by the THVSCANS in one day 300. all of a name. The very day it ſelfe was afterwards called *Alliade*, of the name of the litle riuer, by the which the ſecond ouerthrow was giuen. But for the difference of daies, that ſome of them are naturally vnfortunate, or that *Heraclitus* the Philoſopher had reaſon to reproue the Poet *Heſiodus*, for making ſome daies good, & ſome daies ill, as though he vnderſtood they were not all of one nature: we haue written & declared our opinion therof in other places. Yet, becauſe the matter deliuereth preſent occaſion to ſpeake of the ſame, peraduenture it wil not be amiſſe to alleage a few examples of it only. It fortuned the BOEOTIANS on a time to win two honorable victories, on the firſt day of the moneth they call *Hippodromus* (and which the ATHENIANS call *Hecatombaeon*) that is now the moneth of Iune, by either of the which they did ſtil reſtore the GRECIANS to their libertie. The firſt was the battell of LEVCTRES. The ſecond was the battell of GERASTE, which was 200. yeares before, when they ouercame LATTAMIAS, & the THESSALIANS in battell. The PERSIANS contrarily were ouercome in battell by the GRECIANS, the 6. day of Auguſt, at the iorney of MARATHON. The third day, at the battell of PLATEES. And on the ſelfe ſame day, neere vnto MYCALA. On the fiue and twentieth day, at the fight of ARBELES, the ATHENIANS wanne the battell by ſea, neere vnto the

*The Gaules march towards Rome.*

*The Romaines armie were 40000. footemen.*

*Too many rulers of an army do confound all order, and putteth the armie in perill.*

*Allia fl.*

*The battell at the riuer of Allia where the Gaules wanne the field of the Romaines.*

*Three hundred of a name ſlain in one day.*

Ile of Naxos, vnder the charge and gouernment of *Chabrias*, about the full of the moone, in the moneth of Auguſt. And on the twentith of the ſame moneth, they wanne the battel of Salamina: as we haue written more amply in our hiſtorie of difference of dayes. The moneth of Aprill alſo brought to the barbarous people many notable loſſes. For *Alexander* the great, ouercame the generall of the king of Persia, at the fielde of Granica, in the ſaide moneth. The Carthaginians alſo were vanquiſhed in Cicile by *Timoleon*, on the ſeuen and twentieth day thereof. On which day alſo it is thought the citie of Troy was taken: as *Ephorus*, *Calliſthenes*, *Damaſtes*, and *Phylarchus*, haue written in their hiſtories. Now contrariwiſe. The moneth of Iuly, which the Boeotians call *Panemus*, hath not bene gratious to the Grecians. For on the ſeuenth day of the ſame, they were ouethrowen by *Antipater* at the battell of Cranon, which was their vtter deſtruction. They had before alſo loſt a battell the ſame moneth, neere vnto the citie of Chæronea, by king *Phillippe*. On the ſame day alſo, and in the very ſelfe moneth and yere, thoſe which came into Italy with king *Archidamus* were ſlaine euery one of them, by the barbarous people of the country. The Carthaginians alſo feare the ſeuen & twentieth day of the ſame moneth, as the day which had before time brought them into many great and ſorowfull calamities. Contrarily alſo, I know very wel, how about the feaſt of myſteries, the citie of Thebes was deſtroied by *Alexander*, & that the Athenians were compelled to receiue a gariſon of ſouldiers into their citie, about the twentieth day of Auguſt, at which time they made the holy proceſſion of the myſteries of *Iacchus*. And on the ſelf day the Romaines loſt their armie, & their general *Cæpio*, who was ſlaine by the Cimbres. And how afterwards vnder the leading of *Lucullus*, they ouercame king *Tigranes*, and the Armenians. And that *Attalus*, & *Pompey* alſo, died both on the ſelf ſame day they were borne. To conclude, infinite examples of men might be brought, vnto whom after like reuolutions of time, there happened notable chaunces of good or ill. But to returne againe vnto our hiſtorie. The day of this ouerthrow, is one of thoſe which the Romaines take for one of the vnfortunateſt dayes that euer came vnto them. And by reaſon of that day, they reckon two other dayes of euery moneth very vnfortunate, engendred through feare & ſuperſtition, which ſpreadeth farre (as commonly it doth) vpon ſuch ſiniſter misfortunes. But for this matter, we haue written it more largely & exquiſitly in the booke we made, of the ceremonies & cuſtomes of the Romaines. Now after this battell loſt, if the Gavles had hottely purſued the chaſe of their flying enemies, nothing could haue ſaued Rome from being taken, and the inhabitants therof from being put vnto the ſword. For the Romaines that fled from the battell, brought ſuch a feare vpō thoſe that receiued them, & filled the whole citie of Rome with ſuch grief & trembling: that they wiſt not what to do. The barbarous people again, beleeuing litle their victorie was ſo great as it was, fell to make good cheere for ſo great a ioy receiued, and deuided among them the ſpoyle of their enemies goods they found in the campe. So gaue they time & leaſure by this meanes, to the multitude of people that fled out of Rome, to ſeeke them ſome place of ſafety: & to ſuch as remained ſtill, they left good hope to ſaue themſelues, & to make ſome prouiſion for defence. Therupon they all fortified themſelues within mount Capitoll, & ſtoring it with all kind of victual, armour, & munition, they wholy did forſake the reſt of the citie. But the firſt worke they tooke in hand was this. They did bring into their ſaid fort, part of their ſacred reliques: and the profeſſed *Veſtals* brought thither alſo their holy fire & al other their holy monuments. Some writers ſay, that they had nothing els in keeping, but the ſempiternall fire, & were ſo conſecrated by king *Numa*, who did firſt inſtitute, that the fire ſhould be worſhipped, as the beginning of all things. For that it is the moſt motiue & quickeſt ſubſtance that is of all naturall things: notwithſtanding, that generation alſo is a mouing, or at the leaſt not done without motion. For we ſee, that all other ſubſtance which lacketh heate, remaineth idle, and without action, and ſturreth not, no more then doth a dead thing, which craueth the force and heate of fire: as the ſoule it ſelfe recouering heate, beginneth ſomewhat to moue, and diſpoſeth it ſelfe to doe, and ſuffer ſome thing. Wherefore *Numa* being (as they ſay) a man of great learning and vnderſtanding, who for his wiſedome was reported to talke many times with the *Muſes*, did conſecrate the ſame as a moſt ſacred thing, and commaunded that they neuer ſhould ſuffer that fire to goe out, and but keepe it, as they would preſerue

*The Romaines ſuperſtition in obſeruing of dayes.*

*The holy fire.*

*The force of fire.*

the liuely image of the eternall God, the only King and maker of the world. Other ſay, that the fire burned continually there before the holy and ſacred things, ſignifying a kind and maner of purification, which opinion the GRECIANS hold alſo: howbeit behind the ſame fire, there were certain hidden things, which in no caſe any might ſee, but thoſe holy *Veſtall Nuns*. Many alſo hold an opinion, that the *Palladium* of TROY, (as much to ſay, as *Pallas* image) is hidden alſo there, which was brought by *Æneas* into ITALY. Other doe report alſo, that *Dardanus*, at that time when he firſt beganne to build the city of TROY, brought thither the holy images of the goddes of SAMOTHRASIA, and he did offer them vp there: and how *Æneas* after the city was taken, did ſteale them away, and kept them vntill he came to dwell in ITALIE. Some other alſo, that take vppon them to know more therein then the common ſort do, hold opinion, that there are two pipes not very great, whereof the one is empty and ſtandeth open, the other is full and faſt locked vp, howbeit they are not to be ſeene but by theſe holy *Nunnes*. Other thinke alſo, that theſe imaginers inuented that they ſpake of their owne heads, becauſe the *Veſtall Nunnes* did caſt all that they could put in at that time, into two pipes, which they buried after in the ground, within the temple of *Quirinus*: and therefore that very place carieth the ſurname at this day of pipes. Howbeit they caried about them the moſt precious things they had, and fled alongeſt the riuer. Where one *Lucius Albinus* (one of the common people) flying alſo, and hauing brought away his wife and litle children, and other houſhold ſtuffe he had in a cart, by chance he lighted vpon the *Veſtall Nunnes* in the way. But ſo ſoone as he perceiued theſe holy *Nuns* (carying the bleſſed reliques & iewels in their armes, dedicated vnto the ſeruice of the gods) all alone, and that they were weary with going a foote: he cauſed his wife and his children to come out of the cart, & tooke down all his goods alſo, and willed them to get them vp, & flie into ſome city or towne of GREECE. Thus, me thought I could not wel paſſe ouer with ſilence, *Albinus* reuerence and deuotion he ſhewed vnto the goddes, in ſo dangerous a time and pinche of extremity. Furthermore the prieſts of other goddes, and the moſt honorableſt old men of the city of ROME (that had bene Conſuls before time, or had paſt the honour of triumph) had not the heart to forſake ROME: but putting on all their moſt holy robes and veſtmentes did vow, and as it were willingly ſacrificed them ſelues vnto the fortune that ſhould befall them for the ſafety of their countrey. And vſing certaine words and prayers which their high Biſhop *Fabius* had taught them, they went euen thus apparelled into the great market place, & did ſit them downe there, in chaires of iuory, expecting the good will and pleaſure of the gods what ſhould become of them. But within three daies after, *Brennus* came to ROME with his army: who finding the gates of the city all open, and the wals without watch, he doubted ſome deuiſe in it, and feared ſome priuy ambuſh had bene laid, as one hardly beleeuing to haue found the ROMAINS of ſo baſe a mind, as to forſake their city. After being enformed of the troth, he entred into ROME by the gate *Collina*, & tooke the ſame litle more then three hundred and three ſcore yeares after it was firſt builded: if it be true at the leaſt there hath remained any certaine chronicles of thoſe times vnto this preſent day, conſidering the trouble and confuſion of that time hath made many things more vncertaine, then that, doubtfull vnto vs. But ſo it was, that the rumor ran to GREECE incontinently how ROME was taken, but yet withall ſomwhat doubtfully and vncertainly. For *Heraclides Ponticus* (who was about that time) ſaieth in a certaine booke he wrote of the ſoule, that there was newes come from the Weſt part, that an army which came from the HYPERBORIANS had taken a city of GREECE called ROME, ſituated in that countrey neare the great ſea. But I wõder not that *Heraclides* (who hath written ſo many other fables and lies) did amplifie the true newes of the taking of ROME, with adding to of his owne deuiſe, of the HYPERBORIANS, & by the great ſea. It is a moſt true tale, that *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher had certain knowledge it was takẽ by the GAVLS: howbeit he ſaith alſo it was recouered again afterwards by one called *Lucius*: where indeed it was, by *Marcus Camillus*, & not by *Lucius* But all this in maner is ſpokẽ by coniecture. Moreouer *Brennus* being entred ROME, did appoint part of his ſouldiers to beſiege thoſe which were gottẽ into moũt Capitol. And he with the reſidue of his army, marched on towards the market place, where when he ſaw the ancient Senators ſet ſo grauely in their chaires & ſpake neuer a word, nor offered once to riſe, though they ſaw

*Fabius chiefe biſhop of Rome.*

*Rome taken of the Gaules.*

*Ariſtotles teſtimony of the taking of Rome*

*The maieſty of the old Senators ſet in the market place of Rome.*

their enemies come armed againſt them, neither chaunged countenance nor colour at all, but leaned ſoftly on their ſtaues they had in their handes, ſeeming to be nothing afraide nor abaſhed, but looked one vpon another, he maruellouſly wondred at it. This their ſo ſtrange manner at the firſt did ſo dampe the GAVLES, that for a ſpace they ſtoode ſtill, and were in doubt to come neare to touch them, fearing leaſt they had bene ſome goddes: vntill ſuch time as one of them went boldly vnto *Marcus Papyrius*, and laid his hand faire and ſoftly vpō his long beard. But *Papyrius* gaue him ſuch a rappe on his pate with his ſtaffe, that he made the bloud run about his eares. This barbarous beaſt was in ſuch a rage with the blow, that he drew out his ſword & ſlew him. The other ſouldiers alſo killed all the reſt afterwards: & ſo the GAVLS continued many daies ſpoyling and ſacking all things they found in the houſes, and in the end did ſet them all a fire, and deſtroied them euery one, for deſpite of thoſe that kept the fort of the Capitoll, that would not yeeld vpon their ſummons, but valiantly repulſed them when they ſcaled the wals. For this cauſe they raſed the whole city, and put all to the ſword that came in their handes, young and old, man, woman, and childe. Now this ſiege continuing long, and the ROMAINES holding them out very ſtoutly, victuals beganne to grow ſcant in the campe of the GAVLES, in ſomuch as they were driuen of force to ſeeke it abroad without the city. Hereupon they deuided them ſelues, whereof ſome remained ſtill with the King at the ſiege of the Capitoll: and the reſt went a forraging and ſpoyling all the champion countrey and villages there aboutes, ſcattered as it were by bands and cōpanies, ſome here, ſome there, fearing nothing, nor paſſing vppon watch or ward, they liued in ſuch ſecurity of their victory. Howbeit the greateſt company amongeſt them, went by fortune towards the city of ARDEA where *Camillus* dwelt, liuing like a priuate man, medling with no matters of ſtate from the time of his exile, vntill that preſent time. But then he began not to bethinke him ſelfe as a man that was in ſafety, and might haue eſcaped the handes of his enemies, but rather ſought to deuiſe and finde out all the meanes he could to ſubdue them if occaſion were ſo offered. Whereupon, conſidering that the inhabitaunts of ARDEA were enough in number to ſet vpon them, although faint hearted, and cowardly, by reaſon of the ſlouth and negligence of their gouernors and captaines, who had no manner of experience in the warres: hee began to caſt out theſe words among the young men. That they ſhould not thinke the ROMAINS misfortune fell vpon them, through the valiantnes of the GAVLES, nor that their calamity (who had refuſed good counſaile) had happened vnto them by any worke or act of the GAVLES, hauing done nothing for their part to make them cary away the victory: but that they ſhould thinke it was no other thing, but fortune alone, that would needes ſhew her power. Therefore, that it were now a notable and honourable enterpriſe (although ſomewhat dangerous) to driue theſe ſtraungers and barbarous people out of their countrey: conſidering that the only end of their victory was, but to deſtroy and conſume as fire, all that fell into their handes. Wherefore if they would but onely take a good luſty heart and corage vnto them, he would with opportunity and place, aſſure them the victory without any danger. The young men were pleaſed with theſe words of life and comfort. Whereupon *Camillus* went to breake the matter alſo vnto the magiſtrats and counſellours: and hauing drawen them by perſwaſion vnto this enterpriſe, he armed all that were of age to cary armour, and would not ſuffer a man to go out of the city, for feare leaſt the enemies (which were not farre off) ſhould haue intelligence of the ſame. Now after the GAVLES had run ouer all the champion countrey, and were loden with all ſorts of ſpoiles, they did encampe them ſelues negligently in open fields, and neuer charged watch nor ward: but hauing their full cariage of wine laid them downe to ſleepe, and made no noiſe at all in their campe. *Camillus* being aduertiſed thereof by his ſeuerall ſkoutes, cauſed the ARDEANS with as litle noiſe as might bee, forthwith to go out into the fields: and hauing marched ſomewhat roundly the diſtance betweene the city and the cāpe of the GAVLS, they came thither much about midnight. Then he made his ſouldiers make great ſhouts & cries, & the trūpets to be ſounded on euery ſide, to put a fear in their enemies, who yet with all the loud noiſe they made, could hardly be made to wake, they were ſo deadly drunke. Yet there were ſome notwithſtanding, that for feare to be taken tardy, did buſtle vp at this ſodaine noiſe: and comming to them ſelues, fell to their weapons to

*The city of Rome raſed by the Gaules.*

*The city of Ardea.*

*Camillus words vnto the Ardeans in excuſe of the Romains*

*Camillus perſwadeth the Ardeans to take armes againſt the Gaules.*

reſiſt *Camillus*, which were ſlaine by and by. The reſt, and the greateſt nũber of them lay here and there ſcattered in the middeſt of the field without any weapon dead a ſleepe, ſtark drunke with wine, and were put to the ſword and neuer ſtrake ſtroke. Thoſe that fled out of the cãpe that night (which were but few in number) were ouerthrowen alſo the next day, by the horſe men which followed and killed them, as they tooke them ſtraggling here and there in the fields. The brute of this victory was blowen abroad incontinently through all the towns and villages there abouts, which cauſed many yong men to come and ioyne them ſelues to *Camillus*: but ſpecially the ROMAINES deſired the ſame, that had ſaued them ſelues in the city of VEIES, after the battell loſt at ALLIA, who made their mones amongeſt them ſelues there, ſaying. O goddes what a captaine hath fortune taken from the city of ROME? What honour hath the city of ARDEA by the valiantnes and worthy deedes of *Camillus*: and in the meane ſeaſon his naturall city that brought him forth, is now loſt and vtterly deſtroyed? We, for lacke of a captaine to leade vs, are ſhut vp here within others wals, and do nothing but ſuffer ITALIE in the meane ſpace to go to ruine and vtter deſtruction before our eies. Why then doe we not ſend to the ARDEANS for our captaine? or why do we not arme our ſelues, to go vnto him? For he is now no more a baniſhed man, nor we poore citizens: ſince our city is poſſeſſed with the foraine power of our hateful enemies. So they all agreed to this counſell, and ſent vnto *Camillus* to beſeech him to be their captaine, and lead them. But he made aunſwer, he would in no caſe conſent vnto it, vnleſſe they that were beſieged in the Capitoll had lawfully firſt confirmed it by their voices. For thoſe (ſaid he) ſo long as they remain within the city, do repreſent the ſtate and body thereof. Therefore if they commanded him to take this charge vpon him, he would moſt willingly obey them: if otherwiſe they miſliked of it, that then he would not meddle againſt their good wils and commaundement. They hauing receiued this aunſwer, there was not a ROMAINE amongſt them, but greatly honored & extolled the wiſdome & iuſtice of *Camillus*: But now they knew not how to make thẽ priuy vnto it, that were beſieged in the Capitoll: for they ſaw no poſſibility to cõuay a meſſenger to them: conſidering the enemies were lords of the city, and laid ſiege to it. Howbeit there was one ***Pontius Cominius*** amongſt the yong men (a man of a meane houſe, but yet deſirous of honour and glory) that offered himſelfe very willingly to venter to get in if he could. So he tooke no letters to cary to them that were beſieged, for feare leaſt they might be intercepted, and ſo they ſhould diſcouer *Camillus* intention: but putting on an ill fauoured gown vpon him, he conuaied certaine peeces of corcke vnder it, and trauelling at noone daies kept on his way without feare vntill he came to ROME, bringing darke night with him. And becauſe he could not paſſe ouer the bridge, for that the barbarous people kept watch vpon it: he wrapped ſuch clothes as he had about his necke) which were not many, nor heauy) & tooke the riuer, & ſwimming with theſe corcks he had brought, at the length he got ouer to the other ſide where the city ſtood. Then taking vp thoſe lanes alwaies where he thought the enemies were not, ſeeing fire, & hearing noiſe in other places, he wẽt to the gate Carmentale, wher he foũd more ſilence then in other places: on the which ſide alſo, the hill of the Capitoll was more ſteep & vpright, by reaſon of the great rocks that were hard to clime vp vpon. But he digged & crept vp ſo lõg amongſt thẽ, that he got vp with great paine vnto the wall of the fortres, on the which ſide alſo the enemy kept no watch: & ſaluting the watch of the Capitol, he told thẽ what he was. So they plucked him vp vnto them, & brought him to the magiſtrats that ruled then. Who cauſed the Senate to aſſemble preſently, to whõ he told the news of *Camillus* victory, which they had not heard of before: & therewith alſo he did declare vnto them, the determination of the ROMAIN ſouldiers that were abroad, which was, to make *Camillus* their captain & generall, & did perſwade them alſo to grant him the charge, for that he was the only man abroad whõ the citizens gaue their conſents to obay. When they heard this al that were within the Capitol, conſulted therupon amongſt themſelues, & ſo did chuſe *Camillus Dictator*, & returned the meſſenger ***Pontius Cominius*** backe againe, the ſelfe ſame way he came vnto them. His fortune in returning backe was like vnto his cõming thither: for the enemies neuer ſaw him. And ſo he broght report to them that were abroad, of the Senats decree & conſent, wherof they were all maruellous glad. Thus came *Camillus* to take this charge of general vpon him, & found there were twẽty thou-

*Camillus ſlue the Gauls hard by Ardea.*

***Pontius Cominius got vp into the Capitoll at Rome.***

***Camillus choſen Dictator the ſecond time.***

ſand good fighting men abroad, and well armed. Then got he further aide alſo of their allies and confederates, and prepared daily to goe and ſet vpon the enemies. So was *Camillus* choſen now *Dictator* the ſecond time, and went into the city of VEIES where he ſpake with the ROMAINE ſouldiers that were there, and leauied a great number of the allies beſides, to go fight with the enemies as ſoone as he could. But whileſt *Camillus* was thus a preparing, certaine of the barbarous people in ROME, walking out by chaunce on that ſide of the Capitoll where *Pontius Cominius* had gotten vp the night before: ſpied in diuers places the printes of his feete and hands, as he had griped & gotten hold, ſtill digging to get vp, and ſaw the weeds & hearbs alſo growing vpon the rockes, and the earth in like manner flat troden downe. Whereupon they went preſently vnto the King to let him vnderſtand the ſame: who forthwith came to view the place. And hauing conſidered it well, he did nothing at that time: but when a darke night was come, he called a company of the lighteſt GAVLES together, and that vſed moſt to dig in mountaines, and ſaid vnto them. Our enemies them ſelues doe ſhew vs the way how to take them, which we could not haue found out but by them ſelues. For they hauing gone vp before vs, doe giue vs eaſily to vnderſtand, it is no impoſſible thing for vs to clime vp alſo. Wherefore we were vtterly ſhamed, hauing already begun well, if we ſhould faile alſo to end well: and to leaue this place as vnuincible. For if it were eaſie for one man alone, by cligging to clime vp to the height thereof: much leſſe is it hard for many to get vp one after another, ſo that one doe helpe another. Therefore Sirs, I aſſure you, thoſe that do take paines to get vp, ſhalbe honorably rewarded, according to their iuſt deſert. When the King had ſpoken theſe words vnto the GAVLES, they fell to it luſtily euery man to get vp: and about midnight, they began many of them to dig, and make ſteps vp to the rocke one after another, as ſoftly as could poſſibly, with catching hold the beſt they could, by the hanging of the rocke, which they found very ſteepe, but neuertheles eaſier to clime, then they tooke it at the beginning. So that the formoſt of them being come to the top of the rocke, were now ready to take the wall, and to ſet vpon the watch that ſlept: for there was neither man nor dog that heard them. It chanced then there were holy geeſe kept in the temple of *Iuno*, which at other times were wont to be fed till their crops were full: but victuals being very ſtraight and ſcant at that time euen to find the men, the poore geeſe were ſo hard handled, & ſo litle regarded, that they were in manner ſtarued for lacke of meat. This fowle in deede naturally is very quicke of hearing, and ſo is ſhe alſo very fearefull by nature: and being in maner famiſhed with their hard allowance, they were ſo much the more waking and eaſier to be afraid. Vpon this occaſion therfore, they heard the comming of the GAVLES, and alſo began to run vp & down and cry for feare: with which noiſe they did wake thoſe that were within the caſtle. The GAVLES being bewraied by theſe fooliſh geeſe, left their ſtealing vpon them, and came in with all the open noiſe and terror they could. The ROMAINES hearing this larum, euery man tooke ſuch weapon as came firſt to his hand, and they ran ſodainely to reſcue that place from whence they vnderſtoode the noiſe: among thoſe, the formoſt man of all was *Marcus Manlius*, a man that had bene Conſul, who had a luſty body, and as ſtout a heart. His hap being to meete with two of the GAVLES together, as one of them was lifting vp his axe to knocke him on the head, he preuented him, and ſtrake off his hand with his ſword, and clapt his target on the others face ſo fiercely, that he threw him backward downe the rocke: and comming afterwards vnto the wall with others that ran thither with him, he repulſed the reſt of the GAVLES that were gotten vp, who were not many in number, neither did any great act. Thus the ROMAINS hauing eſcaped this danger, the next morning they threw the captaine down the rocks frō the caſtell, who had charge of the watch the night before: and gaue *Manlius* in recompence of the good ſeruice he had done, a more honourable then profitable reward, which was this. Euery man of them gaue him halfe a pound of the country wheat, which they call *Far*, and the fourth part of the meaſure of wine, which the GRECIANS call *Cotile*: and this might be about a quart, being the ordinary allowance of euery man by the day. After this repulſe, the GAVLES beganne to be diſcouraged, partly for that their victuals failed them, and durſt no more forage abroade in the fieldes for feare of *Camillus*: and partly alſo for that the plague came amongeſt them, being lodged amongeſt heapes of dead bodies, lying in euery place aboue ground without buriall,

*The Gaules clime vp to the Capitoll in the night.*

*The holy geeſe ſaued the Capitoll.*

*Marcus Manlius repulſed the Gauls from the Capitoll.*

*The Gaules vexed with the plague at Rome* and amongſt burnt houſes deſtroyed, where the aſhes being blowne very high by the winde and vehemency of heat, did giue a drie piercing aire, that did maruellouſly poiſon their bodies when they came to draw in the breath of it. But the greateſt cauſe of all their miſchiefe was, the chaunge of their wonted dyet. Who comming out of a freſh countrie, where there were excellent pleaſant places to retire vnto, to auoide the diſcommoditie of the parching heate of the ſommer, were now in a naughtie plaine countrie for them to remaine in, in the latter ſeaſon of the yeare. All theſe things together did heape diſeaſes vpon them, beſides the long continuance of the ſiege about the Capitoll (for it was then about the ſeuenth moneth) by reaſon whereof there grew a maruellous death in their campe, through the great numbers of them that died dayly, and lay vnburied. But notwithſtanding all the death and trouble of the GAVLES, the poore beſieged ROMAINES were nothing holpen the more, the famine ſtill did grow ſo faſt vpon them. And becauſe they could heare nothing of *Camillus*, they were growne almoſt vnto a deſpaire: and ſend vnto him they could not, the GAVLES kept ſo ſtraight watch vpon them in the citie. Whereupon both parties finding themſelues in hard ſtate, firſt the watch of either ſide began to caſt out words of peace amongſt themſelues: and afterwards by cõſent of the heads, *Sulpitius*, Tribune of the ſoldiers, came to parle with *Brennus*. In which parle it was articled: that the ROMAINES ſhould pay a thouſand pound weight of golde, and that the GAVLES ſhould incontinently after the receipt of the ſame, depart out of their citie, and all their territories. This decree being paſſed by othe from both, the golde was brought. And when it came to be weyed, the GAVLES at the firſt priuily began to deale falſely with them: but afterwards they openly ſtaied the ballance, and would not let them wey no more, whereat the ROMAINES began to be angrie with them. Then *Brennus*, in ſcorne and mockerie, to deſpight them more, pluckt off his ſword, girdle and all, and put it into the ballance where the golde was weied. *Sulpitius* ſeeing that, aſked him what he meant by it. *Brennus* anſwered him: what can it ſignifie elſe, but ſorow to the vanquiſhed? This worde euer after ranne as a common prouerbe in the peoples mouthes. Some of the ROMAINES tooke this vile part of theirs in ſuch ſcorne, that they would needes take the golde from them againe by force, and ſo returne into their holde, to abide the ſiege ſtill, as they had done before. Other were of opinion to the contrarie, and thought it beſt with pacience to put vp this ſcorne of theirs, and not to thinke it was a ſhame to pay more then they had promiſed: but onely to pay it by compulſion as they did, by misfortune of time, was to thinke it rather neceſſary, then honourable. And as they were debating the matter thus, aſwell amongſt themſelues, as with the GAVLES: *Camillus* came to ROME gates with his armie, and vnderſtanding all what had paſſed betweene them, he commaunded the reſt of the armie to marche faire and ſoftly after him in good order, and he in the meane ſeaſon with the beſt choiſe men he had, went before with all ſpeed. Aſſoone as the other ROMAINES within the citie had ſpyed him, they ſhowted out for ioye, and receiued him euery one with great reuerence, without any more words, as their ſoueraigne captaine and prince, who had power ouer them all. And *Camillus* taking the golde out of the ſcales, gaue it vnto his men, and commaunded the GAVLES preſently to take vp their ſcales, and to get them going: for, ſaieth he, it is not the ROMAINES maner to keepe their countrey with golde, but with the ſworde. Then *Brennus* began to be hoate, and tolde him it was not honourablie done of him, to breake the accorde that had paſſed betweene them before by othe. Whereunto *Camillus* ſtoutly anſwered him againe, that accorde was of no validitie. For he being created *Dictator* before, all other officers and magiſtrates whatſoeuer, and their actes, by his election were made of no authoritie: and ſeeing therefore they had dealt with men, that had no power of themſelues to accorde to any matter, they were to ſpeake to him, if they required ought. For he alone had abſolute authoritie to pardon them if they repented, and would aske it: or elſe to puniſh them, and make their bodies aunſwer the damages and loſſe his countrey had by them ſuſtained. Theſe words made *Brennus* madde as a marche hare, that out went his blade. Then they drew their ſwords of all ſides, and laide luſtely one at another as they could, within the houſes, and in open ſtreets, where they could ſet no battell in order. But *Brennus* ſodainly remembring himſelfe that it was no euen matche for him, retired with his men about him into his campe, before he had loſt many of

*The Romaines went about to redeeme their libertie of the Gaules with golde.*

*Camillus came to Rome with his armie.*

*Camillus ſpeaketh ſtoutly to Brennus king of the Gaules.*

his people. The next night following, he departed out of ROME with all his army, & went to encampe himſelfe about a threeſcore furlong from thence, in the high way that goeth towards the citie of the GABIANS. *Camillus* with his whole army well appointed, went after him immediatly, & ſhewed at his campe by the breake of day. The ROMAINES hauing taken heart againe vnto them, did luſtily giue them battell: the ſame continued long, very cruell & doubtfull, vntill the GAVLES at the length were ouerthrowne, and their campe taken with great ſlaughter. As for thoſe that did eſcape the furie of the battell, they were killed, ſome by the ROMAINES ſelues, who hottely followed the chaſe after the battell broken: the reſidue of them, and the greateſt part, were ſlaine by thoſe of the cities and villages neere abouts, that did ſet vpon them as they fled ſcatteringly here and there in the fields. And thus was the city of ROME ſtrangely againe recouered, that was before ſtrangely wun and loſt, after it had continued ſeauen moneths in the hands of the barbarous people. For they entred ROME about the fifteenth day of Iuly: and they were driuen out againe, about the thirteenth day of February following. So *Camillus* triumphed as beſeemed him, and as one that had ſaued and deliuered his countrie out of the hands of their enemies, and ſet ROME againe at libertie. Thoſe that had bin abroade all the time of this ſiege, came into ROME againe, following his triumphing chariot: and thoſe that had bene beſieged within the Capitoll (looking for no other but to haue died by famine) went and preſented themſelues before him, and each one embraced other, in weeping wiſe for ioy. The prieſts and miniſters of the temples alſo, preſented their holy iewels, whole and vndefaced, which ſome of them had buried in the ground within the citie ſelfe: and others ſome had caried away with them, when they fled out of ROME. All theſe the people did as gladly ſee, as if the gods themſelues had returned home againe into their citie. After they had ſacrificed vnto the gods, & rendred them moſt humble thanks, & had purged their citie, as they had bene taught by men experienced in thoſe matters for ſatisfaction of the gods: *Camillus* began againe to builde vp the temples that were there before, harde by the which he built another new one alſo to the god *Aius Locutius*, in that very place where *Marcus Ceditius* heard the voice warne him of the comming of the GAVLES. So by *Camillus* good diligence, and the prieſts great paine and trauaile, the ſcituations of theſe temples were with much a do found out againe. But when they were to builde againe all the reſt of the citie, that was wholly burnt, and deſtroyed to the grounde: the people had no minde to it, but euer ſhrinked backe, to put any hande to the worke, for that they lacked all things neceſſarie to beginne the ſame. Furthermore, weighing their late and long ſuſtained trouble and miſeries, they were fitter to take their eaſe and reſt, then to beginne new labour and toyle, to kill their hearts and bodies altogether. For, neither were their bodies able to performe it, nor yet their goods to reache to the charge of it. Wherefore diſpoſing their mindes to dwell in the citie of VEIES, Which remained whole, vntouched, and furniſhed of all things to receiue them: they deliuered to the pratling Orators (whoſe tongues did neuer ceaſe to ſpeake *placentia* to the people) trimme occaſion to ſet this matter abroache. So they gaue good eare, and were willing to heare certaine ſeditious words ſpoken againſt *Camillus*, which were theſe. That for his priuate ambition he would depriue them of a citie well furniſhed already, and would againſt their willes compell them to lodge in their owne houſes, wholly burnt and pulled downe. And moreouer, how he would make them to raiſe vp againe the great ruine the fire had made, to the end the people might call him, not onely captaine and generall of the ROMAINES, but the founder of ROME alſo, and ſo drowne *Romulus* honourable title thereof. The Senate conſidering of this matter, and fearing ſome tumult among the people: they would not ſuffer *Camillus* to leaue his Dictatorſhip before the end of the yeare, notwithſtanding no man euer enioyed that office aboue ſixe moneths. Then *Camillus* for his part did much endeuour himſelfe, to comfort and appeaſe the people, praying them all he could to tarie: and further pointed with his finger vnto the graues of their aunceſtours, and put them in minde alſo of the holy places dedicated to the gods, and ſanctified by King *Numa*, or by *Romulus*, or by other Kings. But amongſt many other tokens drawne out of holy and diuine things, he forgate not to bring for example, the head of a man found new and freſh, in making the foundations of the Capitoll, as

*Camillus ouerthroweth the armie of the Gaules.*

*Rome was ſeauen moneths in the hands of the Gaules.*

*Camillus triumphed of the Gaules.*

*The buſie headed Orators ſtirre the people to tumult againſt Camillus*

*Camillus Dictatorſhip proroged.*

*Camillus perſwaded the people what he could to dwell in Rome, and to leaue Veies.*

if that place by fatall deſtenie had bene once choſen to be the head and chiefe of all ITALIE. And moreouer, that the holy fier of the goddeſſe *Veſta* (which ſince the warres had bene kindled againe by the holy *Veſtall Nunnes*) would againe come to be put out by them, if they did forſake their naturall citie, beſides the great ſhame and diſhonour it would be vnto them, to ſee it inhabited in time to come by vnknowne ſtrangers, or elſe to be left a common field and paſture, for beaſts and cattell to graze in. Such ſorowfull examples and griefes, the honeſt naturall borne cittizens, did euer blowe into the peoples eares, aſwell priuately, as openly. The people againe to the contrarie, did make their hearts to yerne for pittie, when they laide before their eyes their penurie, and pouertie they ſuſteined: and beſought them alſo not to enforce them to gather and ioyne together againe the broken peeces of a ſpoiled citie (as of a ſhipwrack that had caſt them naked into the ſea, hauing onely ſaued bare life and perſons) ſince that they had another citie neere at hand and ready to receiue them. So *Camillus* counſell was, that the Senate ſhould conſult vpon this matter, and deliuer their abſolute opinion herein: which was done. And in this counſell, he himſelfe brought forth many probable reaſons, why they ſhould not leaue in any caſe, the place of their naturall birth and countrey: and ſo did many other Senatours in like caſe, fauouring that opinion. Laſt of all, after theſe perſwaſions, he commaunded *Lucius Lucretius* (whoſe manner was to ſpeake firſt in ſuch aſſemblies) that he ſhould ſtand vp and deliuer his opinion, & that the reſt alſo in order as they ſat, ſhould ſay their mindes. So euery man keeping ſilence, as *Lucretius* was ready to ſpeake, at that preſent time there paſſed by their counſell houſe, a captaine with his bande that warded that day, who ſpake aloude to his enſigne bearer that went formoſt, to ſtay, and ſet downe his enſigne there: for, ſaid he, here is a very good place for vs to warde in. Theſe words being heard vp into the Senate houſe, euen as they ſtood all in a doubt and maze what would be the reſolution of this matter: *Lucretius* began to ſay, that he moſt humbly thanked the gods, and allowed of the captaines iudgement, and ſo euery one of the reſt in their order, ſaid as much. Moreouer there was a wonderfull change and alteration of minde ſodainly among the common people: for euery man did perſwade and encourage his fellow liuely to put his hand to this worke. Inſomuch as tarying for no diuiſion or appointing out of ſtreetes, nor ſetting out euery man his place he ſhould build in: they fell to worke of all hands, euery one choſing that place he liked beſt, and was moſt commodious for their building, without any other order or diuiſion amongſt them. Whereupon, they running to this building on a head, the ſtreets were confuſed on heaps together, & their houſes all built out of order and vniformitie. For the report goeth, that the whole citie (aſwell common as priuate buildings) was built vp new againe in a yeare. But the ſurueiors, to whom *Camillus* had giuen charge to finde out all the holy places where the temples had bin ouerthrowne: as they went about mount *Pallatine*, they came by chance to the place, where the chappell of *Mars* had ſtood, which the GAVLES had wholy burnt and deſtroyed, as they had done all the reſt. They making cleane the place, and ſurueying euery corner, did finde by chance *Romulus* augures crooked ſtaffe hidden vnder a great mount of aſhes. This ſtaffe is crooked at one of the ends, and they call it *Lituus*, which ſoothſayers do vſe to quarter out the regions of the element, when they will beholde the flying of birdes to tell of things to come. *Romulus* that was very skilfull in this arte, did vſe this ſtaffe: and after he was taken away from all mens ſights, the prieſts tooke it, and kept it as a holy relique, ſuffering no creature to laye hands on it. Now they found this ſtaffe whole and vnbroken, where all things elſe were conſumed and periſhed by fire, they were in a maruellous ioy thereat. For they interpreted this to be a ſigne of the euerlaſting continuance of the citie of ROME. But before they could make an ende of all their building, there grew a new warre againe vpon them. For at one very inſtant, all the ÆQVES, the VOLSCES, and the LATINES, entred with all their might and maine into the territories of the ROMAINES. The THVSCANS alſo went then and beſieged SVTRIVM, that was in league and amitie with the ROMAINES. The *Tribuni militares* got them ſtraight to the field with their armie, and encamped about mount *Martian*. The LATINES beſieged them ſo ſtraightly, that their army ſtood in great danger to be ouerthrowne, and they were driuen to ſend to ROME for a new ſupply. Thereupon the ROMAINES did chooſe *Camillus Dictator* againe the third

*Rome is built againe.*

*Rome was new built againe in a yeare.*

*Romulus augures ſtaffe found whole after Rome was burnt.*

*Camillus choſen Dictator the third time.*

time. The occaſion of this warre is reported two manner of waies: whereof I will declare the firſt, which I do conceiue to be but a tale. They ſay the LATINES ſent vnto the ROMAINES, to demaund ſome of their free maides in mariage: which they did either to make a quartell of warre, or elſe as deſirous indeed, to ioyne both the peoples againe by new mariages. The ROMAINES were amazed very much at this, and ſore troubled, as not knowing how to aunſwer them, they were ſo affraid of warres. For they were yet ſcant new ſetled at home, and dreaded much leaſt this demaund of their daughters, was but a ſommons made to giue them hoſtages, which they finely cloaked vnder the name of alliance in mariage. Some ſay that there was at that time a bonde maide called *Tutola*, or as ſome ſay, *Philotis*, that went vnto the Senate, and counſelled them they ſhould ſend her away with ſome other faire maides ſlaues, dreſſed vp like gentlewomen, and then let her alone. The Senate liked very well of this deuiſe, and choſe ſuch a number of bonde maides as ſhe deſired to haue, and trimming them vp in fine appatell, begawded with chaines of golde and iewels, they ſent them forth to the LATINES, who were encamped not farre from the citie. When night was come, the other maides hid their enemies ſwords. But this *Tutola*, or *Philotis* (call her as you will) did clime vp to the top of a wilde Fig tree, from which ſhe ſhewed a burning torche vnto the ROMAINES, hauing made ſhift to hange ſomwhat behinde her, to keepe the light from ſight of the enemies. For this ſignall the Senate of ROME had ſecretly appointed her to ſet vp, which was the cauſe that the iſſuing out of the ſouldiers being commaunded to go out in the night, was full of trouble and tumult. For being preſſed by their captaines, they called one another, and there was a great a do to put them in order of battell. Thus they went to take their enemies ſleeping, who nothing miſtruſting the ſame, were ſlaine the moſt part of them within their campe. This was done on the fift day of the moneth called then *Quintilis*, and now is named *Iuly*: at which time they do yet celebrate a certaine feaſt in remembrance of that acte. For firſt of all, going out of the city, they call aloude many of their fellowes names which are moſt common: as *Caius Marcus*, and *Lucius*, ſhewing thereby how one of them called another after that ſort, as they went in great haſt out of the citie. Afterwards all the maide ſeruants of the citie being trimly apparelled, go playing vp and downe the towne, pleaſantly ieaſting with thoſe they meete: and in the ende they make as though they fought together, in token that they did helpe the ROMAINES at that time to deſtroy the LATINES. Then they are feaſted, ſitting vnder bowers made with wilde figge tree boughes: and this feaſt day is called, *Nonæ Capratinæ*, by reaſon of the wilde figge tree (as ſome thinke) from the top whereof, the bond maide ſhewed to the ROMAINES the burning torche. For the ROMAINES call the wilde figge tree, *Caprificus*. Other ſay, that all theſe things are done and ſpoken, in remembrance of the miſchance that happened vnto *Romulus*, when he was taken out of their ſight, the ſame day without the gates of the citie, at which time there roſe a ſodaine miſt and darke cloude. Or as ſome other ſay, that then was the eclypſe of the ſunne: and they holde opinion that the day was named *Nonæ Capratinæ*, becauſe *Capra* in the ROMAINE tongue, ſignifieth a goate. *Romulus* vaniſhed out of mens ſights, as he was making an oration vnto his people, neere vnto the place which is called goat marſh, as we haue mentioned more at large in his life. The ſecond occaſion & beginning of this war (according to the opinion of moſt writers) was, that *Camillus* being choſen *Dictator* the third time, & knowing that the *Trib. militares* with their army were ſtraightly beſieged by the LATINES & VOLSCES: he was enforced to arme all the olde men, who for very age were priuiledged from further ſeruice in wars. And hauing fetched a great compaſſe about mount *Martian*, becauſe he would not be ſeene of his enemies, he came to lodge his campe behinde them, where he raiſed fiers, to make the ROMAINES know that were beſieged, how he was come: which as ſoone as they perceiued, they tooke to them courage againe, and determined to fight. But the LATINES & VOLSCES kept within their campe, & did entrenche and fortifie themſelues with a wall of wood, which they laid a croſſe, becauſe they ſaw they were beſet both before & behind: & determined to tary the releefe of a new ſupply, aſwel of their own, as of ſome further aide beſides frõ the THVSCANS, which thing *Camillus* perceiuing, & fearing leaſt they ſhould ſerue him, as he had already handled thẽ by cõpaſſing of him again behind: he thought it neceſſarie to preuent this. So conſidering the incloſure and fortification of their campe was

*Tutola, or Philotis craft and ſubtiltie.*

*Rome deliuered from wars by Tutola the bondmaide.*

*The maidens feaſt, called Nona Capratine.*

all of wood, and that euery morning commonly, there came a great winde from the ſide of the mountaines, he made prouiſion of a number of fire brandes. And leading out his armie into the fields by breake of day, he appointed one part of them to giue charge vpon the enemies on the one ſide, with great noyſe and ſhouting: and he with the other part determined to raiſe fire on the contrarie ſide, from whence the winde ſhould come, looking for oportunitie to doe the ſame. When he ſaw the ſunne vp, and the winde beginning to whiſtle, blowing a good gale from the ſide of the hils, and that the skirmiſh was begunne on the other ſide: then he gaue a ſignall vnto the companie he led with him, to ſet vpon the enemies, and made them throw into the incloſure of their campe, diuers pots and dartes with fire, ſo that the flame finding matter to catch hold of, in this incloſure of wood, and trees laide ouerthwart, did rayſe ſtraight an exceeding great flame in the aire, & ſtill got way inwards into the LATINES camp. Whereupon the LATINES being vnprouided of preſent remedie to quench the flame, and ſeeing their campe a fire all about their eares: they gathered themſelues together at the firſt in a very ſmall roome. Neuertheleſſe, they were inforced in the end to get them into the field, and there they found their enemies readie armed, and in battell ray. So as few of thoſe eſcaped that came into the field, and their fellowes that remained within their campe, were burnt to death with fire, vntill the ROMAINES themſelues came to quench it for greedines of their ſpoile and goods. When all this was done, *Camillus* left his ſonne in the campe, to keepe the priſoners & ſpoiles: and he himſelfe, with the reſt of the armie, went to inuade his enemies country, where he tooke the citie of ÆQVES. Then after he had ouercome the VOLSCES, he led his armie preſently from thence vnto the citie of SVTRIVM. For he had not yet heard of their misfortune. Therefore he haſted himſelf to aide them, becauſe he thought they were yet beſieged by the THVSCANS. But ſuch was their hard fortune, that they had alreadie yeelded vp their citie by compoſition, & ſaued no part of their goods, but the very clothes they had on their backs. So being turned out of all they had, they met *Camillus* by the way as they were wandring abroad, lamenting their miſerie, with their wiues and litle yong children: whoſe miſery went to the very hart of *Camillus*, when he beheld their lamentable ſtate. Furthermore, whē he ſaw the ROMAINES weepe for pitie alſo, to ſee the mone that theſe vnfortunate people made vnto him, and that it grieued them heartily to behold their great miſchaunce: he determined with himſelfe not to deferre reuenge, but preſently to goe the ſelfe ſame day before the citie of SVTRIVM, imagining that he ſhould find the THVSCANS out of order, without keeping watch, and attending nothing but making good cheere, becauſe they had newly taken a wealthy rich citie, where they had left neuer an enemie in the ſame to hurt them, neither feared any abroad to come neere to aſſault them. And in deede it fell out rightly as he geſſed. For he had not only paſſed through the territories of the citie, without any intelligence giuen to the enemies within the ſame: but he was come to the verie gates, and had taken the walles, before they heard any thing of his comming, by reaſon they neither kept watch nor warde, but were diſpearſed abroad in the citie, in euery houſe, eating and drinking drunke together. Inſomuch as when they knew their enemies were alreadie within the citie, they were ſo ful fraught with meate and wine, that the moſt of their wits ſerued them not ſo much as to flie, but taried vntill they were ſlaine or taken, like beaſts in the houſes. Thus was the citie of SVTRIVM twiſe taken in one day. And it chaunced that thoſe which had wonne it, loſt it: and thoſe which had loſt it, recouered it againe by *Camillus* meanes. Who deſerued both the honour and entrie of triumph into ROME: the which wanne him no leſſe good will and glorie, then the two firſt before had done praiſe, and gotten fame. For euen his greateſt enemies that moſt ſpighted and enuied his former noble actes, aſcribing them rather to fortune that fauoured him, then to his valiantneſſe or worthineſſe: were forced now by this deede of his to confeſſe, that his wiſedome and valiantneſſe deſerued praiſe and commendation to the skies. *Camillus* of all his enemies had one moſt bitter to him, which was *Marcus Manlius*, that was the firſt man that gaue the GAVLES the repulſe that night they had entered the walles of the Capitoll, and had thought to haue taken it: whereupon they gaue him the ſurname of *Capitolinus*. He aſpiring to be the chiefe of the citie, and finding no direct way to exceede the glorie of *Camillus*, tooke the broad high way of them that practiſe tyrannie. For hee beganne to flatter

*Camillus ſtratageme againſt the Latines & Volſces.*

*Camillus ſlue the Latines.*

*Camillus tooke the citie of Aeques.*

*Camillus wan the citie of Sutrium.*

*Marcus Manlius Capitolinus moueth ſedition.*

*Flattery and hypocriſie winneth the multitude and common people.*

*Manlius clapt in priſon by Q. Capitolinus Dictator.*

*Camillus choſen againe Tribunus militaris*

*Marcus Manlius Capitolinus put to death.*

*Lucius Furius gaue battell to the Præneſtines and Volſces, and was ouerthrowen.*

the common people, and ſpecially thoſe that were indebted: he tooke vpon him to defende their cauſes, and pleaded their caſe at the barre againſt their creditours. Sometimes he tooke the debters out of the creditours handes and caried them away by force, that for lacke of abilitie to pay, were by rigour of the lawe condemned to be bond-ſlaues. But by this practiſe, in ſhort time he got him a maruellous number of ſuch needie followers, and poore men, that the noble men and honeſt citizens were affraide of the inſolent partes they played, and of the continuall troubles and tumultes they daily ſtirred vp in the market place. Therefore ſuſpecting the worſt in this caſe, they did chooſe *Quintus Capitolinus Dictator*: who cauſed the ſaide *Manlius* immediatly to be apprehended, and committed him to priſon. Whereupon the people beganne to chaunge their apparell: which they were neuer wont to doe, but in great and common calamities. But the Senate fearing leaſt ſome commotion would riſe hereupon, they did ſet him at libertie againe. He being thus out of priſon, was no whit the better, nor wiſer thereby, but did ſtill ſtirre vp the commons, more boldly and ſeditiouſly, then before. Then was *Camillus* choſen againe *Tribunus militaris*, and *Manlius* was accuſed in his time of office. But when this matter came to pleading, the ſight of the Capitoll troubled his accuſers much. For the very place it ſelfe where *Manlius* had repulſed the GAVLES by night, & defended the Capitoll, was eaſily ſeene from the market place, where the matter was a hearing: and he himſelfe pointing with his hand, ſhewed the place vnto the goddes, and weeping tenderly he laid before them the remembrance of the hazard of his life, in fighting for their ſafety. This did moue the iudges hearts to pitie, ſo as they knew not what to do, but many times they did put ouer the hearing of his caſe vnto another day, and neither would they giue iudgement, knowing he was conuicted by manifeſt proofes: neither could they vſe the ſeueritie of the law vppon him, becauſe the place of his ſo notable good ſeruice was euer ſtill before their eyes. Wherefore *Camillus* finding the cauſe of delay of iuſtice, did make the place of iudgement to be remoued without the citie, into a place called the wood *Petelian*, from whence they could not ſee the Capitoll. And there the accuſers gaue apparent euidence againſt him: & the iudges conſidering all his wicked practiſes, conceaued a iuſt cauſe to puniſh him, as he had deſerued. So they gaue ſentence of death againſt him: that he ſhould be caried to the mount Capitoll, and there to be throwne downe hedlong the rockes thereof. Thus, one, and the ſelfe place was a memorie of his notable good ſeruice, and alſo a memoriall of his miſerable and vnfortunate end. Beſides all this, they raſed his houſe, and built in the ſame place a temple to the goddeſſe they call *Moneta*: and made a lawe alſo, that no *Patrician* from thenceforth ſhould dwell any more in the mount Capitoll. *Camillus* after this, being called againe to take the office of *Tribunus militaris* the ſixth time: he ſought to excuſe him ſelfe aſwell for that he ſaw he was well ſtept in yeares, as alſo for that he feared fortunes ſpight, or ſome miſhappe, after he had obteined ſuch glorie for his noble actes and ſeruice. Howbeit the moſt apparent cauſe of his excuſe, was his ſickneſſe, which troubled him much at that time. But the people would allow no excuſe by any meanes, but cryed out, they did not deſire he ſhould fight a foote nor a horſe backe, but that he ſhould onely giue counſell, and commaund: and therefore they compelled him to take the charge, and to leade the armie with one of his companions named *Lucius Furius*, againſt their enemies the PRÆNESTINES, and the VOLSCES, who ioyning together, did inuade the confines of the ROMAINES friendes. So he led his army out immediatly to the field, and camped as neere the enemie as he could: being minded for his part to draw the wars out in length, that he might fight afterwardes (if neede required) when he had recouered ſtrength. But *Furius* contrarily coueting glorie, was wholly bent to hazard the battell, whatſoeuer perill came of it: and to this end he ſturred vp, and incouraged the captaines of euery priuate band. Wherfore *Camillus* fearing leaſt they ſhould thinke, for ill will he bare the yong men, that he went about to hinder and take away the meanes to winne their honour, and to doe ſome noble act: ſuffered *Furius* againſt his will to put his men in order of battell, and he in the meane ſeaſon by reaſon of his ſickneſſe, remained with a few about him in the campe. So went *Lucius* vpon a head to preſent battell to the enemie, and ſo was he as headily alſo ouerthrowen. But *Camillus* hearing the ROMAINES were ouerthrowen: ſicke as he was vpon his bedde, got vp, and taking his houſholde ſeruantes with him, he went in haſte to the gates of the campe, and paſſed through thoſe that fled, vntill he came to meete with the enemies that had them in chaſe. The ROMAINES ſeeing this that were alreadie entred into the campe, they followed him at the heeles forthwith: and thoſe that fled alſo without, when they ſaw him, they gathered together, and put themſelues againe in array before him, and perſwaded one another not to forſake their Captaine. So their enemies hereupon ſtaied their chaſing, and would purſue no further that day. But the next morning, *Camillus* leading his armie into the field, gaue them battell, and wanne the field of them by plaine force: and following the victorie hard, he entred amongeſt them that fled into their campe pelmel, or hande ouerhead, and ſlew the moſt part of them euen there. After this victorie, he was aduertiſed howe the THVSCANS had taken the citie of SVTRIVM, and had put to the ſword all the inhabitants of the ſame, which were the ROMAINES citizens. Whereupon he ſent to ROME the greateſt part of his armie, and keeping with him the lighteſt and luſtieſt men, went and gaue aſſault vnto the THVSCANS, that now were harbored in the citie of SVTRIVM. Which when he had wonne againe, he ſlew part of them, and the other ſaued themſelues by flight. After this, he returned to ROME with an exceeding ſpoyle, confirming by experience, the wiſedome of the ROMAINES, who did not feare the age nor ſickneſſe of a good captaine that was expert and valiant: but had choſen him againſt his will, though he was both olde and ſicke, and preferred him farre before the younger and luſtier that made ſute to haue the charge. Newes being brought vnto the Senate, that the THVSCVLANIANS were reuolted they ſent *Camillus* thither againe, willing him of fiue other companions to take out one he liked beſt, euery of the which deſired to be choſen, and made their ſute vnto him for the ſame. But he refuſing all other, did chuſe againe *Lucius Furius* beyonde all expectation of men, ſeeing not long before he needes would againſt his will hazard battell, in which he was ouerthrowen. Howbeit *Camillus*, hauing a deſire (as I thinke) to hide his fault and ſhame he had receaued: did of courteſie preferre him before all other. Now the THVSCVLANIANS hearing of *Camillus* cōming againſt them, ſubtilly ſought to colour the fault they had already committed. Wherefore they put out a great number of people into the fields, ſome to plowe, other to keepe the beaſtes, as if they had bene in beſt peace: and did ſet the gates of the citie wide open, ſent their children openly to ſchoole, their artificers wrought their occupation in their ſhops, the men of hauiour and honeſt citizens walked in the market place in their long gownes, and the officers and gouernours of the citie went vp and downe to euery houſe, commaunding them to prepare lodgings for the ROMAINES, as if they had ſtood in no feare at all, and as though they had committed no fault. Howbeit all theſe fine fetches could not make *Camillus* beleeue, but that they had an intent to rebell againſt the ROMAINES: yet they made *Camillus* pittie them, ſeeing they repented them of that they had determined to doe. So he commaunded them to goe to ROME to the Senate, to craue pardon for their fault: and he himſelfe did helpe them, not only to purge their citie of any intent of rebellion, but alſo to get them the priuiledge and freedome of ROME. And theſe be the chiefeſt actes *Camillus* did in the *6.* time of his tribuneſhippe. After this, one *Licinius Stolo* moued great ſedition in the citie, betwene the common people, and the Senate. For he would in any caſe that of the two Conſuls, which were choſen yerely, the one of them ſhould be a commoner, and not that both of them ſhould be of the auncient noble families, called *Patricians*. The Tribunes of the people were choſen, but the election of the Conſuls, the people ſtayed: ſo that the common wealth went to decaie: and declined to greater troubles, then euer it did before, for lacke of gouernment. But to ſuppreſſe this, the Senate created *Camillus* the fourth time *Dictator*: but this was ſore againſt his will, becauſe it miſliked the people much. Furthermore, he would not complaine of the people, for that they hauing ſerued vnder him in many warres and battels, might boldly, and truely ſay vnto him: that he had done more notable actes by them in the warres, then he had done by the *Patricians* in peace. Yet was he created *Dictator* in deſpight, to rule the people, and of enuie in the noble men towardes them. Thus neceſſitie did vrge him, either by force to ſuppreſſe the people, if he were the ſtronger in this diſſention: or els that he himſelfe ſhould be ſuppreſſed, if he became the weaker. *Camillus* notwithſtanding, preparing to preuent this miſchiefe, and knowing the day the Tribunes had determined, to preferre the paſſing of their

*Camillus wan the field of the Praneſtines and Volſces.*

*Camillus ſlew the Thuſcans at Sutrium.*

*Camillus ſent againe againſt the Thuſculanians.*

*The craft of the Thuſculanians.*

*Great ſedition moued in Rome by Licinius Stolo.*

*Camillus created Dictator the fourth time* law by voyces of the people: he gaue warning by proclamations ſet vpon poſtes, that the ſame very day he would muſter the people, and all was but to drawe them from the market place into the field of *Mars*, and did ſet great penalties vpon thoſe that ſhould be lacking at the muſters, and would preſume to diſobey. The Tribunes of the people on the contrary part, did withſtande his threates, and ſware they would condemne *Camillus* ſelfe in fiftie thouſand Drachmas of ſiluer, if he did not let the people alone, but would goe about to diſturbe them for giuing their voyces to ſuch law, as they liked of. *Camillus* perceiuing this, and fearing to be condemned, and baniſhed once againe, which would fall out very ill for him, being nowe an old man, and one that had done ſo many great and notable actes, or elſe for that he thought him ſelfe not ſtrong enough to withſtand the force of the people: he kept his houſe that day, ſayning himſelfe to be ſicke, and certaine other dayes following, and in the ende he gaue vp his office. Thereupon the Senate choſe in his place another *Dictator*, who named the ſame *Licinius Stolo* generall of the horſe men, that was the author and furtherer of all this ſedition: and beſides did ſuffer him to preferre another law, and to paſſe it by voyces of the people, that aboue all other lawes, did moſt trouble the *Patricians*. Which law did forbid any citizen of ROME, to haue, or occupie aboue fiue hundred *iugera*, which amount to 330. acres and a halfe, 12. pole, and 121. partes of a pole. Then was this *Stolo* aloft, and of great eſtimation at that time: for that he had in deſpight of the Senate eſtabliſhed this law. Howbeit ſhortly after it was found out, that himſelfe had more number of acres then his owne lawe permitted. By reaſon whereof, he receiued the iuſt puniſhment of his owne deuiſed forfaiture. Yet the moſt weightie matter of all this diſſention that beganne firſt, and moſt of all troubled the Senate, touching the election of the Conſuls, remained ſtill vndetermined. But while theſe matters were thus in talke, the ROMAINES had certain intelligence, how the GAVLES were departed once againe from the Adriatick ſea, & were cōming with a great power ſtraight vnto ROME: vpon report of which newes, the warres followed immediatly. For the GAVLES deſtroyed the champion countrie as they went: and the poore countrie men that could not recouer ROME, were ſcattered here & there amongeſt the mountaines. The feare of this did ſomwhat appeaſe the diſſention. The people then aſſembling with the Senate, and the baſer ſort with the noble, did all with one voyce and aſſent chuſe *Camillus Dictator* the fift time. He was now a very old man, lacking litle of foure ſcore yeares: but neuertheleſſe, conſidering the neceſſity and preſent daunger, without framing any excuſe, or ſtarting as he had before, he vndertooke the charge. Now that he had taken it vpon him, he preſently leauied men, and prepared his armie. And knowing very well how the fierceneſſe of theſe barbarous GAVLES conſiſted, in downe right blowes with their ſwordes, with which they would ſtrike off heads and ſhoulders of men at a blow, mangling them like butchers, without any caſt or ſkill of fight: hee cauſed iron ſallets, and morians to be made for the moſt of his men, as ſmoothly wrought on the out ſide as could be, that their ſwords lighting on them, ſhould either ſlide off, or breake. Moreouer, he cauſed their ſhields to haue bars made about them of copper, becauſe the wood ſelfe was not able to abide ther blowes. Furthermore, he did teach his ſouldiers to carie long iauelines or punchion ſtaues, wherewith they might wound their enemies lifting vp their ſwords to ſtrike them. Now when the GAVLES were come neere ROME, hauing pitched their campe vpon the riuer of *Anian*, and being full loden and ſtuffed with all kinds of ſpoyle and booties: then *Camillus* brought his armie alſo into the field, and went to lodge on a little hill which was eaſie to get vpon, where there were many litle caues, ſo that the moſt of his armie was all hidden and couered, and thoſe that were ſeene, ſeemed to be retired thither into thoſe high places for an aduantage, and of feare. *Camillus* to increaſe this opinion more in his enemies, and to make them the bolder: did ſuffer them to come and ſpoyle euen to the foot of the hill where he was lodged, and ſtirred not once out to trouble them, but kept himſelf quiet in his campe and well fortified. Vntill ſuch time as he ſpied occaſion of aduantage, that the beſt part of their armie were ſcattered here and there, a forraging all about the fields: and thoſe which remained in their campe, fell to eating and drinking as they vſed careleſly at all houres. Then *Camillus* ſent very early before day, his lighteſt armed men, to vexe and trouble the barbarous people in comming out of their campe, and to let them in any caſe from putting their

*Licinius Stolo made a law for enioying of landes.*

*Stolo the firſt offender of the ſame law.*

*The Gaules come againe to Rome.*

*Camillus choſen Dictator the fift time.*

*How Camillus appointed his ſouldiers with armour and weapon to fight with aduantage againſt the Gaules.*

*Anies fl.*

men in order of battell: and he at the breake of day, came downe into the plaine, and did ſet his other men being well armed, in good array, which were a great number, and luſty fellowes, and were not as the barbarous people thought, few, and fearefull. This at the very firſt diſcouraged the hearts of the GAVLES maruellouſly, becauſe they thought them ſelues diſhonored, that the ROMAINES ſhould charge them firſt. Afterwardes alſo *Camillus* vantguard did ſet vppon the GAVLES, and that on a ſodaine, before they had leyſure to put them ſelues in battell, or to order their troupes: compelling them to fight without order, as they met out of order by chaunce. In the end alſo, *Camillus* came vpon the necks of them, with all his whole force, and army together: againſt whom they ranne notwithſtanding, holding vp their naked ſwordes aloft in their handes. But the ROMAINES thruſting with their armed iauelings, receiued their enemies blowes vpon them, and thereby ſo rebated the edges of their ſwordes (their blades being very ſharpe and thinne ground, and of ſo ſoft a temper) that they bowed againe, and ſtoode crooked vnreaſonably: and furthermore, hauing pierced their ſhieldes through with their punching ſtaues, the GAVLES armes were ſo clogd and wearied with them, the ROMAINES plucking them backe to them againe, that they threw away their ſwordes and ſhieldes, and flying in, cloſed with the ROMAINES, and caught hold of their iauelings, thinking by plaine force to haue wreſted them out of their handes. Howbeit they perceiuing then the GAVLES were naked, fell ſtraight to their ſwordes: and ſo was the ſlaughter of their firſt rankes very great. The other fled ſcatteringly here and there, all about the plaine: becauſe *Camillus* had cauſed all the hilles and mountaines about them to be occupied and poſſeſſed. Neither did they retire towardes their campe, for that it was vnfortified, and alſo knew well enough it would be eaſily taken. This battell (as they ſay) was thirteene yeares after their taking of ROME before. But after that field, the ROMAINES courages were good enough againſt theſe barbarous GAVLES, whom they ſtoode in feare of before: thinking the firſt time they came, that they had not ouercome them by force, but by reaſon of the plague that fell amongeſt them, or through ſome other ſtraunge chaunce. For they did ſo feare them at that time, that they made a law, how their prieſtes ſhould be exempted from warres, ſo it were not againſt the GAVLES. This ouerthrow was the laſt marſhall act *Camillus* did in the warres. For, the taking of the city of VELITRES, was an accident depending vpon this iourney: becauſe they yeelded ſtraight vnto him, without ſtriking any ſtroke. But the ſeditiouſneſſe of the people of ROME about gouernment, and the chooſing of the yeare Conſuls, was the hardeſt matter he euer had in hand. For they returning home to ROME ſtrong, and of great power, by their late obtained victory: would in any caſe haue one of the Conſuls to be choſen of a commoner, which was directly againſt their ancient cuſtome. But the Senate ſtoutly withſtood it, and would not ſuffer *Camillus* to be put out of office: hoping the better by meanes of his authority, which was great then, that they ſhould maintaine and continue their auncient dignity, and prerogatiue of their nobility. But as *Camillus* was ſet in his chaire in the market place, where he heard and diſpatched cauſes: there came a ſergeant to him, ſent from the Tribunes of the people, who commaunded him to follow him, and there withall laide violent handes vppon him, as hee would haue caried him away by force. This made ſuch a terrible tumult and vprore, that the like was neuer ſeene before in the market place. For *Camillus* friendes draue the ſergeant backe behind the chaire. The common people cried out againe to the ſergeant from beneath, pull him out of his chaire. This ſo amazed *Camillus*, that he knew not wel what to ſay to the matter. Notwithſtanding, he would not reſigne vp his office, but taking thoſe Senators he had about him, he went vnto the place where the Senate was wont to be kept. And there, before he would goe into it, he returned backe againe vnto the Capitoll, and made his prayer vnto the gods, that it would pleaſe them to bring his troubles againe to a quiet, and ſo made a ſolemne vow and promiſe (if theſe tumultes and troubles might bee pacified) that hee would builde a temple of Concord. When this matter came to debating before the Senate, there fell great contention and diuerſity of opinions among them: yet in the end, the eaſieſt way did cary it, and that was to graunt the common peoples deſire, that a commoner ſhould be choſen Conſull with a noble man. The *Dictator* hauing openly publiſhed to the people the Senates decree, con-

*Camillus ſlue the Gaules againe.*

*The Romaines how they exempted prieſtes from the wars.*

*Sedition at Rome about choſing of Conſuls.*

*Pollicy to yeeld to neceſſity.*

*A commoner choſen Conſull with a noble man.*

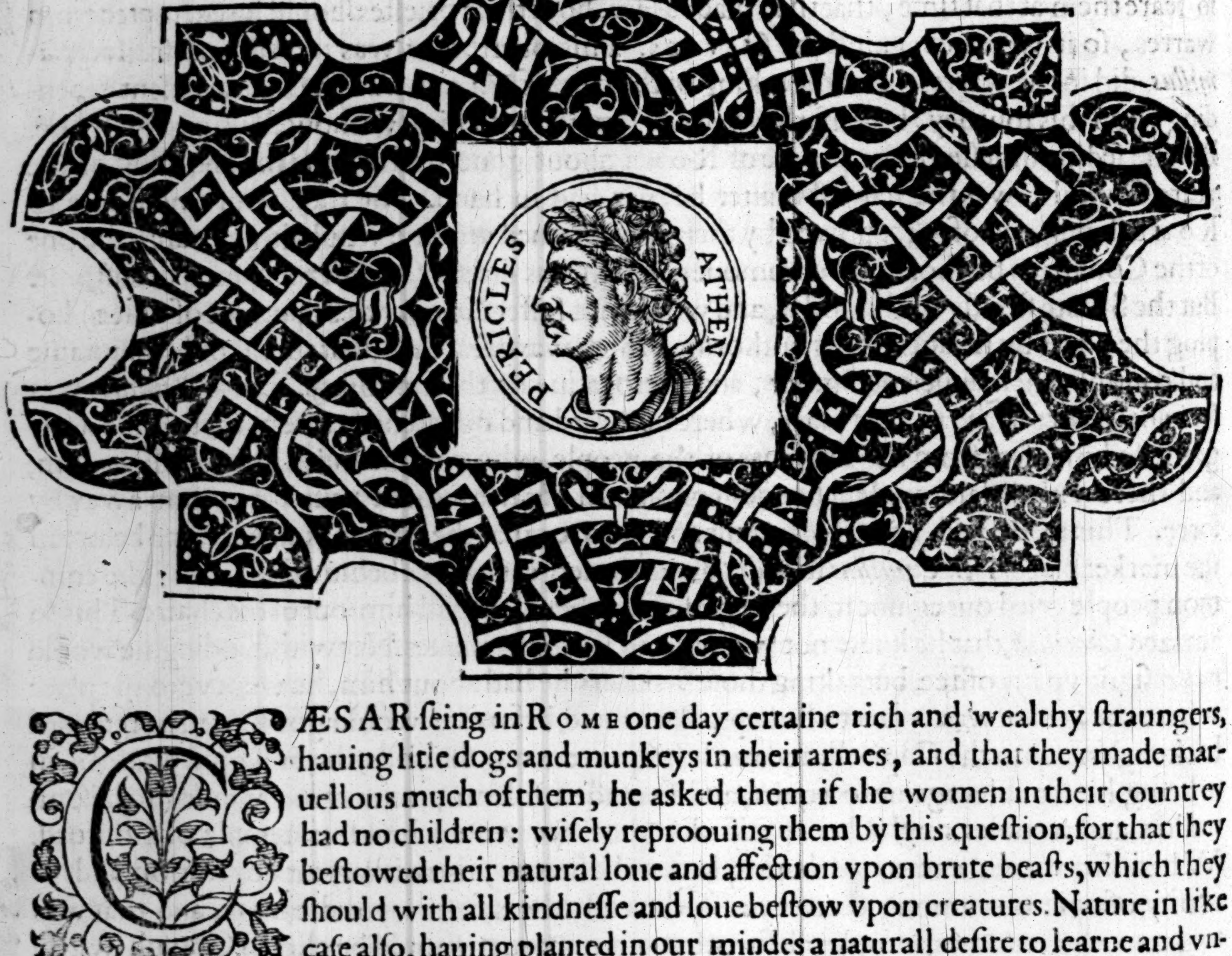
firming their deſire: the common people were ſo ioyfull, that at that preſent they let fall all their malice againſt the Nobility and Senate, and brought *Camillus* home to his houſe, with great ſhouts of ioy, and clapping of hands. The next morning all the people being aſſembled together in the market place, it was there decreed: that the temple of concord ſhould be built at the common wealths charge (according to the vow *Camillus* had made) in ſuch a place, as it might be ſeene from the market place ſelfe, where all the aſſemblies for matters of counſell were made. And further, it was ordered that one day more ſhould be added to the feaſts of the LATINES: and that from thenceforth they ſhould ſolemnize foure feſtiuall daies, and ſhould preſently make generall ſacrifices vnto the goddes, in euery temple of the city, to giue them thankes: and in tokē of ioy, they ſhould all weare garlands vpon their heads for this reconciliation. So *Camillus* proceeding to election, there were choſen two Conſuls, *Marcus Æmilius* of the noble *Patricians*, and *Lucius Sextus* of the *Plebeians* or commoners. And this was the laſt act that euer *Camillus* did. For the next yeare after the plague was in ROME, and tooke away an infinite number of people that died, beſides many magiſtrates and officers of the citie that departed: among whom, *Camillus* alſo left his life. Who notwithſtanding he had liued a long time, and had ended a reaſonable courſe of life: yet he was as ready to die, and as patiently tooke his death, as any man liuing could haue done. Moreouer, the ROMAINS made more mone & lamentation for his death alone, then for al the reſt the plague had already conſumed.

*Marcus Æmilius, Lucius Sextus Conſuls.*

*Camillus died of the plague.*

*The end of Furius Camillus life.*

# THE LIFE OF *Pericles.*



CÆSAR ſeing in ROME one day certaine rich and wealthy ſtraungers, hauing litle dogs and munkeys in their armes, and that they made maruellous much of them, he asked them if the women in their country had no children: wiſely reproouing them by this queſtion, for that they beſtowed their natural loue and affection vpon brute beaſts, which they ſhould with all kindneſſe and loue beſtow vpon creatures. Nature in like caſe alſo, hauing planted in our mindes a naturall deſire to learne and vnderſtand, we are in reaſon to reproue thoſe that vainely abuſe this good deſire, fondly diſpoſing it ſing it to learne things vaine and vnprofitable : and to caſt behinde them in the meane ſeaſon thinges honeſt and neceſſary to be learned. For as touching our outward ſenſe, which with paſſion receiueth impreſſion of the thing it ſeeth, peraduenture it will be neceſſary to conſider indifferently the thing ſeene, whether it will fall out beneficiall or hurtfull vnto him: but ſo fareth it not with our vnderſtanding, for euery man may at his pleaſure turne and diſpoſe that to the thing he taketh delight in, the reaſon whereof we muſt alwaies imploy to the beſt part, and that not only to conſider and looke vpon the thing, but alſo to reape the benefit and commodity of the thing we ſee. For like as the eie is moſt delighted with the lighteſt and freſheſt colours: euen ſo we muſt giue our minds vnto thoſe ſightes, which by looking vpon them do draw profit and pleaſure vnto vs. For ſuch effects doth vertue bring: that either to heare or read them, they do print in our hearts an earneſt loue and deſire to follow them. But this followeth not in all other things we eſteeme, neither are we alwaies diſpoſed to deſire to do the thinges we ſee well done: but contrary oftentimes, when we like the worke, we miſlike the workeman, as cōmonly in making theſe perfumes and purple colours. For both the one & the other do pleaſe vs well: but yet we take perfumers and diers to be men of a meane occupation. Therfore ***Antiſthenes*** anſwered one very wiſely, that told him ***Iſmenias*** was an excellent player of the flute. But yet he is a naughty mā, ſayd he: otherwiſe he could not be ſo cunning at the flute as he is. Euen ſo did ***Philip*** king of MACEDON ſay to his ſonne ***Alexander*** the great on a time: that at a certaine feaſt had ſung paſſing ſweetly, and like a maiſter of muſicke. Art thou not aſhamed ſon to ſing ſo well? It is enough for a King to beſtow his leiſure ſomtime to hear muſitians ſing, & he doth much honor to the Muſes to heare the maſter of the ſcience otherwhile, when one of them ſingeth to excell another. But he that perſonally ſhall beſtow his time, exerciſing any meane ſcience: bringeth his paines he hath taken in matters vnprofitable, a witneſſe againſt himſelfe, to proue that he hath bene negligent to learne thinges honeſt and profitable. And there was neuer any yong gentleman nobly borne, that ſeing the image of ***Iupiter*** (which is in the city of PISA) deſired to become ***Phidias***: nor ***Polycletus***, for ſeeing of ***Iuno*** in the city of ARGOS: nor that deſired to be ***Anacreon***, or ***Philemon***, or ***Archilochus***, for that they tooke pleaſure ſomtime to read their works. For it followeth not of neceſſity, that though the worke delight, the workeman muſt needs be prayſed. And ſo in like caſe, ſuch thinges doe not profite thoſe which behold them, becauſe they doe not moue affection in the hearts of the beholders to follow them, neither doe ſtirre vp affection to reſemble them, and much leſſe to conforme our ſelues vnto them. But vertue hath this ſingular property in all her actions: that ſhee maketh the man that knoweth her to affect her ſo, that ſtraight he liketh all her doings, and deſireth to follow thoſe that are vertuous. For, as for riches, we only deſire to haue them in poſſeſſion: but of vertue, we chiefely loue the deeds. Wherefore we are contented to haue goods from other men : but good deeds we would other ſhould haue from vs. For vertue is of this power, that ſhe alureth a mans mind preſently to vſe her, that wiſely conſidereth of her, & maketh him very deſirous in his heart to follow her: and doth not frame his manners that beholdeth her by any imitation, but by the only vnderſtanding and knowledge of vertuous deedes, which ſodainely bringeth vnto him a reſolute deſire to do the like. And this is the reaſon, why me thought I ſhould continue ſtill to write on the liues of noble men, & why I made alſo this tenth booke: in the which are contained the liues of ***Pericles*** and ***Fabius Maximus***, who maintained wars againſt ***Hannibal***. For they were both men very like together in many ſundry vertues, and ſpecially in curteſie and iuſtice: and for that they could patiently beare the follies of their people, and companions that were in charge of gouernment with them, they were maruellous profitable members for their country. But, if we haue ſorted them well together, comparing the one with the other: you ſhall eaſily iudge that read our writings of their liues. ***Pericles*** was of the tribe of the ***Acamantides***, of the towne of CHOLARGVS, and one of the beſt and moſt ancient families of the city of ATHENS, both by his father and mother. For ***Xantippus*** his father (who ouercame in battell the lieutenants of the king of PERSIA in the ~~iourney~~ battle of ***Mycala***) maried ***Agariſte*** that came of ***Cliſthenes***, he who draue out of ATHENS ***Piſiſtratus*** ofſpring, and valiantly ouerthrew their tyranny. Afterwardes he eſtabliſhed lawes, and ordained a very graue forme of gouernment, to maintaine his citizens in peace and concord to-

*Wit alwaies to be employed to good things.*

*Antiſthenes ſaying of a flute player.*

*The power of vertue.*

*Pericles ſtocke.*

*Pericles mothers dreame.*

*Pericles had a long head.*

gether. This *Agariſt* dreamed one night that ſhe was brought to bed of a Lion: and very ſhortly after ſhe was deliuered of *Pericles,* who was ſo well proportioned in all the parts of his body, that nothing could be mended, ſauing that his head was ſomewhat too long and out of proportion to the reſt of his body. And this is the only cauſe why all the ſtatues and images of him almoſt, are made with a helmet of his head: becauſe the workmen as it ſhould ſeeme (and ſo it is moſt likely) were willing to hide the blemiſhe of his deformity. But the ATTICAN Poets did call him *Schinocephalos*, as much to ſay, headed like an onion. For thoſe of ATTICA doe ſometime name that which is called in the vulgar tongue *Scilla*, that is to ſay, an onion of Barbarie: *Schinos.* And *Cratinus* the Comicall Poet in his comedy hee entituled *Chirones*, ſayd:

*Olde Saturne he, and dreadfull dire debate*
*begotten haue, betweene them Carnally,*
*this tyrant here, this heauy iolting pate,*
*in court of goddes ſo tearmed worthely.*

And againe alſo in that which he nameth *Nemeſis*, ſpeaking of him, he ſaieth:

*Come Iupiter, come Iupiter,*
*Come iolt-head, and come inkeeper.*

And *Teleclides* mocking him alſo, ſayeth in a place:

*Sometimes he ſtands, amazed when he perceiues,*
*that hard it were, ſufficiently to know,*
*in what eſtate, his gouernment he leaues.*
*And then will he, be ſeldome ſeene by low,*
*ſuch heauie heapes, within his braines do grow.*
*But yet ſometimes, out of that monſtrous pate,*
*he thundreth faſt, and threatneth euery ſtate.*

And *Eupolis* in a comedy which he intituled *Demi*: being very inquiſitiue, and asking particularly of euery one of the Orators (whom he fained were returned out of hell) when they named *Pericles* the laſt man vnto him, he ſaide:

*Truely thou haſt now brought, vnto vs here that dwell,*
*the chiefe of all the captaines, that come from darkſome hell.*

*Pericles ſtudies and teachers.*

And as for muſicke, the moſt authors write, that *Damon* did teach him muſicke, of whoſe name (as men ſay) they ſhould pronounce the firſt ſyllable ſhort. Howbeit *Ariſtotle* ſaieth, that he was taught muſicke by *Pythoclides*. Howſoeuer it was, it is certaine that this *Damon* was a man of deepe vnderſtanding, and ſubtill in matters of gouernment: for, to hide from the people his ſufficiency therein, he gaue it out he was a muſitian, and did reſort vnto *Pericles* as a maſter wreſtler, or fenſer: but he taught him how he ſhould deale in matters of ſtate. Notwithſtanding, in the end he could not ſo cunningly conuay this matter, but the people ſaw his harping and muſicke, was only a viſer to his other practiſe: wherefore they did baniſhe him ATHENS for fiue yeares, as a man that buſily tooke vpon him to change the ſtate of thinges, and that fauoured tyranny. And this gaue the Comicall Poets matter to play vpon him finely, among which *Plato* in a comedy of his, bringeth in a man that asketh him:

*O Chiron, tell me firſt: art thou indeede the man,*
*which did inſtruct Pericles thus? make aunſwer if thou can.*

*Zenon Eleatean.*

He was ſometime alſo ſcholler to the Philoſopher *Zenon*, who was borne in the city of ELEA, and taught naturall philoſophy, as *Parmenides* did: but his profeſſion was to thwart and contrary all men, and to alledge a world of obiections in his diſputation, which were ſo intricate, that his aduerſary replying againſt him, knew not how to aunſwer him, nor to conclude his argument. The which *Timon Phliaſius* witneſſeth in theſe words:

*Zenon was ſubtill ſure, and very eloquent,*
*and craftily could winde a man, by way of argument,*
*if ſo he were diſpoſed, his cunning to deſcrie,*
*or ſhew the ſharpneſſe of his wit, to practiſe pollicy.*

But *Anaxagoras Clazomenian* was he that was moſt familiar and conuerſaunt with him, and did put in him the maieſtie and grauitie he ſhewed in all his ſayings,and doings, who did farre excell the common courſe of ordinarie Orators that pleaded before the people: and to be ſhort, he it was that did faſhion his manners, altogether to carie that graue countenance which he did. For they called *Anaxagoras* in his time, *Nûs*, as much to ſay, as vnderſtanding. Either becauſe they had his ſingular wit and capacitie in ſuch great admiration, being growne to ſearch out the cauſe of naturall things: or that he was the firſt man, who did aſcribe the diſpoſition and gouernement of this world, not vnto fortune or fatall neceſſitie, but vnto a pure,ſimple,and vnderſtanding minde, which doth ſeparate at the firſt mouing cauſe, the ſubſtance of ſuch like parts as are medled and compounded of diuerſe ſubſtances, in all other bodies through the world. *Pericles* made maruellous much of *Anaxagoras*, who had fully inſtructed him in the knowledge of naturall things, and of thoſe ſpecially that worke aboue in the ayre and firmament.For he grew not only to haue a great minde and an eloquent tongue,without any affectation, or groſſe countrie termes: but to a certaine modeſt countenance that ſcantly ſmiled,very ſober in his gate, hauing a kinde of ſound in his voyce that he neuer loſt nor altered, and was of very honeſt behauiour, neuer troubled in his talke for any thing that croſſed him,and many other ſuch like things, as all that ſaw them in him,and conſidered them,could but wonder at him. But for proofe hereof, the report goeth, there was a naughty buſie fellow on a time,that a whole day together did nothing but raile vpon *Pericles* in the market place, and reuile him to his face, with all the villanous words he could vſe. But *Pericles* put all vp quietly, and gaue him not a worde againe, diſpatching in the meane time matters of importance he had in hand, vntill night came, that he went ſoftly home to his houſe,ſhewing no alteration nor ſemblance of trouble at all,though this lewd varlet followed him at the heeles,with words of open defamation. And as he was ready to enter in at his owne doores,being darke night,he commaunded one of his men to take a torche, and to bring this man home to his houſe. Yet the Poet *Ion* ſaieth, that *Pericles* was a very proude man, and a ſtately,and that with his grauitie and noble minde, there was mingled a certaine ſcorne and contempt of other: and contrarilie, he greatly praiſeth the ciuillitie, humanitie,and courteſie of *Cimon*,becauſe he could faſhion himſelfe to all companies. But letting paſſe that which the Poet *Ion* ſaid: who would that vertue ſhould be full of tragicall diſcipline, bringing in with it,a certaine ſatyricall diſcourſe to mooue laughter. Now *Zennon* contrariwiſe did counſell all thoſe, that ſaid *Pericles* grauitie was a preſumption, and arrogancie: that they ſhould alſo follow him in his preſumption. For, to counterfaite in that ſort things honeſt and vertuous, doth ſecretly with time breed an affection and deſire to loue them, and afterwards with cuſtome euen effectually to vſe and follow them. So *Pericles* by keeping *Anaxagoras* companie,did not onely profit himſelfe in theſe things, but he learned beſides to put away all ſuperſtitious feare, of celeſtiall ſignes and impreſſions ſeene in the ayre. For to thoſe that are ignorant of the cauſes thereof, ſuch ſights are terrible, and to the godly alſo fearefull, as if they were vtterly vndone: and all is, becauſe they haue no certaine knowledge of the reaſon that naturall Philoſophie yeeldeth,which in ſtead of a fearfull ſuperſtition, would bring a true religion accompanied with aſſured hope of goodneſſe. Some ſay a man brought *Pericles* one day from his farme out of the countrie, a Rammes head that had but one horne, and that the prognoſticator *Lampon* conſidering this head, that had but one ſtrong horne in the middeſt of his forehead, interpreted, that this was the ſignification thereof. That being two tribes and ſeuerall factions in the citie of ATHENS touching gouernement, the one of *Pericles*,and the other of *Thucydides*: the power of both ſhould be brought into one, and ſpecially into his part, in whoſe houſe this ſigne did happen. Further, it is ſaid that *Anaxagoras* being preſent, did cauſe the Rammes head to be clouen in two peeces, and ſhewed vnto them that ſtood by, that the braine of this Ramme did not fill the panne of his naturall place, but incloſed it ſelfe in all parts, being narrowe like the pointe of an egge, in that parte where the horne tooke his firſt roote of budding out. So *Anaxagoras* was maruellouſlie eſteemed at that preſent by all thoſe that ſtood by: but ſo was *Lampon*, ſoone after that *Thucydides* was driuen away, and that the gouernment of the whole commonweale fell into the hands of *Pericles* alone. And it is not to be wondred at (in my opinion) that the naturall Philoſopher

*Pericles manners and behauiour.*

*Pericles pacience.*

*The benefit of naturall philoſophie.*

*What was ſignified by the Rammes head that had but one horne, and was found in Pericles grounde.*

and the prognoſticator did rightly meete together in troth: the one directly telling the cauſe, and the other the end of the euent as it fell out. For the profeſſion of the one, is to know how it commeth: and of the other, wherefore it commeth, and to foretell what it betokeneth. For where ſome ſay, that to ſhew the cauſe, is to take away the ſignification of the ſigne: they do not conſider that in ſeeking to aboliſh by this reaſon the wonderfull tokens and ſignes in the ayre, they do take away thoſe alſo which are done by arte. As the noiſe of baſons, the lights of fire by the ſea ſide, and the ſhadowes of needles or points of dyals in the ſunne: all which things are done by ſome cauſe and handiworke, to be a ſigne and token of ſome thing. But this argument peraduenture may ſerue better in another booke. And now againe to *Pericles*.

*Pericles likened to Piſiſtratus.*

Whileſt he was yet but a young man, the people ſtood in awe of him, becauſe he ſomwhat reſembled *Piſiſtratus* in his countenance: and the ancienteſt men of the citie alſo were much afeard of his ſoft voyce, his eloquent tongue, and ready vtterance, becauſe in thoſe he was *Piſiſtratus* vp and downe. Moreouer he was very riche and wealthie, and of one of the nobleſt families of the citie, and thoſe were his friends alſo that caried the onely ſway and authoritie in the ſtate: whereupon, fearing leaſt they would baniſh him with the baniſhment of *Oſtraciſmon*, he would not medle with gouernement in any caſe, although otherwiſe he ſhewed himſelfe in warres very valiant and forward, and feared not to venter his perſon. But after that *Ariſtides* was dead, that *Themiſtocles* was driuen away, and that *Cimon* being euer in ſeruice in the warres as generall in forraine countries, was a long time out of GRECE: then he came to leane to the tribe of the poore people, preferring the multitude of the poore communaltie, aboue the ſmall number of Nobilitie and riche men, the which was directly againſt his nature.

*Pericles firſt beginning to deale in the commonwealth*

For of himſelfe he was not popular, nor meanly giuen: but he did it as it ſhould ſeeme) to auoide ſuſpicion, that he ſhould pretend to make him ſelfe King. And becauſe he ſaw *Cimon* was inclined alſo to take part with the Nobilitie, and that he was ſingularly beloued and liked of all the honeſter ſort: he to the contrarie enclined to the common people, purchaſing by this meanes ſafetie to himſelfe, and authoritie againſt *Cimon*.

*Too much familiaritie breedeth contempt.*

So he preſently began a new courſe of life, ſince he had taken vpon him to deale in matters of ſtate: for they neuer ſawe him afterwards at any time go into the citie, but to the market place, or to the Senate houſe. He gaue vp going to all feaſts where he was bidden, and left the entertainment of his friends, their company and familiaritie. So that in all his time wherein he gouerned the commonweale, which was a long time, he neuer went out to ſupper to any of his friends, vnleſſe it were that he was once at a feaſt at his nephew *Eury-ptolemus* mariage: and then he taried there no longer, but while the ceremonie was a doing, when they offer wine to the goddes, and ſo he roſe from the table. For theſe friendly meetings at ſuch feaſts, do much abaſe any counterfaite maieſtie or ſet countenance: and he ſhall haue much a do to keepe grauitie and reputation, ſhewing familiaritie to euery knowne friend in ſuch open places. For in perfect vertue, thoſe things truely are euer moſt excellent, which be moſt common: and in good and vertuous men there is nothing more admirable vnto ſtrangers, then their dayly conuerſation is to their friends. *Pericles* nowe to preuent that the people ſhould not be glutted with ſeeing him too oft, nor that they ſhould come much to him: they did ſee him but at ſome times, and then he would not talke in euery matter, neither came much abroade among them, but reſerued him ſelfe (as *Critolaus* ſaied they kept the SALAMINIAN galley at ATHENS) for matters of great importance.

*Ephialtes an orator.*

And in the meane ſeaſon, in other matters of ſmall moment, he dealt by meanes of certaine orators his familiar friends, amongſt whom *Ephialtes* (as they ſay) was one: he who tooke away the authoritie and power from the courte of *Areopagus*, and did giue too much libertie to the people, as Plato ſayed. Vpon which occaſion, as the Comicall poets ſay, he became ſo ſtoute and head ſtrong, that they could no more holde him backe, then a young vnbrideled colte: and tooke ſuch a courage vpon him, that he would obay no more, but inuaded the Ile of EVBOEA, and ſet vpon the other Ilands. *Pericles* alſo becauſe he would faſhion a phraſe of ſpeache, with a kinde of ſtile altogether agreeable to the manner of life and grauitie he had taken vpon him: he gaue himſelfe to all matters which he had learned of *Anaxagoras*, ſhadowing his reaſons of naturall philoſophie, with artificiall rethoricke. For hauing obteined a deepe vnderſtanding by ſtudying of Philoſophie, and a ready way effectually to ende any matter, he vndertooke to prooue (beſides that nature had endued him with an excellent wit and capacitie, as the diuine *Plato* doth write, to bring any thing to ſerue his purpoſe) he did ſo artificially compaſſe it with eloquence, that he farre paſſed all the orators in his time. And for this cauſe was he (as they ſay) ſurnamed *Olympius*, as much to ſay, as heauenly or diuine. But ſome are of opinion he had that ſurname, by reaſon of the common buildings and ſtately workes he raiſed vp in the citie of ATHENS, that did much ſet forth the ſame. Other thinke it was giuen him for his great authoritie and power he had in gouernment, aſwell in warres, as in peace. But it is no maruell that this glorie was giuen him, conſidering the many other qualities and vertues that were in him. Howbeit the commedies the Poets cauſed to be plaied in thoſe times (in which there were many wordes ſpoken of him, ſome in earneſt, ſome in ſporte and ieaſt) do witneſſe that he had that ſurname giuen him, chiefly for his eloquence. For it is reported, that he thundered and lightened in his oration to the people, and that his tongue was a terrible lightning. And touching this matter, they tell of an aunſwer *Thucydides*, *Mileſius* ſonne, ſhould pleaſantly make concerning the force of *Pericles* eloquence. *Thucydides* was a noble man, and had long time contended againſt *Pericles* in matters of the commonweale. *Archidamus*, king of LACEDÆMON, asked *Thucydides* on a time: whether he or *Pericles* wreſtled beſt. *Thucydides* made him aunſwer. When I haue giuen him an open fall before the face of the world, he can ſo excellently denie it, that he maketh the people beleeue he had no fall at all, and perſwadeth them the contrarie of that they ſawe. Notwithſtanding he was euer very graue and wiſe in ſpeaking. For euer when he went vp into the pulpit for orations to ſpeake to the people, he made his prayers vnto the gods, that nothing might eſcape his mouthe, but that he might conſider before whether it would ſerue the purpoſe of his matter he treated on: yet are there none of his workes extant in writing, vnleſſe it be ſome fewe lawes he made, and but very few of his notable ſayings are brought to light, ſaue onely theſe. He ſaid on a time that they muſt take away the citie of ÆGINA, becauſe it was a ſtrawe lying in the eye of the hauen PIRÆA. And another time, he ſaid that he ſaw the warres a farre off, comming from PELOPONNESVS. Another time, as he tooke ſhip with *Sophocles* (his companion in commiſſion with him as generall of the armie) who commended a faire young boye they met as they came to the hauen: *Sophocles*, ſaid he, a gouernour muſt not onely haue his hands, but alſo his eyes cleane. And *Steſimbrotus* writeth, that in a funerall oration he made in the praiſe of thoſe that were ſlaine in the warre of SAMOS: he ſaid they were immortall as the gods. For we do not ſee the goddes (ſaid he) as they be, but for the honour that is done to them, and the great happineſſe they enioy, we do coniecture they are immortall: and the ſame things are in thoſe that dye in ſeruice, and defence of their countrie. Now where *Thucydides* doth write the gouernment of the commonweale vnder *Pericles* to be as a gouernment of Nobilitie, and yet had apparaunce of a popular ſtate: it is true that in effect it was a Kingdome, becauſe one alone did rule and gouerne the whole ſtate. And many other ſay alſo, he was the firſt that brought in the cuſtome to deuide the enemies lands wunne by conqueſt among the people, and of the common money to make the people ſee playes and paſtimes, and that appointed them reward for all things. But this cuſtome was ill brought vp. For the common people that before were contented with litle, and got their liuing painefully with ſwet of their browes: became now to be very vaine, ſumptuous, and riotous, by reaſon of theſe things brought vp then. The cauſe of the alteration dooth eaſily appeare by thoſe things. For *Pericles* at his firſt comming, ſought to winne the fauour of the people, as we haue ſaid before, onely to get like reputation that *Cimon* had wonne. But comming farre ſhort of his wealth and abilitie, to carie out the porte and charge that *Cimon* did, entertaining the poore, keeping open houſe to all commers, clothing poore olde people, breaking open beſides all incloſures and pales through all his lands, that euery one might with more libertie come in, and take the frutes thereof at their pleaſure: and ſeeing himſelfe by theſe great meanes out gone farre in goodwill with the common people, by *Demonides* counſell and procurement (who was borne in the Ile of IOS) he brought in this diſtribution of the common money, as

*Why Pericles was ſurnamed Olympius.*

*Thucydides, Pericles aduerſarie.*

*Pericles ſayings.*

*Pericles commonwealth.*

*The good deeds of Cimon*

*Ariſtotle* writeth. And hauing wonne in a ſhort time the fauour and goodwill of the common people, by diſtribution of the common treaſure, which he cauſed to be deuided among them, aſwell to haue place to ſee theſe playes, as for that they had reward to be preſent at the iudgements, & by other ſuch like corruptions: he with the peoples helpe, did inueigh againſt the courte of the *Areopagites*, whereof he neuer was any member.

*Pericles large diſtribution diminiſhed, the Areopagits authoritie.*

For it neuer came to be his hap to be yeerely gouernour, nor keeper of the lawes, nor King of the ſacrifices, nor maiſter of the warres: all which were offices choſen in auncient time by lot. And further, thoſe on whom the lot fell, if they had behaued themſelues well in their office, they were called forwards, and raiſed to be of the body of this courte of the *Areopagites*. *Pericles* now by theſe meanes hauing obtained great credit and authoritie amongſt the people, he troubled the Senate of the *Areopagites* in ſuch ſort, that he pluckt many matters from their hearing, by *Ephialtes* helpe: and in time made *Cimon* to be baniſhed ATHENS, as one that fauoured the LACEDÆMONIANS, and contraried the commonwealth, and authoritie of the people.

*Pericles cauſeth Cimon to be baniſhed Athens.*

Notwithſtanding he was the nobleſt and richeſt perſon of all the citie, and one that had wonne ſo many glorious victories, and had ſo repleniſhed ATHENS with the conquered ſpoiles of their enemies, as we haue declared in his life: ſo great was the authoritie of *Pericles* amongſt the people.

*The Oſtraciſmon.*

Now the baniſhment wherewith he was puniſhed (which they called *Oſtraciſmon*) was limited by the lawe for tenne yeares. In which ſpace the LACEDÆMONIANS being come downe with a great armie into the countrie of TANAGRA, the ATHENIANS ſent out their power preſently againſt them. There *Cimon* willing to ſhew the ATHENIANS by his deedes, that they had falſely accuſed him for fauouring the LACEDÆMONIANS: did arme himſelfe, and went on his country mens ſide, to fight in the companie of his tribe. But *Pericles* friends gathered together, and forced *Cimon* to depart thence as a baniſhed man. And this was the cauſe that *Pericles* fought that day more valiantly then euer he did, and he wanne the honour and name to haue done more in the perſon of himſelfe that day, then any other of all the armie. At that battell alſo, all *Cimons* freinds, whom *Pericles* had burdened likewiſe to fauour the LACEDÆMONIANS doings, dyed euery man of them that day. Then the ATHENIANS repented them much that they had driuen *Cimon* away, and wiſhed he were reſtored, after they had loſt this battell vpon the confines of the countrie of ATTICA: becauſe they feared ſharpe warres would come vpon them againe at the next ſpring.

*Pericles calleth Cimon from exile.*

Which thing when *Pericles* perceiued, he ſought alſo to further that the common people deſired: wherefore he ſtraight cauſed a decree to be made, that *Cimon* ſhould be called home againe, which was done accordingly. Now when *Cimon* was returned, he aduiſed that peace ſhould be made betweene both cities: for the LACEDÆMONIANS did loue *Cimon* very well, and contrarily they hated *Pericles*, and all other gouernours. Some notwithſtanding do write, that *Pericles* did neuer paſſe his conſent to call him home againe, before ſuch time as they had made a ſecret agreement amongſt themſelues (by meanes of *Elpinice*, *Cimons* ſiſter) that *Cimon* ſhould be ſent out with an armie of two hundred galleys, to make warres in the king of PERSIA his dominions, & that *Pericles* ſhould remaine at home with the authoritie of gouernment within the citie. This *Elpinice* (*Cimons* ſiſter) had once before intreated *Pericles* for her brother, at ſuch time as he was accuſed before the iudge of treaſon. For *Pericles* was one of the committees, to whom this accuſation was referred by the people. *Elpinice* went vnto him, & beſought him not to do his worſt vnto her brother. *Pericles* anſwered her merily. Thou art too old *Elpinice*, thou art too old, to go through with theſe matters.

*Pericles moderation vnto Cimon.*

Yet when his matter came to iudgement, and that his cauſe was pleaded: he roſe but once to ſpeake againſt him (for his owne diſcharge as it were) and went his way when he had ſaid, doing leſſe hurt to *Cimon*, then any other of his accuſers. How is *Idomeneus* to be credited now, who accuſeth *Pericles* that he had cauſed the orator *Ephialtes* to be ſlaine by treaſon (that was his friend, and did alwaies counſell him, and take his part in all kinde of gouernment of the commonweale) onely for the iealouſie and enuie he did beare to his glorie? I can but muſe why *Idomeneus* ſhould ſpeake ſo ſlanderouſlie againſt *Pericles*, vnleſſe it were that his melancholy humour procured ſuch violent ſpeach: who though peraduenture he was not altogether blameleſſe, yet he was euer nobly minded, and had a naturall deſire of honour, in which kinde of men ſuch furious cruell paſſions

ſions are ſeeldome ſeene to breede. But this orator *Ephialtes* being cruell to thoſe that tooke part with the Nobilitie, becauſe he would ſpare or pardon no man for any offence whatſoeuer committed againſt the peoples authoritie, but did follow and perſecute them with all rigour to the vttermoſt: his enemies laide waite for him by meanes of one *Ariſtodicus* TANAGRIAN, and they killed him by treaſon, as *Ariſtotle* writeth. In the meane time *Cimon* died in the Ile of CYPRVS, being generall of the armie of the ATHENIANS by ſea. Wherefore thoſe that tooke part with the Nobilitie, ſeeing *Pericles* was now growen very great, and that he went before all other citizens of ATHENS, thinking it good to haue ſome one to ſticke on their ſide againſt him, and to leſſen thereby ſomewhat his authoritie, that he might not come to rule all as he would: they raiſed vp againſt him, one *Thucydides*, of the towne of ALOPECIA, a graue wiſe man, and father in law to *Cimon*. This *Thucydides* had leſſe skill of warres then *Cimon*, but vnderſtood more in ciuill gouernment then he, for that he remained moſt part of his time within the citie: where continually inueighing againſt *Pericles* in his pulpit for orations to the people, in ſhort time hee had ſtirred vp a like companie againſt the faction of *Pericles*. For he kept the gentlemen and richer ſort (which they call Nobilitie) from mingling with the common people, as they were before, when through the multitude of the commons their eſtate and dignitie was abſcured, and troden vnder foote. Moreouer hee did ſeparate them from the people, and did aſſemble them all as it were into one bodie, who came to be of equall power with the other faction, and did put (as a man will ſay) a counterpeaſe into the ballance. For at the beginning there was but a little ſecret grudge only betwene theſe two factions, as an artificiall flower ſet in the blade of a ſword, which made thoſe ſhew a litle, that did leane vnto the people: and the other alſo ſomwhat that fauored the Nobilitie. But the contention betweene theſe two perſons, was as a deepe cut, which deuided the citie wholy in two factions: of the which the one was called the Nobilitie, and the other the communaltie. Therefore *Pericles* giuing yet more libertie vnto the people, did all thinges that might be to pleaſe them, ordeining continuall plaies and games in the citie, many feaſtes, bankets, and open paſtimes to entertaine the commons with ſuch honeſt pleaſures and deuiſes: and beſides all this, he ſent yerely an armie of three ſcore gallies vnto the warres, into the which he put a great number of poore citizens that tooke paie of the ſtate for nine moneths of the yere, and thereby they did learne together, and practiſe to be good ſea men. Furthermore he ſent into the countrie of CHERRONESVS, a thouſand free men of the citie to dwell there, and to deuide the landes amongeſt them: fiue hundred alſo into the Ile of NAXOS: into the Ile of ANDROS, two hundred & fiftie: into THRACIA, a thouſand to dwell with the BISALTES: & other alſo into ITALY, when the citie of SYBARIS was built againe, which afterwardes was ſurnamed the citie of the THVRIANS. All this he did to rid the citie of a number of idle people, who through idleneſſe beganne to be curious, and to deſire chaunge of things, as alſo to prouide for the neceſſitie of the poore townes men that had nothing. For, placing the naturall citizens of ATHENS neere vnto their ſubiectes and friendes, they ſerued as a garriſon to keepe them vnder, and did ſuppreſſe them alſo from attempting any alteration or chaunge. But that which delighteth moſt, & is the greateſt ornament vnto the citie of ATHENS, which maketh ſtrangers moſt to wonder, and which alone doth bring ſufficient teſtimonie, to confirme that which is reported of the auncient power, riches, and great wealth of GRECE, to be true and not falſe: are the ſtately and ſumptuous buildings, which *Pericles* made to be built in the citie of ATHENS. For it is the onely act of all other *Pericles* did, and which made his enemies moſt to ſpight him, and which they moſt accuſed him for, crying out vpon him in all counſelles and aſſemblies: that the people of ATHENS were openly defamed, for carying away the readie money of all GRECE, which was left in the Ile of DELOS to be ſafely kept there. And although they could with good honeſtie haue excuſed this fact, ſaying that *Pericles* had taken it from them, for feare of the barbarous people, to the ende to lay it vp in a more ſtronger place, where it ſhould be in better ſafetie: yet was this too ouergreat an iniurie offered vnto all the reſt of GRECE, & too maniſeſt a token of tyrannie alſo, to beholde before their eyes, how we doe employ the money, which they were inforced to gather for the maintenance of the warres againſt the barbarous people, in gilding, building,

*The murther of Ephialtes.*

*Thucydides Pericles aduerſary in the cōmon wealth.*

*A politike care for idle perſons*

*Sumptuous buildings erected by Pericles.*

*Diuers artificers at Athens.*

and ſetting forth our citie, like a glorious woman, all to be gauded with golde and precious ſtones, and how we doe make images, and build vp temples of wonderfull & infinite charge. *Pericles* replied to the contrarie, and declared vnto the ATHENIANS that they were not bound to make any account of this money vnto their friends and allies, conſidering that they fought for their ſafetie, and that they kept the barbarous people farre from GRECE, without troubling them to ſet out any one man, horſe, or ſhippe of theirs, the money onely excepted, which is no more theirs that paide it, then theirs that receiued it, ſo they beſtowe it to that vſe they receiued it for. And their citie being alreadie very well furniſhed, and prouided of all thinges neceſſary for the warres, it was good reaſon they ſhould employ and beſtow the ſurplus of the treaſure in things: which in time to come (and being throughly finiſhed) would make their fame eternall. Moreouer he ſaide that whileſt they continue building, they ſhould be preſently rich, by reaſon of the diuerſitie of workes of all ſortes, and other thinges which they ſhould haue neede of: and to compaſſe theſe things the better, and to ſet them in hande, all manner of artificers and workemen (that would labour) ſhould be ſet a worke. So ſhould all the townes men, and inhabitants of the citie, receiue paie and wages of the common treaſure: and the citie by this meanes ſhould be greatly beautified, and much more able to maintaine it ſelfe. For ſuch as were ſtrong, and able men of bodie, and of yeares to carie weapon, had paie and entertainement of the common wealth, which were ſent abroad vnto the warres: and other that were not meete for warres, as craftes men, and labourers: hee would alſo they ſhould haue part of the common treaſure, but not without they earned it, and by doing ſomewhat. And this was his reaſon, and the cauſe that made him occupie the common people with great buildings, and deuiſes of workes of diuerſe occupations, which could not be finiſhed of long time: to the end that the citizens remaining at home, might haue a meane and way to take part of the common treaſure, and enrich themſelues, as well as thoſe that went to the warres, and ſerued on the ſea, or els that lay in garriſon to keepe any place or fort. For ſome gained by bringing ſtuffe: as ſtones, braſſe, yuory, gold, ebbany, and cypres. Other got, to worke and faſhion it: as carpenters, grauers, founders, caſters of images, maſons, hewers of ſtone, diers, goldſmithes, ioyners working in iuorie, painters, men that ſet in ſundry colours of peeces of ſtone or wood, and turners. Other gained to bring ſtuffe, and to furniſh them: as marchants, marriners, and ſhipmaſters, for things they brought them by ſea. And by land other got alſo: as cart-makers, carriers, carters, cord-makers, ſadlers, coller-makers, and pyoners to make waies plaine, and miners, and ſuch like. Furthermore, euery ſcience and craft, as a captaine hauing ſouldiers, had alſo their armie of the worke men that ſerued them, labouring truely for their liuing, who ſerued as prentiſes and iorney men vnder the workemaſters: ſo the worke by this meanes did diſperſe abroad a common gaine to all ſorts of people and ages, what occupation or trade ſoeuer they had. And thus came the buildings to riſe in greatneſſe and ſumptuouſneſſe, being of excellent workmanſhip, and for grace & beautie not comparable: becauſe euery workeman in his ſcience did ſtriue what he could to excell others, to make his worke appeare greateſt in ſight, and to be moſt workemanly done in ſhew. But the greateſt thing to be wondred at, was their ſpeede & diligence. For where euery man thought thoſe workes were not likely to be finiſhed in many mens liues and ages, and from man to man: they were all done and finiſhed, whileſt one onely gouernour continued ſtill in credite and authoritie. And yet they ſay, that in the ſame time, as one *Agatarchus* boaſted him ſelfe, that he had quickly painted certaine beaſtes: *Zeuxis* another painter hearing him, aunſwered. And I contrarily doe reioyce, that I am a long time in drawing of them. For cōmonly ſlight and ſodaine drawing of any thing, cannot take deepe colours, nor giue perfect beautie to the worke: but length of time, adding to the painters diligence & labour in making of the worke, maketh the colours to continue for euer. For this cauſe therefore the workes *Pericles* made, are more wonderfull: becauſe they were perfectly made in ſo ſhort a time, and haue continued ſo long a ſeaſon. For euery one of thoſe which were finiſhed vp at that time, ſeemed then to be very auncient touching the beautie thereof: and yet for the grace & continuance of the ſame, it looketh at this day as if it were but newly done and finiſhed, there is ſuch a certaine kind of flouriſhing freſhnes in it, which letteth that the iniurie of time cannot impaire the ſight therof:

As if euery one of thoſe foreſaid workes, had ſome liuing ſpirite in it, to make it ſeeme young and freſh: and a ſoule that liued euer, which kept them in their good continuing ſtate. Now the chiefe ſurueyour generall of all theſe workes, was *Phidias*, albeit that there were many other excellent worke-maſters in euery ſcience and occupation. For the temple of *Pallas*, which is called *Parthénon* (as a man would ſay, the temple of the virgine, and is ſurnamed *Hecatompedon*, for that it is a hundred foote euery way) was built by *Ictinus*, & *Callicrates*: and the chappell of *Eleuſin* (where the ſecret ceremonies of the myſteries were made) was firſt founded by *Corœbus*, who raiſed vp the firſt pillers in order, ſtanding beneath on the ground, and did ſet them vp vnto the maſter chaptrels. But after he was dead, *Metagenes*, borne in the towne of XYPETA, turned the arches ouer, and then did ſet the pillers in order alſo which are aboue: and *Xenocles* of the towne of CHOLARGEA, was he that made the lanterne or toppe of the ſteeple which couereth the ſanctuarie: but the long wall which *Socrates* heard *Pericles* himſelfe giue order for the building of it, was done by *Callicrates*, who vndertooke the worke. *Cratinus* the Poet, in a comedie he made, laugheth at this worke, to ſee howe ſlowly it went forward, and how long it was a doing, ſaying:

*Pericles long a goe, did end this worke begunne:*
*and build it high, with glorious wordes, if ſo it had bene done.*
*But as for deedes (in deede) he built nothing at all,*
*but let it ſtand: as yet it ſtands, much liker for to fall.*

And as for the Theater or place appointed for muſicke, where they heare all muſitians play, and is called *Odeon*: it is very well made within with diuers ſeates & degrees, and many ranges of pillers, but the toppe of the roofe is altogether round, which is ſomewhat hanging downeward round about of it ſelfe, comming together into one point. And it is ſaide that this was made after the patterne and faſhion of king *Xerxes* royall pauilion, and that *Pericles* was the firſt deuiſer and maker of it. Wherefore *Cratinus* in another place of his comedie he maketh of the THRACIANS, doth play very pretily vpon him, ſaying:

*The Odeon.*

*Pericles here doth come, Dan Iupiter ſurnamed,*
*(and onyons hed) which hath in his great noddle finely framed,*
*The plot of Odeon, when he deliuered was*
*from baniſhment, and daungers deepe, wherein he long did paſſe.*

*Pericles* was the firſt that made maruellous earneſt labour to the people that they would make an order, that on the day of the feaſt called *Panathenæa*, they would ſet vp games for muſicke. And he him ſelfe being choſen ruler of theſe games, as iudge to reward the beſt deſeruer: ordained the manner the muſitians ſhould euer after keepe in their ſinging, playing on their flutes, or vpon the citherne, or other inſtruments of muſicke. So the firſt games that euer were for muſicke, were kept within the *Odeon*: and ſo were the other after them alſo, euer celebrated there. The gate and entring into the caſtle was made and finiſhed within the ſpace of fiue yeres, vnder the charge of *Meneſicles*, that was maſter of the workes. And whileſt theſe gates were a building, there happened a wonderfull chaunce, which declared very well that the goddeſſe *Minerua* did not miſlike the building, but that it pleaſed her maruellouſly. For one of the moſt painefulleſt workemen that wrought there, fell by miſchaunce from the height of the caſtle to the ground, which fall did ſo ſore bruſe him, and he was ſo ſicke withall, that the phiſitians and ſurgeons had no hope of his life. *Pericles* being very ſory for his miſchaunce, the goddeſſe appeared to him in his ſleepe in the night, and taught him a medicine, with the which he did eaſily heale the poore bruſed man, and that in ſhort time. And this was the occaſion why he cauſed the image of the goddeſſe *Minerua* (otherwiſe called of health) to be caſt in braſſe, and ſet vp within the temple of the caſtle, neere vnto the altar which was there before, as they ſay. But the golden image of *Minerua* was made by *Phidias*, and grauen round about the baſe: Who had the charge in manner of all other workes, and by reaſon of the good will *Pericles* bare him, he commaunded all the other workemen. And this made the one to be greatly enuied, and the other to be very ill ſpoken of. For their enemies gaue it out abroad, that *Phidias* receiued the gentlewomen of the citie into his houſe, vnder colour to goe ſee his workes, and did conuey them to *Pericles*. Vpon this brute, the Co-

*Pericles erected games for muſicke.*

*The Poets raiſe vp ſlanders againſt Pericles*

micall poets taking occaſion, did caſt out many ſlaunderous ſpeeches againſt *Pericles*, accuſing him that he kept one *Menippus* wife, who was his friend and lieutenant in the warres: and burdened him further, that *Pyrilampes*, one of his familiar friends alſo, brought vp fowle, & ſpecially peacocks, which he ſecretly ſent vnto the women that *Pericles* kept. But we muſt not wonder at theſe Satyres, that make profeſſion to ſpeake ſlaunderouſly againſt all the worlde, as it were to ſacrifice the iniuries and wronges they caſt vpon honorable and good men, to the ſpight and enuie of the people, as vnto wicked ſpirites: conſidering that *Steſimbrotus* THASIAN durſt falſely accuſe *Pericles* of deteſtable inceſt, and of abuſing his owne ſonnes wife. And this is the reaſon, in my opinion, why it is ſo hard a matter to come to the perfect knowledge of the truth of auncient things, by the monuments of hiſtoriographers: conſidering long proceſſe of time, doth vtterly obſcure the truth of matters, done in former times. For euery written hiſtorie ſpeaking of men that are aliue, and of the time of thinges, whereof it maketh mention: ſometime for hate and enuie, ſometime for fauour or flatterie, doth diſguiſe and corrupt the trueth. But *Pericles* perceiuing that the orators of *Thucydides* faction, in their common orations did ſtill crie out vpon him, that he did vainely waſte and conſume the common treaſure, and that he beſtowed vpon the workes, all the whole reuenue of the citie: one day when the people were aſſembled together, before them all hee asked them, if they thought that the coſt beſtowed were too much. The people aunſwered him: a great deale too much.

*The noble ſaying of Pericles.*

Well, ſaid he then, the charges ſhalbe mine (if you thinke good) and none of yours: prouided that no mans name be written vpon the workes, but mine onely. When *Pericles* had ſaide ſo, the people cried out aloude, they would none of that (either becauſe that they wondred at the greatneſſe of his mind, or els for that they would not giue him the onely honour and praiſe to haue done ſo ſumptuous and ſtately workes) but willed him that he ſhould ſee them ended at the common charges, without ſparing for any coſt.

*Thucydides baniſhed by Pericles.*

But in the end, falling out openly with *Thucydides*, and putting it to an aduenture which of them ſhould baniſh other, with the baniſhment of *Oſtraciſmon*: *Pericles* got the vpper hand, and baniſhed *Thucydides* out of the citie, & therewithall alſo ouerthrew the contrarie faction againſt him.

*Pericles power.*

Now when he had rooted out all factions, and brought the citie againe to vnitie & concord, he found then the whole power of ATHENS in his hands, and all the ATHENIANS matters at his diſpoſing. And hauing all the treaſure, armour, gallyes, the Iles, and the ſea, and a maruellous ſeigniorie and Kingdome (that did enlarge it ſelfe partly ouer the GRECIANS, and partly ouer the barbarous people) ſo well fortified and ſtrengthened with the obedience of nations ſubiect vnto them, with the friendſhip of Kings, and with the alliance of diuers other Princes and mightie Lords: then from that time forward he beganne to change his manners,

*Pericles ſomewhat altereth the common weale.*

and from that he was wont to be toward the people, and not ſo eaſily to graunt to all the peoples willes and deſires, no more then as it were to contrarie windes. Furthermore he altered his ouer gentle and popular manner of gouernment which he vſed vntill that time, as too delicate & too effeminate an harmony of muſicke, and did conuert it vnto an imperious gouernment, or rather to a kingly authoritie: but yet held ſtill a direct courſe, and kept himſelfe euer vpright without fault, as one that did, ſaid, and counſelled that, which was moſt expedient for the common weale. He many times brought on the people by perſwaſions and reaſons, to be willing to graunt that he preferred vnto them: but many times alſo, he draue them to it by force, and made them againſt their wils doe that, which was beſt for them. Following therin the deuiſe of a wiſe phiſitian: who in a long and chaungeable diſeaſe, doth graunt his pacient ſometime to take his pleaſure of a thing he liketh, but yet after a moderate ſort: and another time alſo, he doth giue him a ſharpe or bitter medicine that doth vexe him, though it heale him. For as it falleth out commonly vnto people that enioy ſo great an empire: many times misfortunes doe chaunce, that fill them full of ſundry paſſions, the which *Pericles* alone could finely ſteere and gouerne with two principall rudders, feare, and hope: brideling with the one, the fierce and inſolent raſhnes of the common people in proſperitie, and with the other comforting their griefe and diſcouragement in aduerſitie.

*The force of eloquence.*

Wherin he manifeſtly proued, that rethoricke and eloquence (as *Plato* ſaith) is an arte which quickneth mens ſpirites at her pleaſure, and her chiefeſt skill is, to knowe how to moue paſſions and affections throughly, which are as ſtoppes and ſoundes of the ſoule, that would be plaide vpon with a fine fingered hand of a cunning maiſter. All which, not the force of his eloquence only brought to paſſe, as *Thucidides* witneſſeth: but the reputation of his life, and the opinion and confidence they had of his great worthines, becauſe he would not any way be corrupted with gifts, neither had he any couetouſnes in him. For, when he had brought his city not onely to be great, but exceeding great and wealthy, and had in power and authority exceeded many Kings and tyraunts, yea euen thoſe which by their wils and teſtaments might haue left great poſſeſſions to their children: he neuer for all that encreaſed his fathers goods and patrimony left him, the value of a grote in ſiluer. And yet the hiſtoriographer *Thucydides* doth ſet forth plainely enough, the greatnes of his power. And the Comicall poets alſo of that time doe report it maliciouſly vnder couert words, calling his familiar friends, the new *Piſiſtratides*: ſaying, how they muſt make him ſweare and proteſt he would neuer be King, giuing vs thereby to vnderſtand, that his authority was too exceeding great for a popular gouernment. And *Teleclides* (amongeſt other) ſayeth that the ATHENIANS had put into his hands the reuenue of the towns and cities vnder their obedience, and the townes them ſelues, to binde the one, and to loſe the other, and to pull downe their wals, or to build them againe at his pleaſure. They gaue him power, to make peace and alliance: they gaue all their force, treaſure, and authority, and all their goods wholly into his handes. But this was not for a litle while, nor in a geere of fauour, that ſhould continue for a time: but this held out forty yeares together, he being alwaies the chiefe of his city amongſt the *Ephialtes*, the *Leocrates*, the *Mironides*, the *Cimons*, the *Tolmides*, and the *Thucydides*. For after he had preuailed againſt *Thucydides*, and had baniſhed him: he yet remained chiefe aboue all other, the ſpace of fifteene years. Thus hauing attained a regall dignity to cōmaund all, which continued as aforeſaid, where no other captaines authority endured but one yeare: he euer kept himſelfe vpright from bribes and money, though otherwiſe he was no ill husband, and could warely looke to his owne. As for his landes and goods left him by his parents, that they miſcaried not by negligence, nor that they ſhould trouble him much, in buſying himſelfe to reduce them to a value: he did ſo husband them, as he thought was his beſt and eaſieſt way. For he ſold in groſſe euer the whole yeares profite and commodity of his landes, and afterwardes ſent to the market dayly to buie the cates, and other ordinary prouiſion of houſhold. This did not like his ſonnes that were men growen, neither were his women contented with it, who would haue had him more liberal in his houſe, for they complained of his ouerhard and ſtraight ordinary, becauſe in ſo noble and great a houſe as his, there was neuer any great remaine left of meate, but all things receiued into the houſe, ranne vnder accompt, and were deliuered out by proportion. All this good husbandry of his, was kept vpright in this good order, by one *Euangelus*, Steward of his houſe, a man very honeſt and skilfull in ordering his houſhold prouiſion: and whether *Pericles* had brought him vp to it, or that he had it by nature, it was not vnknowen. But theſe things were farre contrary to *Anaxagoras* wiſedome. For he deſpiſing the world, and caſting his affection on heauenly things: did willingly forſake his houſe, and ſuffered all his lande to runne to layes and to paſture. But (in my opinion) great is the diuerſity betweene a contemplatiue life, and a ciuill life. For the one employeth all his time vpon the ſpeculation of good and honeſt things: and to attaine to that, he thinketh he hath no neede of any exteriour helpe or inſtrument. The other applying all his time vpon vertue, to the common profit and benefit of men: he thinketh that he needeth riches, as an inſtrument not onely neceſſary, but alſo honeſt. As, looke vppon the example of *Pericles*: who did relieue many poore people. And *Anaxagoras* ſpecially among other: of whom it is reported, that *Pericles* being occupied about matters of ſtate at that time, hauing no leyſure to thinke vpon *Anaxagoras*, he ſeeing himſelfe old and forſaken of the world, laid him downe, and couered his head cloſe, determining to ſtarue himſelfe to death with hunger. *Pericles* vnderſtanding this, ranne preſently to him as a man halfe caſt away, and praide him as earneſtly as he could, that hee would diſpoſe him ſelfe to liue, being not onely ſory for him, but for him ſelfe alſo, that he ſhould loſe ſo faithfull and wiſe a counſeller, in matters of ſtate and gouernment. Then *Anaxagoras* ſhewed his face, and told him: O *Pericles*, thoſe that will ſee by the light of a lampe, muſt put oile to it, to make the light burne. Now beganne the

*Pericles commended for his good life and worthineſſe.*

*Pericles free from giftes taking.*

*Pericles good husbandry.*

*Anaxagoras a mathematician*

*Great diuerſity betwixt contemplatiue and ciuill life.*

*Anaxagoras determined to famiſh himſelfe to death.*

*Anaxagoras ſaying to Pericles.*

Lacedæmonians to grow iealous, of the greatnes of the Athenians, wherfore *Pericles* to make the Athenians hearts greater, and ſo draw their mindes to great enterpriſes: ſet downe an order they ſhould ſend ambaſſadours to perſwade all the Grecians (in what part ſoeuer they dwelt in Europe, or Asia, as well the litle as the great cities) to ſend their deputies vnto Athens, to the generall aſſembly that ſhould be holden there, to take order for the temples of the goddes which the barbarous people had burnt, and touching the ſacrifices they had vowed for the preſeruation of Greece, when they gaue battel vpon them: and touching ſea matters alſo, that euery man might ſaile in ſafety where he would, and that al might liue together in good peace and loue, one with another. To perform this commiſſion, twenty perſons were ſent of this ambaſiate, euery one of them being fifty yeares of age and vpward. Whereof fiue of them went to the Dorians, dwelling in Asia, and to the inhabitants of the Iles, euen vnto the Iles of Lesbos, & of the Rhodes. Fiue other went through all the country of Hellespont, and of Thracia, vnto the city of Bizantium. Other fiue were cõmanded to go into Boeotia, into Phocides, & through all Peloponnesus, and from thence by the countrey of the Locrians, into the vpland countrey adioyning to it, vntill they came into the countrey of Acarnania, and of Ambracia. And the other fiue went firſt into the Ile of Euboea, and from thence vnto the Oetæians, and through all the gulfe of Malea, vnto the Phtiotes, vnto the Achaians, and the Thessalians: declaring to all the people where the came, the Athenians commiſſion, perſwading them to ſend vnto Athens, and to be preſent at the counſell which ſhould be holden there, for the pacification and vnion of all Greece. But when all came to all, nothing was done, and the ſayd cities of Greece did not aſſemble, by practiſe of the Lacedæmonians (as it is reported) who were altogether the let: for the firſt refuſall that was made of their ſummons, was at Peloponnesus. This haue I written to make *Pericles* noble corage to be knowen, and how profound a wiſe man he ſhewed him ſelfe vnto the world. Furthermore, when he was choſen generall in the warres, he was much eſteemed, becauſe he euer tooke great regard to the ſafety of his ſouldiers. For by his good will he would neuer hazard battell, which he ſaw might fall out doubtfull, or in any thing daungerous: and moreouer, he neuer prayſed them for good generals, neither would he follow them that had obtained great victories by hazard, howſoeuer other did eſteeme or commend them. For he was wont to ſay, that if none but him ſelfe did leade them to the ſhambles, as much as lay in him, they ſhould be immortall. And when he ſaw *Tolmides*, the ſonne of *Tolmæus* (truſting to his former victories, & the praiſe and commendation of his good ſeruice) did prepare vpon no occaſion, and to no purpoſe, to enter into the countrey of Boeotia, and had procured alſo a thouſand of the luſtieſt and moſt valiant men of the city, to be contented to goe with him in that iourney, ouer and aboue the reſt of the army he had leauied: he went about to turne him from his purpoſe, and to keepe him at home, by many perſwaſions he vſed to him before the peoples face, and ſpake certaine wordes at that time, that were remembred long after, and theſe they were. That if he would not beleeue *Pericles* counſell, yet that he would tary time at the leaſt, which is the wiſeſt counſeller of men. Theſe wordes were pretily liked at that preſent time. But within few dayes after, when newes was brought that *Tolmides* ſelfe was ſlaine in a battell he had loſt, neare vnto the city of Coronea, wherein periſhed alſo, many other honeſt and valiant men of Athens: his words ſpoken before, did then greatly encreaſe *Pericles* reputation and good will with the common people, becauſe he was taken for a wiſe man, and one that loued his citizens. But of all his iourneis he made, being generall ouer the army of the Athenians: the iourney of Cherronesus was beſt thought of and eſteemed, becauſe it fell out to the great benefit and preſeruation of al the Grecians inhabiting in that country. For beſides that he brought thither a thouſand citizens of Athens to dwell there (in which doing he ſtrengthned the cities with ſo many good men) he did fortifie the barre alſo, which did let it from being of an Ile, with a fortification he drew from one ſea to another: ſo that he defended the countrey againſt all the inuaſions and piracies of the Thracians inhabiting there abouts, and deliuered it of extreame warre, with the wich it was plagued before, by the barbarous people their neighbours, or dwelling amongeſt them, who onely liued vpon piracy and robbing on the ſeas. So

*Pericles appointeth a generall counſell to be holden at Athens.*

*Pericles loued the ſafety of his men in warres.*

*Time, the beſt counſeller.*

*Tolmides ſlain in the field.*

*Pericles iourneyes.*

was he likewiſe much honored and eſteemed of ſtrangers, when he did enuironne all Peloponnesus, departing out of the hauen of Peges, on the coaſt of Megara, with a fleet of a hundred gallies For he did not only ſpoile the towns all alongſt the ſea ſide, as *Tolmides* had done before him: but going vp further into the maine land, farre from the ſea, with his ſouldiers he had in the gallies, he draue ſome of them to retire within their walles, he made them ſo afraid of him: and in the country of Nemea, he ouercame the Sicyonians in battell, that taried him in the field, and did erect a piller for a notable marke of his victory. And imbarking in his ſhippes a new ſupply of ſouldiers which he tooke vp in Achaia, being friends with the Athenians at that time: he paſſed ouer to the firme land that lay directly againſt it. And pointing beyond the mouth of the riuer of *Achelous*, he inuaded the countrey of Acharnania, where he ſhut vp the Oeneades within their walles. And after he had laide waſt and deſtroyed all the champion countrey, he returned home againe to Athens: hauing ſhewed him ſelfe in this iourney, a dreadfull captaine to his enemies, and very carefull for the ſafety of his ſouldiers. For there fell out no manner of misfortune all this iourney(by chaunce or otherwiſe) vnto the ſouldiers vnder his charge. And afterwardes, going with a great nauy maruellous well appointed vnto the realme of Pontus, he did there gently vſe and intreate the cities of Greece, and graunted them all that they required of him: making the barbarous people inhabiting thereabouts, and the Kings and Princes of the ſame alſo, to know the great force & power of the Athenians, who ſailed without feare all about wher they thought good, keeping all the coaſtes of the ſea vnder their obedience. Furthermore, he left with the Sinopians thirteene gallies, with certaine number of ſouldiers vnder captaine *Lamachus*, to defend them againſt the tyraunt *Timeſileus*: who being expulſed and driuen away with thoſe of his faction, *Pericles* cauſed proclamation to be made at Athens, that ſixe hundred free men of the city, that had any deſire to go, without compulſion, might goe dwell at Sinopa, where they ſhould haue deuided among them, the goods and lands of the tyraunt and his followers. But he did not follow the fooliſh vaine humors of his citizens, nor would not yeelde to their vnſatiable couetouſneſſe, who being ſet on a iolity to ſee them ſelues ſo ſtrong, and of ſuch a power, and beſides, to haue good lucke, would needs once againe attempt to conquer Egypt, and to reuolte all the countries vpon the ſea coaſts, from the empire of the king of Persia: for there were many of them whoſe mindes were maruellouſly bent to attempt the vnfortunat enterpriſe of entring Sicilia, which *Alcibiades* afterwards did much pricke forward. And ſome of them dreamed beſides, of the conqueſt of Thuscan, and the empire of Carthage. But this was not altogether without ſome likelihood, nor without occaſion of hope, conſidering the large boundes of their Kingdome, and the fortunat eſtate of their affaires, which fell out according to their owne deſire. But *Pericles* did hinder this going out, and cut off altogether their curious deſire, employing the moſt part of their power and force, to keepe that they had already gotten: iudging it no ſmall matter to keepe downe the Lacedæmonians from growing greater. For he was alwaies an enemy to the Lacedæmonians, as he ſhewed him ſelfe in many things, but ſpecially in the warre he made, called the holy warre. For the Lacedæmonians hauing put the Phocians from the charge of the temple of *Apollo*, in the city of Delphes, which they had vſurped, and hauing reſtored the Delphians again vnto the ſame: ſo ſoone as they were gone thence, *Pericles* went alſo with another army, and reſtored the Phocians in again. And whereas the Lacedæmonians had cauſed to be grauen in the forehead of a Wolfe of braſſe, the priuiledge the Delphians had graunted them, to be the firſt that ſhould make their demaundes of the oracle: he hauing attained the like priuiledge of the Phocians, made his image alſo to be grauen on the right ſide of the ſame image, of the braſen Wolfe. Now how wiſely *Pericles* did gouerne Greece by the power of the Athenians, his deedes doe plainely ſhew. For firſt of all, the countrey of Euboea did rebell, againſt whom he brought the army of the Athenians. And ſodainly in the necke of that, came newes from another coaſt, that the Megarians alſo were in armes againſt them: and how they were already entred into the countrey of Attica with a great army, ledde by *Pliſtonax* King of Lacedæmon. This occaſion drew him homeward againe, and ſo he marched backe with ſpeede into his countrey, to make preparation to

*Achelous fl.*

*Pericles would not follow the couetouſneſſe of the people.*

*The enterpriſe of Sicilia.*

*Pericles an enemy to the Lacedæmoniãs.*

*Pliſtonax king of Lacedæmon*

encounter his enemies,that were already entred into the territories of Attica. He durſt not offer them battell, being ſo great a number of valiant ſouldiers: but hearing that king *Pliſtonax* was yet but a young man, and was ruled altogether by *Cleandrides* counſell and direction (whom the *Ephores* had placed about him to counſell & direct him) he ſought priuily to corrupt *Cleandrides*. When he had won him ſoone with his money, he perſwaded him to draw backe the Peloponneſians out of their country of Attica: and ſo he did. But when the Lacedæmonians ſaw their army caſſed, and that the people were gone their way, euery man to his owne city or towne: they were ſo mad at it, that the King was condemned in a great ſumme. The king being vnable to anſwer his fine, which was ſo extreame great: he was driuen to abſent himſelfe from Lacedæmon. *Cleandrides* on the other ſide, if he had not fled in time, euen for ſpite had bene condemned to death. This *Cleandrides* was *Gylippus* father, that afterwards ouercame the Athenians in Sicilia, in whom it ſemed nature bred couetouſnes, as a diſeaſe inheritable by ſucceſsion from the father to the ſonne. For he being ſhamefully conuicted alſo, for certaine vile parts he had plaide, was likewiſe baniſhed from Sparta: as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Lyſander*. And *Pericles* deliuering vp the accoũt of his charge, and ſetting downe an article of the expenſe of tenne talents he had employed, or ſhould employ in needefull cauſes: the people allowed them him, neuer asking queſtion how, nor which way, nor whether it was true that they were beſtowed. Now there are certaine writers (among whom the philoſopher *Theophraſtus* is one) who write that *Pericles* ſent yearly vnto Sparta ten talents, with the which he entertained thoſe that were in authoritie there, becauſe they ſhould make no wars with them: not to buie peace of them, but time, that he might in the meane ſeaſon, with better commodity, and that leyſure, prouide to maintaine the wars. After that, as the army of the Peloponneſians were out of the countrey of Attica, he returned againe againſt the rebels, and paſſed into the Ile of Euboea with fifty ſayle, and fiue thouſand footemen well armed: and there he ouercame all the cities that had taken armes againſt him, and draue away the *Hyppobotes*, who were the moſt famous men of all the Chalcidians, as well for their riches, as for their valiauntnes. He draue away alſo all the Heſtiæians, whom he chaſed cleane out of all the countrey, and placed in their city, onely the citizens of Athens. And the cauſe why he dealt ſo rigorouſly with them was, becauſe they hauing taken a galley of the Athenians priſoner, had put all the men to death that were in her. And peace being concluded afterwards betweene the Athenians and Lacedæmonians for thirty yeares: he proclaimed open wars againſt thoſe of the Ile of Samos, burdening them, that they being commaunded by the Athenians, to pacifie the quarrels which they had againſt the Mileſians, they would not obay. But becauſe ſome hold opinion, that he tooke vppon him this warre againſt Samos, for the loue of *Aſpaſia*: it ſhall bee no great digreſsion of our ſtory, to tell you by the way, what manner of woman ſhe was, and what a maruellous gift and power ſhe had, that ſhe could entangle with her loue the chiefeſt rulers and gouernours at that time of the common weale, & that the philoſophers themſelues did ſo largely ſpeake and write of her. Firſt of all, it is certaine that ſhe was borne in the city of Miletum, and was the daughter of one *Axiochus*: ſhe following the ſteppes and example of an old curtiſan of Ionia, called *Thargelia*, gaue her ſelfe only to entertaine the greateſt perſons and chiefeſt rulers in her time. For this *Thargelia* being paſſing faire, and carying a comely grace with her, hauing a ſharpe wit and pleaſaunt tongue: ſhe had the acquaintaunce and friendſhippe of the greateſt perſons of all Greece, and wanne all thoſe that did haunt her company, to be at the king of *Perſiaes* commaundement. So that ſhe ſowed through all the cities of Greece, great beginnings of the faction of the Medes: for they were the greateſt men of power and authority of euery city that were acquainted with her. But as for *Aſpaſia*, ſome ſay that *Pericles* reſorted vnto her, becauſe ſhe was a wiſe woman, and had great vnderſtanding in matters of ſtate and gouernment. For *Socrates* him ſelfe went to ſee her ſometimes with his friends: and thoſe that vſed her company alſo, brought their wiues many times with them to heare her talke: though her traine about her were to entertaine ſuch as would warme them by their fire. *Æſchines* writeth, that *Lyſicles* a graſier, being before but a meane man, and of a clubbiſh nature, came to be the chiefe man of Athens, by frequenting the company of *Aſpaſia*,

*Cleandrides corrupted by Pericles.*

*Gylippus ouercame the Athenians at Syracuſa in Sicily. Gylippus robbed part of the treaſure Lyſander ſent him withall to Sparta.*

*Pericles wiſe pollicy in forraine entertainement.*

*Pericles acts in Eubœa.*

*Pericles maketh war with the Samians. Aſpaſia a paſſing wiſe woman.*

*The deſcription of Aſpaſia.*

*Thargelia.*

*Aſpaſia*, after the death of *Pericles*. And to *Platoes* booke intituled *Menexenus*, although the beginning of it be but pleaſantly written, yet in that, this ſtorie is written truely: that this *Aſpaſia* was repaired vnto by diuers of the Athenians, to learne the art of rethorike of her. Yet notwithſtanding it ſeemeth moſt likely that the affection *Pericles* did beare her, grew rather of loue, then of any other cauſe. For he was maried vnto a kinſewoman of his owne, and that before was *Hipponicus* wife, by whom ſhe had *Callias*, ſurnamed the rich: and had afterwards by *Pericles*, *Xantippus* and *Paralus*. But not liking her company, he gaue her with her owne good will and conſent vnto another, and maried *Aſpaſia* whom he dearely loued. For euer when he went abroad, and came home againe, he ſaluted her with a kiſſe. Whereupon in the auncient comedies, ſhe is called in many places, the new *Omphale*, and ſometimes *Deianira*, and ſometimes *Iuno*. But *Cratinus* plainely calleth her whore in theſe verſes:

*Callias the rich*

*Pericles maried Aſpaſia the famous curtiſan.*

*His Iuno ſhe him brought, Aſpaſia by name,*
*which was in deede an open whore, and paſt all kind of ſhame.*

And it ſeemeth that he had a baſtard: for *Eupolis* in a comedie of his called *Demoſij*, bringeth him in, asking P*ironides* thus:

*I pray thee: is my baſtard ſonne yet aliue?*

And then P*yronides* anſwered him:

*A perfect man long ſince, he ſurely had bene found,*
*if that this lewde and naughtie whore, his vertue had not drownd.*

To conclude, this *Aſpaſia* was ſo famous, that *Cyrus* (he that fought againſt king *Artaxerxes* his brother, for the empire of Persia) called *Aſpaſia* his beſt beloued of all his concubines, which before was called *Milito* & was borne in Phocides, being *Hermotimus* daughter. And *Cyrus* being ſlaine in the field, *Aſpaſia* was caried to the King his brother, with whom afterwards ſhe was in great fauour. As I was writing this life, this ſtorie came in my minde: and me thought I ſhould haue dealt hardly, if I ſhould haue left it vnwritten. But to our matter againe. P*ericles* was charged that he made warres againſt the Samians, on the behalfe of the Milesians, at the requeſt of *Aſpaſia*: for theſe two cities were at warres together, for the citie of Priena, but the Samians were the ſtronger. Now the Athenians commanded them to lay a ſide their armes, and to come and pleade their matter before them, that the right might be decided: but they refuſed it vtterly. Wherefore P*ericles* went thither and tooke away the gouernment of the ſmall number of Nobilitie, taking for hoſtages, fiftie of the chiefeſt men of the citie, and ſo many children beſides, which he left to be kept in the Ile of Lemnos. Some ſay euery one of theſe hoſtages offered to giue him a talent: and beſides thoſe, many other offered him the like, ſuch as would not haue the ſoueraigne authoritie put into the hands of the people. Moreouer P*iſſuthnes* the Persian, lieutenant to the King of Persia, for the good will he bare thoſe of Samos, did ſend P*ericles* ten thouſand crownes to releaſe the hoſtages. But *Pericles* neuer tooke pennie: and hauing done that he determined at Samos, and eſtabliſhed a popular gouernment, he returned againe to Athens. Notwithſtanding, the Samians rebelled immediatly after, hauing recouered their hoſtages againe by meanes of this *Piſſuthnes* that ſtale them away, and did furniſhe them alſo with all their munition of warre. Whereupon *Pericles* returning againſt them once more, hee found them not idle, nor amazed at his comming, but reſolutely determined to receiue him, and to fight for the ſeigniorie by ſea. So there was a great battell fought betweene them, neare the Ile of Tracia. And *Pericles* wanne the battell: hauing with foure and fortie ſaile only nobly ouercome his enemies, which were three ſcore and ten in number, whereof twenty of them were ſhips of warre. And ſo following his victorie forthwith, he wan alſo the port of Samos, and kept the Samians beſieged within their owne citie: where they were yet ſo bolde, as they would make ſalies out many times, and fight before the walles of the citie. But when there arriued a new ſupplie of ſhippes bringing a greater aide vnto *Pericles*: then were they ſhut vp of all ſides. *Pericles* then taking three ſcore gallies with him, lanched out into the ſea, with intent (as ſome ſay) to goe meete certaine ſhippes of the Phoenicians (that came to aide the Samians) as farre from Samos as he could: or as *Steſimbrotus* ſayeth, to goe into Cyprus; which me thinketh is not true. But whatſoeuer was his intent, he committed a foule fault. For

*Piſſuthnes the Perſian.*

*A good proofe that Pericles was not couetous.*

*Pericles victorie againe of the Samiant.*

*Meliſſus a philoſopher, generall of the Samians.*

*The owle, the ſtampe of the coyne of Athens.*

*Samena a kind of a ſhippe.*

*Meliſſus* (the ſonne of *Ithagenes*, a great Philoſopher) being at that time general of the SAMIANS: perceiuing that fewe ſhippes were left behinde at the ſiege of the citie, and that the captaines alſo that had the charge of them were no very expert men of warre, perſwaded his citizens to make a ſalie vpon them. Whereupon they fought a battell, and the SAMIANS ouercame: the ATHENIANS were taken priſoners, and they ſuncke many of their ſhippes. Now they being lordes againe of the ſea, did furniſh their citie with all manner of munition for warres, whereof before they had great want. Yet *Ariſtotle* writeth that *Pericles* ſelfe was once ouercome in a battell by ſea by *Meliſſus*. Furthermore the SAMIANS, to be euen with the ATHENIANS for the iniurie they had receiued of them before: did brande them in the forehead with the ſtampe of an owle, the owle being then the ſtampe of their coyne at ATHENS, euen as the ATHENIANS had branded the SAMIAN priſoners before with the ſtampe of *Samæna*. This *Samæna* is a kinde of a ſhippe amongeſt the SAMIANS, low afore, and well laide out in the midde ſhippe, ſo that it is excellent good to riſe with the waues of the ſea, and is verie ſwift vnder ſaile: and it was ſo called, becauſe the firſt ſhippe that was made of this faſhion, was made in the Ile of SAMOS, by the tyrant *Polycrates*. It is ſaid that the Poet *Ariſtophanes*, couertly conueying the ſtampe of the SAMIANS, ſpeaking merily in a place of his comedies ſaieth:

*The Samians are great learned men.*

*The wittie ſaying of Ariſtophanes of the Samians.*

*Artemon Periphoretos a timerous man.*

*The Samians do yeelde to Pericles.*

*Pericles* being aduertiſed of the ouerthrowe of his armie, returned preſently to the reſcue. *Meliſſus* went to meete him, and gaue him battell: but he was ouerthrowne, and driuen back into his citie, where *Pericles* walled them in round about the citie, deſiring victorie rather by time and charge, then by danger, and loſſe of his ſouldiers. But when he ſawe that they were wearie with tract of time, and that they would bring it to hazard of battell, and that he could by no meanes withholde them: he then deuided his armie into eight companies, whom he made to drawe lots, and that companie that lighted on the white beane, they ſhould be quiet and make good cheere, while the other ſeauen fought. And they ſay that from thence it came, that when any haue made good cheere, and taken pleaſure abroade, they do yet call it a white day, becauſe of the white beane. *Ephorus* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that it was there, where firſt of all they began to vſe engines of warre to plucke downe great walles, and that *Pericles* vſed firſt this wonderfull inuention: and that *Artemon* an enginer was the firſt deuiſer of them. He was caried vp and downe in a chaire, to ſet forward theſe workes, becauſe he had a lame legge: and for this cauſe he was called *Periphoretos*. But *Heraclides Ponticus* confuteth *Ephorum* therein, by the verſes of *Anacreon*, in the which *Artemon* is called *Periphoretos*, many yeares before this warre of SAMOS began: and ſaieth this *Periphoretos* was a maruellous tender man, and ſo fooliſhly afeard of his owne ſhadowe, that the moſt part of his time he ſturred not out of his houſe, and did ſit alwaies hauing two of his men by him, that held a copper target ouer his head, for feare leaſt any thing ſhould fall vpon him. And if vpon any occaſion he were driuen to go abroad out of his houſe: he would be caried in a litle bed hanging near the ground, and for this cauſe he was ſurnamed *Periphoretos*. At the laſt, at nine moneths end, the SAMIANS were compelled to yeelde. So *Pericles* tooke the city, and raſed their wals to the ground: he brought their ſhippes away, and made them pay a maruellous great tribute, whereof part he receiued in hand, and the reſt payable at a certaine time, taking hoſtages with him for aſſurance of payment. But *Duris* the SAMIAN dilateth theſe matters maruellous pittyfully, burdening the ATHENIANS, and *Pericles* ſelfe with vnnaturall cruelty: whereof neither *Thucydides*, nor *Ephorus*, nor *Ariſtotle* him ſelfe maketh mention. And ſure I cannot beleeue it is true that is written. That he brought the captaines of the gallies, and the ſouldiers them ſelues of SAMIA, into the market place of the city of MILETVM, where he made them to be bound faſt vnto bordes for the ſpace of tenne daies, and at the end of the ſame, the poore men halfe dead, were beaten downe with clubbes, and their heads paſhed in peeces: and afterwards they threw out their bodies to the crowes, & would not burie them. So *Duris* being accuſtomed to ouerreach, and to lie many times in things nothing touching him: ſeemeth in this place out of all reaſon to aggrauate the calamities of his countrey, only to accuſe the ATHENIANS, and to make them odious to the world. *Pericles* hauing won the citie of SAMOS, he returned againe to ATHENS, where he did honorably burie the bones of his ſlaine citizens in this warre: and himſelfe (according to their manner & cuſtome) made the funerall oration, for the which he was maruellouſly eſteemed. In ſuch ſort, that after he came downe from the pulpit where he made his oration: the ladies & gentlewomen of the citie came to ſalute him, & brought him garlands to put vpon his head, as they do to noble conquerers when they return from games, where they haue wonne the price. But *Elpinicé* cõming to him, ſaid. Surely *Pericles*, thy good ſeruice done, deſerueth garlands of triumph: for thou haſt loſt vs many a good and valiant citizen, not fighting with the MEDES, the PHOENICIANS, and with the barbarous people as my brother *Cimon* did, but for deſtroying a citie of our owne nation and kinred. *Pericles* to theſe wordes, ſoftly anſwered *Elpinicé*, with *Archilocus* verſe, ſmyling:

*Elpinicé.*

*Pericles taunt to an old woman.*

*VVhen thou art old, paint not thy ſelfe.*

But *Ion* writeth, that he greatly gloried, and ſtood much in his owne conceipt, after hee had ſubdued the SAMIANS, ſaying: *Agamemnon* was tenne yeares taking of a citie of the barbarous people: and he in nine monethes only had wonne the ſtrongeſt citie of the whole nation of IONIA. In deede he had good cauſe to glorie in his victorie: for truely (if *Thucydides* report be true) his conqueſt was no leſſe doubtfull, then he found it daungerous. For the SAMIANS had almoſt bene lordes of the ſea, and taken the ſeigniorie thereof from the ATHENIANS. After this, the warres of PELOPONNESVS being whotte againe, the CORINTHIANS inuading the Ilanders of CORPHV: *Pericles* did perſwade the ATHENIANS to ſend aide vnto the CORPHIANS, and to ioyne in league with that Iland, which was of great power by ſea, ſaying: that the PELOPONNESIANS (before it were long) would haue warre with them. The ATHENIANS conſented to his motion, to aide thoſe of CORPHV. VVherevpon they ſent thither *Lacedæmonius* (*Cimons* ſonne) with ten galleys onely for a mockerie: for all *Cimons* familie and friends, were wholly at the LACEDÆMONIANS deuotion. Therefore did *Pericles* cauſe *Lacedæmonius* to haue ſo fewe ſhips deliuered him, and further, ſent him thither againſt his will, to the end that if he did no notable exploite in this ſeruice. that they might then the more iuſtly ſuſpect his goodwill to the LACEDÆMONIANS. Moreouer whileſt he liued, he did euer what he could to keepe *Cimons* children backe from riſing: becauſe that by their names they were no naturall borne ATHENIANS, but ſtrangers. For the one was called *Lacedæmonius*, the other *Theſſalus*, and the third *Elius*: and the mother to all them three, was an ARCADIAN woman borne. But *Pericles* being blamed for that he ſent but ten galleys onely, which was but a ſlender aide for thoſe that had requeſted them, and a great matter to them that ſpake ill of him: he ſent thither afterwards a great number of other galleys, which came when the battell was fought. But the CORINTHIANS were maruellous angry, and went & complained to the counſel of the LACEDÆMONIANS, where they laide open many grieuous complaints and accuſations againſt the ATHENIANS, and ſo did the MEGARIANS alſo: alledging that the ATHENIANS had forbidden them their hauẽs, their ſtaples, and all trafficke of marchaundiſe in the territories vnder their obedience, which was directly againſt the common lawes, and articles of peace, agreed vpon by othe among all the GRECIANS. Moreouer the ÆGINETES finding themſelues very ill and cruelly handled, did ſend ſecretly to make their mone and complaints to the LACEDÆMONIANS, being afraid openly to complaine of the ATHENIANS. While theſe things were a doing, the city of POTIDÆA, ſubiect at that time vnto the ATHENIANS (and was built in old time by the CORINTHIANS) did rebell, and was beſieged by the ATHENIANS, which did haſten on the warres. Notwithſtanding this, ambaſſadors were firſt ſent vnto ATHENS vpon theſe complaints, and *Archidamus*, king of the LACEDÆMONIANS, did all that he could to pacifie the moſt part of theſe quarrels and complaints, intreating their friends and allies. So as the ATHENIANS had had no warres at all, for any other matters wherewith they were burdened, if they would haue graunted to haue reuoked the decree they had made againſt the MEGARIANS. VVhereupon, *Pericles*, that aboue all other ſtood moſt againſt the reuocation of that decree, & that did ſtur vp the people, & made them ſtand to that they had once decreed, and ordered, againſt the MEGARIANS: was thought the originall cauſe and author of the PELOPONNESIAN wars. For it is ſaide that the LACEDÆMONIANS ſent ambaſſadours vnto ATHENS for that matter

*Cimons ſonnes.*

*The Athenians accuſed at Lacedæmon.*

*Pericles author of the warres againſt Peloponneſus.*

*Pericles malice againſt the Megarians.*

only. And when *Pericles* alledged a law, that did ſorbid them to take away the table whereupon before time had bene written any cōmon law or edict: *Polyarces*, one of the LACEDÆMON ambaſſadours, ſaid vnto him. Well, ſaid he, take it not away then, but turne the table onely: your law I am ſure forbiddeth not that. This was pleaſantly ſpoken of the ambaſſadour, but *Pericles* could neuer be brought to it for all that. And therefore it ſeemeth he had ſome ſecret occaſion of grudge againſt the MEGARIANS: yet as one that would finely conuey it vnder the common cauſe and cloke, he tooke from them the holy lands they were breaking vp. For to bring this to paſſe, he made an order, that they ſhould ſend an herauld to ſummone the MEGARIANS to let the land alone, and that the ſame herauld ſhould goe alſo vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS to accuſe the MEGARIANS vnto them. It is true that this ordinance was made by *Pericles* meanes, as alſo it was moſt iuſt and reaſonable: but it fortuned ſo, that the meſſenger they ſent thither died, and not without ſuſpition that the MEGARIANS made him away. Wherefore *Charinus* made a lawe preſently againſt the MEGARIANS: that they ſhould be proclaimed mortall enemies to the ATHENIANS for euer, without any hope of after reconciliation. And alſo if any MEGARIAN ſhould once put his foote within the territories of ATTICA, that he ſhould ſuffer the paines of death. And moreouer, that their captaines taking yearely their ordinarie oth, ſhould ſweare among other articles, that twiſe in the yeare they ſhould go with their power, and deſtroy ſome part of the MEGARIANS lande. And laſtly, that the herauld *Anthemocritus* ſhould be buried by the place called then the gates *Thriaſienes*, and now called *Dipylon* But the MEGARIANS ſtoutly denying, that they were any cauſe of the death of this *Anthemocritus*: did altogether burthen *Aſpaſia* and *Pericles* with the ſame, alledging for proofe thereof, *Ariſtophanes* verſes the Poet, in his comedie he intituled the *Acharnes*, which are ſo common, as euery boye hath them at his tongues end.

*The young men of our land (to dronken bibbing bent)*
*ran out one day vnrulily, and towards Megara went.*
*From whence in their outrage, by force they tooke away,*
*Simætha noble curtiſan, as ſhe did ſporte and play.*
*VVherewith enraged all (with pepper in the noſe)*
*the proud Megarians came to vs, as to their mortall foes,*
*And tooke by ſtelthe away, of harlos eke a paire,*
*attending on Aſpaſia, which were both young and faire.*

*Phidias the image maker.*

But in very deed, to tell the originall cauſe of this warre, and to deliuer the trothe thereof, it is very hard. But all the hiſtoriographers together agree, that *Pericles* was the chiefeſt author of the warre: becauſe the decree made againſt the MEGARIANS, was not reuoked backe againe. Yet ſome holde opinion, that *Pericles* did it of a noble minde and iudgement, to be conſtant in that he thought moſt expedient. For he iudged that this commaundement of the LACEDÆMONIANS was but a triall, to proue if the ATHENIANS would grant them: and if they yeelded to them in that, then they manifeſtly ſhewed that they were the weaker. Other contrarily ſay, that it was done of a ſelfe will and arrogancy, to ſhew his authoritie and power, and how he did deſpiſe the LACEDÆMONIANS. But the ſhrewdeſt proofe of all, that bringeth beſt authority with it, is reported after this ſort. *Phidias* the image maker (as we haue tolde you before) had vndertaken to make the image of *Pallas*: and being *Pericles* friend, was in great eſtimation about him. But that procured him many ill willers. Then they being deſirous to heare by him what the people would iudge of *Pericles*: they intiſed *Menon*, one of the worke men that wrought vnder *Phidias*, and made him come into the market place to pray aſſuraunce of the people that he might openly accuſe *Phidias*, for a fault he had committed about *Pallas* image. The people receiued his obedience, and his accuſation was heard openly in the market place, but no mention was made of any theft at all: becauſe that *Phidias* (through *Pericles* counſell and deuiſe) had from the beginning ſo laide on the golde vppon the image, that it might bee taken off and wayed euery whit. Whereupon *Pericles* openly ſaid vnto his accuſers, take off the gold and waie it. The glorie of his workes did purchaſe him this enuy. For he hauing grauē vpon the ſcutchiō of the goddeſſe, the battell of the AMAZONES, had cut out the portraiture of himſelfe maruellous liuely, vnder the perſō of an

olde

old bauld man, liſting vp a great ſtone with both his hands. Further he had cut out *Pericles* image, excellently wrought & artificially, ſeeming in manner to be *Pericles* ſelfe, fighting with an AMAZON in this ſort. The AMAZONES hand being lift vp high, holdeth a dart before *Pericles* face, ſo paſſing cunningly wrought, as it ſeemed to ſhadow the likenes & reſemblance of *Pericles*: and yet notwithſtanding appeareth plainely to be *Pericles* ſelfe on either ſide of the portraiture. So *Phidias* was clapt vp in priſon, and there died of a ſicknes, or els of poiſon (as ſome ſay) which his enemies had prepared for him: & all to bring *Pericles* into further ſuſpition, and to giue them the more cauſe to accuſe him. But howſoeuer it was, the people gaue *Menon* his freedome, and ſet him free for payment of all ſubſidies, following the order *Glycon* made, and gaue the captaines charge they ſhould ſee him ſafely kept, and that he tooke no hurt. And about the ſame time alſo *Aſpaſia* was accuſed, that ſhe did not beleeue in the goddes: and her accuſer was *Hermippus*, maker of the commedies. He burdened her further, that ſhe was a bawde to *Pericles*, and receiued citizens wiues into her houſe, which *Pericles* kept. And *Diopithes* at the ſame time made a decree, that they ſhould make ſearch and enquirie for heretikes that did not beleeue in the goddes, and that taught certaine new doctrine and opinion touching the operations of thinges aboue in the element, turning the ſuſpition vpon *Pericles*, becauſe of *Anaxagoras*. The people did receiue and confirme this inquiſition: and it was moued alſo then by *Dracontides*, that *Pericles* ſhould deliuer an account of the money he had ſpent, vnto the hands of the *Prytanes*, who were treaſurers of the common fines and reuenues, and that the iudges deputed to giue iudgement, ſhould giue ſentence within the citie vpon the aultar. But *Agnon* put that worde out of the decree, and placed in ſtead thereof, that the cauſe ſhould be iudged by the fifteene hundred iudges, as they thought good, if any man brought this action for theft, for batterie, or for iniuſtice. As for *Aſpaſia*, he ſaued her, euen for the verie pittie and compaſſion the iudges tooke of him, for the teares he ſhed in making his humble ſute for her, all the time he pleaded her caſe: as *Æſchines* writeth. But for *Anaxagoras*, fearing that he could not do ſo much for him: he ſent him out of the citie, and himſelfe did accompanie him. And furthermore, ſeeing he had incurred the ill will of the people for *Phidias* fact, and for this cauſe fearing the iſſue of the iudgement: he ſet the warres a fire againe, that alwaies went backward, and did but ſmoake a litle, hoping by this meanes to weare out the accuſations againſt him, and to roote out the malice ſome did beare him. For the people hauing waightie matters in hand, and very dangerous alſo: he knewe they would put all into his hands alone, he hauing wonne already ſuch great authoritie and reputation among them. And theſe be the cauſes why he would not (as it is ſaid) ſuffer the ATHENIANS to yeeld vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS in any thing: howbeit the truthe cannot certainly be knowne. But the LACEDÆMONIANS knowing well, that if they could weed out *Pericles*, and ouerthrow him, they might then deale as they would with the ATHENIANS: they commaunded them they ſhould purge their city of *Cylons* rebellion, becauſe they knew well enough that *Pericles* kinne by the mothers ſide were to be touched withall, as *Thucydides* declareth. But this practiſe fell out contrary to their hope and expectation, that were ſent to ATHENS for this purpoſe. For, weening to haue brought *Pericles* into further ſuſpition and diſpleaſure, the citizens honoured him the more, and had a better affiaunce in him then before, becauſe they ſaw his enemies did ſo much feare and hate him. Wherefore, before king *Archidamus* entred with the army of the PELOPONNESIANS into the countrey of ATTICA, he told the ATHENIANS, that if king *Archidamus* fortuned to waſt and deſtroy all the countrey about, and ſhould ſpare his landes and goods for the old loue and familiarity that was betweene them, or rather to giue his enemies occaſion falſely to accuſe him: that from thenceforth, he gaue all the landes and tenements he had in the countrey, vnto the common wealth. So it fortuned that the LACEDÆMONIANS with all their friendes and confederates, brought a maruellous army into the countrey of ATTICA, vnder the leading of king *Archidamus*: who burning & ſpoyling all the countrey he came alongeſt, they came vnto the towne of ACHARNES, where they encamped, ſuppoſing the ATHENIANS would neuer ſuffer them to approche ſo neare, but that they would giue them battell for the honor and defence of their countrey, and to ſhew that they were no cowardes. But *Pericles* wiſely conſidered how the

*Aſpaſia accuſed.*

*Prytani, treaſurers of the common fines.*

*The Lacedæmonians inuade Attica.*

*An excellent compariſon to ſtay the ſouldiers deſire to fight.*

*Cleon accuſeth Pericles.*

daunger was too great to hazard battell, where the loſſe of the citie of ATHENS ſtoode in perill, ſeeing they were threeſcore thouſand footmẽ of the PELOPONNESIANS, & of the BOEOTIANS together: for ſo many was their number in the firſt voyage they made againſt the ATHENIANS. And as for thoſe that were very deſirous to fight, and to put themſelues to any hazard, being mad to ſee their countrie thus waſted and deſtroyed before their eyes, *Pericles* did comfort and pacifie them with theſe words. That trees being cut and hewen downe, did ſpring againe in ſhort time: but men being once dead, by no poſſibilitie could be brought againe. Therefore he neuer durſt aſſemble the people in counſell, fearing leaſt he ſhould be inforced by the multitude, to doe ſomething againſt his will. But as a wiſe man of a ſhippe, when he ſeeth a ſtorme comming on the ſea, doth ſtraight giue order to make all things ſafe in the ſhippe, preparing euery thing ready to defend the ſtorme, according to his arte and skill, not harkening to the paſſengers fearefull cries and pittifull teares, who thinke themſelues caſt away: euen ſo did *Pericles* rule all things according to his wiſedome, hauing walled the citie ſubſtantially about and ſet good watch in euery corner: and paſſed not for thoſe that were angry and offended with him, neither would be perſwaded by his friends earneſt requeſts and intreaties, neither cared for his enemies threates nor accuſations againſt him, nor yet reckoned of all their fooliſh ſcoffing ſonges they ſung of him in the citie, to his ſhame and reproch of gouernement, ſaying that he was a cowardly captaine, and that for daſtardlineſſe he let the enemies take all, and ſpoile what they would. Of which number *Cleon* was one that moſt defamed him, and began to enter into ſome pretie credit and fauour with the common people, for that they were angrie, and miſliked with P*ericles*: as appeareth by theſe ſlanderous verſes of *Hermippus*, which were then abroade:

*O King of Satyres thou, who with ſuch manly ſpeache*
*of bloudy warres and doughtie deeds, dooſt dayly to vs preache:*
*VVhy art thou now afraide, to take thy launce in hand,*
*or with thy pike againſt thy foes, couragiouſlie to ſtand?*
*Synce Cleon ſtoute and fierce, doth dayly thee prouoke,*
*VVith biting words, with trenchant blades, & deadly daunting ſtroke.*

*Note Pericles pollicie to pacifie the peoples anger.*

*Ægina wonne by the Athenians.*

*Plague at Athens.*

All theſe notwithſtanding, P*ericles* was neuer mooued any thing, but with ſilence did paciently beare all iniuries and ſcoffings of his enemies, and did ſend for all that a nauie of a hundred saile vnto PELOPONNESVS, whither he would not go in perſon, but kept himſelfe at home, to keepe the people in quiet: vntill ſuch time as the enemies had raiſed their campe, and were gone away. And to entertaine the common people that were offended and angrie at this warre: he comforted the poore people againe, with cauſing a certaine diſtribution to be made amongſt them of the common treaſure, and diuiſion alſo of the landes that were got by conqueſt. For after he had driuen all the ÆGINETES out of their countrie, he cauſed the whole Ile of ÆGINA to be deuided by lot amongeſt the citizens of ATHENS. And then it was a great comfort to them in this aduerſity, to heare of their enemies hurt and loſſe in ſuch manner as it did fall out. For their army that was ſent by ſea vnto PELOPONNESVS, had waſted and deſtroyed a great part of the champion countrey there, and had ſacked beſides many ſmall cities and townes. P*ericles* ſelfe alſo entring into the MEGARIANS countrey by land, did waſt the whole countrey al afore him. So the PELOPONNESIANS receiuing by ſea as much hurt and loſſe at the ATHENIANS hands, as they before had done by land vnto the ATHENIANS: they had not holden out warres ſo long with the ATHENIANS, but would ſoone haue giuen ouer (as P*ericles* had told them before) had not the gods aboue ſecretly hindered mans reaſon and pollicie. For firſt of all there came ſuch a ſore plague among the ATHENIANS, that it tooke away the flower of ATHENS youth, and weakened the force of the whole city beſides. Furthermore the bodies of them that were left aliue being infected with this diſeaſe, their hearts alſo were ſo ſharpely bent againſt P*ericles*, that the ſickneſſe hauing troubled their braines, they fell to flat rebellion againſt him, as the patient againſt his phiſitian, or children againſt their father, euen to the hurting of him, at the prouocation of his enemies. Who bruted abroade, that the plague came of no cauſe elſe, but of the great multitude of the countrey men that came into the city on heapes, one vppon anothers necke in the

heart

hart of the ſommer, where they were compelled to lye many together, ſmothered vp in litle tentes and cabines, remaining there all day long, cowring downewardes, and doing nothing, where before they liued in the countrie in a freſh open ayer, and at libertie. And of all this, (ſay they) *Pericles* is the only cauſe who procuring this war, hath pent and ſhrowded the countrie men together within the walles of a cittie, employing them to no manner of vſe nor ſeruice, but keeping them like ſheepe in a pinnefold, maketh one to poyſon another with the infection of their plague ſores running vpon them, and giuing them no leaue to chaunge ayer, that they might ſomuch as take breath abroade. *Pericles* to remedie this, and to do their enemies a litle miſchiefe: armed a 150 ſhippes, and ſhipped into them a great number of armed footemen and horſemen alſo. Hereby he put the cittizens in good hope, and the enemies in great feare, ſeeing ſo great a power. But when he had ſhipped all his men, and was himſelfe alſo in the admirall ready to hoyſe ſayle: ſodainly there was a great eclypſe of the ſunne, and the day was very darke, that all the armie was ſtriken with a maruellous feare, as of ſome daungerous and very ill token towardes them. *Pericles* ſeing the maſter of his gally in a maſe withall, not knowing what to doe: caſt his cloake ouer the maſters face, and hid his eyes, asking him whether he thought that any harme or no. The maſter aunſwered him, he thought it none, Then ſayed *Pericles* againe to him. There is no difference betwene this and that, ſauing that the bodye which maketh the darknes is greater, then my cloke which hideth thy eyes. Theſe things are thus diſputed of in the ſchooles of the philoſophers. But *Pericles* hoiſing ſayle notwithſtanding, did no notable nor ſpeciall ſeruice, aunſwerable to ſo great an armie and preparation. For he laying ſiege vnto the holy cittie of EPIDAVRVM, when euery man looked they ſhould haue taken it, was compelled to rayſe his ſiege for the plague that was ſo vehement: that it did not onely kill the ATHENIANS themſelues, but all other alſo (were they neuer ſo fewe) that came to them, or neere their campe. Wherefore perceiuing the ATHENIANS were maruellouſly offended with him, he did what he could to comforte them, and put them in hart againe: but all was in vaine, he could not pacifie them. For by the moſt parte of voyces, they depriued him of his charge of generall, and condemned him in a maruellous great fine and ſumme of money, the which thoſe that tell the leaſt do write, that it was the ſumme of fifteene talentes: and thoſe that ſay more, ſpeake of fiftie talentes. The accuſer ſubſcribed in this condemnation, was *Cleon*, as *Idomeneus*, or *Simmias* ſay, or as *Theophraſtus* writeth: yet *Heraclides Ponticus* ſayth, one *Lacratidas*. Now his common griefes were ſoone blowen ouer: for the people dyd eaſely let fall their diſpleaſures towardes him, as the waſpe leaueth her ſting behind her with them ſhee hath ſtong. But his owne priuate affaires and houſehold cauſes were in very ill caſe: both for that the plague had taken awaye many of his friendes and kinſmen from him, as alſo for that he and his houſe had continued a long time in diſgrace. For *Xanthippus* (*Pericles* ſonne & heire) being a man of a very ill diſpoſition and nature, and hauing maried a young woman very prodigall and lauiſh of expence, the daughter of *Iſander*, ſonne of *Epilychus*: he grudged much at his fathers hardnes, who ſcantly gaue him money and but a litle at a time. Wherupon he ſent on a time to one of his fathers friends in *Pericles* name, to pray him to lend him ſome money, who ſent it vnto him. But afterwardes when he came to demaund it againe, *Pericles* did not onely refuſe to paye it him, but further alſo, he put him in ſute. But this made the young man *Xanthippus* ſo angrie with his father, that he ſpake very ill of him in euery place where hee came: and in mockerie reported how his father ſpent his time when he was at home, and the talke he had with the Sophiſters, and the maiſter Rhetoritians. For a miſchaunce fortuning on a time, at the game of the throwing of the darte, who ſhould throwe beſt, that he that threwe, did vnfortunately kill one *Epitimius* a THESSALIAN: *Xanthippus* went pratling vp and downe the towne, that his father *Pericles* was a whole daye diſputing with *Protagoras* the Rhetoritian, to know which of the three by law and reaſon ſhould be condemned for this murther. The darte: he that threwe the darte: or the deuiſer of the game. Moreouer *Steſimbrotus* writeth, that the brute that ranne abroade through the cittie, how *Pericles* did keepe his wife, was ſowen abroade by *Xanthippus* himſelfe. But ſo it is, this quarrell and hate betwixt the father and the ſonne cõtinued without reconciliation vnto the death. For *Xanthippus* died in the great plague, and *Pericles* owne

*Accuſations againſt Pericles.*

*An Eclypſe of the ſunne.*

*Pericles hard fortune,*

*Pericles depriued of his charge.*

*Pericles home troubles.*

ſiſter alſo: moreouer he loſt at that time by the plague, the more part of his friends and kinſefolkes, and thoſe ſpecially that did him greateſt pleaſure in gouerning of the ſtate. But all this did neuer pull down his conntenaunce, nor any thing abate the greatnes of his mind, what miſfortunes ſoeuer he had ſuſtained. Neither ſaw they him weep at any time, nor mourne at the funeralles of any of his kinſmen or friends, but at the death of *Paralus*, his yonger and lawfull begotten ſonne: for, the loſſe of him alone did onely melt his hart. Yet he did ſtriue to ſhew his natural conſtancie, and to keepe his accuſtomed modeſtie. But as he would haue put a garland of flowers vpon his head, ſorrow did ſo pierce his hart when he ſaw his face, that then he burſt out in teares and cryed a mayne: which they neuer ſaw him doe before: all the dayes of his life. Furthermore, the people hauing proued other captaines and gouernours, and finding by experience that there was no one of them of iudgment and authoritie ſufficient, for ſo great a charge: In the end, of themſelues they called him againe to the pulpit for orations to heare their counſelles, and to the ſtate of a captaine alſo to take charge of the ſtate. But at that time he kept himſelfe cloſe in his houſe, as one bewayling his late grieuous loſſe and ſorrowe. Howbeit *Alcibiades*, and other his familiar friendes, perſuaded him to ſhew himſelfe vnto the people: who did excuſe themſelues vnto him, for their ingratitude towardes him. *Pericles* then taking the gouernment againe vpon him, the firſt matter he entred into was: that he prayed them to reuoke the ſtatute he had made for baſe borne children, fearing leaſt his lawfull heirs would fayle, and ſo his houſe & name ſhould fall to the ground. But as for that law, thus it ſtood. *Pericles* whẽ he was in his beſt authority, cauſed a law to be made, that they onely ſhould be compted cittizens of ATHENS, which were naturall ATHENIANS borne by father and mother. Not long time after, it fortuned that the king of EGYPT hauing ſent a gift vnto the people of ATHENS, of forty thouſand buſhells of corne, to be diſtributed among the cittizens there: many by occaſion of this lawe were accuſed to be baſe borne, and ſpecially men of the baſer ſorte of people, which were not knowne before, or at the leaſt had no reckoning made of them, and ſo ſome of them were falſely and wrongfully condemned. Whereupon ſo it fell out that there were no leſſe then fiue thouſand of them conuicted and ſolde for ſlaues: and thoſe that remained as free men, and were iudged to be naturall cittizens, amounted to the number of fourteene thouſand and fortye perſones. Now this was much miſliked of the people, that a law enacted, and that had beene of ſuch force, ſhould by the ſelfe ſame maker and deuiſer of the ſame be againe reuoked and called in. Howbeit *Pericles* late calamitie that fortuned to his houſe, did breake the peoples hardened hartes againſt him. Who thinking theſe ſorrowes ſmarte, to be puniſhment enough vnto him for his former pryde, and iudging that by goddes diuine iuſtice and permiſſion, this plague and loſſe fell vpon him, and that his requeſt alſo was tolerable: they ſuffered him to enrolle his baſe born ſonne in the regiſter of the lawful cittizens of his familie, giuing him his owne name, *Pericles*. It is the ſelfſame *Pericles*, who after he had ouercome the PELOPONNESIANS in a great battel by ſea, neere vnto the Iles ARGINVSES, was put to death by ſentẽce of the people, with other captaines his cõpanions. Now was *Pericles* at that time infected with the plague, but not ſo vehemẽtly as other were, rather more tẽperately: & by long ſpace of time, with many alterations & changes, that did by little and little decay and conſume the ſtrengh of his bodie, and ouercame his ſences and noble mind. Therfore *Theophraſtus* in his morralles declareth, in a place where he diſputeth, whether mens manners doe chaunge with their miſfortunes, and whether corporall troubles and afflictions doe ſo alter men, that they forget vertue, and abandon reaſon: that *Pericles* in his ſicknes ſhewed a friend of his that came to ſee him, I cannot tel what a preſeruing charme the woman hath tyed (as a carkanet) about his necke, to let him vnderſtand he was very ill, ſince he ſuffered them to apply ſuch a fooliſh bable to him. In the ende, *Pericles* drawing faſt vnto his death, the Nobilitie of the cittie, and ſuch his friendes as were left aliue, ſtanding about his bed, beganne to ſpeake of his vertue, and of the great authoritie he had borne, conſidering the greatnes of his noble acts, and counting the number of his victories he had wonne (for he had wonne nine foughten battelles being generall of the ATHENIANS, and had ſet vp ſo many tokens and triumphes in honour of his countrie) they reckoned vp among themſelues all theſe matters, as if

he

*Pericles conſtancie.*

*A lawe at Athens for baſe borne children.*

*Pericles the the baſe borne put to death.*

*Pericles ſicknes.*

*A philoſophicall queſtion touching the chaung of mens manners by miſfortunes.*

*Pericles death.*

he had not vnderſtood them, imagining his ſences had bene gone. But he contrarilie being yet of perfect memorie, heard all what they had ſayed, and thus he beganne to ſpeake vnto them. That he maruelled why they had ſo highly praiſed that in him, which was common to many other captaines, & wherein fortune delt with them in equalitie alike, and all this while they had forgotten to ſpeake of the beſt and moſt notable thing that was in him, which was: that no ATHENIAN had euer worne blacke gowne through his occaſion. And ſure ſo was he a noble and worthie perſon. For he did not onely ſhewe himſelfe mercifull and curteous, euen in moſt weightie matters of gouernment, among ſo enuious people and hatefull enemies: but he had this iudgment alſo to thinke, that the moſt noble actes he did were theſe, that he neuer gaue himſelfe vnto hatred, enuie, nor choller, to be reuenged of his moſt mortall enemie, without mercy ſhewed towardes him, though he had committed vnto him ſuch abſolute power and ſole gouernment among them. And this made his ſurname to be *Olympius* (as to ſaye, diuine or celeſtiall) which otherwiſe for him had bene too prowde and arrogant a name, becauſe he was of ſo good and gentle a nature, and for that in ſo great libertie he had kept cleane handes and vndefiled: euen as we eſteeme the goddes authors of all good, and cauſers of no euill, and ſo worthie to gouerne and rule the whole monarchie of the world. And not as Poets ſay, which do confound our wittes by their follies, and fond fayninges, and are alſo contrarie to themſelues, conſidering that they call heauen (which conteineth the goddes) the euerlaſting ſeate, which trembleth not, and is not driuen nor moued with windes, neither is darkened with cloudes, but is alwayes bright and cleare, and at all times ſhining equally with a pure bright light, as being the onely habitation and manſion place of the eternall God, onely happy and immortall. And afterwardes they deſcribe it themſelues, full of diſſentions, of enmities, of anger and paſſions, which doe nothing become wiſe and learned men. But this diſcourſe peraduenture would be better ſpoken of in ſome other booke, Now the troubles of the ATHENIANS felt immediately after *Pericles* death, made them then lament the loſſe of ſo noble a member. For thoſe who vnpaciently did brooke his great authoritie while he liued, becauſe it drowned their owne: when they came after his death to proue other ſpeakers and gouernours, they were compelled then to confeſſe, that no mans nature liuing could be more moderate nor graue, with lenitie and mercie, then his was. And that moſt hated power, which in his life time they called monarchie, did then moſt plainely appeare vnto them, to haue beene the manifeſt ramper and bullwarke of the ſafetie of their whole ſtate and common weale: ſuch corruption and vice in gouernment of the ſtate did then ſpring vp immediately after his death, which when he was aliue, he did euer ſuppreſſe and keepe vnder in ſuch ſort, that either it did not appeare at all, or at the leaſt it came not to that hed and libertie, that ſuch faultes were committed, as were vnpoſſible to be remedied.

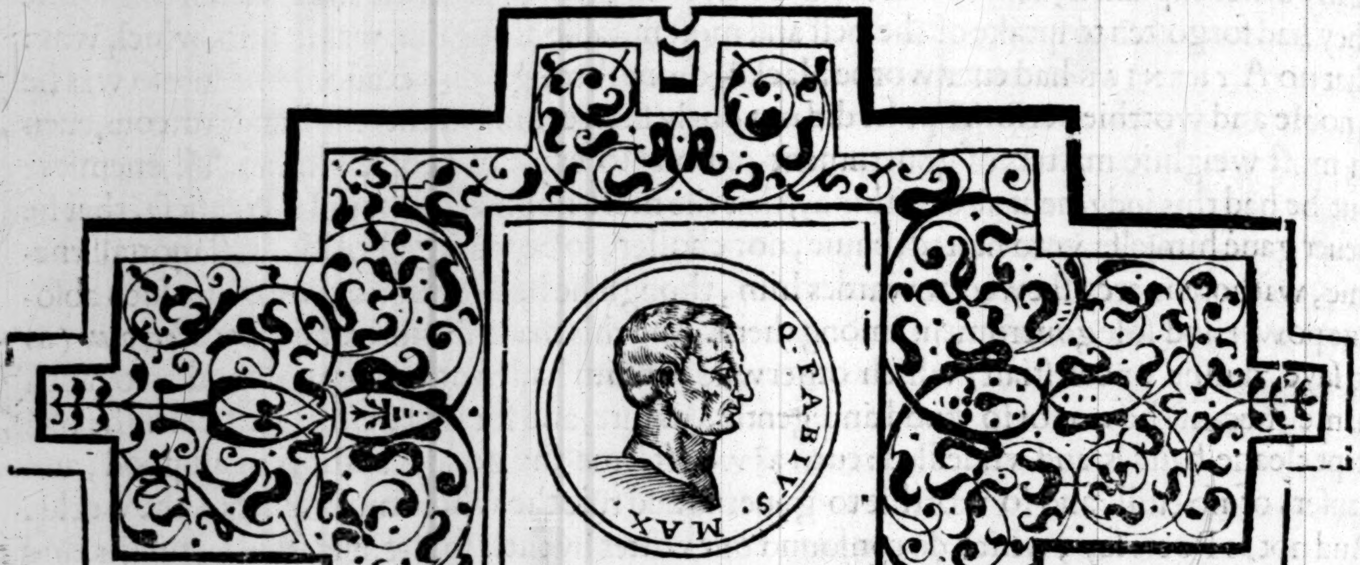
*A notable ſaying of Pericles at his death.*

*Pericles deſeruedly called Olympius.*

*The Athenians lamented the loſſe of Pericles being dead.*

*The ende of Pericles life.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Fabius Maximus.*



HAVING already declared vnto you ſuch things worthy memorie as we could collect, and gather of the life of *Pericles*: it is now good time we ſhould proceede to write alſo of the life of *Fabius Maximus.* It is ſayed the firſt *Fabius*, from whom the houſe and familie of the *Fabians* did deſcend (being the greateſt and nobleſt houſe of all other in ROME) was begotten by *Hercules*, whom he got of a *Nymphe* (or as other ſay, a woman of the country by the riuer of Tyber. And ſome ſay, that the firſt of this houſe, were called at the beginning *Fodians*, becauſe they did hunte wilde beaſtes, with pittefalles and ditches. For vnto this preſent the ROMAINES call ditches, *Foſſa*: and to digge *Fodere*. Since that time, the two ſecond letters haue beene chaunged, and they haue called them *Fabians*. But howſoeuer it was, this is certaine, that many noble men haue come out of that houſe: and among other, there was one of that houſe called *Fabius Rullus*, whome the ROMAINES for his noble acts did ſurname *Maximus*, very great. After him *Fabius Maximus*, whoſe life we haue now in hand, was the fourth lineally deſcended of the ſame line, and he was ſurnamed *Verrucoſus*, becauſe of a certen birth marke he had vpon one of his lippes, like a litle wart. And he was alſo ſurnamed *Ouicula*, a litle lambe, for his ſoftnes, ſlownes, and grauitie of his doings whileſt he was a childe. But becauſe of nature he was dull, ſtill, and very ſilent, & that he was ſeldome ſeene to play at any paſtime among the boyes, and for that they ſaw he was but of ſlowe capacitie, and hard to learne and conceiue, and withall that the boyes might doe to him what they would, he was ſo lowly to his fellowes: this made men iudge that looked not into him that he would proue a very foole and idiotte. Yet other were of contrarie opinion of him: who conſidering more deeply the man, perceiued in his nature a certaine ſecret conſtancie and the maieſty of a lion. But *Fabius* ſelfe when he was called to ſerue the common weale, did quickly ſhewe to the world, that which they tooke for dulnes in him, was his grauitie, which neuer altered for no cauſe or reſpect: and that which others iudged fearefulnes in him, was very wiſdome. And where he ſhewed himſelſe not haſtie, nor ſodaine in any thing: it was found in him an aſſured & ſettled conſtancie. Wherefore when he came to conſider the great ſoueraintie of their common weale, and the continuall warres it was in: he did vſe his bodie to all hardnes, and brought vp himſelfe therewithall, that he might be the better able to ſerue

*Fabius Rullus Maximus called Verrucoſus and Ouicula.*

in the field: and he gaue himſelfe much to eloquence alſo, as a neceſſarie inſtrument to perſuade ſouldiers vnto reaſon. His tongue likewiſe did agree with his conditions, and manner of life. For he had no manner of affectation, nor counterfeat finenes in his ſpeach, but his wordes were euer very graue and profound, and his ſentences euen grafted in him by nature, and ( as ſome ſay ( were much like *Thucydides* ſayings. As appeareth in a funerall oration he made before the people in the praiſe of his ſonne, who died when he came out of his Conſulſhippe, which is yet extant to be ſeene. Now as for him, hauing bene fiue times choſen Conſul, in his firſt yere of his conſulſhippe, he triumphed ouer the LIGVRIANS ( which be people of the mountaines, and vpon the coaſt of GENVA) who being ouerthrowen by him in a great battell, where they had loſt many men, they were compelled to goe their way, and to take the ALPES for their ſuccour, & durſt no more appeare vpon the borders of ITALIE, whereupon they did confine. *Hannibal* entring ITALIE afterwards with a great armie, and hauing wonne the firſt battel neere vnto the riuer of TREBIA: he paſſed further, and went through THVSCAN, waſting and deſtroying all the country as he paſſed by. This made ROME quake for feare. Beſides they ſaw many ſignes & tokens, ſome common vnto them, as thundering, lightning, and ſuch other like: but other alſo more ſtraunge, neuer ſeene nor heard of before. For it was reported that certen targets were waxen all bloudy of themſelues, and that about the cittie of ANTIVM they found wheat eares, which were all bloudie when they were reaped: that there fell from heauen, burning ſtones all in a flame of fire: and in the countrie of the PHALERIANS how the element ſeemed to open, and many litle written ſcrolles fell downe vpon the ground, in one of the which were written theſe wordes, word for word: *Marcus doth now handle his weapons.* But all theſe ſignes and wonders did nothing appawle nor daunt the boldnes of *Caius Flaminius*, Conſul then: who beſides the naturall great courage, & aſpiring minde he had to honour, yet was it beyond all reaſon increaſed in him, by the wonderfull good ſucceſſe he had before. For, notwithſtanding the Senate called him home againe, and that his fellowe Conſul ſtoode againſt his intent: he for all that did giue battell to the GAVLES, in deſpight of them all, and wanne the victorie Likewiſe, though al theſe ſignes and wonders in the aire, did greatly trouble, and amaze multitudes of people: yet did they nothing trouble *Fabius*, for he ſaw no apparant cauſe to be troubled withall. But he vnderſtanding the ſmall number of his enemies and the lacke of money that was among them: gaue counſell, and was of opinion they ſhould paciently forbeare a litle, and not to hazarde battell againſt a man, whoſe armie had bene long trained in wars, and by many foughten fieldes was growen valiant and expert. Moreouer, he thought good they ſhould ſend ayde to their ſubiects, and other their allies and confederates, as neede required, to keepe their citties ſtill vnder their obedience: and in the meane ſeaſon by tract of time, to weare out *Hanniballs* force & power, which was like ſtraw ſet on fire, that ſtraight giueth forth a blaſe, and yet hath no ſubſtance to holde fire long. When *Fabius* had thus ſayed enough to perſwade *Flaminius*, yet it would not ſinke into *Flaminius* heade: for, ſayeth he, I wil not tarie vntill the warres come to ROME gates, neither will I be brought to fight vpon the walles of the cittie, to defend it, and as *Camillus* did, that fought within the cittie ſelfe in old time. Whereupon he commaunded his captaines to ſet out their bandes to the field, and he himſelfe tooke his horſe backe: which vpon the ſodaine, without any cauſe was ſo afeard, and tooke ſo on with himſelfe, that he caſt the Conſul to the ground with his heade forward. For all this fall he would not chaunge his minde, but helde on his iorney toward *Hannibal*, & preſented him battell in THVSCAN, by the lake called *Thraſimena*, which is the lake of PERVSIA. This battel was ſo fiercely fought on both ſides, that notwithſtanding there was ſuch a terrible earthquake therewhile, that ſome cities were ouerthrowen and turned topſy turuey, ſome riuers had their ſtreames turned againſt their courſe, and the foote of the mountaines were torne in ſunder, and broken open: yet not one of them that were fighting, heard any ſuch thing at all. *Flaminius* the Conſul ſelfe was ſlaine at that battell, after he had in his owne perſon done many a valiant acte, and many of the worthieſt gentlemen and valianteſt ſouldiers of his armie laye dead about him: the reſidue being fled, the ſlaughter was great, for the bodies ſlaine were fifteene thouſand, and ſo many priſoners left aliue. After this ouerthrow, *Hannibal* made al the ſearch he could poſſible to finde the body of *Flaminius*,

*Fabius fiue times Conſul.*

*Hannibal deſtroyeth the cūtrie of Thuſcā.*

*wonders.*

*Flaminius raſhnes.*

*Fabius wiſe counſell.*

*The Romaines ſlaine by the lake of Thraſimena.*

*Flaminius the Conſul ſlaine.*

*nius*, to burie him honorably, becauſe of his valiantnes: but he could neuer be founde amongeſt the dead bodies, neither was it euer heard what became of it. Now as touching the firſt ouerthrow at TREBIA, neither the generall that wrote it, nor the poaſte that brought the firſt newes to ROME, tolde the trothe of it as it was, but fayned that the ende was doubtfull, and that they could not tell who had the beſt. But of this battell, ſo ſoone as the *Prætor Pomponius* had receiued the newes, he called all the people to counſell, where without diſguiſing or diſſembling at all, he playnely ſayed thus vnto them. My Lordes, we haue loſt the battell, our armie is ouerthrowne, and the Conſul himſelfe is ſlaine in the fielde: wherefore conſider what you haue to doe, and prouide for your ſafety. Theſe wordes ſpoken to the people, as, it had beene a boyſterous ſtorme of weather that had fallen on them from the ſea, to put them in daunger, did ſo terrifie the multitude, and trouble the whole cittie for feare: that they were all in a maze, and knew not what to determine. Yet in the ende they all agreed that it ſtoode them vpon to haue a chiefe magiſtrate, called in Latin *Dictatura*, that ſhould be a man of courage, and could ſtoutely vſe it without ſparing or fearing any perſon. And for this, *Fabius Maximus* was thought the onely man meete to be choſen, as he, whoſe noble courage and graue behauiour was aunſwerable, to the dignitie and ſoueraintie of the office: and moreouer, that to his grauitie and wiſdome there was ioyned (by reaſonable age) ſtrengh of bodie, and valiantneſſe with experience. This counſell being confirmed by them all, *Fabius* was choſen *Dictator*, who named *Lucius Minutius* generall of the horſemen. Then he firſt required the Senate, that they would graunt him he might haue his horſe in the warres: the which was not lawfull for the *Dictator*, but expreſſely forbidden by an auncient order. Either becauſe they thought the chiefeſt force of their armie dyd conſiſt in their footemen, which cauſed the making of this lawe: whereby the generall ſhould be amongeſt them in the daye of the battell, and in no wiſe ſhould forſake them. Or els becauſe the authoritie of this magiſtrate in all other thinges was ſo great, that it was in manner after the ſtate of a King: yet all this notwithſtanding, they were willing thereunto, and that the *Dictator* ſhould haue abſolute power ouer the people. *Fabius* at his firſt comming, becauſe he would ſhewe the maieſtie and dignitie of his office, that euery man, ſhould be the more obedient and readye at his commaundement: when he went abroade, he had foure and twentie ſergeantes before him, carying the bundelles of roddes, and axes. And when one of the conſulls came to him, he ſent a ſergeant to commaund his bundell of roddes that were caried before him, to be put downe, and all other tokens of dignitie to be layed a ſide: and that he ſhould come and ſpeake with him, as a priuate man. And firſt to make a good foundation, and to beginne with the ſeruice of the goddes: he declared vnto the people, that the loſſe they had receiued, came through the raſhnes and wilfull negligence of their captaine, who made no reckoning of the goddes nor religion: and not through any defaulte and cowardlines of the ſouldiers. And for this cauſe he did perſuade them not to be afrayde of their enemies, but to appeaſe the wrath of the goddes, and to ſerue and honour them. Not that he made them hereby ſuperſticious, but did confirme their valiancie with true religion and godlines: and beſides did vtterly take awaye and aſwage their feare of their enemies, by giuing them certaine hope and aſſuraunce of the ayde of the goddes. Then were the holy bookes of the *Sibylles* propheſies peruſed, which were kept very ſecret and therein they found certaine auncient propheſies and oracles, which ſpake of the preſent miſfortunes of the time. But what were conteyned therein, it is not lawfull to be vttered to any perſon. Afterwardes the *Dictator*, before the open aſſemblie of the people, made a ſolemne vowe vnto the goddes, that he would ſacrifice all the profittes and frutes that ſhould fall the next yere, of ſheepe, of ſowes, of milch kine, and of goats in all the mountaines, champion countrie, riuers, or meadowes of ITALIE. And he would celebrate playes of muſicke, and ſhewe other ſightes in the honour of the goddes, and would beſtow vpon the ſame the ſumme of three hundreth three and thirtie Seſtercians, & three hundreth three and thirtie Romaine pence, and a thirde part ouer. All which ſumme reduced into Grecian money, amounteth to foure ſcore three thouſand, fiue hundreth, and foure ſcore, and three ſiluer drachmas, and two obolos. Nowe it were a harde thing to tell the reaſon why he doth mention this

ſumme

*Fabius Dictator.*

*The Dictator might not ride in the warres.*

*The maieſtie of Fabius the Dictator.*

*Fabius religiō.*

*The Sibylles bookes of propheſies.*

*Fabius vowe.*

ſumme ſo preciſely, and why he did deuide it by three, vnleſſe it were to extoll the power of the number of three: becauſe it is a perfect number by the nature, and is the firſt of the odde numbers, which is the beginning of diuerſe numbers, and conteineth in it ſelfe the firſt differences, and the firſt elements and principles of all the numbers vnited and ioyned together. So *Fabius* hauing brought the people to hope, and truſt to haue the ayde and fauour of the gods: made them in the end the better diſpoſed to liue well afterwards. Then *Fabius* hoping after victorie, and that the gods would ſend good luck and proſperitie vnto men, through their valiantneſſe and wiſdome: did ſtraight ſet forwards vnto *Hannibal*, not as minded to fight with him, but fully reſolued to weare out his ſtrength and power, by delayes and tract of time: and to increaſe his pouertie by the long ſpending of his owne money, and to conſume the ſmall number of his people, with the great number of his ſouldiers. *Fabius* camped alwaies in the ſtrong and high places of the mountaines, out of all danger of his enemies horſemen, and coaſted ſtill after the enemie: ſo that when *Hannibal* ſtayed in any place, *Fabius* alſo ſtayed: if *Hannibal* remooued, he followed him ſtraight, and would be alwayes neere him, but neuer forſooke the hilles, neither would he come ſo neere him, as that he ſhould be inforced to fight againſt his will. Yet alwayes he followed the enemie at his tayle, and made him euer afeard of him, thinking ſtill that he ſought to get the vantage, to giue the charge vpon him. Thus by delaying, and prolonging the time in this ſort: he became diſliked of euery body. For euery man both in his owne campe, and abroade, ſpake very ill of him openly: and as for his enemies, they tooke him for no better, then a rancke coward, *Hannibal* onely excepted. But he perceiuing his great reache and policie, and foreſeeing the manner of fight, ſawe there was no remedie, but by plaine force or ſlight to bring him to the fight: for otherwiſe his delay would ouerthrowe the CARTHAGINIANS, when they ſhould not come to handie ſtrokes with him, wherein onely conſiſted all their hope and ſtrength, and in the meane time his ſouldiers ſhould fall away, and dye, and his money was ſcant, and himſelfe ſhould growe the weaker. Thereupon *Hannibal* began to bethinke him, and deuiſe all the ſtratageins and policies of warre he could imagine: and like a cunning wreſtler, to ſeeke out all the trickes he could to giue his aduerſarie the fall. For ſodainely, he would go and giue alarum to his campe: by and by againe he would retire. Another time he would remooue his campe, from one place to another, and giue him ſome aduantage, to ſee if he could plucke his lingring deuiſe out of his head, and yet to hazard nothing. But as for *Fabius*, he continued ſtill reſolute in his firſt determination: that delay of fight was the beſt way ſo to ouerthrowe him. Howbeit *Minutius*, generall of his horſemen, did trouble him much. For he being earneſtly bent to fight without diſcretion, and brauing of a luſtie courage, crept into opinion with the ſouldiers, by his hotte furie and deſire to fight. Which wrought much in them, and ſo ſtirred vp their courages, that they mocked *Fabius* altogether: and called him *Hannibals* ſchoolemaiſter: and contrariwiſe they commended *Minutius*, for a valiant captaine, and worthie ROMAINE. This made *Minutius* looke high, and haue a proude opinion of himſelfe, mocking *Fabius* becauſe he euer lodged on the hilles, with ſaying, the *Dictator* would make them goodly ſportes, to ſee their enemies waſte and burne ITALY before their face. Moreouer, he asked *Fabius* friends, whether he would in the end lodge his campe in the ſkie, that he did climbe vp ſo high vpon mountaines, miſtruſting the earth: or elſe that hee was ſo affrayde, his enemies would finde him out, that hee went to hide him ſelfe in the cloudes. *Fabius* friendes made reporte of theſe ieaſts, and aduiſed him rather to hazard battell, then to beare ſuch reproachefull wordes as were ſpoken of him. But *Fabius* aunſwered them. If I ſhould yeeld to that you counſell me, I ſhould ſhewe my ſelfe a greater cowarde then I am taken for now: by leauing my determination, for feare of their mockes and ſpightfull wordes. For it is no ſhame for a man to ſtand fearefull, and iealous, of the welfare and ſafetie of his countrey: but otherwiſe to be afeard of the wagging of euery ſtrawe, or to regarde euery common prating, it is not the parte of a worthie man of charge, but rather of a baſe minded perſon, to ſeeke to pleaſe thoſe whome hee ought to commaunde and gouerne, becauſe they are but fooles. After this, *Hanniball* chaunced to

*Fabius doings againſt Hanniball.*

*Minutius generall of the horſemen, deſpiſed Fabius counſell.*

*Hanniball fell into great errour.*

*Caſilinum a citie. Vulturnus fl.*

*Hanniball ſet vpon by Fabius.*

*Hannibals ſtratagem.*

fall into a great errour. For intending to leaue *Fabius* to bring his armie into the plaines, where there was plentie of victuals, and ſtore of paſture to feede his horſe and cattell: he commaunded his guides to bring him ſtraight after ſupper, into the plaine of CASINVM. They miſtaking his words, and not vnderſtanding well what he ſaid, becauſe his ITALIAN tongue was but meane: tooke one thing for another, and ſo brought him and his armie to the end of a field neere the citie of CASILINVM, through the middeſt of the which runneth a riuer, the ROMAINES call *Vulturnus*. Now the countrie lying by it, was a valley compaſſed in with mountaines round about, ſauing that the riuer went to the ſea: where leauing his owne banckes, it ſpreadeth abroade into the mariſſes, and banckes of ſand very deepe, and in the ende fell into that parte of the ſea which is moſt daungerous, and there was neither ſuccour nor couert. *Hanniball* being now fallen as it were into the bottome of a ſacke, *Fabius* that knewe the countrie, and was very perfect in all the wayes thereabouts, followed him ſtep by ſtep, and ſtopped his paſſage, where he ſhould haue come out of the valley, with foure thouſand footemen, which he planted there to keepe the ſtraight, and diſpoſed the reſt of his armie vpon the hangings of the hilles, in the moſt apt and fit places all about. Then with his light horſemen he gaue a charge, vpon the rereward of his enemies battell: which put all *Hannibals* armie by and by out of order, and ſo there were ſlaine eight hundred of his men. Whereupon *Hanniball* would haue remoued his campe thence immediatly, and knowing then the faulte his guides had made, taking one place for another, and the danger wherein they had brought him: he roundly truſſed them vp, and hung them by the neckes. Now to force his enemies to come downe from the tops of the hilles, and to winne them from their ſtrength, he ſawe it was vnpoſſible, and out of all hope. Wherefore, perceiuing his ſouldiers both afraide and diſcouraged, for that they ſawe themſelues hemmed in on all ſides, without any order to eſcape: *Hanniball* determined to deceiue *Fabius* by a deuiſe. He cauſed ſtraight two thouſand oxen to be choſen out of the heard, which they had taken before in their ſpoiles, and tyed to their hornes light bundels of reedes, and ſallowe faggots, or bunches of the dead cuttings of vines: and commaunded the drouers that had the charge of them, that when they ſawe any ſignall or token lift vp in the ayre in the night, they ſhould then ſtraight ſet fire on thoſe bundels and bunches, and driue vp the beaſts to the hilles, toward the wayes where the enemies laye. Whileſt theſe things were a preparing, he on the other ſide ranged his armie in order of battell: and when night came, cauſed them to marche faire and ſoftly. Now theſe beaſts, whileſt the fire was but litle that burnt vpon their hornes, went but faire and ſoftly vp the hill from the foote of the mountaines from whence they were driuen. In ſo much as the heard men that were on the toppe of the mountaines, wondered maruellouſlie to ſee ſuch flames and fires about the hornes of ſo many beaſts, as if it had bene an armie marching in order of battell with lightes and torches. But when their hornes came to be burnt to the ſtumpes, and that the force of the fire did frie their very fleſh: then beganne the oxen to fight together, and to ſhake their heads, whereby they did ſet one another a fire. Then left they their ſoft pace, and went no more in order as they did before, but for the extreame paine they felt, beganne to runne heere and there in the mountaines, carying fire ſtill about their hornes, and in their tailes, and ſet fire of all the boughes and coppeſies they paſſed by. This was a ſtrange ſight to looke vpon, and did much amaze the ROMAINES that kept the paſſages of the mountaines, for they thought they had bene men that ranne heere and there with torches in their hands. Whereupon they were in a maruellous feare and trouble, ſuppoſing they had bene their enemies that ranne thus towards them, to enuiron them of all ſides: ſo as they durſt no more keepe the paſſages which they were commaunded, but forſaking their ſtraights, began to flie towards their maine and great campe. Thereupon *Hannibals* light horſemen immediatly poſſeſſed the ſtraights that were kept: by reaſon whereof, all the reſt of his armie marched out at their eaſe and leiſure, without feare or daunger, notwithſtanding that they were loden and troubled with maruellous great ſpoiles, and of all kinde of ſortes. *Fabius* then perceiued very well the ſame night, that it was but a ſlight of *Hannibal*: for ſome of the oxen that fled here and there fell vpon his armie. Whereupon fearing to fall vpon ſome ambuſhe by reaſon of the darke night, he kept his men in battell raye, without ſturring, or making any noiſe. The next morning by breake of day, he began to follow his enemie by the tracke, and fell vpon the taile of the rereward, with whome he ſkirmiſhed within the ſtraites of the mountaines: and ſo did diſtreſſe ſomewhat *Hannibals* armie. *Hanniball* thereupon ſent out of his vauntgarde a certaine number of Spaniards (very luſtie and nimble fellowes, that were vſed to the mountaines, and acquainted with climing vp vpon them) who comming downe, and ſetting vpon the ROMAINES that were heauie armed, ſlue a great number of them, and made *Fabius* to retire. Thereupon they deſpiſed *Fabius* the more, and thought worſe of him then they did before: becauſe his pretence and determination was not to be brought to fight with *Hanniball*, but by wiſedome and policie to ouerthrowe him, where as he him ſelfe by *Hanniball* was firſt finely handled and deceiued. *Hanniball* then to bring *Fabius* further in diſliking and ſuſpition with the ROMAINES, commaunded his ſouldiers when they came neere any of *Fabius* lands, that they ſhould burne and deſtroye all round about them, but gaue them in charge in no wiſe to medle with *Fabius* lands, nor any thing of his, and did purpoſely appoint a garriſon to ſee that nothing of *Fabius* ſhould miſcarie, nor yet take hurt. This was ſtraight caried to ROME, which did thereby the more incenſe the people againſt him. And to helpe it forward, the Tribunes neuer ceaſed crying out vpon him in their orations to the people, and all by *Metellus* ſpeciall procurement and perſwaſion: who of himſelfe had no cauſe to miſlike with *Fabius*, but onely becauſe he was *Minutius* kinſeman (generall of the horſemen) and thought that the ill opinion they bare to *Fabius*, would turne to the praiſe and aduauncement of *Minutius*. The Senate alſo were much offended with *Fabius*, for the compoſition he made with *Hanniball*, touching the priſoners taken of either ſide. For it was articled betweene them, that they ſhould chaunge priſoners, deliuering man for man, or elſe two hundred and fiftie ſiluer drachmas for a man, if the one chaunced to haue moe priſoners then the other. When exchange was made betweene them, it appeared that *Hanniball* had left in his hands of ROMAINE priſoners, two hundred and fortie moe, then *Fabius* had to exchange of his. The Senate commaunded there ſhould be no money ſent to redeeme them, and greatly found fault with *Fabius* for making this accorde: becauſe it was neither honorable, nor profitable for the common weale, to redeeme men that cowardly ſuffered themſelues to be taken priſoners of their enemies. *Fabius* vnderſtanding it, did paciently beare this diſpleaſure conceiued againſt him by the Senate. Howbeit hauing no money, and meaning to keepe his word, and not to leaue the poore cittizens priſoners behinde him: he ſent his ſonne to ROME, with commiſſion to ſell his lands, and to bring him money immediatly. The young man went his waye to ROME, and ſould his fathers farmes, and brought him money forthwith to the campe: *Fabius* therewith redeemed the priſoners, and ſent their ranſome vnto *Hanniball*. Many of the priſoners whom he had redeemed, offered to repay him their ranſome: but he would neuer take any thing againe, and gaue them all their ranſome freely. Afterwards being called to ROME by the prieſts to do certaine ſolemne ſacrifices, he left the armie in charge with *Minutius*, to gouerne the ſame in his abſence, with condition not to ſet vpon the enemie, nor to fight with him at all: the which not onely by his authoritie he did expreſſely forbid him, but alſo as his very friend, he did warne and intreate him in no wiſe to attempt. Howbeit *Minutius* litle regarding his commaundements or requeſts, ſo ſoone as *Fabius* backe was turned, began to bee ſomewhat luſtie, and doing with his enemies. So one day amongſt the reſt, *Minutius* perceiuing *Hanniball* had ſent a great part of his armie abroade to forrage and get victuales: came and ſet vpon them that remained behinde, and draue them into their campe, with great ſlaughter, and did put them in a maruellous feare that were ſaued, as men that looked for no leſſe, but to haue bene beſieged in their campe. Afterwards alſo, when their whole armie came together againe: he retired backe in ſpight of them all, and loſt not a man. This exploite ſet *Minutius* in a pride, and brought the ſouldiers to be more raſhe then they were before. The newes of this ouerthrowe went with ſpeede to ROME, and there they made it a great deale more then it was. *Fabius* hearing of it, ſaied: he was more afeard of *Minutius* proſperitie then of his owne ad-

*Hannibals craftineſſe againſt Fabius.*

*Fabius chaungeth priſoners with Hannibal*

*Fabius redeemeth the priſoners with his money.*

*Fabius leaueth Minutius his lieutenant in the field.*

*Minutius raſheneſſe.*

*Fabius accuſed of treaſon by Metellus the Tribune.*

*The crueltie of Manlius Torquatus to his ſonne after his victorie.*

*The Dictator and generall of the horſemen made equall in authoritie.*

*Diogenes words.*

uerſitie. But the common people reioyced maruellouſlie, and made great ſhewe of ioye vp and downe the market place. Whereupon *Metellus* one of the Tribunes going vp into the pulpit, made an oration vnto the people, in the which he highly magnified *Minutius*, and commended his courage: and contrarily charged *Fabius* no more of cowardlineſſe, but with flat treaſon. Furthermore, he did accuſe the Nobilitie and greateſt men of ROME, ſaying: that from the firſt beginning they had layde a plotte to drawe theſe warres out at length, onely to deſtroy the peoples power and authoritie, hauing brought the whole commonweale, to the ſtate of a monarchie, and into the handes of a priuate perſon. Who by his remiſſeneſſe and delaies, would giue *Hanniball* leiſure to plante himſelfe in ITALIE, and by time giue open paſſage to the CARTHAGINIANS, at their pleaſure to ſend *Hanniball* a ſecond aide and armie, to make a full conqueſt of all ITALIE. *Fabius* hearing theſe words, roſe vp ſtraight, and ſpake to the people, and taried not about the aunſwering of the accuſations the Tribune had burthened him withall, but prayed them they would diſpatche theſe ſacrifices and ceremonies of the goddes, that he might ſpeedily returne againe to the campe, to puniſh *Minutius*, for breaking his commaundement, in fighting with the enemie. He had no ſooner ſpoken theſe wordes, but there roſe a maruellous tumult and hurley burlie preſently among the people, for the danger *Minutius* ſtoode in then: becauſe the *Dictator* had abſolute power and authoritie to impriſon and put to death, whom he thought good, without ordinarie courſe of lawe or araignement. Moreouer, they did iudge, ſince *Fabius* had of late left his accuſtomed mildneſſe and affabilitie, that he would grow to ſuch ſeueritie in his anger, that it would be a hard thing to appeaſe him. Wherefore euery man held their peace for feare, ſaunig onely *Metellus* the Tribune. He hauing authoritie by vertue of his office, to ſay what he thought good, and who onely of all other kept ſtill his place and authoritie, when any *Dictator* was choſen: then all the officers that were put downe, inſtantlie beſought the people not to forſake *Minutius*, nor to ſuffer the like to be done to him, as *Manlius Torquatus* did of late to his ſonne, who ſtroke off his head, after he had valiantly fought with his enemies and ouercome them, for breaking his commaundement. And began to perſwade them further, to take this tyrannicall power of the Dictatorſhip from *Fabius*: and to put their affaires into the hands of him, that would and could tell how to bring them ſafely to paſſe. The people were tickled maruellouſlie with theſe ſeditious words, but yet they durſt not force *Fabius* to reſigne his Dictatorſhip, though they bare him great grudge, and were angrie with him in their hearts. Howbeit they ordained that *Minutius* thenceforth ſhould haue equall power and authoritie with the *Dictator* in the warres, a thing that was neuer ſeene nor heard of before, and yet the very ſame done in that ſort againe, after the battell of Cannes. For *Marcus Iunius* being at that time *Dictator* in the campe, they did chooſe another *Dictator* at ROME, which was *Fabius Buteo*, to name and create new Senators in the place of thoſe that were ſlaine in the battell. But after he had named them, and reſtored the full number againe of the counſell of the Senate: he diſcharged the ſelfe ſame day the ſergeants that caried the axes before him, and ſent away the traine that waited vpon him, and did ſo put himſelfe in preaſe of the people in the market place, and followed his owne peculiar buſineſſe as a priuate perſon. Nowe the ROMAINES imagined, that when *Fabius* ſhould ſee how they had made *Minutius* equall in authoritie with him, it would greeue him to the heart for very anger: but they came ſhorte to iudge of his nature, for he did not thinke that their follie ſhould hurte or diſhonour him at all. But as wiſe *Diogenes* aunſwered one that ſaied vnto him, looke, they mocke thee: tuſhe (ſaied he) they mocke not me. Meaning thereby, that he tooke them to be mocked, that were offended with their mockes. Thus *Fabius* tooke euery thing quietly, that the people offered him, and did comfort himſelfe with the Philoſophers rules and examples: who do maintaine, that an honeſt and wiſe man, can no waye be iniured nor diſhonoured. For all the diſpleaſure he receiued by the peoples follie, was in reſpect of the commonwealth: becauſe they had put a ſworde into a madde mans hand, in giuing *Minutius* authoritie to followe his raſhe humour, and fonde ambition in the warres. Wherefore, fearing leaſt he being blinded with vaine glorie, and preſumptuous opinion of him ſelfe, ſhould raſhelie (and vpon a head) haſten to do ſome great hurt before he came to the campe: he departed ſodainely out of ROME without any mans knowledge, to returne againe to the campe, where he found *Minutius* ſo proud and ſtout, that he was not to be delt with. For he would needes haue the authoritie to command the whole armie when it came to his turne. But *Fabius* would not conſent to that, but deuided the one halfe of the armie betweene them: thinking it better he ſhould alone commaunde the one halfe, then the whole armie by turnes. So he choſe for himſelfe, the firſt and third legion: and gaue vnto him, the ſecond and fourth, and deuided alſo betwene them the aide of their friends. And when *Minutius* made his boaſt, that the maieſtie of the higheſt magiſtrate was brought lower for his ſake: *Fabius* tolde him that he might thinke, if he were wiſe, he had not to fight with him, but with *Hanniball*: and if he would needes contend againſt his companion, yet he ſhould haue a ſpeciall regarde and conſideration, that hauing wonne now the citizens good willes, by whom he was ſo much honoured, he ſhould haue no leſſe care of their health and ſafetie, then he had, who was now troden vnder foote, and ill intreated by them. *Minutius* tooke his leſſon, for a counterfeat mocke, after old mens manners & faſhion: and ſo taking the one halfe of the armie vnto him, went and lodged alone by himſelfe. *Hanniball* hearing of their iarre and ſquaring together, ſought ſtraight oportunitie to make their diſcord finely to ſerue his turne. Now there was a hill betweene both their campes not very harde to be wonne, and it was an excellent place to lodge a campe ſafely in, and was very fitte and commodious for all things. The fields that were about it, did ſeeme a farre off to be very plaine & euen ground, becauſe they had no couert of wood to ſhadow them, yet were there many ditches and little vallies in them: wherefore *Hanniball* though he might eaſily haue taken it at his pleaſure if he had liſted, did let it alone in the middeſt betweene them, for a baite to drawe out his enemies to the battell. Now when *Hanniball* ſaw *Fabius* and *Minutius* lodged a ſunder, he placed certaine bandes in the night, among thoſe ditches and vallies. Afterwardes the next morning by breake of day, he ſent a ſmall number of men openly to winne this hill: hoping by this pollicie to traine *Minutius* out to the field, as it fell out in deede. For firſt *Minutius* ſent thither his light horſemen, and afterwardes all his men at armes: and laſtly perceiuing that *Hanniball* himſelfe came to relieue his men that were vpon the hill, he himſelfe marched forward alſo with all the reſt of his armie in order of battell, and gaue a whot charge vpon them that defended the hill, to driue them thence. The fight continued equall a good ſpace betweene them both, vntill ſuch time as *Hanniball* ſaw his enemie come directly within his danger, and ſhewed the rereward of his battell naked vnto his men, whom before he had laide in ambuſh: he ſtraight raiſed the ſignall he had giuen them. They vpon that diſcouered all together, and with great cries did ſet vpon the rereward of the ROMAINES, and ſlew a great number of them at the firſt charge: and did put the reſt in ſuch a feare and diſorder, as it is vnpoſſible to expreſſe it. Then was *Minutius* raſh brauerie and fonde boaſtes much cooled, when he looked firſt vpon one captaine, then vpon another, and ſaw in none of them any courage to tarie by it, but rather that they were all readie to runne away. Which if they had done, they had bene caſt away euery man: for the NVMIDIANS finding they were the ſtronger, did diſperſe themſelues all about the plaine, killing all ſtraglers that fled. *Minutius* ſouldiers being brought to this daunger and diſtreſſe, which *Fabius* foreſaw they would fall into, and hauing vpon this occaſion his armie readie ranged in order of battell, to ſee what would become of *Minutius*, not by report of meſſengers, but with his owne eies: he got him to a litle hill before his campe, where when he ſaw *Minutius* and all his men compaſſed about on euery ſide, and euen ſtaggering and readie to flie, and heard beſide their cries not like men that had harts to fight, but as men ſcared, and readie to flie for feare to ſaue themſelues: he clapped his hande on his thigh, and fetched a great ſigh, ſaying to thoſe that were about him: O goddes, how *Minutius* is gone to caſt himſelfe away, ſooner then I looked for, and later then he deſired? But in ſpeaking theſe words, he made his enſignes march on in haſte, crying out aloud. O my friends, we muſt diſpatch with ſpeede to ſuccour *Minutius*: for he is a valiant man of perſon, and one that loueth the honour of his countrie. And though with ouermuch hardines he hath ventred too farre, & made a fault, thinking to haue put the enemies to flight: time ſerueth not nowe to accuſe him, we will tell him of it hereafter. So he preſently brake

*Minutius pride.*

*Hanniball laid ambuſh for Minutius.*

*Fabius foreſight in the warre.*

*Fabius reſcueth Minutius generall of the horſemen.*

*The great modeſtie of Fabius.*

*Minutius oration to his ſouldiers.*

*The wiſedome of Minutius acknowledging his fault.*

*Minutius wordes to Fabius.*

*The raſhnes of Terentius Varro.*

*Terentius Varro, Paulus Aemilius Conſuls.*

the Nvmides, and diſperſed them, that lay waiting in the fields for the Romaines, which they thought would haue fled. Afterwards he went further, and did ſet vppon them that had giuen charge vpon the rereward of *Minutius* battell, where he ſlew them that made head againſt him. The reſidue, fearing leaſt they ſhould fall into the daunger they had brought the Romaines vnto: before they were enuironned in of all ſides, did turne taile ſtraight to *Fabius*. Now *Hanniball* ſeeing this chaunge, and conſidering how *Fabius* in perſon, with more courage then his age required, did make a lane in the middeſt of thoſe that fought againſt the ſide of the hill, to come to the place where *Minutius* was: he made the battell to ceaſe, and commaunded to ſound the retreate, and ſo drew backe his men againe into his campe, the Romaines being very glad alſo they might retire with ſafetie. They ſay *Hanniball* in his retiring, ſaid merrily to his friends: haue not I tolde you (Sirs) many a time and oft, of the hanging cloude we ſawe on the toppe of the mountaines, howe it would breake out in the ende with a tempeſt that would fall vpon vs? After this battell, *Fabius* hauing ſtript thoſe that were left dead in the field, retired againe to his owne campe, & ſpake not an ill word of *Minutius* his companion. *Minutius* then being come to his campe, aſſembled his ſouldiers, and ſpake thus to them. My friends, not to erre at all, enterpriſing great matters, it is a thing paſſing mans nature: but to take warning hereafter, by faultes that are paſt and done, it is the part of a wiſe and valiant man. For my ſelfe, I acknowledge I haue no leſſe occaſion to praiſe fortune, then I haue alſo cauſe to complaine of her. For that which long time could neuer teach me, I haue learned by experience in one little peece of a day: and that is this. That I am not able to commaunde, but am my ſelfe fitter to be gouerned and commaunded by another: and that I am but a foole to ſtande in mine owne conceipt, thinking to ouercome thoſe, of whom it is more honour for me to confeſſe my ſelfe to be ouercome. Therefore I tell you, that the *Dictator Fabius* henceforth ſhalbe he, who alone ſhall commaund you in all things. And to let him know that we doe all acknowledge the fauour which we haue preſently receiued at his hands: I will leade you to giue him thankes, and will my ſelfe be the firſt man to offer to obey him in all that he ſhall commaund me. Theſe wordes being ſpoken, he commaunded his enſigne bearers to follow him, and he him ſelfe matched formoſt towards *Fabius* campe. When he came thither, he went directly to the *Dictators* tent: whereat euery man wondered, not knowing his intent. *Fabius* came out to meete him. *Minutius* after he had ſet downe his enſignes at his feete, ſaid with a loud voice, O father: and his ſouldiers vnto *Fabius* ſouldiers, O maſters, which name the bondmen that are infranchiſed, doe vſe to them that haue manumiſſed them. Afterwards euery man being ſilent, *Minutius* beganne a loud to ſay vnto him. My lorde *Dictator*, this day you haue wonne two victories. The one of *Hanniball*, whom valiantly you haue ouercome: the ſecond, of my ſelfe your companion, whom alſo your wiſedome and goodnes hath vanquiſhed. By the one, you haue ſaued our liues: and by the other, you haue wiſely taught vs. So haue we alſo bene ouercome in two ſortes: the one by *Hanniball* to our ſhame, and the other by your ſelfe, to our honour and preſeruation. And therefore doe I now call you my father, finding no other name more honorable to call you by, wherewith I might honour you: acknowledging my ſelfe more bound vnto you for the preſent grace and fauour I haue receiued of you, then vnto my naturall father that begot me. For by him onely I was begotten: but by you, mine, and all theſe honeſt citizens liues haue bene ſaued. And hauing ſpoken theſe wordes, he embraced *Fabius*: and ſo did the ſouldiers alſo, heartily embrace together, and kiſſe one another. Thus the ioy was great through the whole campe, and one were ſo glad of another, that the teares trickled downe their cheekes for ioy. Now when *Fabius* was afterwardes put out of his office of Dictatorſhippe, there were new Conſuls choſen againe: the two firſt followed directly *Fabius* former order he had begunne. For they kept themſelues from giuing *Hanniball* any battell, and did alwaies ſende aide to their ſubiectes and friendes, to keepe them from rebellion: vntill that *Terentius Varro* (a man of meane birth, and knowen to be very bolde and raſh) by flattering of the people, wanne credit among them to be made Conſull. Then they thought that he by his raſhneſſe and lacke of experience, would incontinently hazard battell: becauſe he had cried out in all the aſſemblies before, that this warre would be euerlaſting, ſo long as the people did chuſe any of the *Fabians* to be their generals,

nerals, and vaunted him ſelfe openly, that the firſt day he came to ſee his enemies, he would ouerthrow them. In giuing out theſe braue wordes, he aſſembled ſuch a power, that the ROMAINES neuer ſaw ſo great a number together, againſt any enemie that euer they had: for he put into one campe, foure ſcore and eight thouſand fighting men. This made *Fabius* and the other ROMAINES, men of great wiſedome and iudgement, greatly affraide: becauſe they ſaw no hope for ROME to riſe againe, if it fortuned that they ſhould looſe ſo great a number of goodly youth. Therefore *Fabius* talked with the other Conſull, called *Paulus Aemilius*, a man very skilfull and expert in warres, but ill beloued of the common people, whoſe furie he yet feared, for that they had condemned him a little before to pay a great fine to the treaſurie: and after he had ſomwhat comforted him, he beganne to perſwade and encourage him to reſiſt the fond raſhneſſe of his companion, telling him, that he ſhould haue aſmuch to doe with *Terentius Varro* for the preſeruation and ſafety of his countrie, as to fight with *Hanniball* for defence of the ſame. For they were both Marſhall men, and had a like deſire to fight: the one becauſe he knew not wherein the vantage of his ſtrength conſiſted, and the other becauſe he knewe very well his weaknes. You ſhall haue reaſon to beleeue me better, for matters touching *Hanniball*, then *Terentius Varro*. For I dare warrant you, if you keep *Hannibal* from battell but this yere: he ſhall of neceſſitie, if he tarrie, conſume himſelfe, or els for ſhame be driuen to flie with his armie. And the rather, becauſe hitherto (though he ſeeme to be lorde of the field) neuer one yet of his enemies came to take his part: and moreouer becauſe there remaines at this day in his campe not the third part of his armie, he brought with him out of his countrie. Vnto theſe perſwaſions, the Conſull (as it is reported) anſwered thus. When I looke into my ſelfe, my lorde *Fabius*, mee thinkes my beſt way were rather to fall vpon the enemies pikes, then once againe to light into the hands and voices of our citizens. Therefore, ſith the eſtate of the common wealth ſo requireth it, that it behoueth a man to doe as you haue ſaide: I will doe my beſt indeuour to ſhewe my ſelfe a wiſe captaine, for your ſake only, rather then for all other that ſhould aduiſe me to the contrarie. And ſo *Paulus* departed from ROME with this minde. But *Terentius* his companion would in any caſe, they ſhould cōmaund the whole armie by turnes, ech his day by himſelfe: and went to encampe hard by *Hanniball*, by the riuer of Aufide, neere vnto the village called CANNES. Now when it came to his day to commaund by turnes, early in the morning he cauſed the ſignall of battell to be ſet out, which was a coate armour of skarlet in graine, that they did lay out vpon the pauilion of the generall: ſo that the enemies at the firſt ſight, beganne to be affeard, to ſee the luſtineſſe of this new come generall, and the great number of ſouldiers he had alſo in his hoaſt, in compariſon of them that were not halfe ſo many. Yet *Hanniball* of a good courage, commaunded euery man to arme, and to put them ſelues in order of battell: and him ſelfe in the meane time taking his horſe backe, followed with a few, gallopped vp to the toppe of a litle hill not very ſteepe, from whence he might plainely diſcerne all the ROMAINES campe, and ſawe how they did range their men in order of battell. Now one *Giſcon* (a man of like ſtate and nobilitie as him ſelfe) being with him at that time, tolde him, that the enemies ſeemed a farre off to be a maruellous number. But *Hanniball* rubbing his forehead, aunſwered him. Yea, ſaid he, but there is another thing more to be wondred at then you thinke of *Giſcon*. *Giſcon* ſtraight asked him: What? marie ſaith he this: that, of all the great number of ſouldiers you ſee yonder, there is not a man of them called *Giſcon* as you are. This merry anſwere deliuered contrarie to their expectation that were with him, looking for ſome great waightie matter, made them all laugh a good. So downe the hill they came laughing a loud, and tolde this pretie ieaſt to all they met as they rode, which ſtraight from one to another ranne ouer all the campe, in ſo much as *Hanniball* himſelfe could not holde from laughing. The CARTHAGINIAN ſouldiers perceiuing this, beganne to be of a good courage, imagining that their generall would not be ſo merily diſpoſed as to fall a laughing, being ſo neere daunger, if he had not perceiued him ſelfe a great deale to be the ſtronger, and that he had good cauſe alſo to make no reckoning of his enemies. Furthermore, he ſhewed two policies of a skilfull captaine in the battell. The firſt was, the ſituation of the place, where he put his men in order of battell, ſo as they had the winde on their backes: which raging like a burning lightning, raiſed a ſharpe duſt out of

*The Romaines campe vnder Terentius Varro, 88000 men.*

*Fabius counſell to Paulus Aemilius.*

*Aufidius fl.*

*Hannibals ſtratagemes at the battell of Cannes.*

*Hannibals order of battell at Cannes.*

the open ſandy vallie,and paſſing ouer the CARTHAGINIANS ſquadron,blew full in the ROMAINES faces, with ſuch a violence, that they were compelled to turne their faces, & to trouble their owne rankes. The ſecond policie was, the forme and order of his battell. For he placed on either ſide of his winges, the beſt and valianteſt ſouldiers he had in all his armie: and did fill vp the middeſt of his battell with the worſt of his men, which he made like a point, and was farther out by a great deale, then the two winges of the front of his battell. So hee commaunded thoſe of the winges, that when the ROMAINES had broken his firſt front,and followed thoſe that gaue backe, whereby the middeſt of his battell ſhould leaue an hollowe place,and the enemies ſhould come in ſtill increaſing within the compaſſe of the two winges: that then they ſhould ſet vpon them on both ſides, and charge their flanks immediatly,and ſo incloſe them in behind. And this was cauſe of a greater ſlaughter. For when the middle battell beganne to giue backe, and to receiue the ROMAINES within it, who purſued the other very whotly, *Hannibals* battell chaunged her forme: and where at the beginning it was like a point, it became now in the middeſt like a creſſant or halfe moone. Then the captaines of the choſen bandes that lay out in both the winges, made their men to turne, ſome on the left hand, and ſome on the right, and charged the ROMAINES on the flankes, and behind, where they were all naked: ſo they killed all thoſe that could not ſaue themſelues by flying, before they were enuironned.

*The ſlaughter of the Romains at the battell of Cannes.*

They ſay alſo, that there fell out another miſchiefe by miſfortune, vnto the horſemen of the ROMAINES, and by this occaſion. The horſe of *Paulus Æmilius* the Conſull being hurt, did throwe his maſter on the ground: whereupon thoſe that were next him, did light from their horſe backes to helpe him. The reſidue of the horſemen that were a great way behinde him, ſeeing them light, thought they had beene all commaunded to light: hereupon euery man forſooke their horſe, and fought it out a foote. *Hanniball* when he ſaw that, ſaid: yea marie, I had rather haue them ſo, then deliuered me bound hand and foote. But for thoſe matters, the hiſtoriographers doe dilate more at large. Furthermore, of the two Conſuls, *Varro* ſaued himſelfe by his horſe, with a fewe following him, within the citie of VENVSA.

*Paulus Aemilius ſlaine at the battell of Cannes.*

*Paulus* being in the middeſt of the throng of all the armie, his bodie full of arrowes that ſtucke faſt in his woundes, and his heart ſore loden with grieuous ſorrowe and anguiſh to ſee the ouerthrow of his men: was ſet downe by a rocke, looking for ſome of his enemies, to come and rid him out of his paine. But fewe could knowe him, his head and face was of ſuch a gore bloud: inſomuch as his friendes and ſeruantes alſo paſſed by him, and knewe him not. And there was but one young gentleman of a noble houſe, of the *Patricians*, called *Cornelius Lentulus*, that knew him, who did his beſt endeuour to ſaue him. For he lighted a foote preſently, & brought him his horſe, praying him to get vp vpon him, to proue if he could ſaue him ſelfe for the neceſſitie of his countrie, which now more then euer had neede of a good and wiſe captaine. But he refuſed the gentlemans offer and his intreatie, and compelled him to take his horſe backe againe, though the teares ranne downe his cheekes for pittie: and raiſing himſelfe vp to take him by the hand, he ſaide vnto him. I pray you tell *Fabius Maximus* from me, and witneſſe with me, that *Paulus Æmilius* euen to his laſt houre hath followed his counſell, and did neuer ſwarue from the promiſe he made him: but that firſt he was forced to it by *Varro*, and afterwards by *Hanniball*. When he had deliuered theſe words, he bad *Lentulus* farewell: and running againe into the furie of the ſlaughter, there he died among his ſlaine companions.

*50000. Romaines ſlaine at the battell of Cannes.*

It is thought there were ſlaine at this battell, fiftie thouſand ROMAINES, and foure thouſand taken priſoners: and other ten thouſand that were taken priſoners in two campes after the battell. When this noble victorie was gotten, *Hannibals* friends gaue him counſell to follow his good fortune: and to enter ROME after the ſcattered number that fled thither: ſo as within fewe daies following he might ſuppe in their capitoll. A man cannot eaſily geſſe what was the cauſe that ſtayed him, that he went not, vnleſſe it was (as I thinke) ſome good fortune, or fauourable God toward the ROMAINES that withſtood him, & made him afeard and glad to retire. Whereupon they ſay, that one *Barca* a CARTHAGINIAN, in his anger ſaid to *Hanniball*: Sir, you haue the way to ouercome, but you cannot vſe victorie. Notwithſtanding, this victorie made a maruellous chaunge for him.

*All Italy reuolted and ſubmitted themſelues to Hanniball.*

For hereupon, all ITALY in manner came in to ſubmit them ſelues to him: where before he had no towne at commaundement, nor any ſtorehouſe or port through all ITALY, yea hee did maruellous hardly, and with much a doe vittell his army with that he could daily robbe and ſpoile, hauing no certaine place to retire vnto, nor grounded hope to entertaine theſe warres, but kept the field with his army, remouing from place to place, as they had bene a great nũber of murderers and theeues together. For the moſt part of the country, did yeeld immediatly vnto him: as the city of CAPVA, being the chiefeſt and greateſt city of all ITALY but ROME, and did receiue *Hanniball*, and were at his deuotion. Thus we may plainely ſee, that as the poet *Euripides* ſaieth: it is a great miſchiefe not onely to be driuen to make triall of friends, but proofe alſo of captaines wiſdome. For that which before they accounted cowardlineſſe and faint heart in *Fabius*, immediatly after the battell, they thought it more then mans reaſon, and rather a heauenly wiſdome and influence, that ſo long foreſaw the thinges to come, which the parties ſelues that afterwardes felt them, gaue litle credite vnto before. Vpon this occaſion, ROME repoſed incontinently all their hope and truſt in *Fabius*, and they repaired to him for counſell, as they would haue run vnto ſome temple or altar for ſanctuary. So as the firſt and chiefeſt cauſe of ſtaying the people together from diſperſing themſelues abroade, as they did when ROME was taken by the GAVLES: was the onely opinion and confidence they had in *Fabius* wiſedome. For where before he ſeemed to be a coward, and timerous, when there was no dannger nor misfortune happened: then when euery man wept and cried out for ſorrow, which could not helpe, and that all the world was ſo troubled that there was no order taken for any thing, he contrarily went alone vp and downe the city very modeſtly, with a bold conſtant countenaunce, ſpeaking curteouſly to euery one, and did appeaſe their womaniſh cries and lamentations, and did forbid the common aſſemblies and fond ceremonies, of lamenting the dead corſe at their burials. Then he perſwaded the Senat to aſſemble in counſell, and did comfort vp thoſe that were magiſtrates, and hee alone was the onely force and power of the city: for there was not a man that bare any office, but did caſt his eye vppon *Fabius*, to know what he ſhould do. He it was that cauſed the gates of the city ſtraight to be warded, and to keepe thoſe in for going their waie, that would haue forſaken the citie. Hee moreouer did appoint the time and place of mourning, and did commaund whoſoeuer was diſpoſed to mourne, that he ſhould doe it priuately in his owne houſe, and to continue onely but thirty daies. Then he willed all mourning to be left off, and that the city might be cleane from ſuch vnclean things. So the feaſt of *Ceres* falling about that time, he thought it better to leaue off the ſacrifices and proceſſion they were wont to keepe on *Ceres* day: then by their ſmall number that were left, and ſorrow of thoſe that remained, to let their enemies vnderſtand their exceeding great loſſe. For the goddes delight to be ſerued with glad and reioyſing hearts, and with thoſe that are in proſperity. But all this notwithſtanding, whatſoeuer the prieſts would haue done, either to pacifie the wrath of the goddes, or to turne away the threatninges of theſe ſiniſter ſignes, it was forthwith done. For they did ſend to the oracle of *Apollo*, in the citie of DELPHES, one of *Fabius* kinſemen ſurnamed *Pictor*. And two of the *Veſtall Nuns* being defloured: the one was buried aliue according to the law and cuſtome, and the other made her ſelfe away. But herein the great courage and noble clemency of the ROMAINES, is maruellouſly to be noted and regarded. For the Conſull *Terentius Varro* returning backe to ROME, with the ſhame of his extreame misfortune and ouerthrow, that he durſt not looke vpon any man: the Senate notwithſtanding, and all the people following them, went to the gates of the citie to meete him, and did honorably receiue him. Nay furthermore, thoſe that were the chiefe magiſtrates and Senators, among whom *Fabius* was one, when ſilence was made, they commended *Varro* much: becauſe he did not deſpaire of the preſeruation of the common weale after ſo great a calamitie, but did returne againe to the citie, to helpe to reduce things to order, in vſing the authoritie of the law, and the ſeruice of the citizens, as not being altogether vnder foote, but ſtanding yet in reaſonable termes of good recouerie. But when they vnderſtoode that *Hanniball* after the battell was gone into other partes of ITALIE: then they beganne to be of good cheere againe, and ſent a new army and generalles to the field, among which, the two chiefe generals were, *Fabius Maximus*, and *Claudius Marcellus*, both which by contrary meanes in manner, wanne a like glorie and reputation. For *Marcellus* (as we haue declared in his life, was a man

*Fabius conſtancy after the ouerthrow at Cannes.*

*Fabius order for mourning.*

*The magnanimity of the Romaines after the ouerthrow at Cannes.*

*Fabius Maximus, and Claudius Marcellus generalles.*

of ſpeedy execution, of a quicke hand, of a valiant nature, and a right martiall man, as *Homer* calleth them, that valiauntly put them ſelues in any daunger: by reaſon whereof, hauing to deale with another captaine a like venturous and valiaunt as him ſelfe, in all ſeruice and execution, he ſhewed the ſelfe boldneſſe and courage that ***Hanniball*** did. But ***Fabius*** perſiſting ſtill vppon his firſt determination, did hope that though he did not fight with ***Hanniball***, nor ſtur him at all, yet continuall warres would conſume him and his army in the end, and bring them both to naught: as a common wreſtler that forceth his body aboue his naturall ſtrength, doth in the end become a lame and bruſed man. Hereupon *Poſſidonius* writeth, that the one was called the ROMAINES ſword, and the other their target. And that ***Fabius*** conſtancy and reſoluteneſſe in warres to fight with ſecurity, and to commit nothing to hazard and daunger, being mingled with *Marcellus* heate and fury: was that onely, which preſerued the ROMAINS empire. For *Hanniball* meeting alwaies in his way the one that was furious, as a ſtrong running ſtreame, found that his army was continually turmoyled and ouerharried and the other that was ſlow as a litle prety riuer, he found that his army ranne ſoftly vnder him without any noiſe, but yet continually by litle and litle it did ſtill conſume and diminiſh him, vntill he ſaw him ſelfe at the laſt brought to that paſſe, that he was weary with fighting with *Marcellus*, and affraide of ***Fabius*** becauſe he fought not. For during all the time of theſe warres, he had euer theſe two captaines almoſt againſt him, which were made either Prætors, Conſuls, or Proconſuls: for either of them both had bene fiue times before choſen Conſull. Yet as for *Marcellus*: *Hanniball* had laide and ambuſh for him in the fift and laſt yeare of his Conſulſhippe, where he ſet vppon him on a ſodaine, and ſlue him. But as for ***Fabius***, he laide many baites for him, and did what he could by all the skill and reach he had, by ambuſhes, and other warlike policies to entrappe him: but he could neuer draw him within his daunger. Howbeit at one time he put him to a litle trouble, and was in good hope then to haue made him fall vppon his ambuſh he had laide for him: and by this policy. He had counterfeyted letters written and ſent vnto him from the city of METAPONT, to pray him to come to them, and they would deliuer their city into his handes: and withall, that ſuch as were priuy to the contents of the ſame, deſired no other thing but his repaire thither. Theſe letters pretily quickned ***Fabius***, inſomuch as he was determined one night to haue taken part of his army, and to haue gone to them. But becauſe the ſignes of the birdes did promiſe him no good ſucceſſe, he left off his purpoſe. Soone after he vnderſtoode they were counterfaite letters, made by ***Hannibals*** fine deuiſe to haue drawn him out, and to haue entrapped him, for whom him ſelfe lay in perſon in ambuſh neare the citie, looking and waiting for his comming: but the goddes who would haue him ſaued, were onely to be thanked for his happy ſcape. Furthermore, concerning the reuolt of the cities that were ſubiect vnto them, and the riſing of their allies and friends againſt them: ***Fabius*** thought it far better to intreat them curteouſly, making them aſhamed without occaſion to rebell againſt them, rather then openly to ſuſpect them, and to deale ſtraightly with thoſe that were ſo to be ſuſpected. Now for this matter, it is reported that ***Fabius*** had a ſouldier in his campe that was a MARSIAN borne by nation, a valiaunt man of his perſon, and alſo of as noble a houſe, as any that were of all the allies of the ROMAINES: who had practiſed with other his fellowes of the band he ſerued in, to go ſerue the enemy. ***Fabius*** hearing of this practiſe he went about, gaue him no ill countenaunce for it, but calling him to him, he ſaide. I muſt confeſſe there is no reckoning made of you, as your good ſeruice doth deſerue: wherefore for this time (ſaieth he) I blame the pety captaines onely, which in ſuch ſort doe beſtow their good will and fauour at aduenture, and not by deſert. But henceforth it ſhall be your owne fault if you doe not declare your mind vnto me, and betweene you and me make me priuy of your lacke and neceſſity. When he had ſpoken theſe wordes to him, he gaue him a very good horſe for ſeruice, and did reward him with other honorable giftes, as men of good ſeruice and deſert haue commonly beſtowed on them: and this did ſo encourage the ſouldier thenceforth, that he became a very faithfull and ſeruiceable ſouldier to the ROMAINES. For ***Fabius*** thought it more fit, that hunters, riders of horſes, and ſuch like as take vppon them to tame brute beaſts, ſhould ſooner make them leaue their ſauage and churliſh nature by gentle vſage and manning of them: then by beating, and

*Poſſidonius words of Fabius and Marcellus.*

*Marcellus ſlaine by an ambuſhe of Hannibals.*

*Hannibals ambuſhe laide for Fabius.*

*Fabius lenity in correcting of faultes.*

*Note how Fabius reclaimed an euill ſouldier.*

*Neceſſary rules for a captaine.*

ſhackling of them. And ſo a gouernour of men, ſhould rather correct his ſouldier by patience, gentlenes, and clemency: then by rigour, violence, or ſeuerity. Otherwiſe he ſhould handle them more rudely, and ſharpely, then husbandmen doe figge trees, oliue trees, & wilde pomegarnets: who by diligent pruning and good handling of them, doe alter their hard and wilde nature, and cauſe them in the end to bring forth good figs, oliues and pomegarnets. Another time certaine captaines of his brought him word, that there was one of their ſouldiers which would euer goe out of the campe, and leaue his enſigne. He asked them, what manner of man he was. They aunſwered him all together, that he was a very good ſouldier, and that they could hardly finde out ſuch another, in all their bandes as he: and therewithall they told him of ſome notable ſeruice they had ſeene him doe in perſon. Whereupon *Fabius* made a diligent enquiry to know what the cauſe was that made him goe ſo ofte out of the campe: in the end, he found he was in loue with a young woman, and that to goe ſee her was the cauſe he did ſo oft leaue his enſigne, and did put his life in ſo great daunger, for that ſhe was ſo farre off. When *Fabius* vnderſtood this, he ſent certaine ſouldiers (vnknowing to the ſouldier) to bring the woman away he loued, and willed them to hide her in his tent, and then called hee the ſouldier to him, that was a LVCANIAN borne, and taking him a ſide, ſayd vnto him thus. My friend, it hath bene told me, how thou haſt lyen many nightes out of the campe, againſt the law of armes, and order of the ROMAINES, but therewithall I vnderſtand alſo that otherwiſe thou art an honeſt man, and therefore I pardon thy faultes paſt, in conſideration of thy good ſeruice: but from henceforth I will giue thee in cuſtody to ſuch a one, as ſhall make me accompt of thee. The ſouldier was blancke when he heard theſe wordes. *Fabius* with that, cauſed the woman he was in loue with to be brought forth, and deliuered her into his hands, ſaying vnto him. This woman hereafter ſhall aunſwer me thy body to be forth comming in the campe amongeſt vs: and from henceforth thy deedes ſhall witneſſe for the reſt, that thy loue vnto this woman, may be no cloke of thy departing out of the campe for any wicked practiſe or intent. Thus much we finde written concerning this matter. Moreouer, *Fabius* after ſuch a ſort, recouered againe the city of TARENTVM, and brought it to the obedience of the ROMAINES, which they had loſt by treaſon. It fortuned there was a young man in his campe, a TARENTINE borne, that had a ſiſter within TARENTVM, which was very faithfull to him, and loued him maruellous dearely: now there was a captaine, a BRVTIAN borne, that fell in loue with her, and was one of thoſe to whom *Hanniball* had committed the charge of the city of TARENTVM. This gaue the young ſouldier the TARENTINE, very good hope, and way, to bring his enterpriſe to good effect: whereupon he reuealed his intent to *Fabius*, and with his priuity fled from his campe, and got into the city of TARENTVM, giuing it out in the city, that he would altogether dwell with his ſiſter. Now for a few dayes at his firſt comming, the BRVTIAN captaine lay alone by him ſelfe, at the requeſt of the maide his ſiſter, who thought her brother had not knowen of her loue: and ſhortly after the young fellowe tooke his ſiſter a ſide, and ſaide vnto her. My good ſiſter, there was a great ſpeach in the ROMAINES campe, that thou wert kept by one of the chiefeſt captaines of the garriſon: I pray thee if it be ſo, let me know what he is. For ſo he be a good fellow, and an honeſt man (as they ſay he is) I care not: for warres that turneth all thinges topſi turuey, regardeth not of what place or calling he is of, and ſtill maketh vertue of neceſſity, without reſpect of ſhame. And it is a ſpeciall good fortune, at ſuch time as neither right nor reaſon rules, to happen yet into the hands of a good and gracious Lord. His ſiſter hearing him ſpeake theſe wordes, ſent for the BRVTIAN captaine to bring him acquainted with her brother, who liked well of both their loues, and indeuoured himſelfe to frame his ſiſters loue in better ſort towards him, then it was before: by reaſon whereof, the captaine alſo beganne to truſt him very much. So this young TARENTINE ſaw it was very eaſie to winne and turne the minde of this amarous and mercenary man, with hope of great gifts that were promiſed him, and *Fabius* ſhould performe. Thus doe the moſt part of writers ſet downe this ſtorie. Howbeit ſome writers ſay, that this woman who wan the BRVTIAN captaine, was not a TARENTINE, but a BRVTIAN borne, whom *Fabius* it is ſayd, kept afterwards for his concubine: and that ſhee vnderſtanding the captaine of the BRVTIANS (who laie in garriſon within the city of TARENTVM) was

*How Fabius wanne Tarentum againe.*

*Tarentum won by a womans meanes.*

alſo a BRVTIAN borne, and of her owne natiue countrey, made *Fabius* priuy to her intent, and with his conſent, ſhe comming to the wals of the city, ſpake with this BRVTIAN captaine, whom ſhe handled in ſuch ſort, that ſhee wanne him. But whileſt this geare was a brewing, *Fabius*, becauſe he would traine *Hanniball* out of thoſe quarters, wrote vnto the ſouldiers of RHEGIO: which belonged to the ROMAINES, that they ſhould enter the borders of the BRVTIANS, and lay ſiege to the city of CAVLONIA, and raſe it to the ground. Theſe RHEGIAN ſouldiers were about the number of eight thouſand, and the moſt of them traytours, and runneagates, from one campe to another: and the worſt ſort of them, and moſt defamed of life, were thoſe that *Marcellus* brought thither out of SICILE, ſo that in loſing them all, the loſſe were nothing to the common weale, and the ſorrow much leſſe. So *Fabius* thought, that putting theſe fellowes out for a pray to *Hanniball* (as a ſtale to draw him from thoſe quarters) he ſhould plucke him by this meanes from TARENTVM: and ſo it came to paſſe. For *Hanniball* incontinently went thence with his army to intrappe them: and in the meane time *Fabius* went to lay ſiege to TARENTVM, where he had not lien ſixe daies before it, but the young man (who together with his ſiſter had drawen the BRVTIAN captaine to this treaſon) ſtale out one night to *Fabius*, to enforme him of all, hauing taken very good markes of that ſide of the wall the BRVTIAN captaine had taken charge of, who had promiſed him to keepe it ſecret, and to ſuffer them to enter, that came to aſſault that ſide. Yet *Fabius* would not ground his hope altogether vpon the BRVTIANS executing this treaſon, but went himſelfe in perſon to view the place appointed, howbeit without attempting any thing for that time: and in the meane ſeaſon, he gaue a generall aſſault to all partes of the city (as well by ſea as by land) with great ſhoutes and cries. Then the BRVTIAN captaine ſeeing all the citizens and garriſon run to that part, where they perceiued the noiſe to be greateſt: made a ſignall vnto *Fabius*, that now was the time. Who then cauſed ſcaling ladders to be brought a pace, whereupon himſelfe with his company ſcaled the walles, and ſo wanne the city. But it appeareth here, that ambition ouercame him. For firſt he commaunded they ſhould kill all the BRVTIANS, becauſe it ſhould not be knowen he had wonne the city by treaſon. But this bloudy policy failed him: for he miſſed not only of the glory he looked for, but moſt deſeruedly he had the reproche of cruelty and falſehood. At the taking of this city, a maruellous number of the TARENTINES were ſlaine, beſides there were ſold thirty thouſand of the chiefeſt of them, and al the city was ſacked: and of the ſpoile thereof was caried to the common ſtore treaſure at ROME, three thouſand talents. It is reported alſo, that when they did ſpoile and carie away all other ſpoiles left behinde, the recorder of the city asked *Fabius*, what his pleaſure was to doe with the goddes, meaning the tables, and their images: and to that *Fabius* aunſwered him. Let vs leaue the TARENTINES their goddes that be angry with them. This notwithſtanding, he caried from thence *Hercules* ſtatue, that was of a monſtrous bigneſſe, and cauſed it to be ſet vp in the Capitoll, and withall did ſet vp his owne image in braſſe a horſebacke by him. But in that act he ſhewed him ſelfe farre harder hearted, then *Marcellus* had done, or to ſay more truely, thereby he made the world know how much *Marcellus* curteſie, clemency, and bounty was to be wondred at: as we haue written in his life. Newes being brought to *Hanniball*, that TARENTVM was beſieged, he marched preſently with all ſpeede poſſible to raiſe the ſiege: and they ſay he had almoſt come in time, for he was within 40. furlongs of the city when he vnderſtoode the troth of the taking of it. Then ſayd he out aloud, ſure the ROMAINES haue their *Hanniball* to: for as we wanne TARENTVM, ſo haue we loſt it. But after that, to his friends he ſaid priuately (and that was the firſt time they euer heard him ſpeake it) that he ſaw long before, and now appeared plainely, that they could not poſſibly with this ſmall power keepe ITALY. *Fabius* made his triumphe and entry into ROME the ſecond time, by reaſon of taking this city: and his ſecond triumph was much more honorable then the firſt, as of a valiant captaine that held out ſtill with *Hanniball*, and eaſely met with all his fine policies, much like the ſlight tricks of a cunning wreſtler, which caried not now the former toughnes & ſtrength any more, becauſe that his army was giuen to take their eaſe, and growen too delicaſie, partly through the great riches they had gotten, and partly alſo for that it was ſore waſted and diminiſhed, through the ſundry foughten battelles and blowes they had beene at. Now there was one

*Fabius tooke the citie of Tarentum.*

*Fabius ambition cauſe of fowle murder.*

*Fabius ſecond triumph.*

*Marcus Liuius* a ROMAINE, that was gouernour of TARENTVM at that time, when *Hannibal* tooke it, and neuertheleſſe kept the caſtell ſtill out of *Hannibals* hands, and ſo held it vntill the citie came againe into the hands of the ROMAINES. This *Liuius* ſpighted to ſee ſuch honour done to *Fabius*, ſo that one day in open Senate, being drowned with enuie and ambition, he burſt out and ſaid: that it was himſelfe, not *Fabius*, that was cauſe of taking of the citie of TARENTVM againe. *Fabius* ſmiling to heare him, anſwered him openly: indeed thou ſaieſt true, for if thou hadſt not loſt it, I had neuer wonne it againe. But the ROMAINES in all other reſpects did greatly honour *Fabius*, and ſpecially for that they choſe his ſonne Conſul. He hauing alreadie taken poſſeſſion of his office, as he was diſpatching certaine cauſes touching the warres, his father (whether it was for debilitie of his age, or to prooue his ſonne) tooke his horſe to come to him, and rode through the preaſe of the people that thronged about him, hauing buſineſſe with him. But his ſonne ſeeing him comming a farre off, would not ſuffer it, but ſent an officer of his vnto him, to commaund him to light off his horſe, and to come a foote if he had any thing to do with the Conſull. This commaundement miſliked the people that heard it, and they all looked vpon *Fabius*, but ſaid not a word: thinking with themſelues, that the Conſull did great wrong to his fathers greatneſſe. So he lighted ſtraight, and went a good round pace to embrace his ſonne, and ſaid vnto him. You haue reaſon ſonne, and do well to ſhewe ouer whom you commaund, vnderſtanding the authoritie of a Conſull, which place you haue receiued. For it is the direct courſe, by the which we and our anceſters haue increaſed the ROMAINE empire: preferring euer the honour and ſtate of our countrie, aboue father, mother, or children. And truly they ſay, that *Fabius* great grandfather being the greateſt and moſt noble perſon of ROME in his time, hauing fiue times bene Conſull, and had obtained manie triumphes, for diuerſe honourable and ſundrie victories he had wonne: was contented after all theſe, to be his ſonnes lieutenant, and to go to the warres with him, he being choſen Conſull. And laſt of all, the Conſull his ſonne returning home to ROME a conqueror, in his triumphing charriot drawne with foure horſes, he followed him a horſe backe alſo, in troope with the reſt: thinking it honour to him, that hauing authoritie ouer his ſonne in the right of a father, and being alſo the nobleſt man of all the citizens, ſo taken and reputed, neuertheleſſe he willingly ſubmitted himſelfe to the lawe and magiſtrate, who had authoritie of him. Yet beſides all this, he had farre more excellent vertues to be had in admiration, then thoſe already ſpoken of. But it fortuned that this ſonne of *Fabius* died before him, whoſe death he tooke paciently, like a wiſe man, and a good father. Now the cuſtome being at that time, that at the death of a noble man, their neereſt kinſeman ſhould make a funerall oration in their praiſe at their obſequies: he himſelfe made the ſame oration in honour of his ſonne, and did openly ſpeake it in the market place, and moreouer wrote it, and deliuered it out abroad.

*Fabius wittie aunſwer.*

*A ſtrange commandemēt of the ſonne to the father.*

*The father obeyeth his ſonnes authoritie and commendeth him.*

About this time, *Cornelius Scipio* was ſent into SPAINE, who draue out the CARTHAGINIANS from thence, after he had ouerthrowne them in many battels, and had conquered many great cities, and greatly aduanced the honour and eſtimation of the ſtate of ROME: for the which at his returne, he was aſmuch, or rather more honoured, beloued and eſteemed, then any other that was in the citie of ROME. Hereupon *Scipio* being made Conſull, conſidered that the people of ROME looked for ſome great matter at his hands, aboue all other. Therefore he thought, to take vpon him to fight againſt *Hanniball* in ITALIE, he ſhould but follow the olde manner, and treade too much in the ſteps of the olde man: whereupon he reſolued immediatly to make warres in AFRICKE, and to burne and deſtroy the countrie euen vnto CARTHAGE gates, and ſo to transfer the warres out of ITALIE into LIBYA, procuring by all poſſible deuiſe he could, to put it into the peoples heads, and to make them like of it. But *Fabius* contrarilie, perſwading himſelfe that the enterpriſe this young raſhe youth tooke in hand, was vtterly to ouerthrowe the commonweale, or to put the ſtate of ROME in great danger: deuiſed to put ROME in the greateſt feare he could poſſible, without ſparing ſpeech or deede he thought might ſerue for his purpoſe, to make the people change from that minde. Now he could ſo cunningly worke his purpoſe, what with ſpeaking and doing, that he had drawne all the Senate to his opinion. But the people iudged, it was the ſecret enuie he bare to *Scipioes* glorie, that drue him to encounter this deuiſe, onely to bleamiſh *Scipioes* noble

*Scipio Conſull.*

*Fabius was againſt the counſell and deuiſe of Scipio African.*

*Craſſus, high biſhop of Rome.*

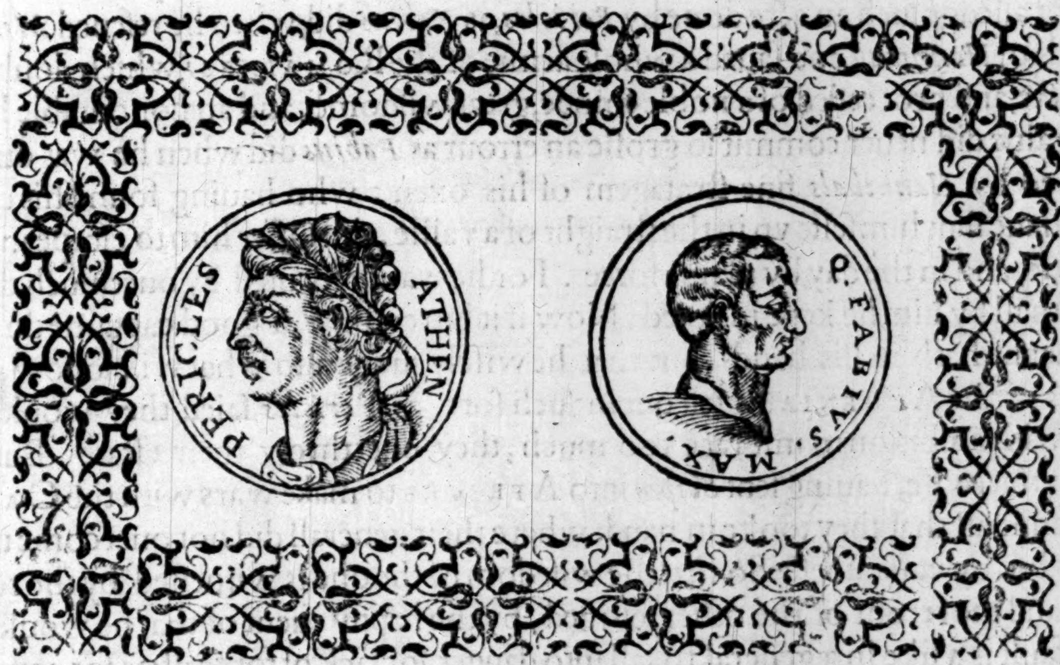
*The famous actes done in Africke by Scipio Africanus.*

fortune, fearing, leaſt if he ſhould happen to do ſome honourable ſeruice (as to make an end altogether of this warre, or otherwiſe to drawe *Hanniball* out of ITALIE) that then it would appeare to the world, he had bene too ſoft, or too negligent, to draw this warre out to ſuch a length. For my part, me thinkes the onely matter that mooued *Fabius* from the beginning to be againſt *Scipio*, was the great care he had of the ſafetie of the commonweale, by reaſon of the great danger depending vpon ſuch a reſolution. And yet I do thinke alſo, that afterwards he went further then he ſhould, contending too ſore againſt him (whether it was through ambition or obſtinacie) ſeeking to hinder and ſuppreſſe the greatneſſe of *Scipio*: conſidering alſo he did his beſt to perſwade *Craſſus*, *Scipioes* companion in the Conſulſhip, that he ſhould not graunt vnto him the leading of the armie, but if he thought good to go into AFRICKE, to make warres vpon the CARTHAGINIANS, that he ſhould rather go himſelfe. And moreouer, he was the let that they gaue him no money for maintenance of theſe warres. *Scipio* hereupon being turned ouer to his owne credit, to furniſh himſelfe as he could: he leauied great ſummes of money in the cities of THVSCAN, who for the great loue they bare him, made contribution towards his iourney. And *Craſſus* remained at home, both becauſe he was a ſoft and no ambitious, nor contentious man of nature: as alſo, becauſe he was the chiefeſt Prelate and high biſhop, who by the lawe of their religion, was conſtrained to keepe ROME. *Fabius* ſeeing his labour loſt that way, tooke againe another courſe to croſſe *Scipio*, deuiſing to ſtay the young men at home, that had great deſire to go this iourney with him. For he cried out with open mouth, in all aſſemblies of the Senate and people, that *Scipio* was not contented onely to flie *Hanniball*, but that he would carie with him beſides the whole force of ITALIE that remained: alluring the youth with ſweete baites of vaine hope, and perſwading them to leaue their wiues, their fathers, mothers, and their countrey, euen now when their enemie knocked at ROME gates, who did euer conquer, and was yet neuer conquered. Theſe words of *Fabius* did ſo dampe the ROMAINES, that they appointed *Scipio* ſhould furniſh his iourney onely with the armie that was in SICILIA, ſauing that he might ſupply to them if he would, three hundred of the beſt ſouldiers that had ſerued him faithfully in SPAINE. And ſo it doth appeare euen to this preſent, that *Fabius* both did and ſaid all things, according to his wonted manner, and naturall diſpoſition. Now *Scipio* was no ſooner arriued in AFRICKE, but newes were brought to ROME incontinently, of wonderfull exploits, and noble ſeruice done beyond meaſure: and of great ſpoiles taken by him, which argued the trothe of the newes. As, the king of the NVMIDIANS taken priſoner, two campes of the enemies burnt and deſtroyed at a time, with loſſe of a great number of people, armour, and horſes, that were conſumed in the ſame: letters and poſtes for life running in the neck one of another from CARTHAGE to call *Hanniball* home, and to pray him to hunt no longer after vaine hope that would neuer haue end, haſting himſelfe with all ſpeede poſſible to come to the reſcue of his countrie. Theſe wonderfull great fortunes of *Scipio*, made him of ſuch renowme and fame within ROME, that there was no talke but of *Scipio*. *Fabius* notwithſtanding deſiſted not to make a new requeſt, being of opinion they ſhould ſend him a ſucceſſour, alledging no other cauſe nor reaſon, but a common ſpeeche of euery bodie: that it was a dangerous thing to commit to the fortune of one man alone, ſo great exceeding proſperitie and good ſucceſſe, becauſe it is a rare matter to ſee one man happie in all things. Theſe words did ſo much miſlike the people, that they thought him an enuious troubleſome man, or elſe they thought his age had made him fearefull: and that his courage failed with his ſtrength, fearing *Hanniball* more doubtfully then he needed. For nowe though *Hanniball* was forced to leaue ITALIE, and to returne into AFRICKE, yet *Fabius* would not graunt, that the peoples ioy and ſecuritie they thought they were in, was altogether cleare, and without feare and miſtruſt: but gaue it out that then they were in greateſt danger, and that the commonweale was breeding more miſchiefe now, then before. For when *Hanniball* (ſaid he) ſhall returne home into AFRICKE, and come before CARTHAGE walles, the ROMAINES ſhall be leſſe able to abide him there, then they haue bene before: and *Scipio* moreouer, ſhall meete with an armie yet warme, and embrued with the bloud of ſo many Prætors, Dictators, and Conſuls of ROME, which they haue ouercome, and put to the ſword in ITALIE. With theſe vncomfortable ſpeeches, he ſtill troubled and diſquieted the whole citie, perſwading them that notwithſtanding the warre was transferred out of ITALIE into AFRICK, yet that the occaſion of feare was no leſſe neere vnto ROME, then it was euer before. But within ſhort ſpace after, *Scipio* hauing ouercome *Hanniball* in plaine battell in the field, and troden vnder foote the glory and pride of CARTHAGE, he brought a greater ioy to ROME, then they euer looked for: and by this noble victorie of his, he ſhored vp againe the declining ſtate of the empire of ROME, which a litle before was falling downe right. Howbeit *Fabius* liued not to the end of this warre, nor euer heard while he liued the ioyfull newes of *Hannibals* happy ouerthrow, neither were his yeres prolonged to ſee the happy aſſured proſperitie of his countrie: for about that time that *Hanniball* departed out of ITALIE, a ſickneſſe tooke him, whereof he died. The ſtories declare, that the THEBANS buried *Epaminondas*, at the common charges of the people: becauſe he died in ſo great pouertie, that when he was dead, they found nothing in the houſe but a litle iron ſpit. Now the ROMAINES buried not *Fabius* ſo, at the common charge of the citie, but euery man of beneuolence gaue towards his funerall charges, a peece of coine that caried the leaſt value of their currant money: not for that he lacked abilitie to bring him to the ground, but onely to honour his memory: in making his obſequies at their charges, as of one that had bene their common father. So had his vertuous life, an honourable end and buriall.

*The death of Fabius Max.*

*The funerals of Epaminondas.*

# THE COMPARISON OF
## *Pericles with Fabius.*



HERE haue you heard what is written, of theſe two great perſons. And foraſmuch as they haue both left behinde them, many noble examples of vertue, aſwel in martiall matters, as in ciuil gouernment, let vs begin to compare them together. Firſt of all, *Pericles* began to gouerne the commonweale, at what time the people of ATHENS were in their chiefeſt proſperitie, and of greater power and wealth, then euer they had bene of before or ſince. The which might ſeeme to be a cauſe of the continuall maintenance of the ſame in ſecuritie without danger of falling, not ſo much for their worthineſſe, as for their common power and felicitie: where contrariwiſe *Fabius* acts fell out in the moſt diſhonorable & vnfortunate time, that euer happened to his countrie, in the which he did not only keepe the citie in good ſtate from declining, but raiſed it vp, and deliuered it from calamitie, and brought it to be better then he found it. Furthermore, *Cimons* great good fortune and ſucceſſe, the victories and triumphes of *Myronides*, and of *Leocrates*, and many notable valiant deedes of armes of *Tolmides*, gaue good cauſe to *Pericles*, to entertaine his citie in feaſts, and playes, whileſt he did gouerne the ſame: and he did not finde it in ſuch ill caſe and diſtreſſe, that he was driuen to defend it by force of armes, or to conquer that againe which he had loſt. But *Fabius* in contrary manner, when he ſaw before him many ouerthrowes, great flying away, much murther, great ſlaughters of the generals of the ROMAINE armies, the lakes, the plaines, the woods filled with ſcattered men, the people ouercome, the flouds and riuers running all a gore bloud (by reaſon of the great ſlaughter) and the ſtreame carying downe the dead bodies to the maine ſea: did take in hande the gouernment of his countrie, and a courſe farre contrarie to all other: ſo as he did vnderproppe and ſhore vp the ſame, that he kept it from flat falling to the ground, amongeſt thoſe ruines and ouerthrowes other had brought it too, before him. Yet a man may ſay alſo, that it is no great matter of difficultie to rule a citie already brought lowe by aduerſitie, and which compelled by neceſſitie, is contented to be gouerned by a wiſe man: as it is to bridle and keepe vnder the inſolencie of a people, puft vp with pride, and preſumption of long proſperitie, as *Pericles* found it amongſt the ATHENIANS. The great multitude alſo of ſo many grieuous calamities, as lighted on the ROMAINES neckes at that time, did plainely ſhew *Fabius* to be a graue and a conſtant man, which would neuer giue way vnto the importunate cries of the common people, nor could euer be remooued from that he had at the firſt determined. The winning and recouering againe of TARENTVM, may well be compared to the taking of SAMOS, which *Pericles* wan by force: and the cities of CAMPANIA, vnto the Ile of EVBOEA: excepting the citie of CAPVA, which the Conſuls *Fuluius* and *Appius* recouered againe. But it ſeemeth that *Fabius* neuer wanne battell, ſaue that onely for which he triumphed the firſt time: where *Pericles* ſet vp nine triumphes, of battels and victories he had wonne, aſwell by ſea as by land. And ſo alſo, they cannot alledge ſuch an acte done by *Pericles*, as *Fabius* did, when he reſcued *Minutius* out of the hands of *Hanniball*, and ſaued a whole armie of the ROMAINES: which doubtleſſe was a famous acte, and proceeded of a noble minde, great wiſdome, and an honourable heart. But *Pericles*, againe did neuer commit ſo groſſe an errour as *Fabius* did when he was outreached, and deceiued by *Hannibals* fine ſtratagem of his oxen: who hauing found his enemie by chance to haue ſhut himſelfe vp in the ſtraight of a vallie, did ſuffer him to eſcape in the night by a ſubtiltie, and in the day by plaine force. For he was preuented by ouermuch delaye, and fought withall by him he kept incloſed. Now if it be requiſite, a good captaine do not onely vſe well that he hath in his hands, but that he wiſely iudge alſo what will follow after, then the warres of the ATHENIANS fell out in ſuch ſort, as *Pericles* ſaied they would come to paſſe: for with ambition to imbrace too much, they ouerthrew their eſtate. But the ROMAINS contrariwiſe, hauing ſent *Scipio* into AFRICKE to make wars with the CARTHAGINIANS, wanne all that they tooke in hand: where their generall did not ouercome the enemy by fortune, but by valiantneſſe. So that the wiſedom of the one is witneſſed, by the ruine of his countrie: and the errour of the other teſtified, by the happy euent of that he would haue let. Now the fault is a like in a general, to fall into danger, for lack of forecaſt: as for cowardlineſſe to let ſlip a fit opportunitie offred, to do any notable peece of ſeruice. For like default and lack of experience, maketh the one too hardie, and the other too fearfull. And thus much touching the warres. Now for ciuill gouernement: it was a foule blot to *Pericles*, to be the author of warres. For it is thought, that he alone was the cauſe of the ſame, for that he would not haue them yeeld to the LACEDÆMONIANS in any reſpect. And yet me thinkes *Fabius Maximus* alſo would no more giue place vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, but ſtood firme and bold in all danger, to maintaine the empire of his countrie againſt them. But the goodneſſe and clemencie *Fabius* ſhewed vnto *Minutius*, doth much condemne *Pericles* accuſations and practiſes, againſt *Cimon* and *Thucydides*: both of them being noble and good men, and taking part with the Nobilitie, whom he expulſed out of ATHENS, and baniſhed for a time. So was *Pericles* power & authoritie in the commonweale greater: by reaſon whereof he did euer foreſee, that no general in all his time did raſhly attempt any thing hurtful vnto the commonweale, except *Tolmides* only: who fled from him, & in deſpight of him went to fight with the BOEOTIANS where he was ſlaine. As for all other generals, they wholly put themſelues into his hands, and did obey him for the greatneſſe of his authoritie. But *Fabius*, although for his part he neuer

*The gift of a good generall.*

*The faults of generals.*

*The compariſon betwixt Pericles and Fabius for ciuil gouernment.*

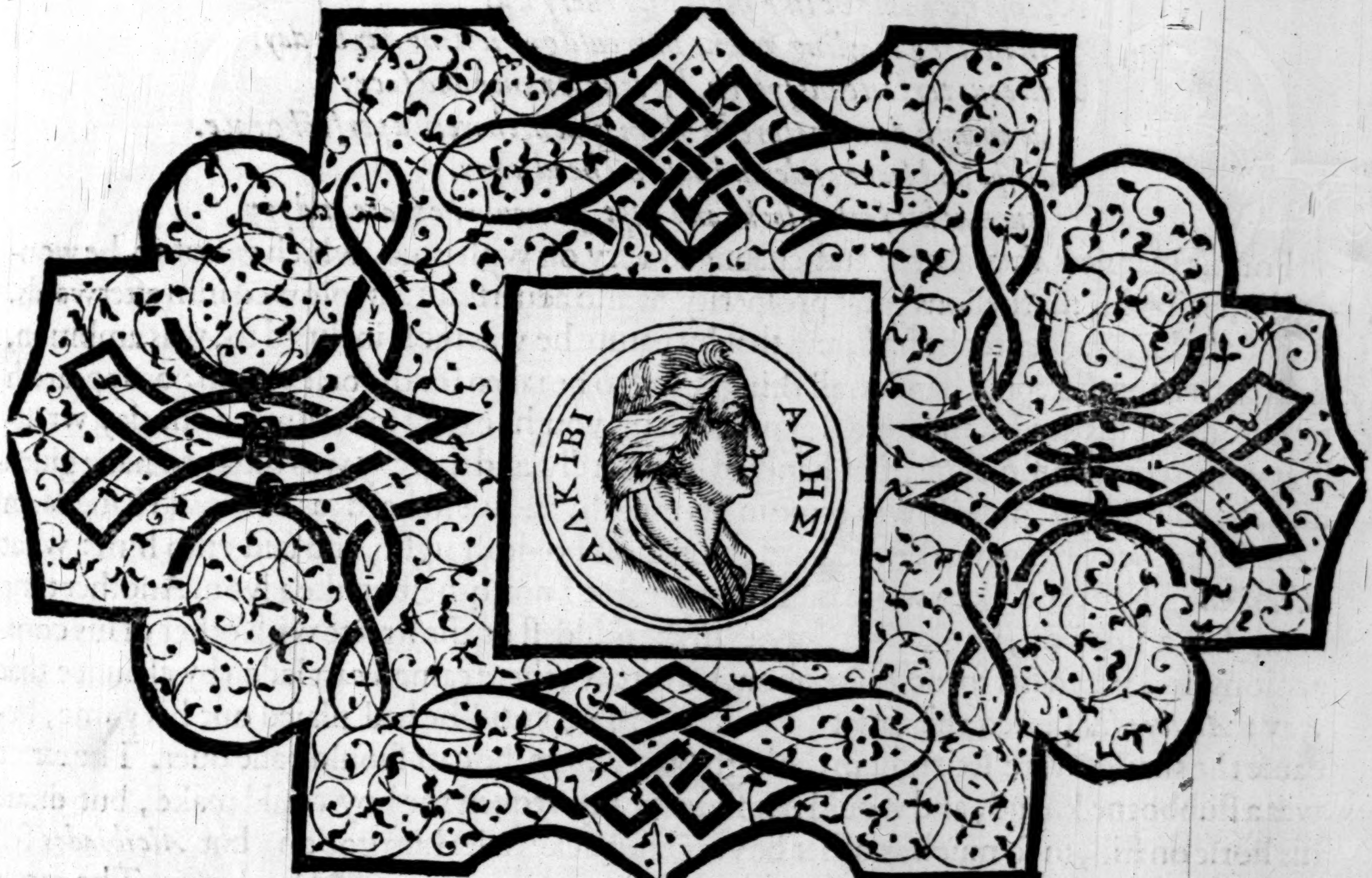
committed any fault, and that he went orderly to worke in all gouernement: yet becauſe he was not of power to keepe other from doing ill, it ſeemeth in this reſpect he was defectiue. For if *Fabius* had caried like authoritie in ROME, as *Pericles* did in ATHENS: the ROMAINES had not fallen into ſo great miſerie as they did. And for liberalitie: the one ſhewed it, in refuſing the money offred him: and the other, in giuing vnto thoſe that needed, and redeeming his poore captiue country men. And yet *Fabius* might diſpend no great reuenue. for his whole receiptes came only to ſixe talents. But for Pericles, it is hard to ſay how rich he was, who had comming in to him, great preſents by his authoritie, aſwell of the ſubiects, as of the friends and allies of the ATHENIANS, as alſo of Kings and ſtraunge Princes: yet he neuer tooke bribe for all that, of any perſon liuing. And to conclude, as for the ſumptuous building of temples, the ſtately workes and common buildings: put all the ornaments together that euer were in ROME, before the times of the *Cæſars*, they are not to be compared with thoſe, wherewith *Pericles* did beautifie and adorne the citie of ATHENS. For neither in qualitie nor quantitie was there any proportion or like compariſon, betweene the exceeding ſumptuouſnes of the one, and of the other.

*Fabius reuenue.*

*The buildings of Rome nothing comparable to Pericles workes.*

*The end of Fabius Maximus life.*

# THE LIFE OF *Alcibiades.*



ALCIBIADES by his fathers ſide, was anciently deſcended of *Euryſaces*, that was the ſonne of *Aiax*, and by his mother ſide of *Alcmæon*: for his mother *Dinomacha*, was the daughter of *Megacles*. His father *Clinias* hauing armed, and ſet forth a gallie, at his owne proper coſtes and charges, did winne great honour in the battell by ſea, that was fought alongeſt the coaſt of ARTEMISIVM, and he was ſlaine afterwardes in another battell fought at CORONEA, againſt the BOEOTIANS. His ſonne *Alcibiades* tutors, were Pericles, and *Ariphron Xanthippus* ſonnes: who were alſo his neere kinſmen. They ſay, and truely: that *Socrates* good will and friendſhippe did greatly further *Alcibiades* honour. For

*Alcibiades ſtocke.*

*Alcibiades tutors.*

*The mothers of famous men neuer knowen what they were.*

*Alcibiades beautie.*

*Alcibiades liſped by nature.*

it appeareth not, neither was it euer written, what were the names of the mothers of *Nicias*, of *Demoſthenes*, of *Lamachus*, of *Phormion*, of *Thraſibulus*, and of *Theramenes*: all which were notable famous men in their time. And to the contrarie, we find the nource of *Alcibiades*, that ſhe was a LACEDÆMONIAN borne, and was called *Amicla*, and that his ſchoolemaſter was called *Zopyrus*: of the which, *Antiſthenes* mentioneth the one, and *Plato* the other. Now for *Alcibiades* beautie, it made no matter if we ſpeake not of it, yet I will a litle touch it by the way: for he was wonderfull faire, being a child, a boy, and a man, and that at all times, which made him maruellous amiable, and beloued of euery man. For where *Euripides* ſaith, that of all the faire times of the yere, the Autumne or latter ſeaſon is the faireſt: that commonly falleth not out true. And yet it proued true in *Alcibiades*, though in few other: for he was paſſing faire euen to his latter time, and of good temperature of bodie. They write of him alſo, that his tongue was ſomewhat fat, and it did not become him ill, but gaue a certaine naturall pleaſant grace in his talke: which *Ariſtophanes* mentioneth, mocking one *Theorus* that did counterfaite a liſping grace with his tongue.

** The equiuocation of theſe two Greeke wordes* Κορα *and* Κολα, *is hard to be expreſſed in Engliſh, in ſtead whereof I haue ſet flatling blowes, for flattering browes, obſeruing the grace of liſping as neere as I could, like to the Latin and French tranſlations, likewiſe Theolus for Theorus.*

*This Alcibiades, with his fat liſping tongue,*
*into mine eares, this truſtie tale, and ſong full often ſung.*
*Looke vpon* Theolus *(quoth he) lo there he bowes,*
*behold his comely crow-bright face with fat and* flatling blowes.*
*The ſonne of* Clinias, *would liſpe it thus ſomewhiles,*
*and ſure he liſped neuer a lie, but rightly hit his wiles.*

And *Archippus* another poet alſo, mocking the ſonne of *Alcibiades*, ſaith thus:

*Becauſe he would be like his father euery way*
*in his long trayling gowne he would goe ietting day by day.*
*And counterfaite his ſpeech, his countenance and face:*
*as though dame nature had him giuen, therein a perfect grace.*
*To liſpe and looke aſide, and hold his head awry,*
*euen as his father lookt and liſpt, ſo would he prate and pry.*

*Alcibiades ambitious.*

*Alcibiades ſtudies.*

*A vile thing to play of a flute.*

For his manners they altered and chaunged very oft with time, which is not to be wondred at, ſeeing his maruellous great proſperity, as alſo aduerſitie that folowed him afterwards. But of all the great deſires he had, and that by nature he was moſt inclined to, was ambition, ſeeking to haue the vpper hand in all things, and to be taken for the beſt perſon: as appeareth by certaine of his deedes, and notable ſayings in his youth, extant in writing. One day wreſtling with a companion of his, that handled him hardly, and thereby was likely to haue giuen him the fall: he got his fellowes arme in his mouth, and bit ſo hard, as he would haue eaten it off. The other feeling him bite ſo hard, let goe his holde ſtraight, and ſaid vnto him: what *Alcibiades*, biteſt thou like a woman? No marie doe I not (q; he) but like a lyon. Another time being but a litle boy, he plaide at skayles in the middeſt of the ſtreete with other of his companions, and when his turne came about to throw, there came a cart laden by chaunce that way: *Alcibiades* praied the carter to ſtaie a while, vntill he had plaied out his game, becauſe the skailes were ſet right in the high way where the cart ſhould paſſe ouer. The carter was a ſtubborne knaue, and would not ſtaie for any requeſt the boy could make, but draue his horſe on ſtill, in ſo much as other boyes gaue backe to let him goe on: but *Alcibiades* fell flat to the ground before the cart, and bad the carter driue ouer and he durſt. The carter being afeard, plucked backe his horſe to ſtaie them: the neighbours flighted to ſee the daunger, ranne to the boy in all haſte crying out. Afterwards when he was put to ſchoole to learne, he was very obedient to all his maſters that taught him any thing, ſauing that he diſdained to learne to plaie of the flute or recorder: ſaying, that it was no gentlemanly qualitie. For, ſaide he, to play on the violl with a ſticke, doth not alter mans fauour, nor diſgraceth any gentleman: but otherwiſe, to play on the flute, his countenance altereth and chaungeth ſo oft, that his familiar friends can ſcant know him. Moreouer, the harpe or violl doth not let him that plaieth on them, from ſpeaking, or ſinging as he playeth: where he that playeth on the flute, holdeth his mouth ſo hard to it, that it taketh not onely his wordes from him, but his voice. Therefore, ſaid he, let the children of the THEBANS play on the flute, that cannot tell how to ſpeake: as for the ATHENIANS, we haue (as our forefathers tell vs) for protectors and patrones of our countrie, the goddeſſe *Pallas*, and the god *Apollo*: of the which the one in olde time (as it is ſaide) brake the flute, and the other pulled his skinne ouer his eares, that plaied vpon a flute. Thus *Alcibiades* alledging theſe reaſons, partly in ſport, and partly in good earneſt: did not onely himſelfe leaue to learne to play on the flute, but he turned his companions mindes alſo quite from it. For theſe wordes of *Alcibiades*, ranne from boy to boy incontinently: that *Alcibiades* had reaſon to deſpiſe playing on the flute, and that hee mocked all thoſe that learned to play on it. So afterwards, it fell out at ATHENS, that teaching to play on the flute, was put out of the number of honeſt and liberall exerciſes, and the flute it ſelfe was thought a vile inſtrument, and of no reputation. Furthermore, in the accuſations *Antiphon* wrote againſt *Alcibiades*, it is declared: that when he was a boy, he fled out of his tutors houſe, into the houſe of *Democrates* one of his louers, and how *Ariphron* one of his tutors thought to haue made a beadle crie him through the citie. But P*ericles* would not ſuffer him, ſaying: that if he were dead, they ſhould know it but one day ſooner by crying of him: and if he were aliue, that it would be ſuch a ſhame to him while he liued, that he had bene better he had neuer bene heard of againe. The ſame *Antiphon* accuſeth him further, that he had killed a ſeruant of his that attended on him, in the wreſtling place of *Sibyrtius*, with a blow of a ſtaffe. But there is no reaſon to credite his writing, who confeſſeth he ſpeaketh all the ill he can of him, for the ill will he did beare him. Now ſtraight there were many great and rich men that made much of *Alcibiades*, and were glad to get his good will. But *Socrates* loue vnto him had another ende and cauſe, which witneſſed that *Alcibiades* had a naturall inclination to vertue. Who perceiuing that vertue did appeare in him, and was ioyned with the other beautie of his face and bodie, and fearing the corruption of riches, dignitie and authoritie, and the great number of his companions, as well of the chiefeſt of the citie, as of ſtraungers, ſeeking to entiſe him by flatterie, and by many other pleaſures: hee tooke vpon him to protect him from them all, and not to ſuffer ſo goodly an ympe to looſe the hope of the good frute of his youth. For fortune doth neuer ſo intangle nor ſnare a man without, with that which they commonly call riches, as to let and hinder him ſo, that philoſophy ſhould not take holde on him with her free, ſeuere, and quicke reaſons. So *Alcibiades* was at the beginning, aſſaied with all delightes, and ſhut vp as it were in their companie that feaſted him with all pleaſures, only to turne him that he ſhould not hearken to *Socrates* wordes, who ſought to bring him vp at his charge, and to teach him. But *Alcibiades* notwithſtanding, hauing a good naturall wit, knewe what *Socrates* was, and went to him, refuſing the companie of all his rich friendes and their flatteries, and fell in a kinde of familiar friendſhippe with *Socrates*. Whom when he had heard ſpeake, he noted his wordes very well, that they were no perſwaſions of a man ſeeking his diſhoneſty, but one that gaue him good counſell, and went about to reforme his faultes and imperfections, and to plucke downe the pride and preſumption that was in him: then, as the common prouerbe ſaith,

*Socrates loue to Alcibiades.*

*Like to the crauen cocke, he drooped downe his winges,*
*which cowardly doth runne away, or from the pit out flinges.*

And did thinke with himſelf, that all *Socrates* loue & following of yong men, was indeede a thing ſent from the goddes, & ordeined aboue for them, whom they would haue preſerued, and put into the path way of honour. Therefore he beganne to deſpiſe himſelfe, and greatly to reuerence *Socrates*, taking pleaſure of his good vſing of him, and much imbraced his vertue: ſo as he had (he wiſt not how) an image of loue grauen in his heart, or rather (as P*lato* ſaieth) a mutuall loue, to wit, an holy & honeſt affection towards *Socrates*. Inſomuch as all the world wondred at *Alcibiades*, to ſee him commonly at *Socrates* board, to play, to wreſtle, and to lodge in the warres with *Socrates*: and contrarily to chide his other well willers, who could not ſo much as haue a good looke at his handes, and beſides became daungerous to ſome, as it is ſaide he was vnto *Anytus*, the ſonne of *Anthemion*, being one of thoſe that loued him well. *Anytus* making good cheere to certaine ſtraungers his friendes that were come to ſee him, went and praied *Alcibiades* to come and make merie with them: but he refuſed to goe. For he went to make merie with certaine of his companions at his own houſe, & after he had well

*Alcibiades inſolencie vnto Anytus.*

taken in his cuppes, he went to *Anytus* houſe to counterfeate the foole amongeſt them, and ſtaying at the hall doore, and ſeeing *Anytus* table and cubberd full of plate of ſiluer and golde, he commaunded his ſeruants to take away halfe of it, and carie it home to his houſe. But when he had thus taken his pleaſure, he would come no neerer into the houſe, but went his way home. *Anytus* friendes and gueſtes miſliking this ſtraunge part of *Alcibiades*, ſaide it was ſhamefully and boldly done ſo to abuſe *Anytus*. Nay, gently done of him, ſaide *Anytus*: for he hath left vs ſome, where he might haue taken all. All other alſo that made much of him, he ſerued after that ſort. Sauing a ſtraunger that came to dwell in ATHENS: who being but a poore man as the voyce went, ſold all that he had, whereof he made about a hundred ſtateres which he brought vnto *Alcibiades*, and praied him to take it at his hands. *Alcibiades* beganne to be merie, and being very glad to vnderſtand his good will towards him, tooke his honeſt offer, and praied him to come to ſupper to him: ſo he welcomed him very hartily, and made him good cheere. When ſupper was done, he gaue him his money againe, and commaunded him not to faile the next morning to meete him where the farmes and landes of the citie are wont to be let out to thoſe that bid moſt, and charged him he ſhould out bid all. The poore man would faine haue excuſed himſelfe, ſaying, the farmes were too great for him to hire: but *Alcibiades* threatned to whippe him, if he would not doe it. For beſides the deſire he had to pleaſure him, he bare a priuate grudge againſt the ordinarie farmers of the citie. The next morning the ſtraunger was readie in the market place, where they did cry out the letting of their farmes, and he raiſed one to a talent more, then all other did offer. The other farmers were as mad with him as they could be, that they all did ſet vpon him, crying out: let him put in ſuertie ſtraight, ſuppoſing he could haue found none. The ſtraunger was maruellous blanke thereat, and beganne to ſhrinke backe. Then cried *Alcibiades* out aloud to the officers that ſate there to take the beſt offers: I will be his ſuertie, ſaieth he, put me in the booke, for he is a friend of mine. The farmers hearing him ſay ſo, were at their wittes ende, and wiſte not what to doe. For they being alwaies accuſtomed to pay their yerely rent as it went before, by the helpe of the reſt of the yeres that followed after: perceiuing nowe that they ſhould not be able to pay the arrerages of the rentes due to the common weale, and ſeeing no other remedie, they praied him to take a peece of money, and to leaue the bargaine. Then *Alcibiades* would in no wiſe he ſhould take leſſe then a talent, which they gaue him willingly. So *Alcibiades* ſuffered the ſtraunger then to depart, and made him gaine by his deuiſe. Now *Socrates* loue which he bare him, though it had many mightie and great aduerſaries, yet it did ſtaie much *Alcibiades*, ſometime by his gentle nature, ſometime by his graue counſell and aduiſe: ſo as the reaſon thereof tooke ſo deepe roote in him, and did ſo peirce his heart, that many times the teares ranne downe his cheekes. Another time alſo being caried away with the intiſement of flatterers, that helde vp his humour with all pleaſure and delightes, he ſtole away from *Socrates*, and made him runne after him to fetch him againe, as if he had bene a ſlaue that had runne away from his maſters houſe: for *Alcibiades* ſtoode in awe of no man but of *Socrates* only, and in deede he did reuerence him, and did deſpiſe all other. And therefore *Cleanthes* was wont to ſay, that *Alcibiades* was held of *Socrates* by the eares: but that he gaue his other louers holde, which *Socrates* neuer ſought for: for to ſay truely, *Alcibiades* was much giuen ouer to luſt and pleaſure. And peraduenture it was that *Thucydides* ment of him, when he wrote that he was incontinent of bodie, and diſſolute of life. Thoſe that marred *Alcibiades* quite, did ſtill pricke forward his ambition and deſire of honour, and did put him in the head to thruſt himſelfe into great matters betimes, making him beleeue that if he did but once beginne to ſhewe himſelfe to deale in matters of ſtate, he would not onely blemiſh and deface all other gouernours, but farre excell P*ericles*, in authoritie and power among the GRECIANS. For like as iron by fire is made ſoft, to be wrought in any forme, and by colde alſo doth ſhut and harden in againe: euen ſo *Alcibiades* being puffed vp with vanitie and opinion of himſelfe, as oft as *Socrates* tooke him in hande, was made faſt and firme againe by his good perſwaſions, inſomuch that when he ſaw his owne fault and follie, and how farre wide he had ſtraied from vertue, he became ſodainely very humble and lowly againe. Now on a time when he was growen to mans ſtate, he went into a grammer ſchoole, and asked the

ſchoole-

*Alcibiades liberall fact.*

*Alcibiades ranne from Socrates.*

*Alcibiades giuen to pleaſure.*

ſcholemaiſter for one of *Homers* bookes. The ſchoolemaiſter aunſwered him, he had none of them: *Alcibiades* vp with his fiſte and gaue him a good boxe on the eare, and went his way. Another grammarian told him on a time he had *Homer* which he had corrected. *Alcibiades* replied, why what meaneſt thou, to ſtand teaching litle children their abce, when thou art able to correct *Homer*, and to teach young men, not boyes? Another time he came and knocked at *Pericles* gate, deſirous to ſpeake with him: aunſwere was made him, he was not at leyſure now, for that he was buſily occupied by himſelf, thinking on his reckonnings he had to make with the ATHENIANS. Why, ſaid he, going his way: it were better he were occupied, thinking how to make no accompt at all. Moreouer, being but a young boie, he was at the iourney of POTIDÆA, where he laie ſtill with *Socrates*, who would neuer let him be from him in all battels and skirmiſhes he was in: among which there was one, very whot and bloudy, where they both fought valiantly, and *Alcibiades* was hurt. But *Socrates* ſtepped before him, and did defend him ſo valiantly before them all, that he ſaued him and his weapon out of the enemies handes. So the honour of this fight out of doubt, in equitie and reaſon, was due vnto *Socrates*: but yet the captaines would faine haue iudged it on *Alcibiades* ſide, becauſe he was of a noble houſe. But *Socrates*, becauſe he would increaſe his deſire of honor, & would pricke him forward to honeſt and commendable things, was the very firſt that witneſſed *Alcibiades* had deſerued it: and therefore praide the captaines to iudge him the crowne and complet armour. Afterwards, in the battell of DELION, the ATHENIANS hauing receiued the ouerthrow, *Socrates* retired with a few other a foote. *Alcibiades* being on horſe backe, and ouertaking him, would not goe from him, but kept him company, and defended him againſt a troupe of his enemies that followed him, and ſlue many of his company. But that was a prety while after, and before he gaue a boxe of the eare vnto *Hipponicus*, *Callias* father: who was one of the greateſt men of power in the city, being a noble man borne, and of great poſſeſſions, which was done vpon a brauerie and certaine luſtines, as hauing laid a wager with his companions he would doe it, and for no malice or quarrell that hee bare the man. This light part was ſtraight ouer all the citie, and euerie one that heard it, ſaide it was lewdly done. But *Alcibiades* the next morning went to his houſe, and knocking at his gate was let in: ſo he ſtripping him ſelfe before him, deliuered him his body to be whipped, and puniſhed at his pleaſure. *Hipponicus* pardoned him, and was friends with him, & gaue him his daughter *Hipparete* afterwardes in mariage. Howbeit ſome ſay, it was not *Hipponicus* that gaue her to him: but *Callias* ſonne, with ten talents of gold with her. Afterwards at the birth of the firſt childe hee had by her, he asked ten talents more, ſaying: they were promiſed him vpon the contract, if his wife had children. But *Callias* fearing leaſt this was an occaſion ſought of him to lye in waite to kill him for his goods: declared openly to the people, that he made him his heire general, if he died without heires ſpeciall of his body. This gentlewoman *Hipparete* being an honeſt true wife to *Alcibiades*, miſliking her husband did ſo much miſuſe her, as to entertain cõmon light ſtrũpets, aſwell citizens as ſtrangers: ſhe went abroad one day to her brothers houſe, and tolde him of it. *Alcibiades* paſſed not for it, and made no further reckonning of the matter: but only bad his wife, if ſhe would, preſent her cauſe of diuorce before the iudge. So ſhee went thither her ſelfe, to ſue the diuorce betweene them, according to the law: but *Alcibiades* being there alſo, tooke her by the hand, and caried her through the market place home to his houſe, and no man durſt meddle betweene them, to take her from him. And ſo ſhee continued with him all the daies of her life, which was not long after: for ſhe died, when *Alcibiades* was in his iourney he made to EPHESVS. This force *Alcibiades* vſed, was not thought altogether vnlawfull, nor vnciuill, becauſe it ſeemeth that the law was grounded vpon this cauſe: that the wife, which would be diuorced from her husband, ſhould goe her ſelfe openly before the iudge to put vp her complaint, to the end, that by this meanes, the husband might come to ſpeake with his wife, and ſeeke to ſtay her if he could. *Alcibiades* had a maruellous faire great dogge, that coſt him three ſcore and tenne minas, and he cut off his taile that was his chiefe beautie. When his friends reproued him, and told him how euerie man blamed him for it: he fell a laughing, and told them he had that he ſought. For, ſaith he, I would haue the ATHENIANS rather prate vpon that, then they ſhould ſay worſe of me. Moreouer, it is ſaide, the firſt time

*Alcibiades ſtrake a ſchoolmaſter, becauſe he had not Homer in his ſchoole.*

*Alcibiades firſt ſouldier fare with Socrates.*

*Alcibiades ſaued by Socrates*

*Alcibiades ſaued Socrates life after the ouerthrow at the battell of Delion.*

*Alcibiades maried.*

*Hipparete ſueth to be diuorced from Alcibiades.*

*Alcibiades great dogge.*

*Alcibiades largeſſe.*

*Alcibiades comming into the common wealth.*

*Alcibiades maruellous eloquent.*

*Alcibiades wit and imperfection.*

that *Alcibiades* ſpake openly in the common weale, and beganne to deale in matters, was vpon a gift of money he gaue vnto the people, & not of any pretence or former purpoſe he had to do it. One day as he came through the market place, hearing the people very loud, he asked what the matter was: they told him it was about money certain men had giuen to the people. Then *Alcibiades* went to them, and gaue them money out of his owne purſe. The people were ſo glad at that, as they fell to ſhouting and clapping of their hands, in token of thankfullnes: and him ſelfe was ſo glad for company, that hee forgat a quaile he had vnder his gowne, which was ſo afeard of the noiſe, that ſhe tooke her flight away. The people ſeeing the quaile, made a greater noiſe then before, and many roſe out of their places to runne after her: ſo that in the end, it was taken vp by a maſter of a ſhip called *Antiochus*, who brought him the quaile again, & for that cauſe *Alcibiades* did loue him euer after. Now albeit the nobility of his houſe, his goods, his worthines, and the great number of his kinſmen and friends made his way open to take vpon him gouernment in the common weale. Yet the onely way he deſired to winne the fauour of the common people by, was the grace of his eloquence. To prooue he was eloquent, all the Comicall poets do teſtifie it: and beſides them, *Demoſthenes* the prince of orators alſo doth ſay, in an oration he made againſt *Midias*, that *Alcibiades* aboue all other qualities he had, was moſt eloquent. And if we may beleeue *Theophraſtus*, the greateſt ſearcher of antiquities, & beſt hiſtoriographer aboue any other philoſopher: he hath written, that *Alcibiades* had as good a wit to deuiſe & conſider what he would ſay, as any man that was in his time Howbeit ſometimes ſtudying what he ſhould ſay, as alſo to deliuer good wordes, not hauing them very readily at his tongues end: he many times tooke breath by the way, and pauſed in the middeſt of his tale, not ſpeaking a word, vntill he had called it to mind, that he would ſay His charge was great, and much ſpoken of alſo, for keeping of running horſes at games: not onely becauſe they were the beſt and ſwifteſt, but for the number of coches hee had beſides. For neuer priuat perſon, no nor any prince, that euer ſent ſeuen ſo well appointed coches, in all furniture vnto the games Olympicall, as he did: nor that at one courſe hath borne away the firſt, the ſecond, and the fourth priſe, as *Thucydides* ſaieth: or as *Euripides* reporteth, the third. For in that game, he excelled all men in honour and name that euer ſtriued for victory therein. For *Euripides* pronounced his praiſe, in a ſong he made of him, as followeth.

*Alcibiades victory at the games Olympicall.*

*O ſonne of Clinias, I will reſound thy praiſe:*
*for thou art bold in martiall deedes, and ouercommeſt alwaies.*
*Thy victories therewith, doe farre exceede the reſt,*
*that euer were in Greece ygot, therefore I compt them beſt.*
*For at th Olympike games, thou haſt with chariots wonne,*
*the firſt priſe, ſecond, third and all, which there in race were ronne.*
*VVith praiſe and litle paine, thy head hath twiſe bene crownde,*
*with oliue boughes for victorie, and twiſe by trumpets ſound,*
*The Herauldes haue proclaimed thee victor by thy name:*
*aboue all thoſe which ranne with thee, in hope to get the game.*

*Alcibiades a breaker of promiſe.*

Howbeit the good affection diuers cities did beare him, contending which ſhould gratifie him beſt, did much increaſe his fame and honour. For the EPHESIANS did ſet vp a tent for him, verie ſumptuouſly and richly furniſhed. Thoſe of the citie of CHIO, furniſhed him with prouander for his horſe, and gaue him muttons beſides, and other beaſtes to ſacrifice withall. They of LESBOS alſo ſent him in wine and other prouiſion for vittels, to helpe him to defray the great charges he was at in keeping open houſe, and feeding ſuch a number of mouths dailie. Yet the ſpite they did beare him, or rather his breach of promiſe which hee often made, with this magnificence and ſtate he ſhewed, gaue the people more cauſe to ſpeake of him then before. For they ſay there was one *Diomedes* at ATHENS, a friend of *Alcibiades*, and no ill man, who deſired once in his life to win a game at the playes Olympicall. This man being enformed that the ARGIVES had a coch excellently furniſhed, belonging to their common weale, and knowing that *Alcibiades* could do very much in the citie of ARGOS, becauſe he had many friends in the ſame: he came to intreate *Alcibiades* to buie this coche for him. *Alcibiades* thereupon bought it, but kept it to him ſelfe, not regarding *Diomedes* requeſt hee had made. *Diomedes* ſeeing that fell ſtarke mad for anger, and called the gods and men to witneſſes, that *Alcibiades* did him open wrong: and it ſeemeth, that there fell out ſute in law vpon the ſame. For *Iſocrates* wrote an oration, and drue a plea in defence of *Alcibiades*, being yet but a childe, touching a couple of horſes: yet in this plea, his aduerſarie was called *Tiſias*, and not *Diomedes*. Furthermore, *Alcibiades* being yet but a young man, when he came to practiſe and pleade publikelie, he put all other Orators to ſilence, but only two that were euer againſt him: the one was *Phæax* the ſonne of *Eraſiſtratus*, and the other *Nicias* the ſonne of *Niceratus*. Of theſe two, *Nicias* was a man growen, and had won the name and reputation of a good captaine. And *Phæax* began alſo to come forward as he did, being of a good and honourable houſe: but he lacked many things, and among other, eloquence ſpecially. For, he could more properly talke and diſcourſe among his friends priuately, then he had any good grace to open a matter openly before the people. For he had, as *Eupolis* ſayeth:

*VVords enow, but no eloquence.*

*Alcibiades aduerſaries in the commonwealth when he came to plead.*

*Phæax lacked eloquence.*

There is a certaine oration extant in writing againſt *Alcibiades* and *Phæax*: where among other accuſations is brought in, how *Alcibiades* was ordinarily ſerued in his houſe, with gold and ſiluer plate that belonged to the common weale, and which were vſed to be born for ſtate and magnificence, in ſolemne proceſſions before them, and how he vſed them as boldly, as if they had bene his own. Now there was one *Hyperbolus* in ATHENS at that time, borne in the village of Perithoide: of whō *Thucydides* maketh mention, as of a naughty wicked mā, whoſe tongue was a fit inſtrument to deliuer matter to all the Comicall poets of that time, to powre out all their taunts and mocks againſt them. Howbeit he was ſo impudent a perſon, and cared ſo litle what men ſaid of him, that he paſſed not though hee were defamed, neither did anie thing grieue him, whatſoeuer they reported of him: which ſome do call boldnes, and corage, being no better indeede then plaine impudency, extreme madnes, & deſperate folly. He would neuer pleaſe any man: and if the common people had any grudge to any noble man or magiſtrate, whom they would any way accuſe, *Hyperbolus* wicked tongue was their inſtrument to vtter their ſpite. Now the people (by *Hyperbolus* procurement) being aſſembled, were ready to proceede to the baniſhment of *Oſtraciſmon* by moſt voices. The manner and cuſtome of this kinde of baniſhment was for a time to baniſh out of their citie ſuch a one, as ſeemed to haue too great authority and credit in the city: and that was, rather to ſatisfie their enuy, then for to remedy their feare. And becauſe it was manifeſt it would fall out to one of them three to be baniſhed (to wit, *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, or *Phæax*) *Alcibiades* found means to ioine all their three factions in one, becomming friends one to another: and hauing conferred with *Nicias* about it, he made *Hyperbolus* ſelfe to be baniſhed, who was the chiefe inſtrument to prepare the way of their baniſhment. Howbeit other ſay, he ſpake not with *Nicias* about it, but with *Phæax*, and ioyning his part with *Phæax*, he cauſed *Hyperbolus* to be baniſhed, who fearing nothing leſſe: for it was neuer ſeene before, that a man of meane countenance, and of ſmall authority, fell into the hap of this baniſhment. As *Plato* the Comicall poet teſtifieth, ſpeaking of *Hyperbolus*.

*The manner of the puniſhment of the Oſtraciſmon.*

*Hyperbolus baniſhed for 10. yeares.*

*Although for his deſert, this paine to him is due,*
*or greater puniſhment prepard, the which might make him rue:*
*Yet ſince he was by birth, a perſon meane and baſe,*
*ſuch puniſhment therefore did ſeeme (for him) too great of grace.*
*Since Oſtraciſmon was, not made at firſt to be.*
*nor yet deuiſde as puniſhment, for ſuch meane folke as he.*

But of this matter, we haue ſpoken more at large before: and now to returne againe to *Alcibiades*. *Nicias* had great reputation among ſtraungers, and his enemies grieued at it no leſſe, then at the honour the citizens ſelues did vnto him. For his houſe was the common inne for all LACEDÆMONIANS when they came to ATHENS, and they euer laie with him: moreouer he had very well entertained the LACEDÆMON priſoners that were taken at the fort of PYLE. And afterwards when peace was concluded betweene LACEDÆMON and ATHENS, and their priſoners redeliuered home againe by *Nicias* meanes onely and procurement: they loued him more then euer they did before. This was blowen abroade through GREECE, that Pericles had kindled the warres amongeſt them, and *Nicias* had quenched

*Nicias peace. Alcibiades breaketh the peace of the Grecians.*

it: ſo ſome called this peace *Nicium*, as one would ſay, *Nicias* worke. But *Alcibiades* ſtomaking this, and enuying *Nicias* glorie, determined to breake the peace whatſoeuer came of it. Wherefore to compaſſe this matter, knowing firſt of all that the ARGIVES had no liking of the LACEDÆMONIANS, but were their mortall enemies, and that they did but ſeeke matter to fall out with them: he ſecretly put them in hope of peace and league with the ATHENIANS. Moreouer hee did perſwade them to it, both by letters and word of mouth, ſpeaking with the magiſtrates, and ſuch as had greateſt authority and credite amongeſt the people: declaring vnto them, that they ſhould not feare the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor yeelde to them at all, but to ſticke to the ATHENIANS, who would ſoone repent them of the peace they had made, and breake it with them. Afterwards when the LACEDÆMONIANS had made league with the BOEOTIANS, and had redeliuered the city of PANACTVM to the ATHENIANS, all defaced and ſpoyled, contrarie to the league: *Alcibiades* perceiuing how the people were much offended thereat, made them more earneſt againſt them, and therewithall brought *Nicias* in diſgrace with the people, and charged him with many matters of great likelyhood. As at that time when he was generall: that hee would neuer take anie of the LACEDÆMONIANS, when they were ſhut vp within the Ile of SPHACTERIA, and much leſſe diſtreſſe them when he might: and moreouer that when other had taken them priſoners by force, that hee had found the meanes to deliuer them, and ſend them home againe, to gratifie the LACEDÆMONIANS. Furthermore, that being their friend, hee did not his duety to diſſwade the people from making of league offenſiue, & defenſiue with the BOEOTIANS and the CORINTHIANS: and againe alſo, if there were any people of GREECE that had a deſire to become friends and allies with the ATHENIANS, that he did the beſt he could to let them, if the LACEDÆMONIANS had no liking of the matter. Now as *Nicias* was thus in diſgrace with the people, for the cauſes aboue ſayd: in the middeſt of this ſturre, ambaſſadours came by chance from LACEDÆMON to ATHENS, who at their comming gaue very good wordes, ſaying they had full power and commiſſion to compound all controuerſies, vnder reaſonable and equall conditions. The Senate heard them, and receiued them curteouſly, and the people the next day ſhould aſſemble in counſell to giue them audience: which *Alcibiades* fearing much, he went to labour the ambaſſadours, and ſpake with them apart in this ſort. What meane you, my Lordes of SPARTA: doe yee not know that the Senate hath alwaies accuſtomed to be gracious and fauourable vnto thoſe that ſue vnto them for any matter, and that the people contrarily are of a proude nature, and deſirous to imbrace all great matters? If therefore at the firſt ſight, yee doe giue them to vnderſtand that you are come hither with full power, to treat freely with them in all manner of cauſes: doe you not thinke that they make you ſtretch your authoritie farre, to graunt them all that they will demaund. Therefore, my Lords ambaſſadours, if you looke for indifferency at the ATHENIANS hands, and that they ſhall not preaſe you too farre againſt your willes, to graunt them any thing of aduantage: I would wiſhe you a litle to couer your full commiſſion, and in open manner to propound certaine articles, and reaſonable capitulations of peace, not acquainting them otherwiſe with your full power to agree in all things: and for my part, I will aſſure you of my good will in fauour of the LACEDÆMONIANS. When he had tolde them this tale, he gaue them his faithfull promiſe, and vowed as it were to performe his word Hereupon *Alcibiades* turned the ambaſſadours from the truſt they repoſed in *Nicias*, and wanne them on his ſide: in ſo much as they gaue credite to no man but to him, wondring much at his great wiſedome & ready wit, and they thought him a rare and notable man. The next morning the people were aſſembled to giue the ambaſſadours audience. They were ſent for, and brought into the market place. There *Alcibiades* gently aſked them, what was the cauſe of their comming. They aunſwered: that they were come to treate of peace, but they had no power to determine any thing. Then beganne *Alcibiades* to be angrie with them, as if they had done him wrong, and not he anie to them: calling them vnfaithfull, vnconſtant, and fickle men, that were come neither to doe, nor ſay any thing worth the hearing. The Senate alſo were offended with them, and the people rated them very roughly: whereat *Nicias* was ſo aſhamed and amaſed withall, that hee could not tell what to ſay, to ſee ſo ſodaine a chaunge, knowing nothing of *Alcibiades* malice and

*Alcibiades beguileth the Lacedæmonians.*

ſubtill practiſe with the ambaſſadours. So the ambaſſadours of Lacedæmon were diſpatched without any thing done, and *Alcibiades* choſen generall: who preſently brought the Argives, the Elians, and the Mantinians in league with the Athenians. Though no man did commend this practiſe of his, in working it after this ſort: yet was it a maruellous thing of him to deuiſe to put all Peloponnesvs in armes, and to procure ſuch a number of ſouldiers againſt the Lacedæmonians, as he did before the citie of Mantinea, and to ſhift off the miſeries of warre and hazard of battell, ſo farre from Athens. Which if the Lacedæmonians did winne, could not profit them much: and if they loſt it, they could hardly ſaue their citie of Sparta. After this battell of Mantinea, the thouſand men whom the citie by an ancient order did keepe continually in pay, aſwell in peace as in warre, within the citie of Argos, thinking now opportunitie ſerued them very trimly: attempted to take the ſoueraigne authoritie from the common people, and to make themſelues Lords of the citie. And to bring this to paſſe, the Lacedæmonians comming in the meane time, did aide them in their purpoſe, and ſo did put downe the gouernement of the people: notwithſtanding, immediatly after the people tooke armes againe, and became the ſtronger. *Alcibiades* comming thither euen at that time, did warrant them the victorie, and ſo ſet vp againe the authoritie of the people. Then he perſwaded them to make their walles longer to ioyne their citie to the ſea, to the end they might more eaſily be ayded by ſea, by the Athenians. He brought them alſo from Athens, many carpenters, maſons, ſtone hewers, and other workmen: and to conclude, he ſhewed them by all the meanes and waies he could, that he did beare good will vnto them, and thereby wanne himſelfe no leſſe fauour particularly among them, then generally he did good vnto his countrie. He did perſwade alſo the citizens of Patras to ioyne their towne to the ſea, by making long walles, which they built out euen to the cliffes of the ſea. And when one ſaid vnto them, alas, poore people of Patras, what do yee meane? the Athenians will eate you out. *Alcibiades* anſwered him, it may well be, but it ſhall be by litle and litle, beginning firſt at the feete: but the Lacedæmonians will deuoure you all at once, and begin at the head. Now although *Alcibiades* did make the citie of Athens ſtrong by ſea, yet he did not leaue to perſwade the Athenians alſo, to make themſelues ſtrong by land. For he did put the young men oftentimes in minde of the othe they were made to ſweare in Agravlos, and did aduiſe them to accompliſh it in deed. Which was, that they ſhould take all corne fields, vines, and olyue trees, to be the borders and confines of Attica, whereby they were taught to reckon all land theirs, that was manured, and did bring forth fruite. Yet with all theſe goodly deedes and faire words of *Alcibiades*, and with this great courage and quickneſſe of vnderſtanding, he had many great faults and imperfections. For he was too daintie in his fare, wantonly giuen vnto light women, riotous in bankets, vaine and womaniſh in apparrell: he ware euer a long purple gowne that ſwept the market place as he walked vp and downe, it had ſuch a traine, and was too riche and coſtly for him to weare. And following theſe vaine pleaſures and delights, when he was in his galley, he cauſed the planckes of the poope thereof to be cut and broken vp, that he might lie the ſofter: for his bed was not laide vpon the ouerlop, but lay vpon girthes ſtrained ouer the hole, cut out and faſtened to the ſides, and he caried to the warres with him a gilded ſcutchion, wherein he had no cognizance, nor ordinarie deuiſe of the Athenians, but onely had the image of *Cupid* in it, holding lightning in his hand. The noblemen, and beſt cittizens of Athens perceiuing this, they hated his faſhions and conditions, and were much offended at him, and were afeard withall of his raſhneſſe and inſolencie: he did ſo contemne the lawes and cuſtomes of their countrie, being manifeſt tokens of a man that aſpired to be King, and would ſubuert and turne all ouer hand. And as for the good will of the common people towards him, the poet *Ariſtophanes* doth plainely expreſſe it in theſe words:

*Alcibiades choſen generall.*

*The walles brought to the ſea by the Argiues.*

*Alcibiades ryot.*

*The people moſt deſire, what moſt they hate to haue:*
*and what their minde abhorres, euen that they ſeeme to craue.*

And in another place he ſaid alſo, aggrauating the ſuſpition they had of him.

*For ſtate or commonweale, much better ſhould it be,*
*to keepe within the countrie none ſuch lyons lookes as he.*

*But if they needs will keepe, a lyon to their coſt,*
*then muſt they needs obey his will for he will rule the roſte.*

*Alcibiades diſhoneſtie & wantonneſſe.*

*Archeſtratus ſaying.*

*Alcibiades the author of the warres in Sicilia.*

For to ſay truely: his curteſies, his liberalities, and noble expences to ſhew the people ſo great pleaſure and paſtime as nothing could be more: the glorious memorie of his aunceſters, the grace of his eloquence, the beautie of his perſon, the ſtrength and valiantneſſe of his body, ioyned together with his wiſedome and experience in martiall affaires: were the very cauſes that made them to beare with him in all things, and that the ATHENIANS did paciently endure all his light parts, and did couer his faults, with the beſt wordes and termes they could, calling them youthfull, and gentlemens ſports. As when he kept *Agartharcus* the painter priſoner in his houſe by force, vntill he had painted all his walles within: and when he had done, did let him go, and rewarded him very honeſtly for his paines. Againe when he gaue a boxe of the eare to *Taureas*, who did pay the whole charges of a companie of common plaiers, in ſpight of him, to carie away the honour of the games. Alſo when he tooke away a young woman of MELIA by his authoritie, that was taken among certaine priſoners in the warres, and kept her for his concubine: by whom he had a childe, which he cauſed to be brought vp. Which they called a worke of charitie, albeit afterwards they burthened him, that he was the onely cauſe of murthering of the poore MELIANS, ſauing the litle children, becauſe he had fauoured and perſwaded that vnnaturall and wicked decree, which another had propounded. Likewiſe where one *Ariſtophon* a painter, had painted a curtiſan named *Nemea*, holding *Alcibiades* in her armes, and ſitting in her lap, which all the people ran to ſee, and tooke great pleaſure to behold it: the graue and ancient men, were angrie at theſe fooliſh parts, accompting them impudent things, and done againſt all ciuill modeſtie and temperancie. Wherfore it ſeemed *Archeſtratus* words were ſpoken to good purpoſe, when he ſaid, that GREECE could not abide two *Alcibiades* at once. And on a day as he came from the counſell and aſſembly of the citie, where he had made an excellent oration, to the great good liking and acceptation of all the hearers, and by meanes thereof had obtained the thing he deſired, and was accompanied with a great traine that followed him to his honour: *Timon*, ſurnamed *Miſanthropus* (as who would ſay, *Loup-garou*, or the manhater) meeting *Alcibiades* thus accompanied, did not paſſe by him, nor gaue him way (as he was wont to do all other men) but went ſtraight to him, and tooke him by the hand, and ſaid. O, thou dooſt well my ſonne, I can thee thanke, that thou goeſt on, and climeſt vp ſtill: for if euer thou be in authoritie, woe be vnto thoſe that follow thee, for they are vtterly vndone. When they heard theſe words, thoſe that ſtood by fell a laughing: other reuiled *Timon*, other againe marked well his words, and thought of them many a time after, ſuch ſundrie opinions they had of him for the vnconſtancie of his life, and waiwardneſſe of his nature and conditions. Now for the taking of SICILE, the ATHENIANS did maruellouſlie couet it in *Pericles* life, but yet they did not medle withall, vntill after his death: and then they did it at the firſt vnder colour of friendſhip, as ayding thoſe cities which were oppreſſed, and ſpoiled by the SYRACVSANS. This was in manner a plaine bridge made, to paſſe afterwards a greater power and armie thither. Howbeit the onely procurer of the ATHENIANS, and perſwader of them, to ſend ſmall companies thither no more, but to enter with a great armie at once to conquer all the countrie together, was *Alcibiades*: who had ſo allured the people with his pleaſant tongue, that vpon his perſwaſion, they built caſtles in the ayre, and thought to do greater wonders, by winning onely of SICILIA. For where other did ſet their mindes vpon the conqueſt of SICILE, being that they only hoped after: it was to *Alcibiades*, but a beginning of further enterpriſes. And where *Nicias* commonly in all his perſwaſions, did turne the ATHENIANS from their purpoſe to make warres againſt the SYRACVSANS, as being too great a matter for them to take the citie of SYRACVSA: *Alcibiades* againe had a further reache in his head, to go conquer LIBYA, and CARTHAGE, and that being conquered, to paſſe from thence into ITALIE, and ſo to PELOPONNESVS: ſo that SICILIA ſhould ſerue but to furniſh them with victuals, and to pay the ſouldiers for their conqueſts which he had imagined. Thus the young men were incontinently caried away with a maruellous hope and opinion of this iorney, and gaue good eare to old mens tales that told thẽ wonders of the countries: inſomuch as there was no other paſtime nor exerciſe among the youth in their meetings,but companies of men to ſet round together, drawe plats of SICILE,and deſcribe the ſcituation of LIBYA and CARTHAGE. And yet they ſay,that neither *Socrates* the Philoſopher,nor *Meton* the Aſtronomer did euer hope to ſee any good ſucceſſe of this iourney. For the one by the reuealing of his familiar ſpirit, who told him all things to come,as was thought,had no great opinion of it: and *Meton*, whether it was for the feare of the ſucceſſe of the iourney he had by reaſon, or that he knew by diuination of his arte what would follow, he counterfeited the mad man, and holding a burning torche in his hand,made as though he would haue ſet his houſe a fire. Other ſay,that he did not counterfeit, but like a mad man indeed did ſet his houſe a fire one night, & that the next morning betimes he went into the market place to pray the people,that in conſideration of his great loſſe & his grieuous calamity ſo late happened him,it would pleaſe them to diſcharge his ſonne for going this voyage. So by this mad deuiſe, he obteined his requeſt of the people for his ſonne,whom he abuſed much. But *Nicias* againſt his will was choſen captaine, to take charge of men in theſe warres: who miſliked this iourney,aſwell for his companion and aſſociate in the charge of theſe wars,as for other misfortunes he foreſaw therin. Howbeit the ATHENIANS thought the warre would fall out well, if they did not commit it wholly to *Alcibiades* raſhneſſe and hardineſſe,but did ioyne with him the wiſedome of *Nicias*: and appointed *Lamachus* alſo for their third captaine,whom they ſent thither, though he were waxen now ſomewhat olde, as one that had ſhewed him ſelfe no leſſe venturous and hardie in ſome battels, then *Alcibiades* himſelfe. Now when they came to reſolue of the number of ſouldiers, the furniture and order of theſe warres, *Nicias* ſought crookedly to thwart this iourney, and to breake it off altogether: but *Alcibiades* withſtood him,and got the better hand of him. There was an orator called *Demoſtratus*, who mooued the people alſo, that the captaines whom they had choſen for theſe warres: might haue full power and authoritie to leauie men at their diſcretion, and to make ſuch preparation as they thought good: whereunto the people condeſcended, and did authoriſe them. But when they were euen ready to go their way, many ſignes of ill ſucceſſe lighted in the neck one of another: and amongſt the reſt this was one. That they were commanded to take ſhip,on the day of the celebration of the feaſt of *Adonia*, on the which the cuſtome is,that women do ſet vp in diuers places of the citie,in the middeſt of the ſtreets,images, like to dead corſes which they carie to buriall, and they repreſent the mourning and lamentations made at the funerals of the dead, with blubbering, and beating themſelues, in token of the ſorrow the goddeſſe *Venus* made,for the death of her friend *Adonis*. Moreouer,the *Hermes* (which are the images of *Mercurie*,and were wont to be ſet vp in euery lane and ſtreete) were found in a night all hacked and hewed, and mangled ſpecially in their faces: but this put diuerſe in great feare and trouble,yet euen thoſe that made no accompt of ſuch toyes. Wherevpon it was alledged that it might be the CORINTHIANS that did it, or procured that leude acte to be done,fauouring the SYRACVSANS, who were their neere kinſemen, and had bene the firſt founders of them,imagining vpon this ill token,it might be a cauſe to breake off the enterpriſe, and to make the people repent them, that they had taken this warre in hand. Neuertheleſſe,the people would not allow this excuſe, neither hearken to their words that ſaied, they ſhould not reckon of any ſuch ſignes or tokens, and that they were but ſome light brained youthes, that being tippled, had played this ſhamefull part in their brauerie, or for ſporte. But for all theſe reaſons, they tooke theſe ſignes very greeuouſlie, and were in deed not a litle afeard, as thinking vndoubtedly that no man durſt haue bene ſo bolde to haue done ſuch an abhominable facte, but that there was ſome conſpiracie in the matter. Hereupon, they looked vpon euery ſuſpition and coniecture that might be (how litle or vnlikely ſoeuer it were) and that very ſeuerely: and both Senate and people alſo met in counſell vpon it, very oft, and in a fewe dayes. Now whileſt they were buſilie ſearching out the matter, *Androcles* a common counſeller, and oratour in the commonwealth, brought before the counſell certaine ſlaues and ſtrangers that dwelt in ATHENS: who depoſed that *Alcibiades*, and other of his friends and companions, had hacked and mangled other images after that ſort, and in a mockerie had counterfeited alſo in a banket that he made, the ceremonies of the holy myſteries, declaring theſe matters particularly. How one *Theodorus* counterfeited

*The diuination of Socrates and Meton.*

*Images hewen and mangled at Athens.*

*Alcibiades accuſed for prophaning the holy myſteries.*

the herauld, that is wonte to make the proclamations: *Polytion* the torche bearer, and *Alcibiades* the prieſt, who ſheweth the holy ſignes and myſteries: and that his other companions were the aſſiſtants, as thoſe that make ſute to be receiued into their religion and order, and into the brotherhood of their holy myſteries, whom for this cauſe they call *Myſtes*. Theſe very words are written in the accuſation *Theſſalus* (*Cimons* ſonne) made againſt *Alcibiades*, charging him that he had wickedly mocked the two goddeſſes, *Ceres*, and *Proſerpina*. Whereat the people being maruellouſly moued and offended, and the orator *Androcles* his mortall enemie, aggrauating and ſtirring them vp the more againſt him: *Alcibiades* a litle at the firſt began to be amazed at it. But afterwards, hearing that the mariners which were prepared for the voyage of SICILIA, and the ſouldiers alſo that were gathered, did beare him great goodwill, and ſpecially how the aide, and that bande that came from ARGOS, and *Mantinea* (being a thouſand footemen, well armed and appointed) did ſay openly, how it was for *Alcibiades* ſake they did take vpon them ſo long a voyage beyond ſea, and that if they went about to do him any hurt or wrong, they would preſently returne home againe from whence they came: he began to be of a good courage againe, and determined with this good fauourable oportunitie of time, to come before the counſell, to aunſwer to all ſuch articles and accuſations as ſhould be laide againſt him. Thereupon his enemies were a litle cooled, fearing leaſt the people in this iudgement would haue ſhewed him more fauour, becauſe they ſtood in neede of him. Wherefore to preuent this danger, they had fed other oratours, who ſet a good face on the matter, as they had bene *Alcibiades* friends, and yet bare him no leſſe goodwill, then the ranckeſt enemies he had. Theſe fine fellowes roſe vp in open aſſembly, and ſaid: it was no reaſon, that he that was now choſen one of the generals of ſo mightie and puiſſant an armie (being ready to hoyſe ſaile, and the aide alſo of their allies and friends) ſhould be driuen to ſtay now, and to loſe time and occaſion of well doing, whileſt they ſhould go about to chooſe iudges, and appoint him his houres and time of anſwer. Therefore, they ſaied, it was fit he ſhould take his iourney betimes, and when warres were done, that he ſhould preſent himſelfe to require iuſtice, and to purge himſelfe of ſuch matters as ſhould be obiected againſt him. But *Alcibiades* ſmelling ſtraight their fetche, and perceiuing the practiſe of his ſtay, ſtept vp, and declared how they did him great wrong, to make him depart with the charge of a generall of ſo great an armie, his minde being troubled with continuall feare of ſo grieuous curſes, as he ſhould leaue vpon him: and that he deſerued death, if he could not purge and iuſtifie himſelfe, of all the vniuſt and ſurmized accuſations againſt him. And if he had once cleered himſelfe of all things, and had publiſhed his innocencie: he ſhould then haue nothing in his head to trouble him, nor to thinke vpon, but to go on luſtely to fight with his enemies, and to caſt behinde him the danger of all his ſlaunderous detracters. But all this could not perſwade them. And ſo he was preſently commanded in the behalfe of the people, to imbarke, and ſhip away his men. Thus he was compelled to take the ſeas with his other companions, hauing in their nauie about a hundred and fortie galleys, all hauing three owers to a bancke: and fiue thouſand one hundred footemen, very well armed and appointed, and throwers with ſlings, archers, and other light armed men, to the number of thirteene hundred, ſufficiently furniſhed of all warlike and neceſſarie munition. Nowe after they were arriued on the coaſt of ITALIE, they landed in the citie of RHEGIO: where, holding counſell in what ſort they ſhould direct theſe warres, it was reſolued in the end that they ſhould go ſtraight vnto SICILIA. This opinion was followed, although *Nicias* did contrarie it, when *Lamachus* gaue his conſent thereunto: and at his firſt comming, he was the occaſion of winning the citie of CATANA. But he neuer after did any exploite, for he was called home immediatly by the ATHENIANS, to come and aunſwer certaine accuſations laide to his charge. For as we tolde you before, there was at the beginning, certaine light ſuſpitions and accuſations put vp againſt him, by ſome ſlaues and ſtrangers. But afterwards when he was gone, his enemies enforced them, and burthened him more cruelly, adding to his former fault, that he had broken the images of *Mercurie*: and had committed ſacriledge in counterfeiting in ieaſt and mockerie the holy ceremonies of the myſteries: and blew into the eares of the people, that both the one and the other proceeded of one ſet conſpiracie, to change and alter the gouernment of the

*The craft of Alcibiades enemies.*

*Alcibiades iourney into Sicile.*

ſtate of the citie. Vpon theſe informations, the people tooke it in ſo ill part, that they committed all to priſon, that were in any ſort accuſed or ſuſpected thereof, and would neuer let them come to their aunſwere: and moreouer did much repent them that they had not condemned *Alcibiades*, vpon ſo great complaints and informations as were exhibited againſt him, while his offence was in queſtion before them. And the furie and hatred of the people was ſuch towards him, that if any of *Alcibiades* friends and acquaintance came within their daunger, they were the worſe handled for his ſake. *Thucydides* did not name his accuſers, but ſome other doe name *Dioclides* and *Teucer*: amongſt whom, *Phrynicus* the Comicall poet is one, who diſcouereth it in his verſes, by bringing in one that ſpeaketh thus to the image of *Mercury*.

*Phrynicus the Comicall poet.*

*My good friend: Mercurie, I pray thee take good heede,*
*that thou fall not, and breake thy necke: for ſo thou mightſt me breede,*
*both daunger and diſtruſt, and though I guiltleſſe be,*
*ſome Dioclides falſely might accuſe and trouble me.*

*Mercury* anſwereth.

*Take thou no thought for me, my ſelfe I ſhall well ſaue:*
*and will foreſee full well therewith that Teucer (that falſe knaue)*
*ſhall not the money get, which he by law hath wonne,*
*for his promouters bribing part, and accuſation.*

And yet for all this, theſe tokens doe ſhewe no certainetie of any thing. For one of them being asked, how he could know them by their faces in the night, that had broken and defaced theſe images? he anſwered, that he knewe them well enough by the brightneſſe of the moone. And hereby it appeareth plainely that he was periured, becauſe that the ſame night, on the which this fact was committed, there was a coniunction of the moone. This did a litle trouble and ſtay men of iudgement: howbeit the common ſort of people this notwithſtanding, did not leaue to be as ſharpe ſet, to receiue all accuſations and informations, that were brought in againſt him, as euer they were before. Now there was among the priſoners whoſe cauſe was hanging before them, the orator *Andocides* (whom *Hellanicus* the hiſtoriographer deſcribeth to deſcende of the race of *Vlyſſes*) whom they tooke to be a man that hated the gouernment of the common people, and bent altogether to fauour the ſmall number of the nobilitie. But one of the chiefeſt occaſions why he was ſuſpected to be one of them that had broken the images, was: for that hard by his houſe there was a faire great image ſet vp in olde time, by the familie or tribe of the *Ægeides*, and that alone amongeſt all the reſt of ſo many famous images, was left whole and vnbroken: whereupon it is called at this day, the *Mercury* of *Andocides*, and is ſo called generally of euery bodie, albeit the inſcription ſheweth the contrarie. *Andocides* being in priſon, chaunced to fall in acquaintance with one *Timæus*, with whom he was more familiar then with all the reſt, who was alſo priſoner with him for the ſelf cauſe. This *Timæus* was a man not ſo well knowen as he, but beſides, a wiſe man, and very hardie. He perſwaded him, and put into his head, that he ſhould accuſe himſelfe, and certaine other with him: for taking the matter vpon him, and confeſſing it, he ſhould receiue grace and pardon, according to the courſe and promiſe of the law. Where contrarily, if he ſhould ſtand vpon the courteſie of the iudges ſentence, he might eaſily endaunger himſelfe: becauſe iudgements in ſuch caſes are vncertaine to all people, and moſt to be doubted and feared towarde the rich. And therefore he tolde him it were his beſt way, if he looked into the matter wiſely, by lying to ſaue his life, rather then to ſuffer death with ſhame, and to be condemned vpon this falſe accuſation. Alſo he ſaid if he would haue regard to the common wealth, that it ſhould in like caſe be wiſely done of him, to put in daunger a few of thoſe (which ſtood doubtfull whether in troth they were any of them or not) to ſaue from the furie of the people, and terrour of death, many honeſt men, who in deede were innocent of this lewd fact. *Timæus* words and perſwaſions wrought ſuch effect with *Andocides*, that they made him yeld vnto them, & brought him to accuſe himſelfe, and certaine other with him: by meanes wherof *Alcibiades* according to the lawe had his pardon. But all ſuch as he named and accuſed, were euery man put to death, ſauing ſuch as ſaued them ſelues by running away. Furthermore, to ſhadowe his accuſation with ſome apparance of troth, *Andocides* among thoſe

*Andocides the orator caſt into priſon.*

that were accuſed, did accuſe alſo certaine of his owne ſeruants.

*Alcibiades ſent for to anſwere to his accuſation.*

Now though the people had no more occaſion to occupie their buſie heades about the breakers of theſe images, yet was not their malice thus appeaſed againſt *Alcibiades*, vntil they ſent the galley called *Salaminiana*, commaunding thoſe they ſent by a ſpeciall commiſſion to ſeeke him out, in no caſe to attempt to take him by force, nor to lay holde on him by violence: but to vſe him with all the good wordes and courteous manner that they poſſibly could, and to will him onely to appeare in perſon before the people, to anſwere to certaine accuſations put vp againſt him. If otherwiſe they ſhould haue vſed force, they feared much leaſt the armie would haue mutined on his behalfe within the countrie of their enemies, & that there would haue growen ſome ſedition amongeſt their ſouldiers. This might *Alcibiades* haue eaſily done, if he had bene diſpoſed. For the ſouldiers were very ſorie to ſee him depart, perceiuing that the warres ſhould be drawen out now in length, and be much prolonged vnder *Nicias*, ſeeing *Alcibiades* was taken from them, who was the only ſpurre that pricked *Nicias* forward to do any ſeruice: and that *Lamachus* alſo, though he were a valiant man of his handes, yet he lacked honour and authoritie in the armie, becauſe he was but a meane man borne, and poore beſides. Now *Alcibiades* for a farewell, diſappointed the Athenians of winning the citie of Messina: for they hauing intelligence by certaine priuate perſons within the citie, that it would yeelde vp into their hands, *Alcibiades* knowing them very well by their names, bewrayed them vnto thoſe that were the Syracusans friendes: whereupon all this practiſe was broken vtterly. Afterwardes when he came to the citie of Thuries, ſo ſoone as he had landed, he went and hid himſelfe incontinently in ſuch ſort, that ſuch as ſought for him, could not find him. Yet there was one that knew him where he was, and ſaid: Why, how now *Alcibiades*, dareſt thou not truſt the iuſtice of thy countrie? Yes very well (ꝗ he) and it were in another matter: but my life ſtanding vpon it, I would not truſt mine owne mother, fearing leaſt negligently ſhe ſhould put in the blacke beane, where ſhe ſhould caſt in the white. For by the firſt, condemnation of death was ſignified: and by the other, pardon of life. But afterwards, hearing that the Athenians for malice had condemned him to death: well, ꝗ he, they ſhall know I am yet a liue.

*Alcibiades accuſation.*

Now the manner of his accuſation and inditement framed againſt him, was found written in this ſort. *Theſſalus* the ſonne of *Cimon*, of the village of Laciades, hath accuſed, and doth accuſe *Alcibiades*, the ſonne of *Clinias*, of the village of Scambonides, to haue offended againſt the goddeſſes, *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, counterfaiting in mockery their holy myſteries, & ſhewing them to his familiar friends in his houſe, himſelfe apparelled and arraied in a long veſtement or cope, like vnto the veſtement the prieſt weareth when he ſheweth theſe holy ſacred myſteries: and naming himſelfe the prieſt, *Polytion* the torch bearer, and *Theodorus* of the village of Phygea the verger, and the other lookers on, brethren, & felow ſcorners with them, and all done in manifeſt contempt and deriſion, of holy ceremonies and myſteries of the *Eumolpides*, the religious prieſts and miniſters of the ſacred temple of the citie of Eleusin.

*Alcibiades condemned being abſent.*

So *Alcibiades* for his contempt and not appearing, was condemned, and his goods confiſcate. Beſides this condemnation, they decreed alſo, that all the religious prieſts and women ſhould ban and accurſe him. But hereunto aunſwered one of the Nunnes called *Theano*, the daughter of *Menon*, of the village of Agraula, ſaying that ſhe was profeſſed religious, to pray & to bleſſe, not to curſe and banne. After this moſt grieuous ſentence and condemnation paſſed againſt him, *Alcibiades*, departed out of the citie of Thuries, and went into the countrie of Peloponnesus, where he continued a good ſeaſon in the citie of Argos. But in the end fearing his enemies, and hauing no hope to returne againe to his owne countrie with any ſafety: he ſent vnto Sparta to haue ſafe conduct & licence of the Lacedæmonians, that he might come and dwell in their countrie, promiſing them he would do them more good being now their freind, then he euer did them hurt, while he was their enemie.

*Alcibiades flyeth to Sparta.*

The Lacedæmonians graunted his requeſt, and receiued him very willingly into their citie: where euen vpon his firſt comming, he did three things. The firſt was: That the Lacedæmonians by his perſwaſion and procurement, did determine ſpeedily to ſend aid to the Syracusans, whom they had long before delaied: and ſo they ſent *Gylippus* their captaine to ouerthrowe the Athenians armie, which they had ſent thither. The ſecond thing he did for them, was: That he made them of Grece to beginne warre vpon the Athenians. The third, and greateſt matter of importance, was: That he did counſell them to fortifie the citie of Decelea, which was within the territores of Attica ſelfe: which conſumed, and brought the power of the Athenians lower, then any other thing whatſoeuer he could haue done. And if he were welcome, and well eſteemed in Sparta, for the ſeruice he did to the common wealth: much more he wanne the loue and good wils of priuate men, for that he liued after the Laconian manner. So as they that ſaw his skinne ſcraped to the fleſh, and ſaw him waſh himſelfe in cold water, and how he did eate browne bread, and ſup of their blacke broth: would haue doubted (or to ſay better, neuer haue beleeued) that ſuch a man had euer kept cooke in his houſe, nor that he euer had ſeene ſo much as a perfuming panne, or had touched cloth of tiſſue made at Miletvm. For among other qualities and properties he had (whereof he was full) this as they ſay was one, whereby he moſt robbed mens hearts: that he could frame altogether with their manners and faſhions of life, transforming himſelfe more eaſily to all manner of ſhapes, then the Camelion. For it is reported, that the Camelion cannot take white colour: but *Alcibiades* could put vpon him any manners, cuſtomes or faſhions, of what nation ſoeuer, & could follow, exerciſe, and counterfaite them when he would, as well the good as the bad. For in Sparta, he was very painefull, and in continuall exerciſe: he liued ſparingly with litle, and led a ſtraight life. In Ionia, to the contrarie: there he liued daintily & ſuperfluouſly, and gaue himſelf to all mirth and pleaſure. In Thracia, he dranke euer, or was alwaies on horſe back. If he came to *Tiſſaphernes*, lieutenant of the mightie king of Persia: he farre exceeded the magnificence of Persia in pompe and ſumptuouſnes. And theſe things notwithſtanding, neuer altered his naturall condition from one faſhion to another, neither did his manners (to ſay truely) receiue all ſorts of chaunges. But becauſe peraduenture, if he had ſhewed his naturall diſpoſition, he might in diuers places where he came, haue offended thoſe whoſe companie he kept, he did with ſuch a viſerd and cloke diſguiſe himſelfe, to fit their maners, whom he companied with, by transforming himſelfe into their naturall countenance. As he that had ſeene him when he was at Sparta, to haue looked vpon the outward man, would haue ſaid as the common prouerbe ſaieth:

*It is not the ſonne of Achilles, but Achilles ſelfe:*

Euen ſo it is euen he, whom *Lycurgus* brought vp. But he that had inwardly ſeene his naturall doings, and good will in deede lie naked before him: would haue ſaide contrarily, as they ſay commonly in another language.

*This woman is no chaungeling.*

*Alcibiades more chaungeable then the camelion.*

For he entertained Queene *Timæa*, King *Agis* wife of Sparta, ſo well in his abſence, he being abroad in the warres: that he got her with child, and ſhe her ſelfe denied it not. For ſhe being brought a bed of a ſonne, who was named *Leotychides*, openly to the world called him by that name: but when ſhe was amongeſt her familiars and very friends, ſhe called him ſoftly *Alcibiades*, ſhe was ſo farre in loue with him. And *Alcibiades* ieaſting out the matter, ſaide he had done it for no hurt, nor for any luſt of fleſh to ſatisfie his deſire: but onely to leaue of his race, to reigne amongeſt the Lacedæmonians. This matter was brought by diuers vnto King *Agis* eares, who at the length beleeued it: but ſpecially when he beganne to make a reckoning of the time, how long it was ſince he lay with his wiſe. For lying with his wiſe one night when there was a terrible earthquake, he ranne out of his chamber for feare the houſe would fall on his head: ſo that it was tenne moneths after ere he lay againe with her. Whereupon, her ſonne *Leotychides* being borne at the end of tenne moneths, he ſaide he was none of his: and this was the cauſe that *Leotychides* did not ſucceede afterwards in the Kingdome, becauſe he was not of the bloud royall. After the vtter ouerthrowe of the Athenians in Sicilia, thoſe of the Iles of Chio and Lesbos, with the Cyzicenians, did ſend all about a tenne ambaſſadours to Sparta: to let the Lacedæmonians vnderſtand, they had good will to leaue the Athenians, ſo they would ſend them aide to defende them. The Boeotians fauored thoſe of Lesbos: *Pharnabazus*, the king of Persiaes lieutenant, fauored the Cyzicenians. This notwithſtanding, the Lacedæmonians were better affected to helpe thoſe of Chio firſt, by the perſwaſion of *Alcibiades*, who tooke their matters in

*Alcibiades got Timæa, king Agis wife with child.*

*Leotychides Alcibiades baſtard.*

hande. And he tooke ſea himſelfe and went into Aſia, where he almoſt turned the countrie of Ionia againſt the Athenians: and keeping alwaies with the generals of the Lacedæmonians, he did much hurt the Athenians. Yet notwithſtanding, king *Agis* did beare him ill will, partly for the iniurie he did him in diſhonouring and defiling his wife, and partly alſo, for that he enuied his glorie: becauſe the rumour ranne all about, that the moſt part of the goodly exploites of theſe warres did happen well, by *Alcibiades* meanes. Other alſo of the greateſt authoritie among the Spartans, that were moſt ambitious among them, beganne in their mindes to be angrie with *Alcibiades*, for the enuie they bare him: who were of ſo great power, that they procured their gouernours to write their letters to their captaines in the field, to kill him. *Alcibiades* hearing of this, did no whit deſiſt to doe all he could for the benefite of the Lacedæmonians: yet he had an eye behind him, flying all occaſions to fall into their hands. So in the end, for more ſuerty of his perſon, he went vnto *Tiſaphernes*, one of the king of Perſiaes lieutenantes, with whom he wanne incontinently ſuch credit, that he was the firſt and chiefeſt perſon he had about him. For this barbarous man being no ſimple perſon, but rather malicious, & ſubtill of nature, and that loued fine & craftie men: did wonder how he could ſo eaſily turne from one manner of liuing to another, and alſo at his quicke wit and vnderſtanding. Moreouer, his companie and manner to paſſe the time away, was commonly maruellous full of mirth and pleaſure, and he had ſuch pleaſant comely deuiſes with him, that no man was of ſo ſullen a nature, but he would make him merie, nor ſo churliſh, but he would make him gentle. So that both thoſe that feared him, and alſo enuied him: they were yet glad to ſee him, & it did them good to be in his company, & vſe talke with him. In ſo much as this *Tiſaphernes* (that otherwiſe was a churliſh man, and naturally hated the Grecians) did giue him ſelfe ſo much vnto *Alcibiades* flatteries, and they pleaſed him ſo well: that he himſelfe did ſtudie to flatter *Alcibiades* againe, and make much of him. For he called *Alcibiades* his faire houſe of pleaſure, and goodly proſpect: notwithſtanding he had many goodly gardens, ſweete ſpringes, greene arbours and pleaſant meadowes, and thoſe in all royall and magnificent manner. *Alcibiades* deſpairing vtterly to finde any ſafetie or friendſhippe among the Spartans, and fearing on the other ſide king *Agis* alſo: he beganne to ſpeake ill of them, and to diſgrace all that they did, to *Tiſaphernes*. By this practiſe he ſtaied *Tiſaphernes* from aiding them ſo friendly as he might: moreouer, he did not vtterly deſtroy the Athenians. For he perſwaded him that he ſhould furniſh the Lacedæmonians but with litle money, to let them diminiſh and conſume by litle and litle: to the end that after one had troubled and weakned the other, they both at the length ſhould be the eaſier for the King to ouercome. This barbarous man did eaſily conſent to this deuiſe. All the world then ſaw he loued *Alcibiades*, and eſteemed of him very much: in ſo much as he was ſought to, and regarded of all handes of the Grecians. Then were the Athenians ſorie, and repented them when they had receiued ſo great loſſe and hurt, for that they had decreed ſo ſeuerely againſt *Alcibiades*, who in like manner was very ſorowfull, to ſee them brought to ſo hard termes, fearing, if the citie of Athens came to deſtruction, that he himſelfe ſhould fall in the ende into the handes of the Lacedæmonians, who maliced him to the death. Now about that time, all the power of the Athenians were almoſt in the Ile of Samos, from whence with their armie by ſea, they ſought to ſuppreſſe the rebels that were vp againſt them, and to keepe all that which yet remained. For they were yet pretily ſtrong to reſiſt their enemies, at the leaſt by ſea: but they ſtoode in great feare of the power of *Tiſaphernes*, and of the hundred & fiftie gallies which were reported to be comming out of the countrie of Phenicia, to the aide of their enemies, which if they had come, the citie of Athens had bene vtterly ſpoyled, and for euer without hope of recouerie. The which *Alcibiades* vnderſtanding, ſent ſecretly vnto the chiefeſt men that were in the armie of the Athenians at Samos, to giue them hope he would make *Tiſaphernes* their friend: howbeit not of any deſire hee had to gratifie the people, nor that he truſted to the communaltie of Athens, but only to the honorable, and honeſt citizens, and that conditionally ſo as they had the heart and courage, to bridle a litle the ouer licentiouſnes and inſolencie of the common people, & that they would take vpon them the authoritie to gouerne, and to redreſſe their ſtate, and to preſerue the citie

*The Lacedæmonians practiſe to kill Alcibiades.*

*Alcibiades flying the Lacedæmonians goeth to Tiſaphernes.*

*Alcibiades called a pleaſant place & goodly proſpect.*

*The inconſtancie of the common people.*

of Athens,from finall and vtter deſtruction. Vpon this aduertiſement,all the heads & chiefe men did giue very good eare vnto it:ſauing only *Phrynichus*,one of the captains,& of the town of Dirades. Who miſtruſting(that was true in deede) that *Alcibiades* cared not which end went forward,nor who had the chiefe gouernment of Athens,the nobility,or the communalty,and did but ſeeke all the deuiſes & waies he could,to returne again if it might be poſſible, in any maner of ſort,and that he did but curry fauour with the nobility,blaming and accuſing the people:he ſtood altogether againſt the motion,wherupon *Alcibiades* deuiſe was not followed. And hauing now ſhewed himſelfe open enemy to *Alcibiades*,he did ſecretly aduertiſe *Aſtiochus* then admirall to the Lacedæmonians, of *Alcibiades* practiſe, and warned him to take heed of him,& to lay him vp ſafe,as a double dealer,& one that had inteligence with both ſides:but he vnderſtood not how it was but one traitour to ſpeake to another. For this *Aſtiochus* was a follower of *Tiſaphernes* for his priuate cõmodity: and perceiuing *Alcibiades* in ſuch credit with him,he did diſcouer to *Alcibiades* all that *Phrynichus* had aduertiſed him. *Alcibiades* ſtraight ſent men of purpoſe to Samos,vnto the captains there,to accuſe *Phrynichus* of the treaſon he had reuealed againſt them. Thoſe of the counſell there, receiuing this intelligence: were highly offended with *Phrynichus*. So, he ſeeing no better way to ſaue himſelfe for making of this fault,went about to make amends with cõmitting a worſe fault. Therupon he ſent again to *Aſtiochus*,complaining much he had diſcloſed him:and yet neuertheles he promiſed him,if he would keepe his counſell,that he would deliuer the whole fleete and army of the Athenians into his hands. Howbeit this treaſon of *Phrynichus* did the Athenians no hurt at all,by reaſon of *Aſtiochus* counter treaſon: for he did let *Alcibiades* againe vnderſtand what offer *Phrynichus* had made him *Phrynichus* looking to be charged with this againe,the ſecond time before the counſell,by means of *Alcibiades*:did firſt aduertiſe the chiefe of the army of the Athenians. That their enemies would come and ſet vpon thẽ,and where,and how:& gaue them therefore warning to keepe neare their ſhips,to make a ſtrong watch,and to fortifie them ſelues with all ſpeed, the which forthwith they did. And as they were about it, there came other letters frõ *Alcibiades*, by the which he did warne them againe to take heed of *Phrynichus*, becauſe he had practiſed againe with their enemies, to deliuer the whole army of Athens into their hands. But they gaue no credit to his ſecond letters: for they thought that he knowing the preparations and minds of the enemies,would ſerue his own turne with the falſe accuſing of *Phrynichus*. Notwithſtanding this,there was ſome falſhood in fellowſhip:for one *Hermon*,openly in the market place,ſtabbed *Phrynichus* in with a dagger and killed him. The fact being pleaded in law,& throughly conſidered of: the dead body by the ſentence of the people was condemned for a traytour : and *Hermon* the murtherer, and his fellowes,were crowned in recompence of their fact they had done to kill a traitour to the common wealth. Wherefore thoſe that were *Alcibiades* frends,being at that time the ſtronger,and greateſt men of the counſell in the army at Samos:they ſent one *Fiſander* to Athens, to attempt to alter the gouernment,and to encourage the noble men to take vpon them the authority,and to plucke it from the people: aſſuring them that *Tiſaphernes* would giue them aide to doe it, by meanes of *Alcibiades*,who would make him their friend. This was the colour and cloke wherwith they ſerued their turns,that did change the gouernment of Athens,& that brought it into the hands of a ſmall number of nobility:for they were in all but foure hundred, and yet they called themſelues fiue thouſand. But ſo ſoone as they felt them ſelues ſtrong , and that they had the whole authority of gouernment,without contradiction in their hands: they made then no more reckoning of *Alcibiades*,and ſo they made warres more coldly and ſlackly then before. Partly becauſe they miſtruſted their citizens, who found the chaunge of gouernment very ſtrange: and partly alſo becauſe they were of opinion that the Lacedæmonians ( who at all times did moſt fauour the gouernment of Nobility) would be better inclined to make peace with them. Now the common people that remained ſtill in the city , ſturred not, but were quiet againſt their wils,for feare of danger,becauſe there were many of them ſlaine, that boldly tooke vpon them in open preſence to reſiſt theſe foure hundred. But thoſe that were in the campe, in the Ile of Samos,hearing theſe newes,were ſo grieuouſly offended:that they reſolued to returne incontinently againe, vnto the hauen of Pyræa. First of all,they ſent for *Alcibiades*, whom

*The murder of Phrynichus and his condemnation.*

*Alcibiades called home from exile.*

*Thraſibulus a man of the biggeſt voice of all the Athenians.*

*The citizens of Athens ſent for Alcibiades to returne.*

*Battell by ſea before the citie of Abydos, betweene the Athenians and Lacedæmonĩas.*

they choſe their captaine: then they commaunded him ſtraightly to leade them againſt theſe tyraunts, who had vſurped the libertie of the people of ATHENS. But neuertheleſſe hee did not therein, as another would haue done in this caſe, ſeeing him ſelfe ſo ſodainely crept againe in fauour with the common people: for he did not thinke he ſhould incontinently pleaſe and gratifie them in all things, though they had made him now their generall ouer all their ſhips, and ſo great an army, being before but a baniſhed man, a vacabond, and a fugitiue. But to the contrary, as it became a generall worthy of ſuch a charge, he conſidered with him ſelfe, that it was his part wiſely to ſtay thoſe, who would in a rage and fury careleſly caſt them ſelues away, and not ſuffer them to doe it. And truely *Alcibiades* was the cauſe of the preſeruing of the city of ATHENS at that time, from vtter deſtruction. For if they had ſodainely (according to their determination) departed from SAMOS to goe to ATHENS: the enemies finding no man to let them, might eaſely haue won all the countrey of IONIA, of HELLESPONT, and of al the other Iles without ſtroke ſtriking, whileſt the ATHENIANS were buſie fighting one againſt another in ciuill warres, and within the compaſſe of their owne wals. This *Alcibiades* alone, and no other, did preuent, not onely by perſwading the whole army, and declaring the inconuenience thereof, which would fall out vpon their ſodaine departure: but alſo by intreating ſome particularly apart, and keeping a number backe by very force. To bring this about, one *Thraſibulus* of the towne of STIRA, did helpe him much: who went through the armie, and cried out vpon them that were bent to enterpriſe this iourney. For he had the biggeſt and loudeſt voice as they ſay, of any man that was in all the city of ATHENS. This was a notable act, and a great peece of ſeruice done by *Alcibiades*: that hee promiſed fiue hundred ſaile of the PHENICIANS (which the LACEDÆMONIANS aſſuredly looked for, in their aide frō the king of PERSIA) ſhould not come at all, or elſe if they came, it ſhould be in the fauour of the ATHENIANS. For he departed immediatly, and went with great ſpeede to *Tiſaphernes*: whom he handled in ſuch ſort, that he brought not the ſhippes that lay at rode before the city of ASPENDA, and ſo he brake promiſe with the LACEDÆMONIANS. Therefore *Alcibiades* was maruellouſly blamed and accuſed, both of the one and the other ſide, to haue altered *Tiſaphernes* mind, but chiefely of the LACEDÆMONIANS: who ſaide that he had perſwaded this barbarous captaine, he ſhould neither aide the one nor the other, but rather to ſuffer them one to deuour and deſtroy each other. For it had beene out of doubt, if this great fleete and nauy of the Kings had come, to ioyne their force with either party: that they had taken from the one of them, the ſigniory and domination of the ſea. Shortly after, the foure hundred noble men that had vſurped the authority and gouernment of ATHENS, were vtterly driuen away and ouerthrowen, by meanes of the friendly aide and aſſiſtaunce that *Alcibiades* friendes gaue thoſe that tooke the peoples part. So the citizens were very well pleaſed with *Alcibiades*, in ſo much as they ſent for him to returne when he thought good. But he iudging with him ſelfe it would be no honour nor grace vnto him to returne without ſome well deſeruing, & before he had done ſome greater exploite, as only vppon the peoples fauour and good will, whereas otherwiſe his returne might bee both glorious and triumphant: departed firſt from SAMOS with a ſmall number of gallies, and went ſayling vp and downe the Iles of COS and of GNIDOS. There he was aduertiſed, that *Mindarus*, the admirall of the LACEDÆMONIANS, was gone with all his fleete vnto the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, and that the captaines of the ATHENIANS gaue chaſe vnto him. Thereupon he went alſo and ſayled thither with ſpeede, to aide the ATHENIANS: and by very good fortune came with eighteene gallies euen at the very inſtant, when they were both in the middeſt of their fight, with all their ſhips before the city of ABYDOS. The battell was cruelly foughten betweene them from morning till night, both the one and the other hauing the better in one part of the battell, and the worſt in another place. Now at the firſt diſcouery of *Alcibiades* comming, both partes had in deede contrary imaginations of him. For the enemies tooke heart vnto them: and the ATHENIANS beganne to be afeard. But *Alcibiades* ſet vp ſtraight his flagge in the toppe of the gallie of his admirall, to ſhew what he was. Wherewithall, he ſet vpon the PELOPONNESIANS, that had the better, and had certaine gallies of the ATHENIANS in chaſe: whereupon the PELOPONNESIANS gaue ouer their chaſe, and fled. But *Alcibiades* followed them ſo luſtely, that hee ran diuerſe of them a ground, and brake their ſhips, and ſlue a great number of men that leapt into the ſea, in hope to ſaue themſelues by ſwimming a land. So notwithſtanding that *Pharnabazus* was come thither to aide the LACEDÆMONIANS, and did his beſt indeuour to ſaue their gallies by the ſea ſhore: yet the ATHENIANS in the end wan thirty gallies of their enemies, and ſaued all their owne, and ſo did ſet vp certaine flagges of triumph and victorie. *Alcibiades* hauing now happily gotten this glorious victory, would needs goe ſhew him ſelfe in triumph vnto *Tiſaphernes*. So hauing prepared to preſent him with goodly rich preſents, and appointed alſo a conuenient traine and number of ſaile meete for a generall, hee tooke his courſe directly to him. But he found not that entertainment he hoped for. For *Tiſaphernes* ſtāding in great hazard of diſpleaſure, and feare of puniſhment at the Kinges handes, hauing long time before bene defamed by the LACEDÆMONIANS, who had complained of him, that hee did not fulfill the Kings commandement, thought that *Alcibiades* was arriued in very happy houre: whereupon he kept him priſoner in the city of SARDIS, ſuppoſing the wrong hee had done, would by this meanes eaſily diſcharge, and purge him to the King. Yet at the end of thirty daies, *Alcibiades* by fortune got a horſe, and ſtealing from his keepers, fled vnto the city of CLAZOMENES: and this did more increaſe the ſuſpition they had of *Taſiphernes*, becauſe they thought that vnder hand he had wrought his liberty. *Alcibiades* tooke then ſea again, and went to ſeeke out the army of the ATHENIANS. Which when he had found, & heard newes that *Mindarus*, and *Pharnabazus* were together in the city of CIZICVM: he made an oration to his ſouldiers, and declared vnto them how it was very requiſit they ſhould fight with their enemies, both by ſea and by land, and moreouer that they ſhould aſſault them within their forts and caſtels, becauſe otherwiſe they could haue no money to defray their charges. His oration ended, he made them immediatly hoiſe ſaile, and ſo to go lie at anker in the Ile of PROCONESVS: where he tooke order that they ſhould keepe in all the pinnaſes and brigantines among the ſhippes of warre, that thē enemy might haue no manner of intelligence of his comming. The great ſhowres of raine alſo, with thunder and darke weather that fell out ſodainly vpon it, did greatly further him in his attempt and enterpriſe: in ſo much as not onely his enemies, but the ATHENIANS that were there before, knew nothing of his comming. So ſome made their reckonning, that they could doe litle or nothing all that day: yet he made them ſodainely imbarke, and hoiſe ſaile. They were no ſooner in the maine ſea, but they diſcried a farre off the gallies of their enemies, which lay at rode before the hauen of CYZICVM. And fearing leaſt the great number of his fleete would make them flie, and take land before hee could come to them: he commaunded certaine captaines to ſtay behinde, and to rowe ſoftely after him, and him ſelfe with forty gallies with him, went towardes the enemies to prouoke them to fight. The enemies ſuppoſing there had beene no more ſhippes, then thoſe that were in ſight: did ſet out preſently to fight with them. They were no ſooner ioyned together, but *Alcibiades* ſhippes that came behinde, were alſo deſcried: the enemies were ſo afeard thereat, that they caſt about, and fled ſtraight. *Alcibiades* leauing his fleete, followed the chaſe with twenty of the beſt gallies he had, and draue them a land. Thereupon he landed alſo, and purſued them ſo couragiouſly at their heeles, that he ſlue a great number of thē on the maine land, who thought by flying to haue ſaued them ſelues. Moreouer, *Mindarus*, & *Pharnabazus*, being come out of the city to reſcue their people, were ouerthrowen both. He ſlue *Mindarus* in the field, fighting valiantly: as for *Pharnabazus*, he cowardly fled away. So the ATHENIANS ſpoiled the dead bodies (which were a great number) of a great deale of armour and riches, and tooke beſides all their enemies ſhippes. After they tooke the city of CIZYCVM. *Pharnabazus* hauing left it. Then the PELOPONNESIANS being ſlaine, they had not only the poſſeſſion of the whole country of HELLESPONT, which they kept: but they draue their enemis by force out of all partes of the ſea. There were at that time certaine letters intercepted, whereby a ſecretary gaue aduertiſement vnto the *Ephori* at SPARTA, of the ouerthrow in this ſort. All is loſt, *Mindarus* is ſlaine, our people die for hunger, and we know not what to do. Now the ſouldiers of ATHENS that had beene at this iourney and ouerthrow, grew to ſuch a pride and reputation of them ſelues, that they would not, and diſdained alſo to ſerue with the other ſouldiers that had bene beaten many times, & went away with the worſe. Where they to the

*Alcibiades victory of the Lacedæmonians by ſea.*

*Alcibiades taken priſoner at Sardis, flieth from Tiſaphernes.*

*Alcibiades victorie at Cyzicum.*

contrary had neuer beene ouercome, as a litle before it happened, that the captaine *Thraſyllus* had bene ouerthrowen by the city of EPHESVS. And for this ouerthow, the EPHESIANS had ſet vp a triumph, and token of braſſe, to the vtter ſhame and ignominie of the ATHENIANS. For the which *Alcibiades* ſouldiers did verie much rebuke *Thraſillus* men, and did exceedingly extoll their captaine and them ſelues, and would neither encampe with them, neither haue to doe with them, nor yet keepe them companie. Vntill ſuch time as *Pharnabazus* came with a great armie againſt them, as well of footemen as horſemen, when they ran a forraging vpon the ABYDENIANS: and then *Alcibiades* went to the reſcue of them, and gaue *Pharnabazus* battell, and ouerthrew him once againe, and did together with *Thraſyllus* chaſe him euen vntill darke night. Then both *Alcibiades* and *Thraſyllus* ſouldiers did company together, one reioyſing with another: and ſo returned all with great ioy into one campe. The next morning *Alcibiades* ſet vp a triumph for the victorie hee had the daie before, and then went to ſpoile and deſtroy *Pharnabazus* countrey, where he was gouernor, and no man durſt once come out to meete him. In this rode there were taken priſoners, certaine prieſtes and Nuns of the countrey: but *Alcibiades* freely deliuered them afterwards without ranſome. And preparing to make wars againſt the CHALCEDONIANS, who were reuolted frõ the ATHENIANS, and had receiued a garriſon and gouernor of the LACEDÆMONIANS into their city: he was aduertiſed that they had brought in all their goods & cattels out of their fieldes, & had deliuered them to the ſafe cuſtody of the BITHYNIANS, who were their neighbors & friẽds. Hereupon he led his army into their borders, and ſent a herauld before to ſummon the BITHYNIANS, to make amends for the wrong they had done the ATHENIANS. The BITHYNIANS fearing leaſt *Alcibiades* would ſet vpon them, did ſtraight deliuer him the goods they had as before in their cuſtody, and moreouer, made a league with the ATHENIANS beſides. That done, he went and laid ſiege to the city of CHALCEDON, the which he enuironed all about from the one ſide of the ſea to the other. *Pharnabazus* came thither, thinking to haue raiſed the ſiege. And *Hippocrates*, a captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that was gouernour of the city, aſſembled all the force he was able to make within the ſame, and made a ſaly out alſo vpon the ATHENIANS at the very ſame time. Whereupon *Alcibiades* putting his men in order of battell, ſo as they might giue charge vppon them both at one inſtant: hee fought ſo valiantly, that he forced *Pharnabazus* to run his way with ſhame enough, & ſlue *Hippocrates* in the field, with a great number of his men. Then tooke he the ſeas againe, to goe towards the countrey of HELLESPONT, to get ſome money, where vpon the ſodaine he did take the city of SELYBREA: becauſe he valiantly put him ſelfe in hazard before the time appointed him. For certain of his friends within, with whom he had ſecret practiſe, had giuen him a token, that when time ſerued, they would ſhew a burning torch in the aire at midnight: but they were compelled to ſhew this fire in the aire before they were ready, for feare leaſt one of their confederacie would bewraie the matter, who ſodainely repented him. Now this torch burning in the aire, was ſet vp before *Alcibiades* was readie with his company. But hee perceiuing the ſigne ſet, tooke about thirtie men with him in his company, and ran with them to the wals of the city, hauing commaunded the reſt of his army to follow him with all ſpeede poſſible. The gate was opened to him, and to his thirty men: beſides them there followed twenty other light armed men. Howbeit they were no ſooner entred the city, but they heard the citizens armed come againſt them: ſo that there was no hope to ſcape, if they did tarie their comming. Neuertheles, conſidering that vntill that preſent time he was neuer ouercome in battell, where he had taken charge, it grieued him verie much to flie: wherefore it ſtraight came in his head to make ſilence by ſound of trumpet, and after ſilence made, he cauſed one of them that were about him to make proclamation with a loude voice, that the SELYBRIANIANS ſhould not take armes againſt the ATHENIANS. This cooled them a litle that would faine haue beene doing, becauſe they ſuppoſed that all the army of the ATHENIANS had bene alreadie in the city: the other on the contrary ſide, were verie glad to talke of peace, without any further daunger. And as they beganne to parle vpon compoſition, the reſt of *Alcibiades* army was come on. Now he thinking in deede (which was true) that the SALYBRIANIANS ſought nothing but peace, & fearing leaſt the THRACIANS which were many in number (& came with

*Alcibiades victorie at Chalcedonia.*

*Alcibiades tooke the city of Selybrea.*

*The preſent wit of Alcibiades.*

good will to ſerue him in that iourney) would ſacke and ſpoile the citie, he made them all to goe out againe: and ſo concluding peace with the chiefe of the SELYBRIANIANS, he did them no more hurt vpon their humble ſubmiſsion, but made them pay him a ſumme of money, and ſo leauing a garriſon of the ATHENIANS within the citie, he departed thence. Whileſt *Alcibiades* was in treatie with the SELYBRIANIANS, the other ATHENIAN captaines that lay at the ſiege of CHALCEDON, made an agreement with *Pharnabazus*, that he ſhould giue them a ſumme of money, and giue vp the towne into the ATHENIANS hands, to enioy it as they had before. And with expreſſe condition alſo, that the ATHENIANS ſhould make no rodes into *Pharnabazus* dominions, to hurt or ſpoile any of his: and likewiſe ſhould be bound to giue good ſafe conduct vnto the ambaſſadours of the ATHENIANS, to go and come ſafe from time to time, to the King of PERSIA. The other captaines being ſworne to this peace, *Pharnabazus* conditioned alſo that *Alcibiades* at his returne ſhould likewiſe be ſworne to the peace and conditions thereof. But *Alcibiades* ſaid he would not be ſworne at all, vnleſſe *Pharnabazus* were firſt ſworne for his part. Thus when othes were taken of either ſide, *Alcibiades* went alſo againſt thoſe of BYZANTIVM, who in like caſe had rebelled againſt the ATHENIANS. At his firſt comming thither, he enuironned the citie round about with a wall. Afterwards he practiſed with two ſecret friends of his, *Anaxilaus* & *Lycurgus*, & certain other within the citie, who promiſed him to deliuer it into his handes, ſo they might be aſſured he would do them no hurt. To colour this practiſe, he gaue it out, that he muſt needes leaue the ſiege, and depart with ſpeed, for certaine news that were come out of IONIA: & thereupon he imbarked preſently, and went out of the hauen at none daies with all his ſhips, howbeit he returned againe the ſame night. And going a land with the choiceſt and beſt armed men he had, he approached the walles of the citie, without any manner of noiſe, hauing left order with them that remained in the ſhips, that in the meane ſeaſon they ſhould rowe with all force into the hauen, with as great cries and ſhoutes as might be, to feare and trouble the enemies: partly to feare the BIZANTINES the more with their ſodaine comming among them, & partly that his confederates within the citie, might with better opportunitie receiue him and his companie, into the towne with the more aſſured ſafetie, whileſt euery man ran to the hauen, to reſiſt them that were vpon the gallies. Neuertheleſſe they went not away vnfought with. For thoſe that lay in garriſon within the citie, ſome of thē PELOPONNESIANS, other BOEOTIANS, & other MEGARIANS, did ſo valiantly repulſe them that came out of their gallies, that they draue them to retire abord againe. Afterwards hearing how the ATHENIANS were entred the city on the other ſide, they put themſelues in battell ray, & went to meet them. The battell was terrible of both parts: but *Alcibiades* in the end obtained victorie, leading the right wing of his battell, & *Theramenes* the left. The victory being gotten, he toke 300 of his enemies priſoners, who had eſcaped the furie of the battell. But after the battell, there was not a BYZANTINE put to death, neither baniſhed, nor his goods confiſcated: becauſe it was capitulated by *Alcibiades* with his confederats, that neither he, nor his, ſhould hurt any of the BIZANTINES either in perſon of goods, nor any way ſhould riflle them. And *Anaxilaus* being afterwardes accuſed of treaſon in LACEDÆMON, for this practiſe: he anſwered and iuſtified himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that they could not find he had committed the fault laide vnto his charge. For he ſayd, that he was no LACEDÆMONIAN, but a BYZANTINE: and that hee ſaw not LACEDÆMON in daunger, but BYZANTIVM, which the enemies had compaſſed about with a wall they had built, that it was vnpoſſible to bring any thing into the city. Moreouer he alledged, that they hauing very ſmall ſtore of corne within the city (as was true indeed) the PELOPONNESIANS, and BOEOTIANS, that laie there in garriſon did eate it vp, while the poore BYZANTINES them ſelues, their wiues and children, died for very hunger. Therefore it could not be ſaide of him, that he had betrayed his countrey, but rather that he had deliuered it from the miſeries and calamities the warres brought vpon it: wherein hee had followed the example of the honeſteſt men of LACEDÆMON, who did acknowledge nothing honeſt and iuſt, but that which was neceſſary and profitable for their country. The LACEDÆMONIANS hearing his reaſons he alledged for his purgation, were aſhamed to condemne him, and therefore they let him goe. Now *Alcibiades* deſirous in the end to ſee his natiue countrey againe (or to ſpeake more truely,

*The Chalcedonians receiue the Athenians.*

*Alcibiades ſtratagem at Bizantium.*

*Alcibiades winneth Bizantium.*

*Alcibiades honorable returne into his countrie.*

that his countrimen ſhould ſee him) after he had ſo many times ouerthrowen their enemies in battell: he hoiſed ſaile and directed his courſe towards ATHENS, bringing with him all the gallies of the ATHENIANS, richly furniſhed and decked all about with skutchines & targets, and other armor & weapon gotten amongſt the ſpoiles of his enemis. Moreouer, he brought with him many other ſhips which he had wonne and broken in the warres, beſides many enſignes and other ornaments: all which being counted together one with the other, made vp the number of two hundred ſhips. Furthermore, where *Duris* SAMIAN writeth (who challengeth that he came of his houſe) that at his returne one *Chryſogonus*, an excellent plaier on the flute (that had wonne certaine of the *Pythian* games) did play ſuch a note, that at the ſound thereof the galley ſlaues would keepe ſtroke with their owers, and that *Callipides* another excellent player of tragedies, playing the part of a comedie, did ſtirre them to row, being in ſuch plaiers garments as euerie maſter of ſuch ſcience vſeth commonly to weare, preſenting himſelfe in Theater or ſtage before the people to ſhew his art: and that the admirall galley wherein him ſelfe was, entred the hauen with a purple ſaile, as if ſome maske had come into a mans houſe after ſome great banquet made: neither *Ephorus*, nor *Theopompus* nor *Xenophon*, make any mention of this at all. Furthermore, me thinkes it ſhould not be true, that he returning from exile after ſo long a baniſhment, and hauing paſſed ouer ſuch ſorrowes and calamities as he had ſuſtained, would ſo proudly and preſumptuouſly ſhew himſelfe vnto the ATHENIANS. But merely contrarie, it is moſt certaine, that he returned in great feare and doubt. For when he was arriued in the hauen of PIRÆA, he would not ſet foote a land, before he firſt ſaw his nephew *Euryptolemus*, and diuerſe other of his friends from the hatches of his ſhip, ſtanding vpon the ſandes in the hauen mouthe. Who were come thither to receiue and welcome him, and tolde him that he might be bolde to land, without feare of any thing. He was no ſooner landed, but all the people ranne out of euery corner to ſee him, with ſo great loue and affection, that they tooke no heed of the other captaines that came with him, but cluſtred all to him onely, and cried out for ioy to ſee him. Thoſe that could come neere him, did welcome and imbrace him: but all the people wholly followed him. And ſome that came to him, put garlands of flowers vpon his head: and thoſe that could not come neere him, ſaw him a far off, and the olde folkes did point him out to the yonger ſort. But this common ioy was mingled notwithſtanding, with teares and ſorow, when they came to thinke vpon their former misfortunes & calamities, and to compare them with their preſent proſperitie: waying with themſelues alſo how they had not loſt SICILIA, nor their hope in all things els had failed them, if they had deliuered themſelues & the charge of their armie into *Alcibiades* hands, when they ſent for him to appeare in perſon before them. Conſidering alſo how he found the citie of ATHENS in manner put from the ſeigniorie and commaundement on the ſea, and on the other ſide how their force by land was brought vnto ſuch extreamitie, that ATHENS ſcantly could defend her ſuburbes, the city ſelfe being ſo deuided and turmoiled with ciuill diſſention: yet he gathered together thoſe few, and ſmall force that remained, and had not only reſtored ATHENS to her former power and ſouerainty on the ſea, but had made her alſo a conquerer by land. Now the decree for his repaire home againe, was paſt before by the people, at the inſtant requeſt of *Callias*, the ſonne of *Callæſchrus*, who did prefer it: as he him ſelfe did teſtifie in his elegies, putting *Alcibiades* in remembraunce of the good turne he had done him, ſaying:

*I was the firſt that moued in open conference,*
*the peoples voice to call thee home, when thou wert baniſht hence.*
*So was I eke the firſt, which thereto gaue conſent,*
*and therefore may I boldly ſay, by truth of ſuch intent:*
*I was the onely meane, to call thee home againe,*
*by ſuch requeſt ſo rightly made, to moue the peoples vaine.*
*And this may ſerue for pledge, what friendſhip I thee beare:*
*faſt ſealed with a faithfull tongue, as plainely ſhall appeare.*

But notwithſtanding, the people being aſſembled all in counſaile, *Alcibiades* came before them, and made an oration: wherein he firſt lamented all his miſhappes, and found him ſelfe grieued a litle with the wronges they had offered him, yet he imputed all in the end to his curſed

ſed fortune, and ſome ſpightfull god that enuied his glorie and proſperitie. Then he dilated at large the great hope their enemies had to haue aduantage of them: and therewithall perſwaded the people to be of good courage, and a feard of nothing that was to come. And to conclude, the people crowned him with crownes of golde, and choſe him generall againe of ATHENS, with ſoueraigne power & authority both by land and by ſea. And at that very inſtant it was decreed by the people, that hee ſhould be reſtored againe to his goods, and that the prieſtes *Eumolpides* ſhould abſolue him of all their curſes, and that the herauldes ſhould with open proclamation reuoke the execrations and curſings they had thundered out againſt him before, by commaundement of the people. Whereto they all agreed, and were very willing, ſauing *Theodorus* the Biſhop, who ſaide: I did neither excommunicate him, nor curſe him, if he hath done no hurt to the common wealth. Now *Alcibiades* flouriſhed in his chiefeſt proſperitie, yet were there ſome notwithſtanding that miſliked very much the time of his landing: ſaying it was very vnlucky and vnfortunate. For the verie day of his returne and arriuall, fell out by chaunce on the feaſt which they call *Plynteria*, as you would ſay, the waſhing day, which they celebrate in honour of *Minerua*: on the which day, the prieſtes that they call *Praxiergides*, do make certain ſecret and hidden ſacrifices and ceremonies, being the fiue and twentieth day of the moneth of September, and do take from the image of this goddeſſe, all her rayment and iewels, and keepe the image cloſe couered ouer. Hereupon the ATHENIANS do aſcribe that day, for a moſt vnfortunate day, and are very circumſpect to do any matter of importance on it. Moreouer, it was commonly ſcanned abroade of euery body, that it ſeemed the goddeſſe was not content, nor glad of *Alcibiades* returne: and that ſhe did hide her ſelfe, becauſe ſhe would not ſee him, nor haue him come neere her. Notwithſtanding all theſe toyes and ceremonies, when *Alcibiades* found euery thing fall out well at his returne, and as he would haue wiſhed it: he armed a hundred galleys preſentlie, to returne againe to the warres. Howbeit he wiſely regarded the time and ſolemnitie of celebration of theſe myſteries, and conſiderately ſtaied vntill they had finiſhed all. And it fell out, that after the LACEDÆMONIANS had taken & fortified the citie of DECELEA, within the territorie of ATTICA, and that the enemies being the ſtronger in the field, did keepe the way going from ATHENS to ELEVSIN, ſo as by no poſſible meanes they could make their ſolemne proceſsiō by land, with ſuch honour and deuotion as they were before accuſtomed to do: and thereby all the ſacrifices, daunces, and many other holy deuoute ceremonies they were wonte to do by the way, in ſinging the holy ſonge of *Iacchus*, came of very neceſsitie to be left off, and cleane laide a ſide. Then *Alcibiades* thought he ſhould do a meritorious deed to the goddes, and an acceptable to men, to bring the olde ceremonies vp againe vpon the ſaid feaſt: and thereupon purpoſed to accompanie the proceſsion, & defend it by power againſt all inuaſion and diſturbance by the enemies. As one that foreſawe one of thoſe two things would come to paſſe. Either that *Agis* king of the LACEDÆMONIANS would not ſturre at all againſt the ſacred ceremonies, and by this meanes ſhould much imbaſe and diminiſh his reputation and glory: or if he did come out to the field, that he would make the battell very gratefull to the goddes, conſidering it ſhould be in defence of their moſt holy feaſt and worſhippe, and in the ſight of his countrey, where the people ſhould ſee and witneſſe both his valiantneſſe, and alſo his courage. *Alcibiades* being fully reſolued vpon this proceſſion, went and made the prieſts *Eumolpides*, their vergers, and other their miniſters and officers of theſe myſteries, priuy to his determination. Then he ſent out skoutes to watch on the ſide of the hilles thereabouts, and to view the way of their perambulation. The next morning very early hee ſent out light horſemen alſo to ſcowre the countrey. Then he made the prieſts, the profeſſed, and all the miniſters of religion, goe in proceſſion, together with thoſe that followed the ſame: and he him ſelfe compaſſed them about with his army on euery ſide, marching in battell ray, and verie good order, and with great ſilence. This was an honourable and deuout leading of an army, and ſuch as if his greateſt enemies would confeſſe a troth, they could not but ſay, *Alcibiades* had as much ſhewed the office of a high biſhoppe, as of a noble ſouldier and good captaine. So he ended this proceſſion, returning to ATHENS in all ſafe order againe, and not an enemy that durſt once looke out into the field to ſet vppon them. Now this did more in-

*Alcibiades oration to the people.*

*Alcibiades choſen generall with ſoueraign authoritie.*

*Plynteria.*

*Alcibiades reſtored the olde ceremonies.*

creaſe the greatneſſe of his minde, and therewith the peoples good opinion of his ſufficiencie, and wiſe conduction of an armie: inſomuch as they thought him vnuincible, hauing the ſoueraigne power and authoritie of a generall. Furthermore, he ſpake ſo faire to the poore people, and meaner ſort, that they chiefely wiſhed & deſired he would take vpon him like a king: yea, and many went to him to perſwade him in it, as though he ſhould thereby withſtand all enuie, and driue away the lawes and cuſtomes of trying of matters by the voices of the people, and all ſuch fond deuiſes, as did deſtroy the ſtate of the common weale. And furthermore, they ſaid it was very needfull that he alone ſhould take vpon him the whole rule and gouernment of the citie, that he might diſpoſe all things according to his will, and not ſtande in feare of ſlaunderous and wicked tongues. Now, whether *Alcibiades* euer had any mind to vſurpe the kingdome, the matter is ſomewhat doubtfull. But this is certaine, the greateſt men of the citie fearing leaſt in deede he ment ſome ſuch thing, did haſten his departure as ſoone as they could poſſible, doing all other thinges according to his minde: and did aſſigne him ſuch aſſociates in his charge of generall, as he himſelfe beſt liked. So in the end he departed with a fleete of a hundred gallies, and firſt of all he fell with the Ile of ANDROS, where he ouercame by fight the inhabitants of the ſaid Ile, and certaine LACEDÆMONIANS that were amongeſt them: but he tooke not the citie, which was one of the firſt matters his enemies did accuſe him for. For if euer man was ouerthrowen and enuied for the eſtimation they had of his valure and ſufficiencie, truly *Alcibiades* was the man. For the notable and ſundrie ſeruices he had done, wonne him ſuch eſtimation of wiſedom and valiantneſſe, that where he ſlacked in any ſeruice whatſoeuer, he was preſently ſuſpected, iudging the ill ſucceſſe not in that he could not, but for that he would not: and that where he vndertooke any enterpriſe, nothing could withſtand or lie in his way. Hereupon the people perſwading themſelues, that immediatly after his departure, they ſhould heare that the Ile of CHIO was taken, with all the countrie of IONIA: they were angrie they could haue no newes ſo ſodainely from him as they looked for. Moreouer, they did not conſider the lacke of money he had, and ſpecially making warre with ſuch enemies, as were euer relieued with the great King of PERSIAES aide, and that for neceſsities ſake he was ſundrie times driuen to leaue his campe, to ſeeke money where he could get it, to pay his ſouldiers, and to maintaine his armie. Now for teſtimonie hereof, the laſt accuſation that was againſt him, was onely for this matter. *Lyſander* being ſent by the LACEDÆMONIANS for admirall and generall of their armie by ſea, vſed ſuch policie with *Cyrus* the king of PERSIAES brother, that he got into his hands a great ſumme of money: by meanes whereof he gaue vnto his mariners foure oboles a day for their wages, where before they were wonte to haue but three, and yet *Alcibiades* had much a doe to furniſh his with three onely a daye. For this cauſe, to get money, *Alcibiades* ſailed into CARIA. But in the meane time *Antiochus*, whom *Alcibiades* had left his lieutenant behinde him, and had giuen him charge of all the ſhippes in his abſence, being a very ſkilfull ſea man, but otherwiſe a haſtie harebraynd foole, and of ſmall capacity: hee being expreſly commaunded by *Alcibiades* not to fight in any caſe, though the enemies offered him battell, was ſo fooliſh raſhe, and made ſo litle reckoning of his ſtraight commaundement, that he armed his owne gally, whereof him ſelfe was captaine, and another beſides, and went to the city of EPHESVS, paſſing all along his enemies gallies, reuiling and offering villany to thoſe that ſtood vpon the hatches of their gallies. *Lyſander* being maruellouſly prouoked by theſe wordes, went and encountred him at the firſt with a few ſhippes. The other captaines of the gallies of the ATHENIANS, ſeeing *Antiochus* in daunger, went to aide him, one after another. Then *Lyſander* of his part alſo ſet out all his whole fleete againſt him, and in the end ouercame them, *Antiochus* ſelfe was killed in the conflict, and many gallies and men were taken priſoners: wherefore *Lyſander* ſet vp ſhewes of triumph in token of victory. *Alcibiades* hearing theſe ill fauoured news, returned preſently with all poſſible ſpeede to SAMOS: and when he came thither, he went with all the reſt of his fleete to offer *Lyſander* battell. But *Lyſander* quietly contenting himſelfe with his firſt victory: went not out againſt him. Now this victory was no ſooner won, but one *Thraſybulus* the ſonne of *Thraſon*, *Alcibiades* enemy, went incontinently from the campe, and got him to ATHENS, to accuſe *Alcibiades* to the people: whom he informed how all went to wracke, and that he had loſt

*Alcibiades ſecond iourney.*

*Lack of money, the occaſion of the ouerthrowe of the Athenians armie by ſea.*

*Antiochus raſhnes, procured his owne death, and the ouerthrow of the Athenians army.*

*Lyſander being generall of the Lacedæmonians, ouercame the Athenians.*

*Alcibiades accuſed again by Thraſybulus.*

loſt many ſhippes, for that he regarded not his charge, careleſſely putting men in truſt, whom he gaue too great credit to, becauſe they were good fellowes, and would drinke drunke with him, and were full of marriners mockes and knauiſh ieaſtes, ſuch as they vſe commonly amongſt themſelues. And that he in the meane time tooke his pleaſure abroad, here and there, ſcraping money together where he could come by it, keeping good cheere, and feaſting of the ABYDENIAN and IONIAN courtiſans, when the enemies armie was ſo neere theirs as it was. Moreouer, they laide to his charge, that he did fortifie a caſtle in the countrie of THRACIA, neere vnto the citie BISANTHE, for a place to retire himſelfe vnto, either becauſe hee could not, or rather that he would not, liue any longer in his owne countrie. Vpon thoſe accuſations, the ATHENIANS giuing ouer credit to the report: did immediatly chuſe new captaines, and thereby declared their miſliking. *Alcibiades* hearing of this, and fearing leaſt they would doe him ſome worſe harme, did leaue ſtraight the ATHENIANS campe, and gathering a certaine number of ſtraungers together, went of himſelfe to make warre vpon certaine free people of the THRACIANS, who were ſubiect to no prince nor ſtate: where he got a maruellous maſſe of money together, by meanes whereof he did aſſure the GRECIANS inhabiting thoſe marches, from all inuaſion of forreine enemies. Now *Tydeus*, *Menander*, and *Adimanthus* the ATHENIANS captaines, being afterwardes in a place commonly called the goates riuer, with all the gallies the citie of ATHENS had at that time vppon that coaſt: vſed euerie morning commonly to goe to the ſea, to offer battell to *Lyſander*, who rode at an ancker before the city of *Lampſacus*, with all the LACEDÆMONIANS army by ſea, and commonly returned againe to the place from whence they came, in very ill order, without either watch or warde, as men that were careleſſe of their enemies. *Alcibiades* being on the land not farre off, and finding their great fault and negligence: tooke his horſe, and went to them, and told them that they lay on an ill ſhore, where there was no good rode, nor towne, and where they were driuen to ſeeke their vittels, as farre as to the city of SESTOS, and that they ſuffered their mariners to leaue their ſhippes, and goe a land when they lay at ancker, ſtraggling vp and downe the countrey as they would themſelues, without regard that there lay a great army of their enemies before them, readie to bee ſet out at their generals commaundement: and therefore hee aduiſed them to remoue thence, and to goe to caſt ancker before the city of SESTOS. Howbeit the captaines would not be aduiſed by him: and that which was worſt of all, *Tydeus*, one of the captaines, ſtoutly commaunded him to get him away, as one that had nothing to doe with the matter, and that other had charge of the army. Whereupon *Alcibiades* fearing they would purpoſe ſome treaſon againſt him, did depart preſently from them. And as hee went his way, he ſaide to ſome of his friends which accompanied him out of the campe at his returne: that if the captaines of the ATHENIANS had not beene ſo round with him, he would haue forced the LACEDÆMONIANS to haue come to the battell in deſpight of their beardes, or elſe he would haue driuen them to forſake their ſhippes. Some tooke this for a glorious bragge: other thought he was like enough to haue done it, becauſe he could haue brought from land a great number of THRACIANS, both archers and horſemen, with whom he might haue giuen a charge vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS, and done great michiefe vnto their campe. But now, how wiſely *Alcibiades* did foreſee the faults he tolde the ATHENIANS captaines of: their great miſfortune and loſſe that followed incontinently, did too plainlie witneſſe it to the worlde. For *Lyſander* came ſo fiercely vpon them on a ſodaine, that of all the ſhips that they had in their whole fleete, onely eight galleys were ſaued, with whom *Conon* fled: and the other being not much leſſe then two hundred in number, were euery one of them taken and caried away, with three thouſand priſoners whom *Lyſander* put to death. Shortly after, he tooke the citie ſelfe of ATHENS, and raſed their long walles euen to the groud. After this great and notable victorie, *Alcibiades* fearing ſore the LACEDÆMONIANS, who then without let or interruption of any, were only Lords and Princes by ſea and by land: he went into the countrie of BITHYNIA, and cauſed great good to be brought after him, and tooke a maruellous ſumme of money with him, beſides great riches he left alſo in the caſtels of THRACIA, where he did remaine before. Howbeit he loſt much of his goods in BITHYNIA, which certaine THRACIANS dwelling in that country, had robbed him of, & taken from him. So he

*Alcibiades put from his authoritie of generll.*

*Lyſander rode at ancker before Lampſacus.*

*The Athenians regarded not Alcibiades good counſell.*

*The Athenians ouercome by Lyſander.*

*Athens taken by Lyſander.*

*Alcibiades flieth into the countrie of Bithynia.*

determined to repaire forthwith vnto king *Artaxerxes*, hoping that when the king had once proued him, he ſhould find him a man of no leſſe ſeruice, then he had found *Themiſtocles* before him: beſides that the occaſion of his going thither, ſhould be much iuſter then his was. For he did not goe thither, to make warre againſt the citie of ATHENS and his countrie, as *Themiſtocles* did: but of a contrarie intent, to make interceſſion to the king, that it would pleaſe him to aide them. Now *Alcibiades* thinking he could vſe no better meane, then *Pharnabazus* helpe only, to ſee him ſafely conducted to the Kings court: he propoſed his iourney to him into the countrie of PHRYGIA, where he abode a certain time to attend vpon him, & was very honorably entertained and receiued of *Pharnabazus*. All this while the ATHENIANS founde themſelues deſolate, and in miſerable ſtate to ſee their empire loſt: but then much more, when *Lyſander* had taken all their liberties, and did ſet thirtie gouernours ouer their citie.

*Lyſander appointed 30. tyrants ouer the citizens of Athens.*

*Too late repentance of the Athenians.*

Now too late, after all was loſt (where they might haue recouered againe, if they had bene wiſe) they beganne together to bewaile and lament their miſeries and wretched ſtate, looking backe vpon all their wilfull faultes and follies committed: among which, they did reckon their ſecond time of falling out with *Alcibiades*, was their greateſt fault. So they baniſhed him only of malice and diſpleaſure, not for any offence himſelfe in perſon had committed againſt them, ſauing that his lieutenant in his abſence had ſhamefully loſt a few of their ſhips: and they themſelues more ſhamefully had driuen out of their citie, the nobleſt ſouldier, and moſt skilfull captaine that they had. And yet they had ſome litle poore hope left, that they were not altogether caſt away, ſo long as *Alcibiades* liued, and had his health. For before, when he was a forſaken man, and led a baniſhed life: yet he could not liue idlely, and do nothing. Wherefore now much more, ſaid they to themſelues: if there be any helpe at all, he will not ſuffer out of doubt the inſolencie and pride of the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor yet abide the cruelties and outrages of theſe thirtie tyrants. And ſurely the common people had ſome reaſon to haue theſe thoughts in their heads, conſidering that the 30 gouernors thẽſelues did what they could poſſibly to ſpy out *Alcibiades* doings, and what he went about. Inſomuch as *Critias* at the laſt, declared to *Lyſander*, that ſo long the LACEDÆMONIANS might reckon themſelues Lordes ouer all GREECE, as they kept from the common people the rule and authoritie of the citie of ATHENS. And further he added, that notwithſtanding the people of ATHENS could well away to liue like ſubiects vnder the gouernement of a fewe: yet *Alcibiades* whileſt he liued, would neuer ſuffer them ſo to be reigned ouer, but would attempt by all deuiſe he could to bring a change and innouation among them. Yet *Lyſander* would not credit theſe perſwaſions, before ſpeciall commandement was ſent to him from the Senate of LACEDÆMON, vpon his allegiance, that he ſhould deuiſe to kill *Alcibiades* by all meanes he could procure: either becauſe in trothe they feared the ſubtiltie of his wit, and the greatneſſe of his courage, to enterpriſe matters of great weight and danger, or elſe that they ſought to gratifie King *Agis* by it.

*The Lacedæmonians will Lyſander to kill Alcibiades.*

*Lyſander* being thus ſtraightly commaunded, did ſend and practiſe incontinently with *Pharnabazus* to execute the fact: who gaue his brother *Magæas*, and his vncle *Suſamithres*, commiſſion to attempt the matter. Now was *Alcibiades* in a certaine village of PHRYGIA, with a concubine of his called *Timandra*.

*Alcibiades dreame in Phrygia before his death.*

So he thought hee dreamed one night that he had put on his concubines apparell, and how ſhee dandling him in her armes, had dreſſed his head, friſeling his haire, and painted his face, as he had bene a woman. Other ſay, that he thought *Magæus* ſtrake off his head, and made his body to be burnt: and the voice goeth, this viſion was but a litle before his death. Thoſe that were ſent to kill him, durſt not enter the houſe where he was, but ſet it a fire round about. *Alcibiades* ſpying the fire, got ſuch apparell and hanginges as hee had, and threw it on the fire, thinking to haue put it out: and ſo caſting his cloke about his left arme, tooke his naked ſword in his other hand, and ranne out of the houſe, him ſelfe not once touched with fire, ſauing his clothes were a litle ſinged.

*Alcibiades death.*

Theſe murderers ſo ſoone as they ſpied him, drew backe, and ſtoode a ſunder, and durſt not one of them come neare him, to ſtand and fight with him: but a farre off, they beſtowed ſo many arrowes and darts of him, that they killed him there.

*Timandra the curtiſan buried Alcibiades.*

Now when they had left him, *Timandra* went and tooke his body which ſhee wrapped vp in the beſt linnen ſhee had, and buried him as honorably as ſhee could poſſible, with ſuch thinges as ſhe had, and could get together. Some holde opinion that *Lais*, the onely famous curtiſan, which they ſay was of CORINTHE (though indeede ſhee was borne in a litle towne of SICILIA, called HICCARA, where ſhe was taken) was his daughter. Notwithſtanding, touching the death of *Alcibiades*, there are ſome that agree to all the reſt I haue written, ſauing that they ſaye, it was neither ***Pharnabazus***; nor ***Lyſander***, nor the LACEDÆMONIANS, which cauſed him to be ſlaine: but that he keeping with a yong gentlewoman of a noble houſe, whom he had ſtolẽ away, and intiſed to follie: her bretheren to reuenge this iniurie, went to ſet fire vpon the houſe where he was, and that they killed him as we haue tolde you, thinking to leape out of the fire.

*Lais a curtiſan of Corinthe.*

*The ende of Alcibiades life.*

# THE LIFE OF CAIVS *Martius Coriolanus.*

PA. RO.
CORIOLANVS

THE houſe of the *Martians* at ROME was of the number of the ***Patricians***, out of the which hath ſprong many noble perſonages, whereof *Ancus Martius* was one, king *Numaes* daughters ſonne, who was king of ROME after *Tullus Hoſtilius*. Of the ſame houſe were ***Publius***, & ***Quintus***, who brought to ROME their beſt water they had by conduites. ***Cenſorinus*** alſo came of that familie, that was ſo ſurnamed, becauſe the people had choſen him *Cenſor* twiſe. Through whoſe perſuaſion they made a lawe, that no man from thenceforth might require, or enioy the *Cenſorſhippe* twiſe. ***Caius Martius***, whoſe life we intend now to write, being left an orphan by his father, was brought vp vnder his mother a widowe, who taught vs by experience, that orphanage bringeth many diſcommodities to a childe, but doth not hinder him to become an honeſt man, and to excell in vertue aboue the common ſorte: as they that are meanely borne, wrongfully doe complaine, that it is the occaſion of their caſting awaye, for that no man in their youth taketh any care of them to ſee them well brought vp, and taught that were meete. This man alſo is a good proofe to confirme ſome mens opinions. That a rare and excellent witte vntaught, doth bring forth many good and euill thinges together: like a fat ſoile bringeth forth herbes & weedes that lieth vnmanured. For this *Martius* naturall wit and great hart did maruellouſly ſturre vp his courage

*The familie of the Martians.*

***Publius and Quintus Martius, brought the water by conduites to Rome. Cenſorinus lawe.***

to doe and attempt notable actes. But on the other ſide for lacke of education, he was ſo chollericke and impacient, that he would yeeld to no liuing creature: which made him churliſhe, vnciuil, and altogether vnfit for any mans conuerſation. Yet men maruelling much at his conſtancie, that he was neuer ouercome with pleaſure, nor money, and how he would endure eaſilie all manner of paines and trauailles: thereupon they well liked and commended his ſtowtnes and temperancie. But for all that, they could not be acquainted with him, as one cittizen vſeth to be with another in the cittie. His behauiour was ſo vnpleaſant to them by reaſon of a certaine inſolent and ſterne manner he had, which becauſe it was too lordly, was diſliked. And to ſay truly, the greateſt benefite that learning bringeth men vnto, is this: that it teacheth men that be rude and rough of nature, by compaſſe and rule of reaſon, to be ciuill and curteous, & to like better the meane ſtate, then the higher. Now in thoſe dayes, valiantnes was honoured in ROME aboue all other vertues: which they call *virtus*, by the name of vertue it ſelfe, as including in that generall name, all other ſpeciall vertues beſides. So that *virtus* in the Latin, was as much as valiantneſſe. But *Martius* being more inclined to the warres, then any other gentleman of his time: beganne from his childehood to giue himſelfe to handle weapons, and dayly did excerciſe himſelfe therein. And outward he eſteemed armour to no purpoſe, vnles one were naturally armed within. Moreouer he did ſo excerciſe his bodie to hardnes and all kind of actiuitie, that he was very ſwift in running, ſtrong in wreſtling, & mightie in griping, ſo that no man could euer caſt him. Inſomuch as thoſe that would trie maſteries with him for ſtrengh and nimblenes, would ſaye when they were ouercome: that al was by reaſon of his natural ſtrengh, and hardnes of warde, that neuer yeelded to any paine or toyle he tooke vpon him. The firſt time he went to the warres, being but a ſtripling, was when *Tarquine* ſurnamed the prowde (that had bene king of ROME, and was driuen out for his pride, after many attemptes made by ſundry battelles to come in againe, wherein he was euer ouercome (did come to ROME, with all the ayde of the LATINES, & many other people of ITALIE: euen as it were to ſet vp his whole reſt vpon a battell by them, who with a great & mightie armie had vndertaken to put him into his kingdome againe, not ſo much to pleaſure him, as to ouerthrow the power of the ROMAINES, whoſe greatnes they both feared and enuied. In this battell, wherein were many hotte and ſharpe encounters of either partie, *Martius* valliantly fought in the ſight of the Dictator: & a ROMAINE ſouldier being thrown to the groũd euen harde by him, *Martius* ſtraight beſtrid him, and ſlew the enemie with his owne handes that had before ouerthrown the ROMAINE. Hereupon, after the battell was wonne, the Dictator did not forget ſo noble an acte, and therefore firſt of all he crowned *Martius* with a garland of oken boughs. For whoſoeuer ſaueth the life of a ROMAINE, it is a mãner among them, to honour him with ſuch a garland. This was, either becauſe the lawe did this honour to the oke, in fauour of the ARCADIANS, who by the oracle of *Apollo* were in olde time called eaters of akornes: or elſe becauſe the ſouldiers might eaſily in euery place come by oken boughes: or laſtly, becauſe they thought it very neceſſarie, to giue him that had ſaued a cittizens life, a crowne of this tree to honour him, being properly dedicated vnto *Iupiter*, the patron and protectour of their citties, and thought amongſt other wilde trees to bring forth a profitable frute, and of plantes to be the ſtrongeſt. Moreouer, men at the firſt beginning did vſe akornes for their bread, and honie for their drinke: and further, the oke did feede their beaſtes, and giue them birdes, by taking glue from the okes, with the which they made birdlime to catch ſeely birdes. They ſaye that *Caſtor*, and *Pollux*, appeared in this battell, and how incontinently after the battell, men ſawe them in the market place at ROME, all their horſes being on a white fome: and they were the firſt that brought newes of the victorie, euen in the ſame place, where remaineth at this preſent a tẽple built in the honour of them neere vnto the fountaine. And this is the cauſe, why the day of this victorie (which was the fifteenth of Iuly) is conſecrated yet to this day vnto *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. Moreouer it is daily ſeene, that honour and reputation lighting on yong men before their time, and before they haue no great courage by nature: the deſire to winne more, dieth ſtraight in them, which eaſily happeneth, the ſame hauing no deepe roote in them before. Where contrarie wiſe, the firſt honour that valliant mindes do come vnto, doth quicken vp their appetite, haſting them forward as with

force.

*The benefite of learning.*

*What this word Virtus ſignifieth.*

*Coriolanus firſt going to warres.*

*Coriolanus crowned with a garlande of oken boughes.*

*The goodnes of the oke.*

*Too ſodaine honour in youth killeth further deſire of fame.*

force of winde, to enterpriſe thinges of high deſeruing praiſe. For they eſteeme not, to receiue reward for ſeruice done, but rather take it for a remembrance and encouragement, to make them doe better in time to come: and be aſhamed alſo to caſt their honour at their heeles, not ſeeking to increaſe it ſtill by like deſert of worthie valiant deedes. This deſire being bred in *Martius*, he ſtrained ſtill to paſſe himſelfe in manlines: and being deſirous to ſhew a daylie increaſe of his valiantneſſe, his noble ſeruice did ſtill aduance his fame, bringing in ſpoyles vpon ſpoyles from the enemie. Whereupon, the captaines that came afterwards (for enuie of them that went before) did contend who ſhould moſt honour him, and who ſhould beare moſt honorable teſtimonie of his valiantnes. Inſomuch the ROMAINES hauing many warres and battells in thoſe dayes, *Coriolanus* was at them all: and there was not a battell fought, from whence he returned not without ſome reward of honour. And as for other, the only reſpect that made them valiant, was they hoped to haue honour: but touching *Martius*, the onely thing that made him to loue honour, was the ioy he ſawe his mother did take of him. For he thought nothing made him ſo happie and honorable, as that his mother might heare euerie body praiſe and commend him, that ſhee might alwayes ſee him returne with a crowne vpon his head, and that ſhe might ſtill imbrace him with teares running downe her cheekes for ioye. Which deſire they ſay *Epaminondas* did auow, and confeſſe to haue beene in him: as to thinke himſelfe a moſt happie and bleſſed man, that his father and mother in their life time had ſeene the victorie he wanne in the plaine of LEVCTRES. Now as for *Epaminondas*, he had this good happe, to haue his father and mother liuing, to be partakers of his ioye and proſperitie. But *Martius* thinking all due to his mother, that had bene alſo due to his father if he had liued: did not only content himſelfe to reioyce and honour her, but at her deſire tooke a wife alſo, by whome he had two children, and yet neuer left his mothers houſe therefore. Now he being growen to great credit & authoritie in ROME for his valiantnes, it fortuned there grewe ſedition in the cittie, becauſe the Senate did fauour the rich againſt the people, who did complaine of the ſore oppreſſion of vſurers, of whom they borrowed money. For thoſe that had litle, were yet ſpoyled of that litle they had by their creditours, for lacke of abilitie to paye the vſurie: who offered their goodes to be ſolde to them that would giue moſt. And ſuch as had nothing left, their bodies were layed hold on, and they were made their bondmen, notwithſtanding all the woundes and cuttes they ſhewed, which they had receiued in many battells, fighting for defence of their countrie and common wealth: of the which, the laſt warre they made was againſt the SABINES, wherein they fought vpon the promiſe the rich men had made them, that from thenceforth they would intreate them more gently and alſo vpon the word of *Marcus Valerius* chiefe of the Senate, who by authoritie of the Counſell, & in the behalfe of the rich, ſayed they ſhould performe that they had promiſed. But after that they had faithfully ſerued in this laſt battell of all, where they ouercame their enemies, ſeeing they were neuer a whit the better, nor more gently intreated, and that the Senate would giue no eare to them, but made as though they had forgotten their former promiſe, and ſuffered them to be made ſlaues and bondemen to their creditours, and beſides, to be turned out of all that euer they had: they fell then euen to flat rebellion and mutinie, and to ſturre vp daungerous tumults within the cittie. The ROMAINES enemies hearing of this rebellion did ſtraight enter the territories of ROME with a maruellous great power, ſpoyling and burning all as they came. Whereupon the Senate immediatly made open proclamation by ſound of trumpet, that all thoſe that were of lawfull age to carie weapon, ſhould come and enter their names into the muſter maſters booke, to goe to the warres: but no man obeied their commaundement. Whereupon their chiefe magiſtrates, and many of the Senate, began to be of diuers opinions among themſelues. For ſome thought it was reaſon, they ſhould ſomewhat yeelde to the poore peoples requeſt, and that they ſhould a litle qualifie the ſeueritie of the lawe. Other held hard againſt that opinion, and that was *Martius* for one. For he alleaged, that the creditours loſing their money they had lent, was not the worſt thing that was thereby: but that the lenitie that was fauored, was a beginning of diſobedience, and that the proude attempt of the communaltie, was to aboliſh law, and to bring all to confuſion. Therefore he ſayed, if the Senate were wiſe, they ſhould betimes preuent and quench this ill fauored & worſe ment begin-

*Coriolanus and Epaminondas did* [illegible] *their* [illegible] *honour.*

*The* [illegible] *of Coriolanus* [illegible]

*Extremitie of vſurie complained of at Rome by the people.*

*Counſellers promiſes make men valiant, in hope of iuſt performance.*

*Ingratitude, and good ſeruice vnrewarded, prouoketh rebellion*

*Martius Coriolanus againſt the people.*

ning. The Senate met many dayes in conſultation about it: but in the end they concluded nothing. The poore common people ſeeing no redreſſe, gathered themſelues one day together, and one encoraging another, they all forſooke the cittie, and encamped themſelues vpon a hill, called at that daye the holy hill, alongeſt the riuer of Tyber, offring no creature any hurt or violence, or making any ſhewe of actuall rebellion: ſauing that they cried as they went vp and downe, that the rich men had driuen them out of the cittie, and that all ITALIE through they ſhould find aire, water, and ground to burie them in. Moreouer, they ſayd, to dwell at ROME was nothing elſe but to be ſlaine, or hurt with continuall warres, and fighting for defence of the rich mens goodes. The Senate being aſeard of their departure, did ſend vnto them certaine of the pleaſanteſt olde men, and the most acceptable to the people among them. Of thoſe *Menenius Agrippa* was he, who was ſent for chieſe man of the meſſage from the Senate. He, after many good perſuaſions and gentle requeſtes made to the people, on the behalſe of the Senate: knit vp his oration in the end, with a notable tale, in this manner. That on a time all the members of mans body did rebell againſt the bellie, complaining of it, that it onely remained in the middeſt of the bodie, without doing any thing, neither did beare any labour to the maintenaunce of the reſt: whereas all other partes and members did labour paynefully, & were very carefull to ſatiſfie the appetites and deſires of the bodie. And ſo the bellie, all this notwithſtanding laughed at their follie, and ſayed. It is true, I firſt receiue all meates that noriſh mans bodie: but afterwardes I ſend it againe to the noriſhment of other partes of the ſame. Euen ſo (quoth he) ô you, my maiſters, and cittizens of ROME: the reaſon is alike betweene the Senate & you. For matters being wel digeſted, & their counſells throughly examined, touching the benefite of the common wealth: the Senatours are cauſe of the common cõmoditie that cõmeth vnto euery one of you. Theſe perſuaſions pacified the people, conditionally, that the Senate would graunt there ſhould be yerely choſen fiue magiſtrates, which they now call *Tribuni plebis*, whoſe office ſhould be to defend the poore people from violence and oppreſſion. So *Iunius Brutus*, and *Sicinius Vellutus*, were the firſt Tribunes of the people that were choſen, who had onely bene the cauſers & procurers of this ſedition. Hereupon the citie being grown againe to good quiet and vnitie, the people immediately went to the warres, ſhewing that they had a good will to do better then euer they did, and to be very willing to obey the magiſtrates in that they would commaund, concerning the warres. *Martius* alſo, though it liked him nothing to ſee the greatnes of the people thus increaſed, conſidering, it was to the preiudice, and imbaſing of the nobilitie, and alſo ſawe that other noble *Patricians* were troubled as well as himſelſe: he did perſuade the *Patricians*, to ſhew themſelues no leſſe forward and willing to fight for their countrie, then the common people were: and to let them know by their deedes and actes, that they did not ſo much paſſe the people in power and riches, as they did exceede them in true nobilitie and valiantneſſe. In the countrie of the VOLSCES againſt whom the ROMAINES made war at that time, there was a principall cittie & of moſt fame, that was called CORIOLES, before the which the Conſul *Cominius* did laye ſiege. Wherefore al the other VOLSCES fearing leaſt that cittie ſhould be taken by aſſault, they came from all partes of the countrie to ſaue it, entending to giue the ROMAINES battell before the cittie, and to giue an onſet on them in two ſeuerall places. The Conſul *Cominius* vnderſtanding this, deuided his armie alſo into two partes, and taking the one part with himſelſ, he marched towards them that were drawing to the cittie, out of the countrie: and the other part of his armie he left in the campe with *Titus Latius* (one of the valianteſt men the ROMAINES had at that time) to reſiſt thoſe that would make any ſaly out of the cittie vpon them. So the CORIOLANS making ſmall accompt of them that laye in campe before the cittie, made a ſalye out vpon them, in the which at the firſt the CORIOLANS had the better, and draue the ROMAINES backe againe into the trenches of their campe. But *Martius* being there at that time, running out of the campe with a fewe men with him, he ſlew the firſt enemies he met withal, and made the reſt of them ſtay vpon the ſodain, crying out to the ROMAINES that had turned their backes, and calling them againe to fight with a loud voyce. For he was euen ſuch another, as *Cato* would haue a ſouldier and a captaine to be, not only terrible, and fierce to lay about him, but to make the enemie aſearde with the ſounde of his voyce, and grimnes of his

*The people leaue the cittie and doe goe to the holy hill.*

*An excellent tale tolde by Menenius Agrippa to pacifie the people.*

*The firſt beginning of Tribuni plebis. Iunius Brutus, Sicinius Vellutus, the two firſt Tribunes.*

*The cittie of Corioles beſieged by the Conſul Cominius.*

*Titus Lartius, a valiant Romaine.*

*The propertie of a ſouldier.*

countenance. Then there flocked about him immediately, a great number of ROMAINES: whereat the enemies were ſo afeard, that they gaue backe preſently. But *Martius* not ſtaying ſo, did chaſe and followe them to their owne gates, that fled for life. And there perceiuing that the ROMAINES retired backe, for the great number of dartes and arrowes which flew about their eares frõ the walles of the cittie, & that there was not one man amongeſt them that durſt venter himſelfe to follow the flying enemies into the cittie, for that it was full of men of warre, very well armed, and appointed: he did encorage his fellowes with wordes and deedes, crying out to them, that fortune had opened the gates of the cittie, more for the followers thẽ the flyers. But all this notwithſtanding, few had the hartes to follow him. Howbeit *Martius* being in the throng among the enemies, thruſt himſelfe into the gates of the cittie, and entred the ſame among them that fled, without that any one of them durſt at the firſt turne their face vpon him, or elſe offer to ſtay him. But he looking about him, & ſeeing he was entred the cittie with very fewe men to helpe him, and perceiuing he was enuironed by his enemies that gathered round about to ſet vpon him: did thinges as it is written, wonderfull and incredible, aſwell for the force of his hand, as alſo for the agilitie of his body, and with a wonderfull corage and valiantnes, he made a lane through the middeſt of them, and ouerthrew alſo thoſe he layed at: that ſome he made runne to the furtheſt part of the cittie and other for feare he made yeeld themſelues, and to let fall their weapons before him. By this meanes, *Martius* that was gotten out, had ſome leiſure to bring the ROMAINES with more ſafetie into the cittie. The cittie being taken in this ſorte, the moſt part of the ſouldiers beganne incontinently to ſpoile, to carry away, and to looke vp the bootie they had wonne.

*The cittie of Corioles taken.*

But *Martius* was maruellous angry with them, and cryed out of them, that it was no time now to looke after ſpoyle, and to runne ſtragling heere and there to enrich themſelues, whileſt the other Conſul and their fellowe cittizens peraduenture were fighting with their enemies: and how that leauing the ſpoyle, they ſhould ſeeke to winde them ſelues out of daunger and perill. Howbeit crie, and ſaye, to them what he could, very fewe of them would harken to him. Wherefore taking thoſe that willingly offered themſelues to followe him, he went out of the cittie, and tooke his waye towardes that part, where he vnderſtoode the reſt of the armie was: exhorting and intreating them by the waye that followed him not to be fainte harted, and ofte holding vp his handes to heauen, he beſought the goddes to be gracious and fauorable vnto him, that he might come in time to the battell, and in a good houre to hazarde his life in defence of his countrie-men. Now the ROMAINES when they were put in battell raye, and readye to take their targettes on their armes, and to girde them vpon their arming coates, had a cuſtome to make their willes at that very inſtant, without any manner of writing, naming him only whom they would make their heir in the preſence of three or foure witneſſes.

*Souldiers teſtamentes.*

*Martius* came iuſt to that reckoning, whileſt the ſouldiers were doing after that ſorte, and that the enemies were approached ſo neere, as one ſtoode in viewe of the other. When they ſawe him at his firſt comming, all blouddy, and in a ſwet, and but with a fewe men following him: ſome thereupon beganne to be afeard. But ſoone after, when they ſawe him runne with a liuely cheere to the Conſul, and to take him by the hande, declaring howe he had taken the cittie of CORIOLES, and that they ſawe the Conſul *Cominius* alſo kiſſe and imbrace him: then there was not a man but tooke harte againe to him, and beganne to be of a good courage, ſome hearing him report from poynt to poynt, the happie ſucceſſe of this exployte, and other alſo coniecturing it by ſeeing their geſtures a farre off. Then they all beganne to call vpon the Conſul to martch forward, and to delaye no longer but to giue charge vpon the enemie. *Martius* asked him howe the order of their enemies battell was, and on which ſide they had placed their beſt fighting men.

*By Coriolanus meanes, the Volſci were ouercome in battell.*

The Conſul made him aunſwer, that he thought the bandes which were in the vowarde of their battell, were thoſe of the ANTIATES, whom they eſteemed to be the warlikeſt men, and which for valiaunt corage would giue no place, to any of the hoſte of their enemies. Then prayed *Martius*, to be ſet directly againſt them. The Conſul granted him, greatly prayſing his courage. Then *Martius*, when both armies came almoſt to ioyne, aduaunced himſelfe a good ſpace before his companie, and went ſo fiercely to giue charge on the voward that came right againſt him, that they could ſtand no longer in his handes: hee made ſuch a lane through them, and opened a paſſage into the battell of the enemies. But the two winges of either ſide turned one to the other, to compaſſe him in betweene them: which the Conſul *Cominius* perceiuing, he ſent thither ſtraight of the beſt ſouldiers he had about him. So the battell was maruellous bloudie about *Martius*, and in a very ſhorte ſpace many were ſlaine in the place. But in the end the ROMAINES were ſo ſtrong, that they diſtreſſed the enemies, and brake their arraye: and ſcattering them, made them flye. Then they prayed *Martius* that he would retire to the campe, becauſe they ſawe he was able to doe no more, he was alreadie ſo wearied with the great paine he had taken, and ſo fainte with the great woundes he had vpon him. But *Martius* aunſwered them, that it was not for conquerours to yeelde, nor to be fainte harted: and thereupon beganne a freſhe to chaſe thoſe that fledde, vntill ſuch time as the armie of the enemies was vtterly ouerthrowne, and numbers of them ſlaine and taken priſoners. The next morning betimes, *Martius* went to the Conſul, and the other ROMAINES with him. There the Conſul *Cominius* going vp to his chayr of ſtate, in the preſence of the whole armie, gaue thankes to the goddes for ſo great, glorious, and proſperous a victorie: then he ſpake to *Martius*, whoſe valiantneſſe he commended beyond the moone, both for that he himſelfe ſawe him do with his eyes, as alſo for that *Martius* had reported vnto him. So in the ende he willed *Martius*, that he ſhould chooſe out of all the horſes they had taken of their enemies, and of all their goodes they had wonne (whereof there was great ſtore) tenne of euerie ſorte which he liked beſt, before any diſtribution ſhould be made to other. Beſides this great honourable offer he had made him, he gaue him in teſtimonie that he had wonne that daye the price of proweſſe aboue all other, a goodly horſe with a capariſon, and all furniture to him: which the whole armie beholding, did maruellouſly praiſe and commend. But *Martius* ſtepping forth, told the Conſull, he moſt thankefully accepted the gift of his horſe, and was a glad man beſides, that his ſeruice had deſerued his generalles commendation: and as for his other offer, which was rather a mercenarie rewarde, then an honorable recompence, he would haue none of it, but was contented to haue his equall part with other ſouldiers. Onely, this grace (ſayed he) I craue and beſeech you to graunt me. Among the VOLSCES there is an olde friend and hoaſt of mine, an honeſt wealthie man, and nowe a priſoner, who liuing before in great wealth in his owne countrie, liueth nowe a poore priſoner, in the hands of his enemies: and yet notwithſtanding all this his miſerie and misfortune, it would do me great pleaſure if I could ſaue him from this one danger: to keepe him from being ſolde as a ſlaue. The ſouldiers hearing *Martius* wordes, made a maruellous great ſhoute among them: and there were more that wondred at his great contentation and abſtinence, when they ſawe ſo litle couetouſnes in him, then they were that highly praiſed and extolled his valiantnes. For euen they themſelues, that did ſomewhat malice and enuie his glorie, to ſee him thus honoured, and paſſingly prayſed did thinke him ſomuch the more worthie of an honorable recompence for his valiant ſeruice, as the more careleſly he refuſed the great offer made vnto him for his profitte: and they eſteemed more the vertue that was in him, that made him refuſe ſuch rewards, then that which made them to be offered to him, as vnto a worthie perſon. For it is farre more commendable, to vſe riches well, then to be valiant: and yet it is better not to deſire them then to vſe them well. After this ſhoute and noyſe of the aſſembly was ſomewhat appeaſed, the Conſul *Cominius* beganne to ſpeake in this ſorte. We cannot compell *Martius* to take theſe giftes wee offer him if he will not receiue them: but we will giue him ſuch a reward for the noble ſeruice he hath done, as he cannot refuſe. Therefore we do order and decree, that henceforth he be called *Coriolanus*, vnleſſe his valiant actes haue wonne him that name before our nomination. And ſo euer ſince, he ſtill bare the third name of *Coriolanus*. And therby it appeareth, that the firſt name the ROMAINES haue, as *Caius*: was our Chriſtian name now. The ſecond as *Martius*: was the name of the houſe and familie they came of. The third, was ſome addition giuen, either for ſome acte or notable ſeruice, or for ſome marke on their face, or of ſome ſhape of their bodie, or elſe for ſome ſpeciall vertue they had. Euen ſo did the GRECIANS in olde time giue additions to Princes, by reaſon of ſome notable acte worthie memorie. As when they haue called ſome, *Soter* and *Callinicos*: as much to ſay ſauiour and conquerour. Or elſe of ſome notable appa-

*The tenth part of the enemies goodes offred Martius for rewarde of his ſeruice, by Cominius the cõſul.*

*Valiancie rewarded with honour in the fielde.*

*Martius noble anſwer and refuſall.*

*Martius ſurnamed Coriolanus by the Conſul.*

*How the Romaines came to haue three names.*

*Why the Greciãs gaue Kings ſurnames.*

rant marke on ones face,or on his bodie,they haue called him *Phiſcon*,and *Grypos*:as ye would ſay,gorebelly,and hooke noſed: or elſe for ſome vertue,as *Euergetes*,and *Phyladelphos*: to wit, a benefactour,and louer of his brethren. Or otherwiſe for ones great felicitie, as *Eudæmon*: as much to ſay,as fortunate. For ſo was the ſecond of the* *Battes* ſurnamed. And ſome Kings haue had ſurnames of ieaſt and mockerie. As one of the *Antigones* that was called *Doſon*, to ſay, the Giuer: who was euer promiſing,and neuer giuing. And one of the *Ptolomees* was called *Lamyros*: to ſay, conceitiue. The ROMAINES vſe more then any other nation, to giue names of mockerie in this ſort. As there was one *Metellus* ſurnamed *Diadematus*, the banded: becauſe he caried a band about his head of long time,by reaſon of a ſore he had in his forehead. One other of his owne familie was called *Celer*: the quick flie. Becauſe a few dayes after the death of his father,he ſhewed the people the cruell fight of fenſers at vnrebated ſwords,which they found wonderfull for the ſhortneſſe of time. Other had their ſurnames deriued of ſome accident of their birth. As to this day they call him *Proculeius*,that is borne,his father being in ſome far voyage: and him *Poſthumius*,that is borne after the death of his father. And when of two brethren twins,the one doth die,and the other ſuruiueth: they call the ſuruiuer,*Vopiſcus*. Somtimes alſo they giue ſurnames deriued of ſome marke or misfortune of the body. As *Sylla*, to ſay,crooked noſed: *Niger*,blacke: *Rufus*,red: *Cæcus*,blinde: *Claudus* lame. They did wiſely in this thing to accuſtome men to thinke, that neither the loſſe of their ſight, nor other ſuch misfortunes as may chaunce to men, are any ſhame or diſgrace vnto them, but the manner was to aunſwer boldly to ſuch names,as if they were called by their proper names. Howbeit theſe matters would be better amplified in other ſtories then this. Now when this warre was ended, the flatterers of the people began to ſturre vp ſedition againe, without any new occaſion,or iuſt matter offered of complaint. For they did ground this ſecond inſurrection againſt the Nobilitie and *Patricians*, vpon the peoples miſerie and misfortune, that could not but fall out, by reaſon of the former diſcorde and ſedition betweene them and the Nobilitie. Becauſe the moſt part of the arable land within the territorie of ROME,was become heathie and barren for lacke of plowing, for that they had no time nor meane to cauſe corne to be brought them out of other countries to ſowe,by reaſon of their wars which made the extreame dearth they had among them. Now thoſe buſie pratlers that ſought the peoples good will, by ſuch flattering words,perceiuing great ſcarſitie of corne to be within the citie, and though there had bene plenty enough,yet the common people had no money to buie it: they ſpread abroad falſe tales and rumors againſt the Nobilitie, that they in reuenge of the people, had practiſed and procured the extreame dearth among them. Furthermore,in the middeſt of this ſtur,there came ambaſſadours to ROME from the citie of VELITRES, that offered vp their citie to the ROMAINES,and praied them they would ſend new inhabitants to repleniſh the ſame: becauſe the plague had bene ſo extreame among them,and had killed ſuch a number of them, as there was not left aliue the tenth perſon of the people that had bene there before. So the wiſe men of ROME began to thinke, that the neceſſitie of the VELITRIANS fell out in a moſt happy houre, and how by this occaſion it was very meete in ſo great a ſcarſitie of victuals,to diſburden ROME of a great number of citizens: and by this meanes aſwell to take away this new ſedition, and vtterlie to rid it out of the citie, as alſo to cleare the ſame of many mutinous and ſeditious perſons, being the ſuperfluous ill humours that greeuouſlie fedde this diſeaſe. Hereupon the Conſuls prickt out all thoſe by a bill, whom they intended to ſend to VELITRES, to go dwell there as in forme of a colonie: and they leauied out of all the reſt that remained in the citie of ROME, a great number to go againſt the VOLSCES, hoping by the meanes of forraine warre, to pacifie their ſedition at home. Moreouer they imagined, when the poore with the riche, and the meane ſorte with the Nobilitie, ſhould by this deuiſe be abroad in the warres, and in one campe, and in one ſeruice, and in one like danger: that then they would be more quiet and louing together. But *Sicinius* and *Brutus*, two ſeditious Tribunes,ſpake againſt either of theſe deuiſes, and cried out vpon the noble men, that vnder the gentle name of a colonie: they would cloake and colour the moſt cruell and vnnaturall fact as might be: becauſe they ſent their poore citizens into a ſore infected citie and peſtilent ayre, full of dead bodies vnburied, and there alſo to dwell vnder the tuition of a ſtrange god,

** Theſe were the princes that built the citie of Cyrene.*

*Names of mockerie among the Romaines.*

*Sedition at Rome,by reaſon of famine.*

*Velitres made a colonie to Rome.*

*Two practiſes to remoue the ſedition in Rome.*

*Sicinius and Brutus Tribunes of the people,againſt both thoſe deuiſes.*

that had ſo cruelly perſecuted his people. This were (ſaid they) euen as much, as if the Senate ſhould headlong caſt downe the people into a moſt bottomleſſe pit. And are not yet contented to haue famiſhed ſome of the poore citizens heretofore to death, and to put other of them euen to the mercie of the plague: but a freſh, they haue procured a voluntarie warre, to the end they would leaue behinde no kinde of miſerie and ill, wherewith the poore ſillie people ſhould not be plagued, and onely becauſe they are wearie to ſerue the riche. The common people being ſet on a broile and brauerie with theſe wordes, would not appeare when the Conſuls called their names by a bill, to preſt them for the warres, neither would they be ſent out to this new colonie: in ſo much as the Senate knewe not well what to ſay or do in the matter. *Martius* then, who was now growne to great credit, and a ſtoute man beſides, and of great reputation with the nobleſt men of ROME, roſe vp, and openly ſpake againſt theſe flattering Tribunes. And for the repleniſhing of the citie of VELITRES, he did compell thoſe that were choſen, to go thither, and to depart the citie, vpon great penalties to him that ſhould diſobey: but to the warres, the people by no meanes would be brought or conſtrained. So *Martius* taking his friends and followers with him, and ſuch as he could by faire words intreate to go with him, did runne certaine forreys into the dominion of the ANTIATES, where he met with great plentie of corne, and had a maruellous great ſpoile, aſwell of cattell, as of men he had taken priſoners, whom he brought away with him, and reſerued nothing for himſelfe. Afterwards, hauing brought backe againe all his men that went out with him, ſafe and ſound to ROME, and euery man riche and loden with ſpoile: then the home-tarriers and houſe-doues that kept ROME ſtill, began to repent them that it was not their hap to go with him, and ſo enuied both them that had ſped ſo well in this iourney, and alſo of malice to *Martius*, they ſpighted to ſee his credit and eſtimation increaſe ſtill more and more, becauſe they accounted him to be a great hinderer of the people. Shortly after this, *Martius* ſtood for the Conſulſhip: and the common people fauoured his ſute, thinking it would be a ſhame to them to denie, and refuſe the chiefeſt noble man of bloud, and moſt worthie perſon of ROME, and ſpecially him that had done ſo great ſeruice and good to the commonwealth. For the cuſtome of ROME was at that time, that ſuch as did ſue for any office, ſhould for certaine dayes before be in the market place, onely with a poore gowne on their backes, and without any coate vnderneath, to pray the cittizens to remember them at the day of election: which was thus deuiſed, either to moue the people the more, by requeſting them in ſuch meane apparell, or elſe becauſe they might ſhew them their wounds they had gotten in the warres in the ſeruice of the commonwealth, as manifeſt markes and teſtimonie of their valiantneſſe. Now it is not to be thought that the ſuters went thus loſe in a ſimple gowne in the market place, without any coate vnder it, for feare, and ſuſpition of the common people: for offices of dignitie in the citie were not then giuen by fauour or corruption. It was but of late time, and long after this, that buying and ſelling fell out in election of officers, and that the voices of the electours were bought for money. But after corruption had once gotten way into the election of offices, it hath runne from man to man, euen to the very ſentence of iudges, and alſo among captaines in the warres: ſo as in the ende, that onely turned common wealths into Kingdomes, by making armes ſubiect to money. Therefore me thinkes hee had reaſon that ſaied: hee that firſt made banckets, and gaue money to the common people, was the firſt that tooke away authoritie, and deſtroyed commonwealth. But this peſtilence crept in by litle and litle, and did ſecretly winne ground ſtill, continuing a long time in ROME, before it was openly knowne and diſcouered. For no man can tell who was the firſt man that bought the peoples voices for money, nor that corrupted the ſentence of the iudges. Howbeit at ATHENS ſome holde opinion, that *Anytus*, the ſonne of *Anthemion*, was the firſt that fedde the iudges with money, about the ende of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, being accuſed of treaſon for yeelding vp the forte of PYLE, at that time, when the golden and vnſoiled age remained yet whole in iudgement at ROME. Now *Martius* following this cuſtome, ſhewed many woundes and cuts vpon his bodie, which he had receiued in ſeuenteene yeares ſeruice at the warres, and in many ſundrie battels, being euer the foremoſt man that did ſet out feete to fight. So that there was not a man

among

*Coriolanus offendeth the people.*

*Coriolanus inuadeth the Antiates, and bringeth riche ſpoiles home.*

*The manner of ſuing for office at Rome.*

*Whereupon this manner of ſuing was ſo deuiſed.*

*Offices giuen then by deſert, without fauour or corruption.*

*Bankets and money giuen, onely deſtroiers of common wealth.*

*Anytus the Athenian, the firſt that with money corrupted the ſentence of the iudge, and voyces of the people.*

among the people, but was aſhamed of himſelfe, to refuſe ſo valiant a man: and one of them ſaid to another, we muſt needes chooſe him Conſull, there is no remedie. But when the day of election was come, and that *Martius* came to the market place with great pompe, accompanied with all the Senate, and the whole Nobilitie of the citie about him, who ſought to make him Conſull, with the greateſt inſtance and intreatie they could, or euer attempted for any man or matter: then the loue and good will of the common people, turned ſtraight to an hate and enuie toward him, fearing to put this office of ſoueraigne authoritie into his hands, being a man ſomewhat partiall toward the nobilitie, and of great credit and authoritie amongſt the *Patricians*, and as one they might doubt would take away altogether the libertie from the people. Whereupon for theſe conſiderations, they refuſed *Martius* in the end, and made two other that were ſuters, Conſuls. The Senate being maruellouſly offended with the people, did accompt the ſhame of this refuſall, rather to redound to themſelues, then to *Martius*: but *Martius* tooke it in farre worſe parte then the Senate, and was out of all pacience. For he was a man too full of paſſion and choller, and too much giuen to ouer ſelfe will and opinion, as one of a high minde and great courage, that lacked the grauitie, and affabilitie that is gotten with iudgement of learning and reaſon, which onely is to be looked for in a gouernour of ſtate: and that remembred not how wilfulneſſe is the thing of the world, which a gouernour of a commonwealth for pleaſing ſhould ſhun, being that which *Plato* called ſolitarineſſe. As in the end, all men that are wilfully giuen to a ſelfe opinion and obſtinate minde, and who will neuer yeeld to others reaſon, but to their owne: remaine without companie, and forſaken of all men. For a man that will liue in the world, muſt needs haue patience, which luſtie blouds make but a mocke at. So *Martius* being a ſtoute man of nature, that neuer yeelded in any reſpect, as one thinking that to ouercome alwaies, and to haue the vpper hand in all matters, was a token of magnanimitie, and of no baſe and faint courage, which ſpitteth out anger from the moſt weake and paſsioned part of the heart, much like the matter of an impoſtume: went home to his houſe, full fraighted with ſpight and malice againſt the people, being accompanied with all the luſtieſt young gentlemen, whoſe mindes were nobly bent, as thoſe that came of noble race, and commonly vſed for to follow and honour him. But then ſpecially they flockt about him, and kept him companie, to his much harme: for they did but kindle and inflame his choller more and more, being ſorie with him for the iniurie the people offered him, becauſe he was their captaine and leader to the warres, that taught them all marſhall diſcipline, and ſtirred vp in them a noble emulation of honour and valiantneſſe, and yet without enuie, praiſing them that deſerued beſt. In the meane ſeaſon, there came great plentie of corne to ROME, that had bene bought, part in ITALIE, and part was ſent out of SICILE, as giuen by *Gelon* the tyrant of SYRACVSA: ſo that many ſtood in great hope, that the dearth of victuals being holpẽ, the ciuill diſſention would alſo ceaſe. The Senate ſate in counſell vpon it immediatly, the common people ſtood alſo about the pallace where the counſell was kept, gaping what reſolution would fall out: perſwading themſelues, that the corne they had bought ſhould be ſolde good cheape, and that which was giuen ſhould be deuided by the polle, without paying any pennie, and the rather, becauſe certaine of the Senatours amongſt them did ſo wiſhe and perſwade the ſame. But *Martius* ſtanding vpon his feete, did ſomewhat ſharpely take vp thoſe, who went about to gratifie the people therein: and called them people pleaſers, and traitours to the nobilitie. Moreouer, he ſaied, they nouriſhed againſt themſelues, the naughtie ſeede and cockle of inſolencie and ſedition, “ which had bene ſowed and ſcattered abroade amongſt the people whom they ſhould haue “ cut off, if they had bene wiſe, and haue preuented their greatneſſe: and not to their owne deſtruction “ to haue ſuffered the people, to ſtabliſh a magiſtrate for themſelues, of ſo great “ power and authoritie, as that man had, to whome they had granted it. Who was alſo to “ be feared, becauſe he obtained what he would, and did nothing but what he liſted, neither “ paſſed for any obedience to the Conſuls, but liued in all libertie, acknowledging no ſuperiour “ to commaund him, ſauing the onely heads and authours of their faction, whom he called “ his magiſtrates. Therefore ſaied he, they that gaue counſell, and perſwaded that the corne “ ſhould be giuen out to the common people *gratis*, as they vſed to do in the cities of GRECE, “

*See the fickle mindes of common people.*

*The fruites of ſelfe will and obſtinacie.*

*Great ſtore of corne brought to Rome.*

*Coriolanus oration againſt the inſolencie of the people.*

„ where the people had more abſolute power: did but onely nouriſh their diſobedience, which
„ would breake out in the ende, to the vtter ruine and ouerthrowe of the whole ſtate. For they
„ will not thinke it is done in recompenſe of their ſeruice paſt, ſithence they know well enough
„ they haue ſo oft refuſed to go to the warres, when they were commanded: neither for their
„ mutinies when they went with vs, whereby they haue rebelled and forſaken their countrie:
„ neither for their accuſations which their flatterers haue preferred vnto them, and they haue receiued,
„ and made good againſt the Senate: but they will rather iudge, we giue and grant them
this, as abaſing our ſelues, and ſtanding in feare of them, and glad to flatter them euery way. By
„ this meanes, their diſobedience will ſtill growe worſe and worſe: and they will neuer leaue to
„ practiſe new ſedition, and vprores. Therefore it were a great follie for vs, me thinkes to do it:
„ yea, ſhall I ſay more? we ſhould if we were wiſe, take from them their Tribuneſhip, which
„ moſt manifeſtly is the embaſing of the Conſulſhip, and the cauſe of the diuiſion of the citie.
„ The ſtate whereof as it ſtandeth, is not now as it was wonte to be, but becommeth diſmembred
„ in two factions, which maintains alwaies ciuill diſſention and diſcorde betweene vs, and
will neuer ſuffer vs againe to be vnited into one body. *Martius* dilating the matter with many ſuch like reaſons, wonne all the young men, and almoſt all the riche men to his opinion: in ſo much they range it out, that he was the only man, and alone in the city, who ſtood out againſt the people, and neuer flattered them. There were only a fewe old men that ſpake againſt him, fearing leaſt ſome miſchiefe might fall out vpon it, as indeed there followed no great good afterward. For the Tribunes of the people, being preſent at this conſultation of the Senate, when they ſawe that the opinion of *Martius* was confirmed with the more voices, they left the Senate, and went downe to the people, crying out for helpe, and that they would aſſemble to ſaue their Tribunes. Hereupon the people ran on head in tumult together, before whom the words that *Martius* ſpake in the Senate were openly reported: which the people ſo ſtomaked, that euen in that furie they were ready to flie vpon the whole Senate. But the Tribunes laide all the fault and burthen wholly vpon *Martius*, and ſent their ſergeants forthwith to arreſt him, preſently to appeare in perſon before the people, to anſwer the words he had ſpoken in the Senate. *Martius* ſtoutly withſtood theſe officers that came to arreſt him. Then the Tribunes in their owne perſons, accompanied with the Ædiles, went to fetche him by force, and ſo laide violent hands vpon him. Howbeit the noble *Patricians* gathering together about him, made the Tribunes giue back, and laid it ſore vpon the Ædiles: ſo for that time, the night parted them, and the tumult appeaſed. The next morning betimes, the Conſuls ſeeing the people in an vprore, running to the market place out of all parts of the citie, they were affraide leaſt all the citie would together by the eares: wherefore aſſembling the Senate in all haſt, they declared how it ſtood them vpon, to appeaſe the furie of the people, with ſome gentle words, or gratefull decrees in their fauour: and moreouer, like wiſe men they ſhould conſider, it was now no time to ſtand at defence and in contention, nor yet to fight for honour againſt the communaltie: they being fallen to ſo great an extremitie, and offering ſuch imminent danger. Wherefore they were to conſider temperately of things, and to deliuer ſome preſent and gentle pacification. The moſt part of the Senatours that were preſent at this counſell, thought this opinion beſt, and gaue their conſents vnto it. Whereupon the Conſuls riſing out of counſell, went to ſpeake vnto the people as gently as they could, and they did pacifie their furie and anger, purging the Senate of all the vniuſt accuſations laide vpon them, and vſed great modeſtie in perſwading them, and alſo in reprouing the faults they had committed. And as for the reſt, that touched the ſale of corne: they promiſed there ſhould be no diſliking offered them in the price. So the moſt part of the people being pacified, and appearing ſo plainly by the great ſilence and ſtill that was among them, as yeelding to the Conſuls, and liking well of their words: the Tribunes then of the people roſe out of their ſeates, and ſaid. Foraſmuch as the Senate yeelded vnto reaſon, the people alſo for their part, as became them, did likewiſe giue place vnto them: but notwithſtanding, they would that *Martius* ſhould come in perſon to aunſwer to the articles they had deuiſed. Firſt, whether he had not ſolicited and procured the Senate to change the preſent ſtate of the common weale, and to take the ſoueraigne authoritie out of the peoples hands. Next, when he was ſent for by authoritie

*Sedition at Rome for Coriolanus.*

*Articles againſt Coriolanus.*

of their officers, why he did contemptuouſly reſiſt and diſobey. Laſtly, ſeeing he had driuen and beaten the Ædiles into the market place before all the world: if in doing this, hee had not done as much as in him lay, to raiſe ciuill warres, and to ſet one citizen againſt another. All this was ſpoken to one of theſe two endes, either that *Martius* againſt his nature ſhould be conſtrained to humble himſelf, and to abaſe his haughtie and fierce mind: or elſe if he continued ſtill in his ſtoutneſſe, he ſhould incurre the peoples diſpleaſure and ill will ſo farre, that he ſhould neuer poſſibly win them againe. Which they hoped would rather fall out ſo, then otherwiſe: as in deede they geſt vnhappily, conſidering *Martius* nature and diſpoſition. So *Martius* came, and preſented himſelfe, to anſwere their accuſations againſt him, and the people held their peace, and gaue attentiue eare, to heare what he would ſay. But where they thought to haue heard very humble and lowly wordes come from him, he beganne not only to vſe his wonted boldnes of ſpeaking (which of it ſelfe was very rough and vnpleaſant, and did more aggrauate his accuſation, then purge his innocencie) but alſo gaue himſelfe in his wordes to thunder, and looke therewithall ſo grimly, as though he made no reckoning of the matter. This ſtirred coales among the people, who were in wonderfull furie at it, & their hate and malice grew ſo toward him, that they could hold no longer, beare, nor indure his brauerie and careleſſe boldnes. Whereupon *Sicinius*, the cruelleſt and ſtouteſt of the Tribunes, after he had whiſpered a litle with his companions, did openly pronounce in the face of all the people, *Martius* as condemned by the Tribunes to die. Then preſently he commaunded the Ædiles to apprehend him, and carie him ſtraight to the rocke Tarpeian, and to caſt him hedlong downe the ſame. When the Ædiles came to lay handes vpon *Martius* to do that they were commaunded, diuers of the people themſelues thought it too cruell and violent a deede. The noble men alſo being much troubled to ſee ſuch force and rigour vſed, beganne to crie aloude, helpe *Martius*: ſo thoſe that laide handes on him being repulſed, they compaſſed him in round among themſelues, and ſome of them holding vp their handes to the people, beſought them not to handle him thus cruelly. But neither their words, nor crying out could ought preuaile, the tumult and hurly burley was ſo great, vntill ſuch time as the Tribunes owne friendes and kinſemen weying with themſelues the impoſſibleneſſe to conuey *Martius* to execution, without great ſlaughter & murder of the nobilitie: did perſwade and aduiſe not to proceede in ſo violent and extraordinarie a ſort, as to put ſuch a man to death, without lawfull proceſſe in lawe, but that they ſhould referre the ſentence of his death, to the free voice of the people. Then *Sicinius* bethinking himſelfe a litle, did aske the *Patricians*, for what cauſe they tooke *Martius* out of the officers handes that went to doe execution? The *Patricians* asked him againe, why they would of themſelues ſo cruelly and wickedly put to death, ſo noble and valiant a ROMAINE as *Martius* was, and that without law or iuſtice? Well, then ſaid *Sicinius*, if that be the matter, let there be no more quarrell or diſſention againſt the people: for they do grant your demaund, that his cauſe ſhall be heard according to the law. Therfore ſaid he to *Martius*, we doe will and charge you to appeare before the people, the third day of our next ſitting and aſſembly here, to make your purgation for ſuch articles as ſhall be obiected againſt you, that by free voice the people may giue ſentence vpon you as ſhall pleaſe them. The noble men were glad then of the adiornment, and were much pleaſed they had gotten *Martius* out of this daunger. In the meane ſpace, before the third day of their next ceſſion came about, the ſame being kept euery ninth day continually at ROME, whereupon they call it now in Latin, *Nundina*: there fell out warre againſt the ANTIATES, which gaue ſome hope to the nobilitie, that this adiornment would come to litle effect, thinking that this warre would hold them ſo long, as that the furie of the people againſt him would be well ſwaged, or vtterly forgotten, by reaſon of the trouble of the warres. But contrarie to expectation, the peace was concluded preſently with the ANTIATES, and the people returned againe to ROME. Then the *Patricians* aſſembled oftentimes together, to conſult how they might ſtande to *Martius*, and keepe the Tribunes from occaſion to cauſe the people to mutinie againe, and riſe againſt the nobilitie. And there *Appius Clodius* (one that was taken euer as an heauie enemie to the people) did auow and proteſt, that they would vtterly abaſe the authoritie of the Senate, and deſtroy the common weale, if they would ſuffer the common people

*Coriolanus ſtoutneſſe in defence of himſelfe.*

*Sicinius the Tribune, pronounceth ſentence of death vpon Martius.*

*Coriolanus hath day giuen him to anſwere the people.*

to haue authoritie by voices to giue iudgement againſt the nobilitie. On the other ſide againe, the moſt auncient Senatours, and ſuch as were giuen to fauour the common people, ſaide: that when the people ſhould ſee they had authoritie of life and death in their handes, they would not be ſo cruell and fierce, but gentle and ciuill. More alſo, that it was not for contempt of nobilitie or the Senate, that they ſought to haue the authoritie of iuſtice in their handes, as a preheminence and prerogatiue of honour: but becauſe they feared, that themſelues ſhould be contemned and hated of the nobilitie. So as they were perſwaded, that ſo ſoone as they gaue them authoritie to iudge by voices: ſo ſoone would they leaue all enuie and malice to condemne any. *Martius* ſeeing the Senate in great doubt howe to reſolue, partly for the loue and good will the nobilitie did beare him, and partly for the feare they ſtoode in of the people: asked aloud of the Tribunes, what matter they would burden him with? The Tribunes aunſwered him, that they would ſhewe howe he did aſpire to be king, and would proue that all his actions tended to vſurpe tyrannicall power ouer ROME. *Martius* with that, riſing vp on his feete, ſaide: that thereupon he did willingly offer himſelfe to the people, to be tried vpon that accuſation. And that if it were proued by him, he had ſo much as once thought of any ſuch matter, that hee would then refuſe no kinde of puniſhment they would offer him: conditionally (quoth he) that you charge me with nothing elſe beſides, and that ye doe not alſo abuſe the Senate. They promiſed they would not. Vnder theſe conditions the iudgement was agreed vpon, and the people aſſembled. And firſt of all the Tribunes would in any caſe (whatſoeuer became of it) that the people would proceede to giue their voices by Tribes, and not by hundreds: for by this meanes the multitude of the poore needy people (and all ſuch rable as had nothing to looſe, and had leſſe regard of honeſtie before their eies) came to be of greater force (becauſe their voices were numbred by the polle) then the noble honeſt citizens, whoſe perſons and purſe did dutifully ſerue the common wealth in their warres. And then when the Tribunes ſaw they could not proue he went about to make him ſelfe King: they beganne to broach a freſh the former wordes that *Martius* had ſpoken in the Senate, in hindering the diſtribution of the corne at meane price vnto the common people, and perſwading alſo to take the office of Tribuneſhip from them. And for the third, they charged him a new, that he had not made the common diſtribution of the ſpoyle he had gotten in the inuading the territories of the ANTIATES: but had of his owne authoritie deuided it among them, who were with him in that iourney. But this matter was moſt ſtraunge of all to *Martius*, looking leaſt to haue bene burdened with that, as with any matter of offence. Whereupon being burdened on the ſodaine, and hauing no readie excuſe to make euen at that inſtant: he beganne to fall a praiſing of the ſouldiers that had ſerued with him in that iourney. But thoſe that were not with him, being the greater number, cried out ſo loud, and made ſuch a noiſe that he could not be heard. To conclude, when they came to tell the voices of the Tribes, there were three voices odde, which condemned him to be baniſhed for life. After declaration of the ſentence, the people made ſuch ioy, as they neuer reioyced more for any battell they had wonne vpon their enemies, they were ſo braue and liuely, and went home ſo iocondly from the aſſembly, for triumph of this ſentence. The Senate againe in contrarie manner were as ſad and heauie, repenting themſelues beyond meaſure, that they had not rather determined to haue done and ſuffered any thing whatſoeuer, before the common people ſhould ſo arrogantly and outragiouſly haue abuſed their authoritie. There needed no difference of garments I warrant you, nor outward ſhewes to know a *Plebeian* from a *Patrician*, for they were eaſily diſcerned by their lookes. For he that was on the peoples ſide, looked cheerely on the matter: but he that was ſad, and hung downe his head, he was ſure of the noble mens ſide. Sauing *Martius* alone, who neither in his countenance nor in his gate, did euer ſhew himſelfe abaſhed, or once let fall his great courage: but he onely of all other gentlemen that were angry at his fortune, did outwardly ſhew no manner of paſſion, nor care at all of himſelfe. Not that he did patiently beare and temper his good hap, in reſpect of any reaſon he had, or by his quiet condition: but becauſe he was ſo caried away with the vehemencie of anger, and deſire of reuenge, that he had no ſenſe nor feeling of the hard ſtate he was in, which the common people iudge not to be ſorow, although in deede it be the very ſame.

*Coriolanus accuſed that he ſought to be King.*

*Coriolanus baniſhed for life.*

*Coriolanus conſtant mind in aduerſitie.*

*The force of anger.*

ſame. For when ſorow ( as you would ſay ) is ſet a fire, then it is conuerted into ſpite and malice, and driueth away for that time all faintneſſe of heart and naturall feare. And this is the cauſe why the cholericke man is ſo altered and mad in his actions, as a man ſet on fire with a burning agew: for when a mans heart is troubled within, his pulſe will beate maruellous ſtrongly. Now that *Martius* was euen in that taking, it appeared true ſoone after by his doings. For when he was come home to his houſe againe, and had taken his leaue of his mother and wife, finding them weeping and ſhreeking out for ſorrow, and had alſo comforted and perſwaded them to be content with his chaunce: he went immediatly to the gate of the citie, accompanied with a great number of *Patricians* that brought him thither, from whence he went on his way with three or foure of his friendes onely, taking nothing with him, nor requeſting any thing of any man. So he remained a few daies in the countrie at his houſes, turmoyled with ſundry ſorts and kinds of thoughts, ſuch as the fire of his choller did ſtirre vp. In the end, ſeeing he could reſolue no way, to take a profitable or honourable courſe, but onely was pricked forwarde ſtill to be reuenged of the ROMAINES; he thought to raiſe vp ſome great wars againſt them, by their neereſt neighbours. Whereupon he thought it his beſt way, firſt to ſtirre vp the VOLSCES againſt them, knowing they were yet able enough in ſtrength and riches to encounter them, notwithſtanding their former loſſes they had receiued not long before, and that their power was not ſo much impaired, as their malice and deſire was increaſed to be reuenged of the ROMAINES. Now in the citie of ANTIVM, there was one called *Tullus Aufidius*, who for his riches, as alſo for his nobilitie and valiantneſſe was honoured among the VOLSCES as a King. *Martius* knewe very well that *Tullus* did more malice and enuie him, then he did all the ROMAINES beſides: becauſe that many times in battels where they met, they were euer at the encounter one againſt another, like luſtie couragious youthes, ſtriuing in all emulation of honour, and had encountered many times together. Inſomuch as beſides the common quarrell betweene them, there was bred a maruellous priuate hate one againſt another. Yet notwithſtanding, conſidering that *Tullus Aufidius* was a man of a great mind, and that he aboue all other of the VOLSCES moſt deſired reuenge of the ROMAINES, for the iniuries they had done vnto them: hee did an acte that confirmed the true wordes of an auncient Poet, who ſaide:

*Tullus Aufidius, a great perſon among the Volſces.*

*It is a thing full hard, mans anger to withſtand,*
*if it be ſtiffely bent to take an enterpriſe in hand.*
*For then moſt men will haue, the thing that they deſire,*
*although it coſt their liues therefore, ſuch force hath wicked ire.*

And ſo did he. For he diſguiſed himſelfe in ſuch array and attire, as he thought no man could euer haue knowen him for the perſon he was, ſeeing him in that apparell he had vpon his backe: and as *Homer* ſaid of *Vlyſſes*,

*So did he enter into the enemies towne.*

*Coriolanus diſguiſed, goeth to Antium, a citie of the Volſces.*

It was euen twy-light when he entred the citie of ANTIVM, and many people met him in the ſtreetes, but no man knew him. So he went directly to *Tullus Aufidius* houſe, and when he came thither, he got him vp ſtraight to the chimney harth, and ſate him downe, and ſpake not a word to any man, his face all muffled ouer. They of the houſe ſpying him, wondered what he ſhould be, and yet they durſt not bid him riſe. For ill fauouredly muffled and diſguiſed as he was, yet there appeared a certaine maieſtie in his countenance, and in his ſilence: whereupon they went to *Tullus* who was at ſupper, to tell him of the ſtrange diſguiſing of this man. *Tullus* roſe preſently from the board, and comming towards him, asked him what he was, and wherefore he came. Then *Martius* vnmuffled himſelfe, and after he had pauſed a while, making no anſwere, he ſaid vnto him. If thou knoweſt me not yet, *Tullus*, and ſeeing me, doſt not perhappes beleeue me to be the man I am in deede, I muſt of neceſſitie bewray my ſelfe to be that I am. I am *Caius Martius*, who hath done to thy ſelfe particularly, and to all the VOLCES generally, great hurt and miſchief, which I cannot denie for my ſurname of *Coriolanus* that I beare. For I neuer had other benefite nor recompence, of all the true and painefull ſeruice I haue done, and the extreme daungers I haue bene in, but this only ſurname: a good memorie and witneſſe of the malice and diſpleaſure thou ſhouldeſt beare me. In deede the name onely

*Coriolanus oration to Tullus Aufidius.*

» remaineth with me: for the reſt, the enuie and crueltie of the people of ROME haue taken
» from me, by the ſufferance of the daſtardly nobilitie and magiſtrates, who haue forſaken me,
» and let me be baniſhed by the people. This extremitie hath now driuen me to come as a poore
» ſuter, to take thy chimney harth, not of any hope I haue to ſaue my life thereby. For if I had
» feared death, I would not haue come hither to haue put my life in hazard: but prickt forward
» with ſpite and deſire I haue to be reuenged of them that thus haue baniſhed me, whom now
» I beginne to be auenged on putting my perſon betweene thy enemies. Wherefore, if thou
» haſt any heart to be wrecked of the iniures thy enemies haue done thee, ſpeede thee now, and
» let my miſerie ſerue thy turne, and ſo vſe it, as my ſeruice may be a benefite to the VOLSCES:
» promiſing thee, that I will fight with better good will for all you, then I did when I was
» againſt you, knowing that they fight more valiantly, who knowe the force of the enemie,
» then ſuch as haue neuer proued it. And if it be ſo that thou dare not, and that thou art wearie
» to proue fortune any more: then am I alſo wearie to liue any longer. And it were no wiſdome
» in thee, to ſaue the life of him, who hath bene heretoforе thy mortall enemie, and whoſe ſer-
» uice now can nothing helpe nor pleaſure thee. *Tullus* hearing what he ſaid, was a maruellous glad man, and taking him by the hande, he ſaide vnto him. Stand vp, ô *Martius*, and be of good cheere, for in profering thy ſelfe vnto vs, thou doſt vs great honour: and by this meanes thou maieſt hope alſo of greater thinges, at all the VOLSCES handes. So he feaſted him for that time, and entertained him in the honourableſt manner he could, talking with him in no other matters at that preſent: but within few daies after, they fell to conſultation together in what ſort they ſhould beginne their warres. Now on the other ſide, the citie of ROME was in maruellous vprore & diſcord, the nobilitie againſt the communaltie, and chiefely for *Martius* condemnation and baniſhment. Moreouer the Prieſtes, the Soothſaiers, and priuate men alſo, came and declared to the Senate certaine ſightes and wonders in the aire, which they had ſeene, and were to be conſidered of: amongſt the which, ſuch a viſion happpened. There was a citizen of ROME called *Titus Latinus*, a man of meane qualitie & condition, but otherwiſe an honeſt ſober man, giuen to a quiet life, without ſuperſtition, and much leſſe to vanitie or lying. This man had a viſion in his dreame, in the which he thought that *Iupiter* appeared vnto him, and commaunded him to ſignifie to the Senate, that they had cauſed a verie vile lewde dauncer to goe before the proceſſion: and ſaid, the firſt time this viſion had appeared vnto him, he made no reckoning of it: and comming againe another time into his mind, he made not much more account of the matter then before. In the ende, he ſawe one of his ſonnes die, who had the beſt nature and condition of all his brethren: and ſodainely he himſelfe was ſo taken in all his limmes, that he became lame and impotent. Hereupon he tolde the whole circumſtance of this viſion before the Senate, ſitting vpon his little couch or bed, whereon he was caried on mens armes: & he had no ſooner reported this viſion to the Senate, but he preſently felt his body & lims reſtored againe to their former ſtrength & vſe. So raiſing vp himſelf vpon his couch, he got vp on his feete at that inſtant, & walked home to his houſe, without helpe of any man. The Senate being amazed at this matter, made diligent enquirie to vnderſtand the truth: and in the ende they found there was ſuch a thing. There was one that had deliuered a bondman of his that had offended him, into the hands of other ſlaues and bondmen, and had commaunded them to whip him vp and downe the market place, & afterwards to kill him: & as they had him in execution, whipping him cruelly, they did ſo martyre the poore wretch, that for the cruell ſmart and paine he felt, he turned & writhed his bodie in ſtrange and pittifull ſort. The proceſſion by chaunce came by euen at the ſame time, & many that followed it, were hartily moued & offended with the ſight, ſaying: that this was no good ſight to behold, nor mete to be met in proceſſion time. But for al this, there was nothing done: ſauing they blamed and rebuked him that puniſhed his ſlaue ſo cruelly. For the ROMAINES at that time, did vſe their bondmen very gently, becauſe they themſelues did labour with their owne hands, and liued with them & among them: and therefore they did vſe them the more gently and familiarly. For the greateſt puniſhment they gaue a ſlaue that had offended, was this. They made him carie a limmer on his ſhoulders that is faſtened to the axeltree of a couch, and compelled him to goe vp and downe in that ſort amongeſt all their neighbours.

*Great diſſention at Rome about Martius baniſhment.*

*The Romaines manner of puniſhing their ſlaues.*

He that had once abidden this puniſhment, and was ſeene in that manner, was proclaimed and cried in euery market towne: ſo that no man would euer truſt him after, and the called him *Furcifer*, becauſe the LATINES call the wod that runneth into the axletree of the coch, *Furca*, as much to ſay, as a forke. Now when *Latinus* had made report to the Senate of the viſion that had happened to him, they were deuiſing whom this vnpleaſaunt daunſer ſhould be, that went before the proceſſion. Thereupon certaine that ſtoode by, remembred the poore ſlaue that was ſo cruelly whipped through the market place, whom they afterwardes put to death: and the thing that made them remember it, was the ſtraunge and rare manner of his puniſhment. The prieſtes hereupon were repaired vnto for their aduiſe: they were wholly of opinion, that it was the whipping of the ſlaue. So they cauſed the ſlaues maſter to be puniſhed, and beganne againe a new proceſſion, and all other ſhewes and ſightes in honour of *Iupiter*. But hereby appeareth plainely, how king *Numa* did wiſely ordaine all other ceremonies concerning deuotion to the goddes, and ſpecially this cuſtome which he ſtabliſhed, to bring the people to religion. For when the magiſtrates, biſhoppes, prieſtes, or other religious miniſters goe about any deuine ſeruice, or matter of religion, an herauld euer goeth before them, crying out aloud, *Hoc age*: as to ſay, doe this, or minde this. Hereby they are ſpecially commanded, wholly to diſpoſe them ſelues to ſerue God, leauing all other buſines and matters a ſide: knowing well enough, that whatſoeuer moſt men doe, they doe it as in a manner conſtrained vnto it. But the ROMAINES did euer vſe to beginne againe their ſacrifices, proceſſions, playes, and ſuch like ſhewes done in honour of the goddes, not onely vpon ſuch an occaſion, but vppon lighter cauſes then that. As when they went a proceſſion through the city, and did carie the images of their goddes, and ſuch other like holy reliques vpon open hallowed coches or charrets, called in LATIN *Thenſæ*: one of the coche horſes that drue them ſtoode ſtill, and would draw no more: and becauſe alſo the coche man tooke the raines of the bridle with the left hand, they ordained that the proceſſion ſhould be begunne againe a new. Of later time alſo, they did renew and beginne a ſacrifice thirty times one after another, becauſe they thought ſtill there fell out one fault or other in the ſame, ſo holy and deuout were they to the goddes. Now *Tullus* and *Martius* had ſecret conference with the greateſt perſonages of the citie of ANTIVM, declaring vnto them, that now they had good time offered them to make warre with the ROMAINES, while they were in diſſention one with another. They anſwered them, they were aſhamed to breake the league, conſidering that they were ſworne to keepe peace for two yeares. Howbeit ſhortly after, the ROMAINES gaue them great occaſion to make warre with them. For on a holy day common playes being kept in ROME, vpon ſome ſuſpicion, or falſe report, they made proclamation by ſound of trumpet, that all the VOLSCES ſhould auoide out of ROME before ſunne ſet. Some thinke this was a craft and deceipt of *Martius*, who ſent one to ROME to the Conſuls, to accuſe the VOLSCES falſely, aduertiſing them how they had made a conſpiracy to ſet vppon them, whileſt they were buſie in ſeeing theſe games, and alſo to ſet their city a fire. This open proclamation made all the VOLSCES more offended with the ROMAINES, then euer they were before: and *Tullus* aggrauating the matter, did ſo inflame the VOLSCES againſt them, that in the end they ſent their ambaſſadours to ROME, to ſummon them to deliuer their lands and townes againe, which they had taken from them in times paſt, or to looke for preſent warres. The ROMAINES hearing this, were maruellouſly netled: and made no other aunſwer but thus. If the VOLSCES be the firſt that beginne warre: the ROMAINES will be the laſt that will end it. Incontinently vpon returne of the VOLSCES ambaſſadours, and deliuerie of the ROMAINES aunſwer: *Tullus* cauſed an aſſemby generall to be made of the VOLSCES, and concluded to make warre vppon the ROMAINES. This done, *Tullus* did counſell them to take *Martius* into their ſeruice, and not to miſtruſt him for the remembraunce of any thing paſt, but boldly to truſt him in any matter to come: for he would doe them more ſeruice in fighting for them, then euer he did them diſpleaſure in fighting againſt them. So *Martius* was called forth, who ſpake ſo excellently in the preſence of them all, that he was thought no leſſe eloquent in tongue, then warlike in ſhew: and declared him ſelfe both expert in warres, and wiſe with valiantnes. Thus he was ioyned in commiſſion with *Tullus* as generall of the VOLSCES, hauing abſolute authori-

*Whereof Furcifer came.*

*A ceremony inſtituted by king Numa, touching religion.*

*The ſuperſtition of the Romaines.*

*Thenſæ.*

*The Romaines gaue the Volſces occaſion of warres.*

*Martius Coriolanus crafty accuſation of the Volſces.*

*Coriolanus choſen generall of the Volſces with Tullus Aufidius againſt the Romaines.*

*Coriolanus inuadeth the territories of the Romaines.*

*A fine deuiſe to make the communalty ſuſpect the nobility.*

*Great heart burning betwixt the nobility and the people.*

ty betweene them to follow and purſue the warres. But *Martius* fearing leaſt tract of time to bring this army together with all the munition and furniture of the VOLSCES, would robbe him of the meane he had to execute his purpoſe and intent: left order with the rulers and chiefe of the city, to aſſemble the reſt of their power, and to prepare all neceſſary prouiſion for the campe. Then he with the lighteſt ſouldiers he had, and that were willing to follow him, ſtale away vppon the ſodaine, and marched with all ſpeede, and entred the territories of ROME, before the ROMAINS heard any newes of his comming. In ſo much as the VOLSCES found ſuch ſpoile in the fields, as they had more then they could ſpend in their campe, and were weary to driue and cary away that they had. Howbeit the gaine of the ſpoile and the hurt they did to the ROMAINS in this inuaſion, was the leaſt part of his intent. For his chiefeſt purpoſe was, to increaſe ſtill the malice and diſſention betweene the nobility, and the communalty: and to draw that on, he was very carefull to keepe the noble mens landes and goods ſafe from harme and burning, but ſpoiled all the whole countrey beſides, and would ſuffer no man to take or hurt any thing of the noble mens. This made greater ſturre and broile betwene the nobility & the people, then was before. For the noble mē fell out with the people, becauſe they had ſo vniuſtly baniſhed a man of ſo great valure and power. The people on the other ſide, accuſed the nobility, how they had procured *Martius* to make theſe wars, to be reuēged of them: becauſe it pleaſed them to ſee their goods burnt and ſpoiled before their eyes, whileſt themſelues were well at eaſe, and did behold the peoples loſſes and misfortunes, and knowing their owne goods ſafe and out of daunger: and how the warre was not made againſt the noble men, that had the enemy abroad, to keepe that they had in ſafety. Now *Martius* hauing done this firſt exploite (which made the VOLSCES bolder, and leſſe fearefull of the ROMAINES) brought home all the army againe, without loſſe of any man. After their whole army (which was maruellous great, and very forward to ſeruice) was aſſembled in one campe: they agreed to leaue part of it for garriſon in the countrey about, and the other part ſhould goe on, and make the warre vpon the ROMAINES. So *Martius* bad *Tullus* chooſe, and take which of the two charges he liked beſt. *Tullus* made him aunſwere, hee knew by experience that *Martius* was no leſſe valiant then him ſelfe, and how hee euer had better fortune and good happe in all battells, then him ſelfe had. Therefore he thought it beſt for him to haue the leading of thoſe that ſhould make the warres abroad: and him ſelfe would keepe home, to prouide for the ſafetie of the cities and of his countrey, and to furniſh the campe alſo of all neceſſary prouiſion abroade. So *Martius* being ſtronger then before, went firſt of all vnto the city of CERCEES, inhabited by the ROMAINES, who willingly yeelded them ſelues, and therefore had no hurt. From thence he entred the countrey of the LATINES, imagining the ROMAINES would fight with him there, to defend the LATINES, who were their confederats, & had many times ſent vnto the ROMAINES for their aide. But on the one ſide, the people of ROME were very ill willing to goe: and on the other ſide the Conſuls being vpon their going out of their office, would not hazard them ſelues for ſo ſmall a time: ſo that the ambaſſadours of the LATINES returned home againe, and did no good. Then *Martius* did beſiege their cities, and hauing taken by force the townes of the TOLERINIANS, VICANIANS, PEDANIANS, and the BOLANIANS, who made reſiſtaunce: hee ſacked all their goods, and tooke them priſoners. Such as did yeeld them ſelues willingly vnto him, he was as carefull as poſſible might be, to defend them from hurt: and becauſe they ſhould receiue no damage by his will, he remoued his campe as farre from their confines as he could. Afterwards, he tooke the city of BOLES by aſſault, being about an hundred furlong from ROME, where he had a maruellous great ſpoile, and put euery man to the ſword that was able to carie weapon. The other VOLSCES that were appointed to remaine in garriſon for defence of their countrey, hearing this good newes, would tary no longer at home, but armed them ſelues, and ranne to *Martius* campe, ſaying they did acknowledge no other captaine but him. Hereupon his fame ranne through al ITALIE, and euery one praiſed him for a valiant captaine, for that by change of one man for another, ſuch and ſo ſtraunge euents fell out in the ſtate. In this while, all went ſtill to wracke at ROME. For, to come into the field to fight with the enemy, they could not abide to heare of it, they were one ſo much againſt another, and full of ſeditious wordes, the nobility againſt the people, and the people againſt the nobility. Vntill they had intelligence at the length that the enemies had laide ſiege to the city of LAVINIVM, in the which were all the temples and images of the goddes their protectours, and from whence came firſt their auncient originall, for that *Æneas* at his firſt arriuall into ITALIE did builde that citie. Then fell there out a maruellous ſodaine chaunge of minde among the people, and farre more ſtraunge and contrary in the nobility. For the people thought good to repeale the condemnation and exile of *Martius*. The Senate aſſembled vppon it, would in no caſe yeeld to that. Who either did it of a ſelfe will to bee contrary to the peoples deſire: or becauſe *Martius* ſhould not returne through the grace and fauour of the people. Or elſe, becauſe they were throughly angry and offended with him, that he would ſet vppon the whole, being offended but by a few, and in his doinges would ſhew him ſelfe an open enemy beſides vnto his countrey: notwithſtanding the moſt part of them tooke the wrong they had done him, in maruellous ill part, and as if the iniurie had beene done vnto them ſelues. Report being made of the Senates reſolution, the people found them ſelues in a ſtraight: for they coulde authoriſe and confirme nothing by their voices, vnleſſe it had beene firſt propounded and ordained by the Senate. But *Martius* hearing this ſturre about him, was in a greater rage with them then before: in ſo much as he raiſed his ſiege incontinently before the city of LAVINIVM, and going towardes ROME, lodged his campe within forty furlong of the citie, at the ditches called *Cluiliæ*. His incamping ſo neare ROME, did put all the whole city in a wonderfull feare: howbeit for the preſent time it appeaſed the ſedition and diſſention betwixt the Nobility and the people. For there was no Conſull, Senatour, nor Magiſtrate, that durſt once contrary the opinion of the people, for the calling home againe of *Martius*. When they ſaw the women in a maruellous feare, running vp and downe the city: the temples of the goddes full of olde people, weeping bitterly in their prayers to the goddes: and finally, not a man either wiſe or hardy to prouide for their ſafety: then they were all of opinion, that the people had reaſon to call home *Martius* againe, to reconcile them ſelues to him, and that the Senate on the contrary part, were in maruellous great fault to bee angry and in choller with him, when it ſtoode them vppon rather to haue gone out and intreated him. So they all agreede together to ſend ambaſſadours vnto him, to let him vnderſtand how his countrey men did call him home againe, and reſtored him to all his goods, and beſought him to deliuer them from this warre. The ambaſſadours that were ſent, were *Martius* familiar friends, and acquaintaunce, who looked at the leaſt for a curteous welcome of him, as of their familiar friend and kinſeman. Howbeit they found nothing leſſe. For at their comming, they were brought through the campe, to the place where he was ſet in his chaire of ſtate, with a maruellous and an vnſpeakeable maieſty, hauing the chiefeſt men of the VOLSCES about him: ſo hee commaunded them to declare openly the cauſe of their comming. Which they deliuered in the moſt humble and lowly wordes they poſſibly could deuiſe, and with all modeſt countenaunce and behauiour agreable for the ſame. When they had done their meſſage: for the iniury they had done him, he aunſwered them very whotly, and in great choller. But as generall of the VOLSCES, he willed them to reſtore vnto the VOLSCES, all their landes and cities they had taken from them in former warrres: and moreouer, that they ſhould giue them the like honour and freedome of ROME, as they had before giuen to the LATINES. For otherwiſe they had no other meane to end this warre, if they did not graunt theſe honeſt and iuſt conditions of peace. Thereupon he gaue them thirty daies reſpit to make him aunſwere. So the ambaſſadours returned ſtraight to ROME, and *Martius* forthwith departed with his army out of the territories of the ROMAINES. This was the firſt matter wherewith the VOLSCES (that moſt enuied *Martius* glory and authority) did charge *Martius* with. Among thoſe, *Tullus* was chief: who though hee had receiued no priuate iniurie or diſpleaſure of *Martius*, yet the common fault and imperfection of mans nature wrought in him, and it grieued him to ſee his owne reputation blemiſhed, through *Martius* great fame and honour, and ſo him ſelfe to bee leſſe eſteemed of the VOLSCES, then he was before. This fell out the more, becauſe euery man honoured *Martius*, and thought he only could do all, and that all other gouernors and captaines

*Lauinium built by Æneas.*

*The Romaines ſend ambaſſadours to Coriolanus to treate of peace.*

*The firſt occaſion of the Volſces enuy to Coriolanus.*

*Another ambaſſade ſent to Coriolanus.*

*The prieſtes and ſoothſayers ſent to Coriolanus.*

muſt be content with ſuch credite and authority, as he would pleaſe to countenaunce them with. From hence they deriued all their firſt accuſations and ſecret murmurings againſt *Martius*. For priuate captains conſpiring againſt him, were very angry with him: and gaue it out, that the remouing of the campe was a manifeſt treaſon, not of the townes, nor fortes, nor of armes, but of time and occaſion, which was a loſſe of great importaunce, becauſe it was that which in treaſon might both loſe and binde all, and preſerue the whole. Now *Martius* hauing giuen the ROMAINES thirty daies reſpit for their anſwer, and ſpecially becauſe the wars haue not accuſtomed to make any great changes, in leſſe ſpace of time then that: hee thought it good yet, not to lie a ſleepe and idle all the while, but went and deſtroyed the lands of the enemies allies, and tooke ſeuen great cities of theirs well inhabited, and the ROMAINES durſt not once put them ſelues into the fielde, to come to their aide and helpe: they were ſo fainte hearted, ſo miſtruſtfull, and loth beſides to make warres. In ſo much as they properly reſembled the bodies paralyticke, and loſed of their limmes and members: as thoſe which through the palſey haue loſt all their ſence and feeling. Wherefore, the time of peace expired, *Martius* being returned into the dominions of the ROMAINES againe with all his army, they ſent another ambaſſade vnto him, to pray peace, and the remoue of the VOLSES out of their countrey: that afterwardes they might with better leyſure fall to ſuch agreementes together, as ſhould bee thought moſt meete and neceſſary. For the ROMAINES were no men that would euer yeelde for feare. But if he thought the VOLSCES had any ground to demaund reaſonable articles and conditions, all that they would reaſonably aske ſhould bee graunted vnto, by the ROMAINES, who of them ſelues would willingly yeelde to reaſon, conditionally, that they did lay downe armes. *Martius* to that aunſwered: that as generall of the VOLSCES he would reply nothing vnto it. But yet as a ROMAINE citizen, he would counſell them to let fall their pride, and to be conformable to reaſon, if they were wiſe: and that they ſhould returne againe within three daies, deliuering vp the articles agreed vpon, which he had firſt deliuered them. Or otherwiſe, that hee would no more giue them aſſuraunce or ſafe conduite to returne againe into his campe, with ſuch vaine and friuolous meſſages. When the ambaſſadours were returned to ROME, and had reported *Martius* aunſwer to the Senate: their city being in extreame daunger, and as it were in a terrible ſtorme or tempeſt, they threw out (as the common prouerbe ſaieth) their holy ancker. For then they appointed all the biſhoppes, prieſtes, miniſters of the gods, and keepers of holy thinges, and all the augures or ſoothſayers, which foreſhew thinges to come by obſeruation of the flying of birdes (which is an olde auncient kinde of prophecying and diuination amongeſt the ROMAINES) to goe to *Martius* apparelled, as when they doe their ſacrifices: and firſt to intreate him to leaue off warre, and then that hee would ſpeake to his countrey men, and conclude peace with the VOLSCES. *Martius* ſuffered them to come into his campe, but yet he granted them nothing the more, neither did he entertaine them or ſpeake more curteouſly to them, then he did the firſt time that they came vnto him, ſauing onely that hee willed them to take the one of the two: eyther to accept peace vnder the firſt conditions offered, or elſe to receiue warre. When all this goodly table of ſuperſtition and prieſtes were returned, it was determined in counſell that none ſhould goe out of the gates of the citie, and that they ſhould watch and ward vppon the wals, to repulſe their enemies if they came to aſſault them: referring them ſelues and all their hope to time, and fortunes vncertaine fauour, not knowing otherwiſe how to remedy the daunger. Now all the city was full of tumult, feare, and maruellous doubt what would happen: vntill at the length there fell out ſuch a like matter, as *Homer* oft times ſaide they would leaſt haue thought of. For in great matters, that happen ſeldome, *Homer* ſaieth, and crieth out in this ſort.

*The goddeſſe Pallas ſhe, with her faire gliſtering eyes,*
*did put into his minde ſuch thoughts, and made him ſo deuiſe.*

And in another place:

*But ſure ſome god hath tane, out of the peoples minde,*
*both wit and vnderſtanding eke, and haue therewith aſſinde*

*ſome other ſimple ſpirit, in ſteed thereof to bide,*
*that ſo they might their doings all, for lacke of wit miſguide.*

And in another place:

*The people of themſelues, did either it conſider,*
*or elſe ſome god inſtructed them, and ſo they ioynde together.*

Many reckon not of *Homer*, as referring matters vnpoſſible, and fables of no likelyhood or troth, vnto mans reaſon, freewill, or iudgement: which in deed is not his meaning. But things true and likely, he maketh to depend of our owne free will and reaſon. For he oft ſpeaketh theſe wordes:

*I haue thought it in my noble heart:*

And in another place:

*Achilles angrie was, and ſorie for to heare*
*him ſo to ſay, his heauie breſt was fraught with penſiue feare.*

And againe in another place:

*Bellerophon (she) could not moue with her faire tongue,*
*ſo honeſt and ſo vertuous, he was the reſt among.*

But in wonderous and extraordinarie things, which are done by ſecret inſpirations and motions, he doth not ſay that God taketh away, from man his choice and freedom of will, but that he doth moue it: neither that he doth worke deſire in vs, but obiecteth to our mindes certaine imaginations whereby we are led to deſire, and thereby doth not make this our action forced, but openeth the way to our will, and addeth thereto courage, and hope of ſucceſſe. For, either we muſt ſay, that the gods meddle not with the cauſes and beginnings of our actions: or elſe what other meanes haue they to helpe and further men? It is apparant that they handle not our bodies, nor mooue not our feete and hands, when there is occaſion to vſe them: but that part of our minde from which theſe motions proceed, is induced thereto, or caried away by ſuch obiects and reaſons, as God offereth vnto it. Now the ROMAINE ladies and gentlewomen did viſite all the temples and gods of the ſame, to make their praiers vnto them: but the greateſt ladies (and more part of them) were continuallie about the aulter of *Iupiter Capitolin*, among which troope by name, was *Valeria*, *Publicolaes* owne ſiſter. The ſelfe ſame *Publicola*, who did ſuch notable ſeruice to the ROMAINES, both in peace and warres: and was dead alſo certaine yeares before, as we haue declared in his life. His ſiſter *Valeria* was greatly honoured and reuerenced among all the ROMAINES: and did ſo modeſtly and wiſely behaue her ſelfe, that ſhe did not ſhame nor diſhonour the houſe ſhe came off. So ſhe ſodainly fell into ſuch a fanſie, as we haue rehearſed before, and had (by ſome god as I thinke) taken hold of a noble deuiſe. Whereupon ſhe roſe, and the other ladies with her, and they all together went ſtraight to the houſe of *Volumnia*, *Martius* mother: and comming in to her, found her, and *Martius* wife her daughter in law ſet together, and hauing her husband *Martius* young children in her lap. Now all the traine of theſe ladies ſitting in a ring round about her: *Valeria* firſt began to ſpeake in this ſort vnto her. We ladies, are come to viſite you ladies (my lady *Volumnia* and *Virgilia*) by no direction from the Senate, nor commaundement of other magiſtrate:

*Valeria, Publicolaes ſiſter.*

*Volumnia, Martius mother.*

*The words of Valeria, vnto Volumnia & Virgilia.*

but through the inſpiration (as I take it) of ſome god aboue. Who hauing taken compaſſion “
and pittie of our praiers, hath moued vs to come vnto you, to intreate you in a matter, as well “
beneficiall for vs, as alſo for the whole citizens in general: but to your ſelues in eſpeciall (if it “
pleaſe you to credit me) and ſhall redound to our more fame and glorie, then the daughters of “
the SABYNES obtained in former age, when they procured louing peace, in ſtead of hatefull “
war, between their fathers and their husbands. Come on good ladies, and let vs go altogether “
vnto *Martius*, to intreate him to take pittie vpon vs, and alſo to report the trothe vnto him, “
how much you are bound vnto the citizens: who notwithſtanding they haue ſuſtained great “
hurt and loſſes by him, yet they haue not hitherto ſought reuenge vpon your perſons by any “
diſcourteous vſage, neither euer conceiued any ſuch thought or intent againſt you, but do de- “
liuer you ſafe into his hands, though thereby they looke for no better grace or clemencie from
him. When *Valeria* had ſpoken this vnto them, all the other ladies together with one voice
confirmed that ſhe had ſaid. Then *Volumnia* in this ſort did aunſwer her. My good ladies, we

*The anſwer of Volumnia to the Romaine ladies.*

„ are partakers with you of the common miſerie and calamitie of our countrie, and yet our
„ griefe exceedeth yours the more, by reaſon of our particular misfortune: to feele the loſſe of
„ my ſonne *Martius* former valiancie and glorie, and to ſee his perſon enuironed now with our
„ enemies in armes, rather to ſee him forth comming & ſafe kept, then of any loue to defend his
„ perſon. But yet the greateſt griefe of our heaped miſhaps is, to ſee our poore country brought
„ to ſuch extremitie, that all the hope of the ſafetie and preſeruation thereof, is now vnfortunately
„ caſt vpon vs ſimple women: becauſe we know not what account he will make of vs, ſince
„ he hath caſt from him all care of his naturall countrie and common weale, which heretofore
„ he hath holden more deere and precious, then either his mother, wife or children. Notwithſtanding,
„ if ye thinke we can do good, we will willingly do what you will haue vs: bring vs
„ to him I pray you. For if we cannot preuaile, we may yet dye at his feete, as humble ſuters for
the ſafetie of our countrie.

*The oration of Volumnia, vnto her ſonne Coriolanus.*

Her aunſwer ended, ſhe tooke her daughter in lawe, and *Martius* children with her, and being accompanied with all the other ROMAINE ladies, they went in troupe together vnto the VOLSCES campe: whom when they ſawe, they of themſelues did both pitty and reuerence her, and there was not a man among them that once durſt ſay a word vnto her. Now was *Martius* ſet then in his chaire of ſtate, with all the honours of a generall, and when he had ſpied the women comming a farre off, he maruelled what the matter ment: but afterwards knowing his wife which came formoſt, he determined at the firſt to perſiſt in his obſtinate and inflexible rancker. But ouercome in the end with naturall affection, and being altogether altered to ſee them: his heart would not ſerue him to tarie their comming to his chaire, but comming downe in haſt, he went to meete them, and firſt he kiſſed his mother, and imbraced her a prety while, then his wife and litle children. And nature ſo wrought with him, that the teares fell from his eyes, and he could not keepe himſelf from making much of them, but yeelded to the affection of his bloud, as if he had bene violently caried with the furie of a moſt ſwift running ſtreame. After he had thus louingly receiued them, and perceiuing that his mother *Volumnia* would begin to ſpeake to him, he called the chiefeſt of the counſell of the VOLSCES to heare what ſhe would ſay. Then ſhe ſpake in this ſort. If we helde our peace (my ſonne) and determined not to ſpeake, the ſtate of our poore bodies, and preſent ſight of our raiment, would eaſily bewray to thee what life we haue led at home, ſince thy
„ exile and abode abroad. But thinke now with thy ſelfe, how much more vnfortunately, then
„ all the women liuing we are come hither, conſidering that the ſight which ſhould be moſt
„ pleaſant to all other to behold, ſpightfull fortune hath made moſt fearefull to vs: making my
„ ſelfe to ſee my ſonne, and my daughter here, her husband, beſieging the walles of his natiue
„ countrie. So as that which is the onely comfort to all other in their aduerſitie and miſerie, to
„ pray vnto the gods, and to call to them for aide: is the onely thing which plungeth vs into
„ moſt deepe perplexitie. For we cannot (alas) together pray, both for victorie, for our countrie,
„ and for ſafetie of thy life alſo: but a world of grieuous curſes, yea more then any mortall enemie
„ can heape vpon vs, are forcibly wrapt vp in our praiers. For the bitter ſop of moſt harde
„ choice is offered thy wife and children, to forgo the one of the two: either to loſe the perſon
„ of thy ſelfe, or the nurſe of their natiue countrie. For my ſelfe (my ſonne) I am determined not
„ to tarie, till fortune in my life time do make an end of this warre. For if I cannot perſwade thee,
„ rather to do good vnto both parties, then to ouerthrow and deſtroy the one, preferring loue
„ and nature, before the malice and calamitie of warres: thou ſhalt ſee, my ſonne, and truſt vnto
„ it, thou ſhalt no ſooner marche forward to aſſault thy countrie, but thy foote ſhall treade vpon
„ thy mothers wombe, that brought thee firſt into this world. And I may not deferre to ſee the
„ day, either that my ſonne be led priſoner in triumph by his naturall countrymen, or that he
„ himſelfe do triumphe of them, and of his naturall countrie. For if it were ſo, that my requeſt
„ tended to ſaue thy country, in deſtroying the VOLSCES: I muſt confeſſe, thou wouldſt hardly
„ and doubtfully reſolue on that. For as to deſtroy thy naturall countrie, it is altogether vnmeete
„ and vnlawfull: ſo were it not iuſt, and leſſe honorable, to betray thoſe that put their truſt in
„ thee: But my onely demaund conſiſteth, to make a gaile deliuerie of all euils, which deliuereth
„ equall benefit and ſafetie, both to the one and the other, but moſt honorable for the VOLSCES.
„ For it ſhall appeare, that hauing victorie in their hands, they haue of ſpeciall fauour

granted vs ſingular graces: peace, and amitie, albeit themſelues haue no leſſe part of both, then we. Of which good, if ſo it came to paſſe, thy ſelfe is the onely author, and ſo haſt thou the onely honour. But if it faile, and fall out contrarie: thy ſelfe alone deſeruedly ſhall carie the ſhamefull reproach and burthen of either partie. So, though the end of warre be vncertaine, yet this notwithſtanding is moſt certaine: that if it be thy chance to conquer, this benefit ſhalt thou reape of thy goodly conqueſt, to be chronicled the plague and deſtroier of thy countrie. And if fortune alſo ouerthrow thee, then the world will ſay, that through deſire to reuenge thy priuate iniuries, thou haſt for euer vndone thy good friends, who did moſt louingly and courteouſlie receiue thee. *Martius* gaue good eare vnto his mothers words, without interrupting her ſpeach at all: and after ſhe had ſaid what ſhe would, he held his peace a prety while, and anſwered not a word. Hereupon ſhe began againe to ſpeake vnto him, and ſaid. My ſonne, why doeſt thou not anſwer me? doeſt thou thinke it good altogether to giue place vnto thy choller and deſire of reuenge, and thinkeſt thou it not honeſtie for thee to graunt thy mothers requeſt, in ſo weighty a cauſe? doeſt thou take it honorable for a noble man, to remember the wrongs and iniuries done him: and doeſt not in like caſe thinke it an honeſt noble mans parte, to be thankfull for the goodneſſe that parents do ſhew to their children, acknowledging the dutie and reuerence they ought to beare vnto them? No man liuing is more bound to ſhew himſelfe thankefull in all parts and reſpects, then thy ſelfe: who ſo vnnaturally ſheweth all ingratitude. Moreouer (my ſonne) thou haſt ſorely taken of thy country, exacting grieuous paiments vpon them, in reuenge of the iniuries offered thee: beſides, thou haſt not hitherto ſhewed thy poore mother any courteſie. And therefore, it is not only honeſt, but due vnto me, that without compulſion I ſhould obtaine my ſo iuſt and reaſonable requeſt of thee. But ſince by reaſon I cannot perſwade thee to it, to what purpoſe do I defer my laſt hope? And with theſe words, her ſelfe, his wife and children, fell downe vpon their knees before him. *Martius* ſeeing that, could refraine no longer, but went ſtraight and lift her vp, crying out: Oh mother, what haue you done to me? And holding her hard by the right hand, oh mother, ſaid he, you haue wonne a happy victorie for your countrie, but mortall and vnhappy for your ſonne: for I ſee my ſelfe vanquiſhed by you alone. Theſe words being ſpoken openly, he ſpake a litle apart with his mother and wife, and then let them returne againe to ROME, for ſo they did requeſt him: and ſo remaining in campe that night, the next morning he diſlodged, and marched homewards into the VOLSCES countrie againe, who were not all of one minde, nor all alike contented. For ſome miſliked him, and that he had done. Other being well pleaſed that peace ſhould be made, ſaid: that neither the one, nor the other, deſerued blame nor reproche. Other, though they miſliked that was done, did not thinke him an ill man for that he did, but ſaid: he was not to be blamed, though he yeelded to ſuch a forcible extremitie. Howbeit no man contraried his departure, but all obeied his commandement, more for reſpect of his worthineſſe and valiancie, then for feare of his authoritie. Now the citizens of ROME plainly ſhewed, in what feare and danger their citie ſtood of this war, when they were deliuered. For ſo ſoone as the watch vpon the wals of the citie perceiued the VOLSCES campe to remoue, there was not a temple in the citie but was preſently ſet open, and full of men, wearing garlands of flowers vpon their heads ſacrificing to the gods, as they were wont to do vpon the newes of ſome great obtained victorie. And this common ioy was yet more manifeſtly ſhewed, by the honourable courteſies the whole Senate, and people did beſtow on their ladies. For they were all throughly perſwaded, and did certainly beleeue, that the ladies onely were cauſe of the ſauing of the citie, and deliuering themſelues from the inſtant danger of the war. Wherupon the Senate ordained, that the magiſtrates to gratifie and honour theſe ladies, ſhould grant them all that they would require. And they onely requeſted that they would builde a temple of *Fortune* of the women, for the building whereof they offered themſelues to defray the whole charge of the ſacrifices, & other ceremonies belonging to the ſeruice of the gods. Neuertheleſſe, the Senate commending their goodwill and forwardneſſe, ordained, that the temple and image ſhould be made at the common charge of the citie. Notwithſtanding that, the ladies gathered money among them, and made with the ſame a ſecond image of *Fortune*, which the ROMAINES ſay did ſpeake as they offred her vp in the temple, and did ſet her in her place: and they affirme, that ſhe ſpake theſe

*Coriolanus compaſſion of his mother.*

*Coriolanus withdraweth his armie from Rome.*

*The temple of Fortune built for the women.*

*The image of Fortune ſpake to the ladies at Rome.*

*Of the ſweating and voices of images.*

*Of the omnipotencie of God.*

*Tullus Aufidius ſeeketh to kill Coriolanus.*

words: Ladies, ye haue deuoutly offered me vp. Moreouer, that ſhe ſpake that twiſe together, making vs to beleeue things that neuer were, and are not to be credited. For to ſee images that ſeeme to ſweate or weepe, or to put forth any humor red or bloudie, it is not a thing vnpoſſible. For wood and ſtone do commonly receiue certaine moiſture, whereof is ingendred an humour, which do yeeld of themſelues, or do take of the aire, many ſorts and kinds of ſpots & colours: by which ſignes and tokens it is not amiſſe we thinke, that the gods ſometimes do warne men of things to come. And it is poſſible alſo, that theſe images and ſtatues do ſomtimes put forth ſounds, like vnto ſighes or mourning, when in the middeſt or bottome of the ſame, there is made ſome violent ſeparation, or breaking a ſunder of things, blowne or deuiſed therin: but that a body which hath neither life nor ſoule, ſhould haue any direct or exquiſite word formed in it by expreſſe voice, that is altogether vnpoſsible. For the ſoule, nor god himſelfe can diſtinctly ſpeake without a bodie, hauing neceſſarie organes and inſtruments meete for the parts of the ſame, to forme and vtter diſtinct words. But where ſtories many times do force vs to beleeue a thing reported to be true, by many graue teſtimonies: there we muſt ſay, that it is ſome paſsion contrarie to our fiue naturall ſences, which being begotten in the imaginatiue part or vnderſtanding, draweth an opinion vnto it ſelfe, euen as we do in our ſleeping. For many times we thinke we heare, that we do not heare: & we imagine we ſee, that we ſee not. Yet notwithſtanding, ſuch as are godly bent, & zealouſly giuen to thinke on heauenly things, ſo as they can no way be drawne from beleeuing that which is ſpoken of them, they haue this reaſon to ground the foundation of their beleefe vpō. That is, the omnipotency of God which is wonderfull, and hath no maner of reſemblance or likelineſſe of proportion vnto ours, but is altogether contrarie as touching our nature, our mouing, our art, and our force: and therefore if he do any thing vnpoſsible to vs, or do bring forth & deuiſe things, without mans common reach and vnderſtanding, we muſt not therfore thinke it vnpoſsible at all. For if in other things he is far contrarie to vs, much more in his workes and ſecret operations, he farre paſſeth all the reſt: but the moſt part of Gods doings, as *Heraclitus* ſaith, for lack of faith, are hidden and vnknowne vnto vs. Now when *Martius* was returned againe into the citie of ANTIVM from his voyage, *Tullus* that hated and could no longer abide him for the feare he had of his authoritie: ſought diuerſe meanes to make him out of the way, thinking if he let ſlip that preſent time, he ſhould neuer recouer the like and fit occaſion againe. Wherefore *Tullus* hauing procured many other of his confederacie, required *Martius* might be depoſed from his eſtate, to render vp account to the VOLSCES of his charge & gouernment. *Martius* fearing to become a priuate man again vnder *Tullus* being generall (whoſe authority was greater otherwiſe, then any other among all the VOLSCES) anſwered: he was willing to giue vp his charge, and would reſigne it into the hands of the lords of the VOLSCES, if they did all command him, as by all their commandement he receiued it. And moreouer, that he would not refuſe euen at that preſent to giue vp an account vnto the people, if they would tarie the hearing of it. The people hereupon called a common counſell, in which aſſembly there were certaine oratours appointed, that ſtirred vp the cōmon people againſt him: & whē they had told their tales, *Martius* roſe vp to makethē anſwer. Now, notwithſtāding the mutinous people made a maruelos great noiſe, yet when they ſaw him, for the reuerence they bare vnto his valiantneſſe, they quieted themſelues, and gaue ſtill audience to alledge with leaſure what he could for his purgation. Moreouer, the honeſteſt men of the ANTIATES, and who moſt reioyced in peace, ſhewed by their countenance that they would heare him willingly, and iudge alſo according to their conſcience. Whereupon *Tullus* fearing that if he did let him ſpeake, he would proue his innocencie to the people, becauſe amongſt other things he had an eloquent tongue, beſides that the firſt good ſeruice he had done to the people of the VOLSCES, did win him more fauour, then theſe laſt accuſations could purchaſe him diſpleaſure: and furthermore, the offence they laide to his charge, was a teſtimonie of the good will they ought him, for they would neuer haue thought he had done them wrong for that they tooke not the citie of ROME, if they had not bene very neere taking of it, by meanes of his approache and conduction. For theſe cauſes *Tullus* thought he might no longer delay his pretence and enterpriſe, neither to tarie for the mutining and riſing of the common people againſt him: wherefore, thoſe that were of the conſpiracie, beganne to crie out that he was not to be heard, nor that they would not ſuffer a traytour to vſurpe tyrannicall power ouer the Tribe of the VOLSCES, who would not yeeld vp his eſtate and authoritie. And in ſaying theſe words, they all fell vpon him, and killed him in the market place, none of the people once offering to reſcue him. Howbeit it is a clere caſe, that this murder was not generally conſented vnto, of the moſt part of the VOLSCES: for men came out of all partes to honour his bodie, and did honourably burie him, ſetting out his tombe with great ſtore of armour and ſpoiles, as the tombe of a worthy perſon and great captaine. The ROMAINES vnderſtanding of his death, ſhewed no other honour or malice, ſauing that they graunted the ladies the requeſt they made: that they might mourne tenne monethes for him, and that was the full time they vſed to weare blackes for the death of their fathers, brethren, or husbands, according to *Numa Pompilius* order, who ſtabliſhed the ſame, as we haue enlarged more amply in the deſcription of his life. Now *Martius* being dead, the whole ſtate of the VOLSCES hartily wiſhed him aliue againe. For firſt of al they fell out with the ÆQVES (who were their friends & confederates) touching preheminence and place: and this quarrel grew on ſo farre betweene them, that fraies and murders fell out vpon it one with another. After that the ROMAINES ouercame them in battell, in which *Tullus* was ſlaine in the field, and the flower of all their force was put to the ſword: ſo that they were compelled to accept moſt ſhamefull conditions of peace, in yeelding themſelues ſubiect vnto the conquerers, and promiſing to be obedient at their commaundement.

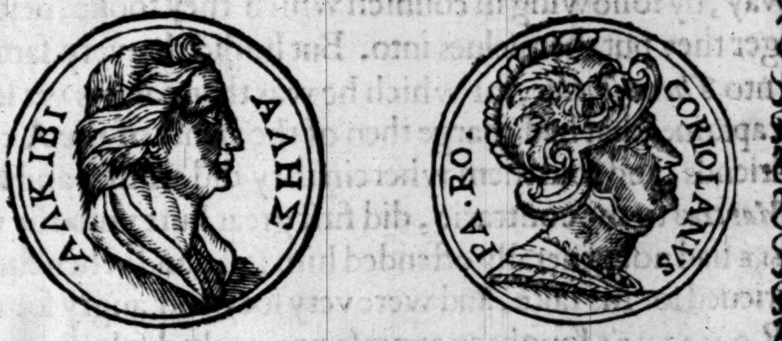
*Coriolanus murdered in the citie of Antium.*

*Coriolanus funerals.*

*The time of mourning appointed by Numa.*

*Tullus Aufidius ſlaine in battell.*

# THE COMPARISON OF
## *Alcibiades with Martius Coriolanus.*



NOW that we haue written all the deedes of worthie memorie, done by either of them both: we may preſently diſcerne, that in matters of warre, the one hath not greatly exceeded the other. For both of them in their charge, were a like hardie & valiant for their perſons, as alſo wiſe and politike in the warres: vnleſſe they will ſay, that *Alcibiades* was the better captaine, as he that had foughten more battels with his enemies, both by ſea and land, then euer *Coriolanus* had done, and had alwaies the victorie of his enemies. For otherwiſe, in this they were much a like: that where they were both preſent and had charge and power to commaund, all things proſpered notably, and with good ſucceſſe on the part they were of: and alſo when they tooke the contrarie ſide, they made the firſt haue the worſe euery way. Now for matters of gouenement, the noble men and honeſt citizens did hate *Alcibiades* manner of rule in the common weale, as of a man moſt diſſolute, and giuen to flatterie: becauſe he euer ſtudied by all deuiſe he could, to currie fauour with the common

*The actes done by both.*

people. So did the Romaines malice alſo *Coriolanus* gouernmēt; for that it was too arrogant, proud, and tyrannicall: whereby neither the one nor the other was to be commended. Notwithſtanding he is leſſe to be blamed, that ſeeketh to pleaſe and gratifie his common people: then he that deſpiſeth and diſdaineth them, and therefore offereth them wrong and iniurie, becauſe he would not ſeeme to flatter them, to winne the more authoritie. For as it is an euill thing to flatter the common people to winne credit: euen ſo is it beſides diſhoneſty, and iniuſtice alſo, to attaine to credit and authoritie, for one to make himſelfe terrible to the people, by offering them wrong and violence. It is true that *Martius* was euer counted an honeſt natured man, plaine and ſimple, without art or cunning: Howbeit *Alcibiades* merely contrarie, for he was fine, ſubtill, and deceiptfull. And the greateſt fault they euer burdened *Alcibiades* for, was his malice and deceipt, wherewith he abuſed the ambaſſadours of the Lacedæmonians, & that he was a let that peace was not cōcluded, as *Thucydides* reporteth. Now, though by this acte he ſodainely brought the citie of Athens into warres, yet he brought it thereby to be of greater power, and more fearefull to the enemies, by making alliance with the Mantinians and the Argives, who by *Alcibiades* practiſe entred into league with the Athenians. And *Martius*, as *Dionyſius* the hiſtoriographer writeth: did by craft and deceipt bring the Romaines into warres againſt the Volsces, cauſing the Volsces maliciouſly and wrongfully to be ſuſpected, that went to Rome to ſee the games plaide. But the cauſe why he did it, made the fact ſo much more foule and wicked. For it was not done for any ciuill diſſention, nor for any iealouſie and contention in matters of gouernement, as *Alcibiades* did: but onely following his cholericke moode, that would be pleaſed with no thing, as *Dion* ſaid he would needes trouble and turmoyle the moſt part of Italie, and ſo being angrie with his countrie, he deſtroyed many other townes and cities that could not helpe it, nor doe withall. This is true alſo, that *Alcibiades* ſpight & malice did worke great miſchiefe and miſerie to his countrie: but when he ſawe they repented them of the iniurie they had done him, he came to himſelf, & did withdraw his armie. Another time alſo, when they had baniſhed *Alcibiades*, he would not yet ſuffer the captaines of the Athenians to run into great errors, neither would he ſee them caſt away, by following ill counſell which they tooke, neither would he forſake them in any daunger they put themſelues into. But he did the very ſame that *Ariſtides* had done in old time vnto *Themiſtocles*, for which he was then, and is yet ſo greatly praiſed. For he went vnto the captaines that had charge then of the armie of the Athenians, although they were not his friends, and told them wherein they did amiſſe, and what they had further to doe. Where *Martius* to the contrarie, did firſt great hurt vnto the whole citie of Rome, though all in Rome had not generally offended him: yea, and when the beſt and chiefeſt part of the citie were grieued for his ſake, and were very ſory and angry for the iniurie done him. Furthermore, the Romaines ſought to appeaſe one onely diſpleaſure and deſpight they had done him by many ambaſſades, petitions and requeſtes they made, wherunto he neuer yeelded while his mother, wife and children came, his heart was ſo hardned. And hereby it appeared he was entred into this cruell warre (when he would harken to no peace) of an intent vtterly to deſtroy and ſpoile his countrie, and not as though he ment to recouer it, or to returne thither againe. Here was in deede the difference betwene them: that ſpials being laid by the Lacedæmonians to kil *Alcibiades*, for the malice they did beare him, as alſo for that they were affraide of him, he was compelled to returne home againe to Athens. Where *Martius* contrariwiſe, hauing bene ſo honorably receiued and entertained by the Volsces, he could not with honeſtie forſake them, conſidering that they had done him that honour, as to chuſe him their generall, & truſted him ſo farre, as they put al their whole army & power into his hands: and not as the other, whom the Lacedæmonians rather abuſed then vſed him, ſuffering him to go vp and downe their citie (and afterwardes in the middeſt of their campe) without honour or place at all. So that in the ende *Alcibiades* was compelled to put himſelfe into the hands of *Tiſaphernes*: vnleſſe they will ſay that he went thither of purpoſe to him, with intent to ſaue the citie of Athens frō vtter deſtruction, for the deſire he had to returne home againe. Moreouer, we read of *Alcibiades*, that he was a great taker, and would be corrupted with money: and when he had it, he would moſt licentiouſly and diſhoneſtly ſpend it. Where *Martius*

*The manners of Alcibiades & Coriolanus.*

*Alcibiades and Coriolanus manner for money.*

in contrarie manner would not ſo much as accept giſts lawfully offered him by his captaines to honour him for his valiantneſſe. And the cauſe why the people did beare him ſuch ill will, for the controuerſie they had with the Nobilitie about clearing of debts, grew: for that they knew well enough it was not for any gaine or benefite he had gotten thereby, ſo much as it was for ſpight and diſpleaſure he thought to doe them. *Antipater* in a letter of his, writing of the death of *Ariſtotle* the philoſopher, doth not without cauſe commende the ſingular giftes that were in *Alcibiades*, and this ineſpecially: that he paſſed all other for winning mens good willes. Whereas all *Martius* noble actes and vertues, wanting that affabilitie, became hatefull euen to thoſe that receiued benefite by them, who could not abide his ſeueritie and ſelfe will: which cauſeth deſolation (as *Plato* ſaith) and men to be ill followed, or altogether forſaken. Contrariwiſe, ſeeing *Alcibiades* had a trimme entertainment, and a very good grace with him, & could faſhion himſelfe in all companies: it was no maruell if his well doing were gloriouſly commended, and himſelfe much honoured and beloued of the people, conſidering that ſome faultes he did, were oftentimes taken for matters of ſport, and toyes of pleaſure. And this was the cauſe, that though many times he did great hurt to the common wealth, yet they did oft make him their generall, and truſted him with the charge of the whole citie. Where *Martius* ſuing for an office of honour that was due to him, for the ſundrie good ſeruices he had done to the ſtate, was notwithſtanding repulſed, and put by. Thus doe we ſee, that they to whom the one did hurt, had no power to hate him: and the other that honoured his vertue, had no liking to loue his perſon. *Martius* alſo did neuer any great exploit, being generall of his countrie men, but when he was generall of their enemies againſt his naturall countrie: wheras *Alcibiades*, being both a priuate perſon, and a generall, did notable ſeruice vnto the ATHENIANS. By reaſon whereof, *Alcibiades* whereſoeuer he was preſent, had the vpper hand euer of his accuſers, euen as he would himſelfe, and their accuſations tooke no place againſt him: vnleſſe it were in his abſence. Where *Martius* being preſent, was condemned by the ROMAINES: and in his perſon murdered and ſlaine by the VOLSCES. But here I can not ſay they haue done well, nor iuſtly, albeit himſelfe gaue them ſome colour to doe it, when he openly denied the ROMAINE Ambaſſadors peace, which after he priuately granted, at the requeſt of women. So by this deede of his, he tooke not away the enmitie that was betwene both people: but leauing warre ſtill betweene them, he made the VOLSCES (of whom he was generall) to looſe the oportunitie of noble victorie. Where in deede he ſhould (if he had done as he ought) haue withdrawen his armie with their counſell & conſent, that had repoſed ſo great affiance in him, in making him their generall: if he had made that account of them, as their good will towards him did in dutie binde him. Or elſe, if he did not care for the VOLSCES in the enterpriſe of this warre, but had only procured it of intent to be reuenged, and afterwards to leaue it off when his anger was blowen ouer: yet he had no reaſon for the loue of his mother to pardone his countrie, but rather he ſhould in pardoning his countrie, haue ſpared his mother, becauſe his mother & wife were members of the bodie of his countrie & citie, which he did beſiege. For in that he vncourteouſly reiected all publique petitions, requeſts of Ambaſſadors, intreaties of the biſhops and prieſtes, to gratifie onely the requeſt of his mother with his departure: that was no act ſo much to honour his mother with, as to diſhonour his countrie by, the which was preſerued for the pitie and interceſſion of a woman, & not for the loue of it ſelfe, as if it had not bene worthie of it. And ſo was this departure a grace, to ſay truly, very odious & cruell, and deſerued no thankes of either partie, to him that did it. For he withdrew his armie, not at the requeſt of the ROMAINES, againſt whom he made warre: nor with their conſent, at whoſe charge the warre was made. And of all his misfortune and ill hap, the auſteritie of his nature, and his haughtie obſtinate minde, was the only cauſe: the which of it ſelfe being hateful to the world, when it is ioyned with ambition, it groweth then much more churliſh, fierce, and intollerable. For men that haue that fault in nature, are not affable to the people, ſeeming thereby as though they made no eſtimation or regard of the people: and yet on the other ſide, if the people ſhould not giue them honour & reuerence, they would ſtraight take it in ſcorne, and litle care for the matter. For ſo did *Metellus*. *Ariſtiades*, & *Epaminondas*, all vſed this maner: not to ſeeke the goodwil of the cōmon people by flattery & diſſimulation: which was indeed,

*Alcibiades and Coriolanus loue vnto their countrie.*

becauſe they deſpiſed that which the people could giue or take away. Yet would they not be offended with their citizens, when they were amerced, and ſet at any fines, or that they baniſhed them, or gaue them any other repulſe: but they loued them as well as they did before, ſo ſoone as they ſhewed any token of repentance, & that they were ſorie for the wrong they had done them, & were eaſily made friends againe with them, after they were reſtored from their baniſhment. For he that diſdaineth to make much of the people, & to haue their fauour, ſhould much more ſcorne to ſeeke to be reuenged when he is repulſed. For, to take a repulſe and deniall of honour ſo inwardly to the heart, cõmeth of no other cauſe, but that he did too earneſtly deſire it. Therefore *Alcibiades* did not diſſemble at all, that he was not very glad to ſee himſelfe honored, and ſorie to be reiected & denied any honour: but alſo he ſought all the meanes he could to make himſelfe beloued of thoſe amongeſt whom he liued. Whereas *Martius* ſtoutnes, & haughtie ſtomacke, did ſtay him from making much of thoſe, that might aduance and honour him: and yet his ambition made him gnaw himſelfe for ſpight and anger, when he ſaw he was deſpiſed. And this is all that reaſonably may be reproued in him: for otherwiſe he lacked no good commendable vertues and qualities. For his temperance, and cleane hands from taking of bribes and money, he may be compared with the moſt perfect, vertuous, and honeſt men of all GRECE: but not with *Alcibiades*, who was in that vndoubtedly alwaies too licentious and looſely giuen, and had too ſmall regard of his regard and honeſtie.

*Coriolanus notable abſtinẽce from bribes.*

*The end of Caius Martius Coriolanus life.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Paulus Æmilius.*

PAVL. AEMILIVS.

WHEN I firſt beganne to write theſe liues, my intent was to profit other: but ſince, continuing and going on, I haue much profited my ſelf by looking into theſe hiſtories, as if I looked into a glaſſe, to frame and faſhion my life, to the mould and patterne of theſe vertuous noblemen. For running ouer their manners in this ſort, and ſeeking alſo to deſcribe their liues: me thinkes I am ſtill conuerſant and familiar with them, and do as it were lodge them with me, one after another. And when I come to peruſe their hiſtories, and to waye the vertues and qualities they haue had, and what ſingularitie ech of them poſſeſſed: and to chuſe and cull out the chiefeſt things of note in them, and their beſt ſpeeches and doings moſt worthie of memorie: Then I crie out, *O goddes, can there be more paſsing pleaſure in the world?*

Or is there any thing of more force, to teach man ciuill manners, and a ruled life, or to reforme the vice in man? *Democritus* the philoſopher writeth, that we ſhould pray we might euer ſee happie images and ſightes in the aire, and that the good which is meete and proper to our nature, may rather come to vs, then that is euill and vnfortunate: preſuppoſing a falſe opinion and doctrine in philoſophy, which allureth men to infinit ſuperſtitions. That there are good and bad images flying in the aire, which giue a good or ill impreſſion vnto men, and incline men to vice, or to vertue. But as for me, by continuall reading of auncient hiſtories, and gathering theſe lines together which now I leaue before you, and by keeping alwaies in mind the actes of the moſt noble, vertuous, and beſt giuen men of former age, and worthie memory: I doe teache and prepare my ſelfe to ſhake off and baniſh from me all lewd and diſhoneſt condition, if by chaunce the company and conuerſation of them whoſe companie I keepe, and muſt of neceſſity haunt, doe acquaint mee with ſome vnhappy or vngracious touche. This is eaſie vnto me, that do diſpoſe my quiet minde, and not troubled with any paſſion, vnto the deepe conſideration of ſo many noble examples. As I doe preſent vnto you now in this volume, the liues of *Timoleon* the CORINTHIAN, and of *Paulus AEmylius* the ROMAINE, who had not only a good and an vpright mind with them, but were alſo fortunate and happy, in all the matters they both did take in hand. So as you ſhall hardly iudge, when you haue red ouer their liues, whether wiſedome, or good fortune brought them to atchieue to ſuch honourable actes and exploits as they did. Many ( and the moſt part of hiſtoriographers ) doe write, that the houſe and family of the *AEmylians* in ROME, was alwaies of the moſt auncient of the nobility, which they call *Patricians*. Some writers affirme alſo, that the firſt of the houſe that gaue name to all the poſterity after, was *Marcus*, the ſonne of *Pythagoras* the wiſe, whom king *Numa* for the ſweetneſſe and pleaſaunt grace of his tongue, ſurnamed *Marcus AEmylius*: and thoſe ſpecially affirme it, that ſay king *Numa* was *Pythagoras* ſcholler. Howſoeuer it was, the moſt part of this family that obtained honour and eſtimation for their vertue, were euer fortunate alſo in all their doings, ſauing *Lucius Paulus* only, who died in the battell of CANNES. But his misfortune doth beare manifeſt teſtimony of his wiſedome and valiancy together. For he was forced to fight againſt his will, when hee ſaw he could not bridle the raſhneſſe of his fellow Conſul that would needes ioyne battell, and to doe as he did, ſauing that he fled not as the other, who being firſt procurer of the battell, was the fiſt that ranne awaie: where he to the contrary, to his power did what he could to let him, and did ſticke by it, and fought it valiantly vnto the laſt gaſpe. This *AEmylius* left a daughter behind him called *AEmylia*, which was maried vnto *Scipio* the great: and a ſonne, *Paulus AEmylius*, being the ſame man whoſe life we preſently treat of. His youth fortunatly fell out in a floriſhing time of glory and honour, through the ſundry vertues of many great and noble perſons liuing in thoſe daies, among whom he made his name famous alſo: and it was not by that ordinary art and courſe, which the beſt eſteemed young men of that age did take and follow. For he did not vſe to plead priuate mens cauſes in law, neither would creepe into mens fauour by fawning vpon any of them: though he ſaw it a common practiſe, and policy of men, to ſeeke the peoples fauour and good wils by ſuch meanes. Moreouer, he refuſed not that common courſe which other tooke, for that it was contray to his nature, or that he could not frame with either of both, if he had beene ſo diſpoſed: but he rather ſought to winne reputation by his honeſty, his valiantneſſe, and vpright dealing, as chooſing that the better way, then either of the other two, in ſo much as in maruellous ſhort time he paſſed all thoſe that were of his age. The firſt office of honor he ſued for, was the office of *AEdilis*, in which ſute he was preferred before twelue other that ſued for the ſelfe ſame office: who were men of no ſmall quality, for they all came afterwardes to be Conſuls. After this, he was choſen to be one of the number of the prieſtes, whom the ROMAINES call *Augures*: who haue the charge of all the diuinations and ſoothſayings, in telling of things to come by flying of birdes, and ſignes in the aire. He was ſo carefull, and tooke ſuch paines to vnderſtand how the ROMAINES did vſe the ſame, and with ſuch diligence ſought the obſeruation of the auncient religion of ROMAINS in all holy matters: that where that prieſthood was before eſteemed but a title of honour, and

*The houſe of the AEmylians came of Pythagoras ſon.*

*Lucius Paulus AEmylius Conſul, ſlaine at the battell of Cannes.*

*AEmylia, the daughter of Lucius AEmylius, maried to Scipio the great.*

*The vertues of Paulus AEmylius.*

*Paulus AEmylius made AEdilis and Augure.*

*The philoſophers opinion of religion.*

*Paulus diligence in the common welth, euen in trifles.*

*The diſcipline of warres.*

*Paulus Æmylius ſent Prætor into Spaine.*

*Æmylius skilful to chooſe place and time to fight.*

*Scipio the ſecond, and Fabius Maximus, were the ſonnes of P. Æmylius, by Papyria his firſt wife.*

*A pretty tale of a Romaine that forſooke his wife.*

deſired for the name only: he brought it to paſſe, that it was the moſt honorable ſcience, & beſt reputed of in ROME. Wherein he confirmed the philoſophers opinion: that religion is the knowledge how to ſerue God. For when he did any thing belonging to his office of prieſthood, he did it with great experience, iudgement, and diligence, leauing all other thoughts, and without omitting any auncient ceremony, or adding to any new, contending oftentimes with his companions, in things which ſeemed light, and of ſmall moment: declaring vnto them, that though we doe preſume the goddes are eaſie to be pacified, and that they readily pardon all faultes and ſcapes committed by negligence, yet if it were no more but for reſpect of common wealths ſake, they ſhould not ſlightly, not careleſly diſſemble or paſſe ouer faults committed in thoſe matters. For no man (ſaieth he) at the firſt that committeth any fault, doth alone trouble the ſtate of the common wealth: but withall, we muſt thinke hee leaueth the groundes of ciuill gouernment, that is not as carefull to keepe the inſtitutions of ſmall matters, as alſo of the great. So was he alſo a ſeuere captaine, and ſtrict obſeruer of all marſhall diſcipline, not ſeeking to winne the ſouldiers loue by flattery, when he was generall in the field, as many did in that time: neither corrupting them for a ſecond charge, by ſhewing him ſelfe gentle and curteous in the firſt, vnto thoſe that ſerued vnder him: but him ſelfe did orderly ſhew them the very rules and precepts of the diſcipline of warres, euen as a prieſt that ſhould expreſſe the names and ceremonies of ſome holy ſacrifice, wherein were daunger to omitte any part or parcell. Howbeit, being terrible to execute the law of armes vpon rebellious and diſobedient ſouldiers, he kept vp thereby the ſtate of the common weale the better: iudging, to ouercome the enemy by force, was but an acceſſarie as a man may terme it, in reſpect of well training and ordering his citizens by good diſcipline. While the ROMAINES were in warres againſt king *Antiochus* ſurnamed the great, in the South partes: all the chiefeſt captaines of ROME being employed that waies, there fell out another in the necke of that, in the Weſt partes towardes SPAINE, where they were all vp in armes. Thither they ſent *Æmylius* Prætor, not with ſixe axes as the other Prætors had borne before them, but with twelue: ſo that vnder the name of Prætor, he had the authority and dignity of a Conſull. He twiſe ouercame the barbarous people in mayne battell, and ſlue a thirty thouſand of them, and got this victory through his great skill and wiſedome, in chooſing the aduauntage of place and time, to fight with his enemies, euen as they paſſed ouer a riuer: which eaſily gaue his ſouldiers the victory. Moreouer he tooke there, two hundred and fifty cities, all which did open, and gladly receiue him in. So, leauing all that countrey quiet and in good peace, and hauing receiued their fealty by othe made betweene his hands, he returned againe to ROME, not enriched the value of a Drachma more then before. For then he tooke litle regard to his expences, he ſpent ſo franckly, neither was his purſe his maiſter, though his reuenue was not great to beare it out as it appeared to the world after his death, for all that he had, was litle enough to ſatiſfie his wifes ioynter. His firſt wife was *Papyria*, the daughter of a noble Conſull *Papyrius Maſſo*, and after they had liued a long time together, he was diuorced from her, notwithſtanding he had goodly children by her. For by her he had that famous *Scipio* the ſecond, and *Fabius Maximus*. The iuſt cauſe of the diuorce betweene them, appeareth not to vs in writing: but me thinkes the tale that is told concerning the ſeperation of a certaine mariage is true. That a certaine ROMAINE hauing forſaken his wife, her friends fell out with him, and asked him: what fault doſt thou find in her? is ſhe not honeſt of her body? is ſhee not faire? doth ſhe not bring thee goodly children? But he putting forth his foote, ſhewed them his ſhooe, and aunſwered them. Is not this a goodly ſhooe? is it not finely made? and is it not new? yet I dare ſay there is neuer a one of you can tell where it wringeth me. For to ſay truely, great and open faultes are commonly occaſions to make husbands put away their wiues: but yet oftentimes houſhold wordes runne ſo betweene them (proceeding of crooked conditions, or of diuerſity of natures, which ſtraungers are not priuie vnto) that in proceſſe of time they doe beget ſuch a ſtraunge alteration of loue and mindes in them, as one houſe can no longer holde them. So *Æmylius*, hauing put away *Papyria* his firſt wife, he maried another that brought him two ſonnes, which he brought vp with him ſelfe in his houſe, and gaue his two firſt ſonnes (to wit, *Scipio* the ſecond, and *Fabius Maximus*) in adoption, to two of the nobleſt and richeſt families of the city of ROME. The elder of the twaine, vnto *Fabius Maximus*, he that was fiue times Conſul, and the yonger vnto the houſe of the *Cornelians*, whom the ſonne of the great *Scipio* the AFRICAN did adopt, being his coſiu germaine and named him *Scipio*. Concerning his daughters, the ſonne of *Cato* maried the one, and *AElius Tubero* the other, who was a maruellous honeſt man, and did more nobly maintaine him ſelfe in his pouerty, then any other ROMAINE: for they were ſixteene perſons all of one name, and of the houſe of the *AElians*, very neare a kinne one to the other, who had all but one litle houſe in the city, and a ſmall farme in the countrey, wherewith they entertained them ſelues, and liued all together in one houſe, with their wiues, and many litle children. Amongeſt their wiues, one of them was the daughter of *Paulus AEmylius*, after he had bene twiſe Conſul, and had triumphed twiſe, not being aſhamed of her husbands pouerty, but wondering at his vertue that made him poore. Wheras bretheren and kinſemen, as the world goeth now, if they dwell not farre a ſunder, and in other countries, not one neare another, and that riuers part them not, or wals deuide their lands, leauing great large waſtes betweene them: they are neuer quiet, but ſtill in quarrell one with another. Goodly examples doth this ſtory lay before the wiſe, and well aduiſed readers, to learne thereby how to frame their life, and wiſely to behaue them ſelues. Now *AEmylius* being choſen Conſul, went to make warre with the LIGVRIANS, who dwelled in the ALPES, and which otherwiſe are called LIGVSTINES. Theſe are very valiaunt and warlike men, and were very good ſouldiers at that time, by reaſon of their continuall wars againſt the ROMAINES, whoſe neare neighbours they were. For they dwelt in the furtheſt part of ITALY, that bordereth vpon the great ALPES, and the row of ALPES, whereof the foote ioyneth to the THVSCAN ſea, and pointeth towards AFRICK, and are mingled with the GAVLES and SPANIARDS, neighbours vnto the ſea coaſt: who ſcowring all the *Mediterraniā* ſea at that time, vnto the ſtraight of *Hercules* pillers, did with their litle light pinnaſes of pirats, let all the trafficke and entercourſe of marchandiſe. *AEmylius* being gone to ſeeke them in their countrey, they taried his comming with an army of forty thouſand men: neuertheles, though he had but eight thouſand men in all, and that they were fiue to one of his, yet he gaue the onſet vpon them, and ouerthrew them, and draue them into their cities. Then he ſent to offer thē peace, for the ROMAINS would not altogether deſtroy the LIGVRIANS, becauſe their countrey was as a rampier or bulwarke againſt the inuaſion of the GAVIS, who lay lurking for oportunity and occaſion to inuade ITALIE: whereupon theſe LIGVRIANS yeelded them ſelues vnto him, and put all their fortes and ſhips into his hands. *AEmylius* deliuered vnto them their holdes againe, without other hurt done vnto them, ſauing that he raſed the walles of their fortifications: howbeit he tooke all their ſhippes from them, leauing them litle botes of three owers onely, and no greater, and ſet all the priſoners at liberty they had taken, both by ſea and by land, aſwell ROMAINS as other, which were a maruellous number. Theſe were all the notable actes he did worthy memory, in the firſt yeare of his Conſulſhip. Afterwards, he oſtentimes ſhewed himſelfe very deſirous to be Conſul againe, and did put forth himſelfe to ſue for it: but when he was denied it, he neuer after made ſute for it againe, but gaue himſelfe onely to ſtudy diuine things, and to ſee his children vertuouſly brought vp, not onely in the ROMAINE tongue which him ſelfe was taught, but alſo a litle more curiouſly in the GREEKE tongue. For he did not only retaine *Grammarians*, *Rethoricians*, and *Logitians*, but alſo painters, grauers of images, riders of horſes, and hunts of GREECE about his children: and he him ſelfe alſo (if no matters of common wealth troubled him) was euer with them in the ſchoole when they were at their bookes, and alſo when they otherwiſe did exerciſe them ſelues. For he loued his children as much, or more then any other ROMAINE. Now concerning the ſtate of the common wealth, the ROMAINS were at wars with king *Perſeus*, and they much blamed the captaines they had ſent thither before, for that for lacke of skill and courage, they had ſo cowardly behaued them ſelues, as their enemies laughed them to ſcorne: and they receiued more hurt of them, then they did vnto the King. For not long before, they had driuen King *Antiochus* beyond mount *Taurus*, and had made him forſake the reſt of ASIA, and had ſhut him vp within the borders of SYRIA, who was glad that hee had bought that countrey with fifteene thouſand talents, which he paid for a fine. A litle before alſo, they had ouercome

*The vertue of AElius Tubero, his pouerty and quiet life.*

*Innaturality amongeſt kinred infamous.*

*AEmylius Conſul.*

*AEmylius ouercommeth the Ligurians.*

*The cowardlines of the Romains in Spain*

*The ſucceſſion of Antigonus king of Macedon.*

*Antigonus Doſon, king of Macedon.*

*Philip king of Macedon was ouercome in battel, by Titus Quintus Flaminius at the city of Scotuſa.*

*Philips ſecond preparation for warres in Macedon.*

*Philips armory*

*The death of king Philip.*

*Perſeus extreame couetous.*

*King Perſeus maketh warre with the Romaines.*

*Philip*, king of MACEDON, in THESSALY, and had deliuered the GRECIANS from the bondage of the MACEDONIANS. And moreouer, hauing ouercom *Hanniball* (vnto whom no Prince nor King that euer was in the world was comparable, either for his power or valiantnes) they thought this too great a diſhonour to them, that this warre they had againſt King *Perſeus*, ſhould hold ſo long of euen hand with them, as if he had beene an enemy equall with the people of ROME: conſidering alſo that they fought not againſt them, but with the refuſe and ſcattered people of the ouerthrowen army his father had loſt before, and knew not that *Philip* had left his army ſtronger, and more expert by reaſon of his ouerthrow, then it was before. As I will briefly rehearſe the ſtory from the beginning. *Antigonus*, who was of the greateſt power of all the captaines and ſucceſſours of *Alexander* the great, hauing obtained for him ſelfe and his poſterity the title of a King, had a ſonne called *Demetrius*, of whom came *Antigonus* the ſecond, that was ſurnamed *Gonatas*, whoſe ſonne was alſo called *Demetrius*, that raigned no long time, but died, and left a young ſonne called *Philippe*. By reaſon whereof, the Princes and Nobility of MACEDON, fearing that the Realme ſhould be left without heire: they preferred one *Antigonus*, coſin to the laſt deceaſed King, and made him marie the mother of *Philip* the leſſe, giuing him the name at the firſt of the Kings protectour onely, and lieutenaunt generall of his maieſty. But after, when they had found he was a good and wiſe prince, and a good husband for the Realme, they then gaue him the abſolute name of a King, and ſurnamed him *Doſon*, to ſay, the giuer: for he promiſed much and gaue litle. After him raigned *Philip*, who in his greene youth gaue more hope of him ſelfe, then any other of the Kings before: in ſo much they thought that one day he would reſtore MACEDON her auncient fame and glory, and that he alone would plucke downe the pride and power of the ROMAINS, who roſe againſt all the world. But after that he had loſt a great battell, and was ouerthrowen by *Titus Quintus Flaminius* neare vnto the city of SCOTVSA: then he beganne to quake for feare, and to leaue all to the mercy of the ROMAINES, thinking hee eſcaped good cheape, for any light ranſome or tribute the ROMAINES ſhould impoſe vpon him. Yet afterwards comming to vnderſtand him ſelfe, he grew to diſdaine it much, thinking that to raigne through the fauour of the ROMAINES, was but to make him ſelfe a ſlaue, to ſeeke to liue in pleaſure at his eaſe, and not for a valiaunt and noble prince borne. Whereupon he ſet all his minde, to ſtudy the diſcipline of wars, and made his preparations as wiſely and cloſely, as poſſibly he could. For he left all his towns alongſt the ſea coaſt, and ſtanding vpō any high waies, without any fortification at all, and in manner deſolate without people: to the end there might appeare no occaſion of doubt or miſtruſt in him: and in the meane time, in the high countries of his Realme farre from great beaten waies, he leauied a great number of men of war, and repleniſhed his towns and ſtrong holds that lay ſcatteringly abroad, with armour and weapon, money, and men, prouiding for war, which he kept as ſecretly as he could. For he had prouiſion of armour in his armory, to arme thirty thouſand men, and eight million buſſhels of corn ſafely lockt vp in his forts and ſtronger places, and ready money, as much as would ſerue to entertaine tenne thouſand ſtraungers in pay, to defend his countrey for the ſpace of tenne yeares. But before he could bring that to paſſe he had purpoſed, he died for griefe and ſorrow, after he knew he had vniuſtly put *Demetrius* the beſt of his ſonnes to death, vppon the falſe accuſation of the worſt, that was *Perſeus*: who as he did inherite the Kingdome of his father by ſucceſſion, ſo did he alſo inherite his fathers malice againſt the ROMAINES. But he had no ſhoulders to beare ſo heauy a burden, and eſpecially being as he was, a man of ſo vile and wicked nature: for among many lewd and naughty conditions he had, he was extreme couetous & miſerable. They ſay alſo, that he was not legitimate, becauſe *Philippes* wife had taken him from *Gnathainia* (a tailours wife borne at ARGOS) immediatly after he was borne, & did adopt the childe to be hers. And ſome thinke that this was the chiefeſt cauſe why he practiſed to put *Demetrius* to death, fearing leaſt this lawfull ſon would ſeeke occaſion to proue him a baſtard. Notwithſtanding, ſimple though he was, and of vile and baſe nature, he found the ſtrength of his Kingdome ſo great, that he was contented to take vpon him to make warre againſt the ROMAINS, which he maintained a long time, and fought againſt their Conſuls, that were their generalles, & repulſed great armies of theirs both by ſea and land, and ouercame ſome. As *Publius Licinius* among other, the firſt that inuaded MACEDON, was ouerthrowen by him in a battel of horſmen, where he ſlew at that time two thouſand fiue hundred good mē of his, & tooke ſixe hundred priſoners. And their armie by ſea, riding at ancker before the citie of OREVM, he did ſodainly ſet vpon, and tooke twentie great ſhips of burden, & all that was in them, and ſunke the reſt, which were all loden with corne: and tooke of all ſorts beſides, about 54. foyſtes, and galliots of fiftie owers a peece. The ſecond Conſull and generall he fought with all, was *Hoſtilius*, whom he repulſed, attempting by force to inuade MACEDON by way of the citie of ELVMIA. Another time againe, when he entred in by ſtealth vpon the coaſt of THESSALY, he offred him battell, but the other durſt not abide it. Furthermore, as though the war troubled him nothing at all, & that he had cared litle for the ROMAINES: he went & fought a battell in the meane time with the DARDANIANS, where he ſlew ten thouſand of thoſe barbarous people, & brought a maruellous great ſpoile away with him. Moreouer he procured the nation of the GAVLES dwelling vpon the riuer of *Danubie*, which they call *Baſtarnæ* (men very warlike, & excellent good horſemē) & did practiſe with the ILLYRIANS alſo by mean of their king *Gentius*, to make them ioine with him in theſe wars: ſo that there ran a rumour all about, that for money he had gotten theſe GAVLES to come downe into ITALIE, from the high country of GAVLE, al alongſt the Adriatike ſea. The ROMAINES being aduertiſed of theſe news, thought the time ſerued not now to diſpoſe their offices in warres any more by grace and fauour vnto thoſe that ſued for them: but contrariwiſe, that they ſhould call ſome noble man that were very ſkilful and a wiſe captain, and could diſcreetly gouerne & performe things of great charge. As *Paulus Æmilius*, a man well ſtepped on in yeres, being three ſcore yere old, and yet of good power, by reaſon of the luſtie young men his ſonnes, & ſonnes in law, beſides a great number of his friends and kinſefolke. So all that bare great authoritie, did altogether with one conſent counſell him to obey the people, which called him to the Conſulſhip. At the beginning indeede he delayed the people much that came to importune him, and vtterly denied them: ſaying, he was no meete man neither to deſire, nor yet to take vpon him any charge. Howbeit in the end, ſeeing the people did vrge it vpon him, by knocking continually at his gates, & calling him aloud in the ſtreetes, willing him to come into the market place, & perceiuing they were angrie with him, becauſe he refuſed it: he was content to be perſwaded. And when he ſtood among them that ſued for the Conſulſhip, the people thought ſtraight that he ſtood not there ſo much for deſire of the office, as for that he put them in hope of aſſured victorie, and happie ſucceſſe of this begunne warre: ſo great was their loue towards him, and the good hope they had of him, that they choſe him Conſull againe the ſecond time. Wherefore ſo ſoone as he was choſen, they would not proceede to drawing of lots according to their cuſtome, which of the two Conſuls ſhould happen to go into MACEDON: but preſently with a full and whole conſent of them all, they gaue him the whole charge of the warres of MACEDON. So being Conſull now, and appointed to make warre vpon king *Perſeus*, all the people did honourably companie him home vnto his houſe: where a litle girle (a daughter of his) called *Tertia*, being yet an infant, came weeping vnto her father. He making much of her: asked her why ſhe wept. The poore girle anſwered, colling him about the neck, and kiſsing him: Alas, father, wote you what? our *Perſeus* is dead. She ment it by a little whelpe ſo called, which was her play fellow. In good houre, my girle, ſaid he, I like the ſigne well. Thus doth *Cicero* the orator report of it in his booke of diuinations. The ROMAINES had a cuſtome at that time, that ſuch as were elected Conſuls (after that they were openly proclaimed) ſhould make an oration of thankes vnto the people, for the honour and fauour they had ſhewed him. The people then (according to the cuſtome) being gathered together to heare *Æmylius* ſpeake, he made this oration vnto them. That the firſt time he ſued to be Conſull, was in reſpect of himſelfe, ſtanding at that time in neede of ſuch honour: now he offered himſelfe the ſecond time vnto it, for the good loue he bare vnto them, who ſtood in neede of a generall, wherefore he thought himſelfe nothing bound nor beholding vnto them now. And if they did thinke alſo this warre might be better followed by any other, then by himſelfe, he would preſently with all his heart reſigne the place. Furthermore, if they had any truſt or confidence in him, that they thought him a man ſufficient to diſcharge it: then that they would not ſpeake nor meddle in

*Publius Licinius Conſull, ouerthrowen by Perſeus.*

*Hoſtilius Conſull repulſed out of Macedon.*

*Baſtarnæ the Gaules dwelling vpon the riuer of Danubie.*

*Æmilius choſen Conſull the ſecond time, taketh charge of the warres of Macedon.*

*Good lucke pronounced by Tertia, a little girle.*

*Paulus Æmylius oration of thankes to the Romaines when he was Conſull, obſeruing the cuſtome.*

» any matter that concerned his dutie, and the office of a generall, ſauing onely, that they would
» be diligent (without any words) to do whatſoeuer he commaunded, and ſhould be neceſſarie
» for the warre and ſeruice they tooke in hand. For if euery man would be a commander, as they
» had bene heretofore, of thoſe by whom they ſhould be commaunded: then the world would
» more laugh them to ſcorne in this ſeruice, then euer before had bin accuſtomed. Theſe words made the ROMAINES very obedient to him, and conceiued good hope to come, being all of them very glad that they had refuſed thoſe ambitious flatterers that ſued for the charge, and had giuen it vnto a man, that durſt boldly and frankely tell them the troth. Marke how the ROMAINES by yeelding vnto reaſon and vertue, came to commaund all other, and to make themſelues the mightieſt people of the world. Now that *Paulus Æmylius* ſetting forward to this warre, had winde at will, and faire paſſage to bring him at his iourneys end: I impute it to good fortune, that ſo quickly and ſafely conueighed him to his campe. But for the reſt of his exploites, he did in all this warre, when part of them were performed by his owne hardineſſe, other by his wiſedome and good counſell, other by the diligence of his friends in ſeruing him with good will, other by his owne reſolute conſtancie and courage in extreameſt danger, and laſt, by his maruellous skil in determining at an inſtant what was to be done: I cannot attribute any notable acte or worthy ſeruice vnto this his good fortune, they talke of ſo much, as they may do in other captains doings. Vnles they wil ſay peraduenture, that *Perſeus* couetouſnes & miſerie was *Æmylius* good fortune: for his miſerable feare of ſpending money, was the only cauſe and deſtruction of the whole realme of MACEDON, which was in good ſtate and hope of continuing in proſperitie. For there came downe into the countrie of MACEDON at king *Perſeus* requeſt, ten thouſand Baſtarnæ a horſe back, and as many footemen to them, who alwaies ioyned with them in battell, all mercenary ſouldiers, depending vpon pay and entertainment of warres, as men that could not plowe nor ſowe, nor trafficke marchandiſe by ſea, nor skill of graſing to gaine their liuing with: and to be ſhort, that had no other occupation or marchandiſe, but to ſerue in the warres, and to ouercome thoſe with whom they fought. Furthermore, when they came to incampe and lodge in the MEDICA, neere to the MACEDONIANS, who ſaw them ſo goodly great men, and ſo well trained & exerciſed in handling all kinde of weapons, ſo braue and luſty in words and threats againſt their enemies: they began to plucke vp their hearts, and to looke big, imagining that the ROMAINES would neuer abide them, but would be afeard to looke them in the face, and onely to ſee their marche, it was ſo terrible and fearfull. But *Perſeus*, after he had incouraged his men in this ſort, and had put them in ſuch a hope and iollitie, when this barbarous ſupply came to aske him a thouſand crownes in hand for euery captaine, he was ſo damped and troubled withall in his minde, caſting vp the ſumme it came to, that his onely couetouſneſſe and miſerie made him returne them back, and refuſe their ſeruice: not as one that ment to fight with the ROMAINES, but rather to ſpare his treaſure, and to be a husband for them, as if he ſhould haue giuen vp a ſtraight account vnto them of his charges in this warre, againſt whom he made it. And notwithſtanding alſo his enemies did teach him what he had to do, conſidering that beſides all other their warlike furniture and munition, they had no leſſe then a hundred thouſand fighting men lying in campe together, ready to execute the Conſuls commaundement. Yet he taking vpon him to reſiſt ſo puiſſant an armie, and to maintaine the wars, which forced his enemies to be at extreame charge in enterteining ſuch multitudes of men, and more then needed: hardly would depart with his gold and ſiluer, but kept it ſafe locked vp in his treaſurie, as if he had bene affraide to touche it, & had bene none of his. And he did not ſhew that he came of the noble race of theſe kings of LYDIA, and of PHOENICIA, who gloried to be riche: but ſhewed how by inheritance of bloud he chalenged ſome part of the vertue of *Philip*, and of *Alexander*, who both becauſe they eſteemed to buie victorie with money, not money with victorie, did many notable things, and thereby conquered the world. Hereof came the common ſaying in olde time, that it was not *Phillip*, but his gold and ſiluer that wonne the cities of GRECE. And *Alexander* when he went to conquer the INDES, ſeeing the MACEDONIANS caty with them all the welth of PERSIA, which made his campe very heauie, and ſlowe to marche: he himſelfe first of all ſet fire of his owne cariage that conueied all his neceſſaries, and perſwaded other to do the like, that they might marche

*See what fruite ſouldiers reape, by obedience and reaſon.*

*Perſeus couetouſnes and miſerie, was the deſtruction of himſelfe, and his realme of* Macedon.

*Baſtarnæ, a mercenarie people.*

*Note, what became of Perſeus husbandrie.*

*AEmylius armie againſt Perſeus, was a hundred thouſand men.*

marche more lightlie, and eaſlier go on the iourney. But *Perſeus* contrarily would not ſpend any part of his goods, to ſaue himſelfe, his children and realme, but rather yeelded to be led priſoner in triumphe with a great ranſome, to ſhewe the ROMAINES how good a husband he had bene for them. For he did not onely ſend away the GAVLES without giuing them pay as he had promiſed, but moreouer hauing perſwaded *Gentius* king of ILLYRIA to take his part in theſe warres, for the ſumme of three hundred talents which he had promiſed to furniſh him with: he cauſed the money to be told, and put vp in bags by thoſe whom *Gentius* ſent to receiue it. Whereupon *Gentius* thinking himſelfe ſure of the money promiſed, committed a fond and fowle part: for he ſtayed the ambaſſadours the ROMAINES ſent vnto him, and committed them to priſon. This part being come to *Perſeus* eares, he thought now he needed not hire him with money to be an enemie to the ROMAINES, conſidering he had waded ſo farre, as that he had already done, was as a manifeſt ſigne of his ill will towards them, and that it was too late to looke back and repent him, now that his foule part had plunged him into certaine warres, for an vncertaine hope. So did he abuſe the vnfortunate King, and defrauded him of the three hundred talents he had promiſed him. And worſe then this, ſhortly after he ſuffered *Lucius Anicius* the ROMAINE Prætor, whom they ſent againſt him with an armie, to pluck king *Gentius*, his wife, and children, out of his realme and kingdome, and to carie them priſoners with him. Now when *AEmylius* was arriued in MACEDON, to make warre againſt ſuch an enemie: he made no manner of reckoning of his perſon, but of the great preparation and power he had. For in one campe he had foure thouſand horſemen, & no leſſe then fortie thouſand footemen, with the which armie he had planted himſelfe alongſt the ſea ſide, by the foote of the mount *Olympus*, in a place vnpoſſible to be approached: & there he had ſo well fortified all the ſtraites and paſſages vnto him with fortifications of wood, that he thought himſelfe to lie ſafe out of all danger, and imagined to dally with *AEmylius*, and by tract of time to eate him out with charge. *AEmylius* in the meane ſeaſon lay not idle, but occupied his wits throughly, and left no meanes vnattempted, to put ſome thing in proofe. And perceiuing that his ſouldiers by ouermuch licentious libertie (wherein by ſufferance they liued before) were angrie with delaying and lying ſtill, and that they did buſilie occupie themſelues in the generals office, ſaying this, and ſuch a thing would be done that is not done: he tooke them vp roundly, and commaunded them they ſhould medle no more too curiouſlie in matters that pertained not to them, and that they ſhould take care for nothing elſe, but to ſee their armour, and weapon readie to ſerue valiantly, and to vſe their ſwords after the ROMAINES faſhion, when their generall ſhould appoint and commaund them. Wherefore, to make them more carefull to looke to themſelues, he commanded thoſe that watched, ſhould haue no ſpeares nor pikes, becauſe they ſhould be more wakefull, hauing no long weapon to reſiſt the enemie, if they were aſſaulted. The greateſt trouble his armie had, was lack of freſh water, becauſe the water that ranne to the ſea was very little, & maruellous foule by the ſea ſide. But *AEmylius* conſidering they were at the foote of the mount *Olympus* (which is of a maruellous height, and full of wood withall) coniectured, ſeeing the trees ſo freſh and greene, that there ſhould be ſome little pretie ſprings among them, which ran vnder the ground. So he made them dig many holes and wels alongſt the mountaine, which were ſtraight filled with faire water, being pent within ground before for lack of breaking open the heads, which then ran downe in ſtreames, and met together in ſundrie places. And yet ſome do denie, that there is any meeting of waters within the ground, from whence the ſprings do come. For they ſay, that running out of the earth as they do, it is not for that, that the water breaketh out by any violence, or openeth in any place, as meeting together in one place of long time: but that it ingendreth and riſeth at the ſame time and place where it runneth out, turning the ſubſtance into water, which is a moiſt vapour, thickneth & waxeth cold by the coldneſſe of the earth, and ſo becommeth a ſtreame, and runneth downe. Euen ſo, ſay they, as womens breſts are not alwaies full of milke, as milke pans are that continually keepe milke, but do of themſelues conuert the nutriment women take into milke, and after commeth forth at their nipples: the very like are ſprings and watery places of the earth, from whence the fountaines come, which haue no meeting of hidden waters, nor hollow places capable, readily to deliuer water frō them, as one would draw it out of a pompe or ſeſterne,

*Gentius king of the Illyrians aided Perſeus.*

*Perſeus double dealing with king Gentius.*

*King Gentius ouercome by Lucius Anicius Prætor.*

*Perſeus lay at the foote of the mount Olympus, with 4000 horſemen, and 40000 footmē.*

*AEmylius admonition to his ſouldiers.*

*Paulus AEmylius would haue the watch to haue no ſpeares nor pikes.*

*The originall of ſprings.*

*Fountaines compared to womens breſts.*

from ſo many great brookes, and deepe riuers. But by their naturall coldneſſe & moiſture, they waxe thick, and put forth the vapour and aire ſo ſtrong, that they turne it into water. And this is the reaſon why the places where they dig and open the earth, do put forth more abundance of water by opening the ground: like as womens breſts do giue more milke, when they are moſt drawne and suckt, becauſe in a ſort they do better feed the vapour within them, and conuert it thereby into a running humour. Where, to the contrarie, thoſe parts of the earth that are not digged, nor haue no vent outward, are the more vnable, and leſſe meete to ingender water, hauing not that prouocation and courſe to run, that cauſeth the bringing forth of moiſture. Yet ſuch as maintaine this opinion, do giue them occaſion that loue argument, to contrarie them thus. Then we may ſay by like reaſon alſo, that in the bodies of beaſts there is no bloud long before, and that it ingendreth vpon a ſodaine, when they are hurt, by transferring of ſome ſpirit or fleſh that readily changeth into ſome running licoure. And moreouer, they are confuted by the common experience of theſe mine men, that dig in the mines for mettall, or that vndermine caſtels to win them: who when they dig any great depth, do many times meete in the bowels of the earth with running riuers, the water whereof is not ingendred by litle and litle, as of neceſſitie it ſhould be, if it were true, that vpon the preſent opening of the ground, the humour ſhould immediatly be created, but it falleth vehemently all at one time. And we ſee oftentimes that in cutting through a mountaine or rock, ſodainly there runneth out a great quantitie of water. And thus much for this matter. Now to returne to our hiſtorie againe, *AEmylius* lay there a conuenient time, and ſtirred not: and it is ſaid there were neuer ſeene two ſo great armies one ſo neere to the other, and to be ſo quiet. In the end, caſting manie things with himſelfe, and deuiſing ſundrie practiſes, he was enformed of another way to enter into Macedon, through the countrie of Perræbia, ouer againſt the temple called *Pythion*, and the rock vpon which it is built, where there lay no garriſon: which gaue him better hope to paſſe that way, for that it was not kept, then that he feared the narrowneſſe and hardneſſe of the way vnto it. So, he brake the matter to his counſell. Thereupon *Scipio* called *Naſica* (the ſonne adopted of that great *Scipio* the *African*, who became afterwards a great mã, & was preſident of the Senate or counſell) was the firſt man that offred himſelfe to lead them, whom it would pleaſe him to ſend to take that paſſage, & to aſſault their enemies behind. The ſecond was *Fabius Maximus*, the eldeſt ſonne of *AEmylius*, who being but a very young man, roſe notwithſtanding, & offred himſelf very willingly. *AEmylius* was very glad of their offers, and gaue them not ſo many men as *Polybius* writeth, but ſo many as *Naſica* himſelfe declareth, in a letter of his he wrot to a king, where he reporteth all the ſtory of this iorney. There were 3000 Italians leauied in Italy, by the cõfederats of the Romains, who were not of the Romaine legions, & in the left wing about 5000. Beſides thoſe, *Naſica* toke alſo 120 men at armes, & about 200 Cretans & Thracians mingled together, of thoſe *Harpalus* had ſent thither. With this number *Naſica* departed from the campe, & tooke his way toward the ſea ſide, & lodged by the temple of *Hercules*, as if he had determined to do this feat by ſea, to enuiron the campe of the enemies behind. But when the ſoldiers had ſupped, and that it was darke night, he made the captaines of euery band priuie to his enterpriſe, and ſo marched all night a contrary way from the ſea, vntill at the length they came vnder the temple of *Pythion*, where he lodged to reſt the ſoldiers that were ſore trauelled all night. In this place, the mount *Olympus* is aboue ten furlong high, as appeareth in a place ingrauen by him that meaſured it.

*Scipio Naſica, and Fabius Maximus, offer themſelues to take the ſtraights.*

*The height of the mount Olympus.*

*Olympus mount is iuſt, by meaſure made with line,*
*twelue hundred ſeuentie paces trod, as meaſure can aſſigne.*
*The meaſure being made, right ore againſt the place,*
*whereas Apolloes temple ſtands, ybuilt with ſtately grace.*
*Euen from the leauell plot, of that ſame countries plaine,*
*vnto the top which all on high, doth on the hill remaine.*
*And ſo Xenagoras the ſonne of Eumelus,*
*in olden dayes by meaſure made, the ſame did finde for vs.*
*And did engraue it here in writing for to ſee,*
*when as he tooke his lateſt leaue (Apollo god) of thee.*

Yet the *Geometricians* ſay, that there is no mountaine higher, nor ſea deeper, then the length of tenne furlongs: ſo that I thinke this *Xenagoras* (in my opinion) did not take his meaſure at auenture, and by geſſe, but by true rules of the arte, and inſtrumentes Geometricall. There *Naſica* reſted all night. King *Perſeus* perceiuing in the meane time that *Æmilius* ſtirred not from the place where he lay, miſtruſted nothing his practiſe, and the comming of *Naſica* who was at hand: vntill ſuch time as a traytour of CRETA (ſtealing from *Naſica*) did reueale vnto him the pretended practiſe, as alſo the ROMAINES compaſſing of him about. He wondred much at theſe newes, howbeit he remoued not his campe from the place he laie in, but diſpatched one of his captaines called *Milon*, with tenne thouſand ſtraungers, and two thouſand MACEDONIANS: and ſtraightly commanded him with all the poſſible ſpeede he could, to get the toppe of the hill before them. *Polybius* ſaieth, that the ROMAINES came and gaue them an alarom, when they were ſleeping. But *Naſica* writeth, that there was a maruellous ſharpe and terrible battell on the toppe of the mountaine: and ſaide plainely, that a THRACIAN ſouldier comming towardes him, he threw his dart at him, and hitting him right in the breaſt, ſlew him ſtarke dead: and hauing repulſed their enemies, *Milon* their captaine ſhamefully running away in his coat without armour or weapon, he followed him without any daunger, and ſo went downe to the valley, with the ſafetie of all his companie. This conflict fortuning thus, *Perſeus* raiſed his campe in great haſte from the place where he was, and being diſapointed of his hope, he retired in great feare, as one at his wits ende, and not knowing how to determine. Yet was he conſtrained either to ſtay, and incampe before the citie of PYDNE, there to take the hazard of battell: or elſe to deuide his armie into his cities & ſtrong holdes, and to receiue the warres within his owne countrie, the which being once crept in, could neuer be driuen out againe, without great murder & bloudſhed. Hereupon his friends did counſell him, to chuſe rather the fortune of battell: alledging vnto him, that he was the ſtronger in men a great way, and that the MACEDONIANS would fight luſtily with all the courage they could, conſidering that they fought for the ſafetie of their wiues & children, and alſo in the preſence of their king, who ſhould both ſee euery mans doing, & fight himſelfe in perſon alſo for them. The king moued by theſe perſwaſions, determined to venter the chance of battell. So he pitched his campe, and viewed the ſituation of the places all about, and deuided the companies amongeſt his captaines, purpoſing to giue a whotte charge vpon the enemies when they ſhould draw neere. The place and countrie was ſuch, as being all champion, there was a goodly valley to raunge a battell of footemen in, and litle pretie hils alſo one depending vpon another, which were very commodious for archers, naked men, and ſuch as were lightly armed, to retire themſelues vnto being diſtreſſed, & alſo to enuiron their enemies behind. There were two ſmall riuers alſo, *Æſon* and *Leucus* that ranne through the ſame, the which though they were not very deepe, being about the latter end of the ſommer, yet they would annoy the ROMAINES notwithſtanding. Now when *Æmilius* was ioyned with *Naſica*, he marched on ſtraight in battell ray towards his enemies. But perceiuing a farre off their battell marched in very good order, and the great multitude of men placed in the ſame: hee wondred to behold it, and ſodainely ſtaied his armie, conſidering with himſelfe what he had to doe. Then the young captaines hauing charge vnder him, deſirous to fight it out preſently, went vnto him to pray him to giue the onſet: but *Naſica* ſpecially aboue the reſt, hauing good hope in the former good lucke he had at his firſt encounter. *Æmilius* ſmiling, aunſwered him: ſo would I doe, if I were as young as thou. But the ſundry victories I haue wonne heretofore, hauing taught me by experience the faultes the vanquiſhed doe commit: do forbid me to goe ſo whotly to worke (before my ſouldiers haue reſted, which did returne but now) to aſſault an armie ſet in ſuch order of battell. When he had aunſwered him thus, he commaunded the firſt bands that were now in view of the enemies, ſhould imbattell themſelues, ſhewing a countenance to the enemie as though they would fight: and that thoſe in the rereward ſhould lodge in the meane time, and fortifie the campe. So, bringing the foremoſt men to be hindmoſt, by chaunging from man to man before the enemies were ware of it: he had broken his battell by litle and litle, and lodged his men, fortified within the campe without any tumult or noiſe, and the enemies neuer perceiuing it. But when night came, and euery man

*Naſica wanne the ſtraights of Macedon.*

*Perſeus pitched his campe before the citie of Pydne.*

*The riuers of AEſon and Leucus.*

*AEmylius anſwere to Scipio Naſica, for giuing charge vpon the enemies. The skill and foreſight of a wiſe captaine.*

*The eclipſe of the moone.*

had ſupped, as they were going to ſleepe and take their reſt: the moone which was at the full, and of a great height, beganne to darken and to chaunge into many ſorts of colours, loſing her light, vntill ſuch time as ſhee vaniſhed away, and was eclipſed altogether.

*The ſuperſtition of the Romaines when the moone is eclipſed.*

Then the ROMAINES beganne to make a noyſe with baſons aud pannes, as their faſhion is to doe in ſuch a chaunce, thinking by this ſound to call her againe, and to make her come to her light, lifting vp many torches lighted, and firebrands into the aire. The MACEDONIANS on the other ſide did no ſuch matter within their campe, but were all together ſtriken with an horrible feare: and there ranne ſtraight a whiſpering rumour through the people, that this ſigne in the element ſignified the eclipſe of the King.

*The cauſe of an eclipſe of the moone.*

For *Æmylius* was not ignorant of the diuerſities of the eclipſes, and he had heard ſay the cauſe is, by reaſon that the moone making her ordinarie courſe about the world (after certaine reuolutions of time) doth come to enter into the round ſhadowe of the earth, within the which ſhe remaineth hidden: vntill ſuch time as hauing paſt the darke region of the ſhadow, ſhe commeth afterwardes to recouer her light which ſhe taketh of the ſunne. Neuertheleſſe, he being a godly deuout man, ſo ſoone as he perceiued the moone had recouered her former brightneſſe againe, he ſacrificed eleuen calues. And the next morning alſo by the breake of day, making ſacrifice to ***Hercules***, he could neuer haue any ſignes or tokens that promiſed him good lucke, in ſacrificing twentie oxen one after another: but at the one & twentieth he had ſignes that promiſed him victorie, ſo he defended himſelf. Wherfore, after he had vowed a ſolemne ſacrifice of a hundred oxen to ***Hercules***, and alſo games of prices at the weapons, he commaunded his captaines to put their men in readines to fight: and ſo ſought to winne time, tarying till the ſunne came about in the after noone towardes the Weſt, to the end that the ROMAINES which were turned towards the Eaſt, ſhould not haue it in their faces when they were fighting. In the meane time, he repoſed him ſelfe in his tent, which was all open behind towardes the ſide that looked into the valley, where the campe of his enemies lay. When it grew towardes night, to make the enemies ſet vpon his men: ſome ſay he vſed this policie. He made a horſe be driuen towards them without a bridell, & certaine ROMAINES followed him, as they would haue taken him againe: and this was the cauſe of procuring the skirmiſh.

*Æmylius policie to procure skirmiſh.*

Other ſay, that the THRACIANS ſeruing vnder the charge of captaine *Alexander*, did ſet vpon certaine forragers of the ROMAINES, that brought forage into the campe: out of the which, ſeuen hundred of the LIGVRIANS ranne ſodainely to the reſcue, and reliefe comming ſtill from both armies, at the laſt the maine battell followed after. Wherefore *Æmylius* like a wiſe generall foreſeeing by the daunger of this skirmiſh, and the ſtirring of both campes, what the furie of the battell would come to: came out of his tent, and paſſing by the bandes did encourage them, and praied them to ſticke to it like men. In the meane time, *Naſica* thruſting himſelfe into the place where the skirmiſh was whotteſt, perceiued the armie of the enemies marching in battell, readie to ioine.

*The armie of the Macedonians, marching againſt the Romaines in battell.*

The firſt that marched in the voward, were the THRACIANS, who ſeemed terrible to looke vpon, as he writeth himſelfe: for they were mightie made men, and caried maruellous bright targets of ſteele before them, their legges were armed with greaues, and their thighes with taſes, their coates were blacke, and marched ſhaking heauie halberds vpon their ſhoulders. Next vnto theſe THRACIANS, there followed them all the other ſtraungers and ſouldiers whom the King had hired, diuerſely armed and ſet forth: for they were people of ſundrie nations gathered together, among whom the PÆONIANS were mingled. The third ſquadron was of MACEDONIANS, and all of them choſen men, aſwell for the flower of their youth, as for the valiantneſſe of their perſons: and they were all in goodly gilt armours, & braue purple caſſocks vpon them, ſpicke and ſpanne new. And at their backes came after them, the old bandes to ſhew themſelues out of the campe, with targets of copper, that made all the plaine to ſhine with the brightneſſe of their ſteele and copper. And all the hilles and mountaines thereabouts did ring againe like an Eccho, with the crie and noyſe of ſo many fighting men, one incouraging another. In this order they marched ſo fiercely with ſo great heart burning, and ſuch ſwiftneſſe: that the firſt which were ſlain at the incounter, fell dead two furlongs frō the camp of the ROMAINES.

*The battell betwixt Perſeus and Æmylius*

The charge being giuen and the battell begunne, *Æmylius* galloping to the voward of his battell, perceiued that the captaines of the MACEDONIANS which were in the firſt ranckes, had alreadie thruſt their pikes into the Romaines targets, ſo as they could not come neere them with their ſwodes: and that the other Macedonians carying their targets behinde them, had now plucked them before them, and did baſe their pickes all at one time, and made a violent thruſt into the targets of the Romaines. Which when he had conſidered, and of what ſtrength and force his wall and ranke of targets was, one ioyning ſo neere another, and what a terrour it was to ſee a front of a battell with ſo many armed pikes and ſteele heades: he was more afeard and amazed withall, then with any ſight he euer ſaw before. Neuertheleſſe he could wiſely diſſemble it at that time. And ſo paſſing by the companies of his horſemen, without either curaces or helmet vpon his head, he ſhewed a noble chearefull countenance vnto them that fought. But on the contrarie ſide, *Perſeus* the king of Macedon, as *Polybius* writeth, ſo ſoone as the battell was begunne, withdrew himſelfe, and got into the citie of Pydne, vnder pretence to goe to doe ſacrifice vnto *Hercules*: who doth not accept the faint ſacrifice of cowardes, neither doth receiue their praiers, becauſe they be vnreaſonable. For it is no reaſon, that he that ſhooteth not, ſhould hit the white: nor that he ſhould winne the victorie, that bideth not the battell: neither that he ſhould haue any good, that doeth nothing toward it: nor that a naughtie man ſhould be fortunate, and proſper. The goddes did fauour *Æmylius* praiers, becauſe he prayed for victorie with his ſworde in his hande, and fighting did call to them for aide. Howbeit there is one *Poſidonius* a writer, who ſaieth he was in that time, and moreouer, that he was at the battell: and he hath written an hiſtorie containing many bookes of the actes of king *Perſeus*, where he ſaith that it was not for faint heart, nor vnder colour to ſacrifice vnto *Hercules*, that *Perſeus* went from the battell: but becauſe he had a ſtripe of a horſe on the thigh the day before. Who though he could not verie well helpe himſelfe, and that all his friends ſought to perſwade him not to go to the battell: yet he cauſed one of his horſe to be brought to him notwithſtanding (which he commonly vſed to ride vp and downe on) and taking his backe, rode into the battell vnarmed, where an infinite number of darts were throwen at him from both ſides. And among thoſe, he had a blow with a dart that hurt him ſomewhat, but it was ouerthwart, and not with the point, and did hit him on the left ſide glaunſing wiſe, with ſuch a force, that it rent his coate, and raſed his skinne vnderneath, ſo as it left a marke behinde a long time after. And this is all that *Poſidonius* writeth to defend and excuſe *Perſeus*. The Romaines hauing their hands full, and being ſtaied by the battell of the Macedonians that they could make no breach into them: there was a captaine of the Pelignians called *Salius*, who tooke the enſigne of his band, and caſt it among the preaſe of his enemies. Then all the Pelignians brake in vpon them, with a maruellous force and furie into that place: for all Italians thinke it too great a ſhame and diſhonour for ſouldiers to loſe or forſake their enſigne. Thus was there maruellous force of both ſides vſed in that place: for the Pelignians proued to cut the Macedonians pikes with their ſwordes, or elſe to make them giue backe with their great targets, or to make a breach into them, and to take the pikes with their handes. But the Macedonians to the contrarie, holding their pikes faſt with both handes, ranne them thorow that came neere vnto them: ſo that neither target nor corſelet could hold out the force and violence of the puſh of their pikes, in ſo much as they turned vp the heeles of the Pelignians and Terracinians, who like deſperate beaſtes without reaſon, ſhutting in themſelues among their enemies, ranne wilfully vpon their owne deathes, and their firſt rancke were ſlaine euerie man of them. Thereupon thoſe that were behind, gaue backe a litle, but fled not turning their backes, and only retired giuing backe towards the mountaine *Olocrus*. *Æmilius* ſeeing that (as *Poſidonius* writeth) rent his arming coate from his backe for anger, becauſe that ſome of his men gaue backe: other durſt not front the battell of the Macedonians, which was ſo ſtrongly imbattelled on euerie ſide, and ſo mured in with a wall of pikes, preſenting their armed heads on euery ſide a man could come, that it was impoſſible to breake into them, no not ſo much as come neere them onely. Yet notwithſtanding, becauſe the fielde was not altogether plaine and euen, the battell that was large in the front, could not alwayes keepe that wall, continuing their targets cloſe one to another, but they were driuen of neceſſitie to breake and open in many places, as it happeneth oft in great battels, according to the great

*Perſeus goeth out of the battell vnto Pydne.*

*Victorie wonne by labour, not by ſloth.*

*Salius a captaine of the Pelignians tooke the enſigne, and threw it among the enemies.*

force of the ſouldiers: that in one place they thruſt forward, and in another they giue backe, and leaue a hole. Wherefore *AEmilius* ſodainely taking the vantage of this occaſion deuided his men into ſmall companies, and commaunded them they ſhould quickly thruſt in betwene their enemies, and occupie the places they ſaw voide in the front of their enemies, and that they ſhould ſet on them in that ſort, and not with one whole continuall charge, but occupying them here and there with diuers companies in ſundry places. *AEmilius* gaue this charge vnto the priuate captaines of euery band and their lieutenantes, and the captaines alſo gaue the like charge vnto their ſouldiers that could skilfully execute their commaundement. For they went preſently into thoſe parts where they ſawe the places open, and being once entred in among them, ſome gaue charge vpon the flankes of the MACEDONIANS, where they were all naked and vnarmed: other ſet vpon them behind: ſo that the ſtrength of all the corpes of the battell (which conſiſteth in keeping cloſe together) being opened in this ſort, was ſtraight ouerthrowen. Furthermore, when they came to fight man for man, or a fewe againſt a fewe: the MACEDONIANS with their litle ſhort ſwordes, came to ſtrike vpon the great ſhields of the ROMAINES, which were very ſtrong, and couered all their bodies downe to the foote. And they to the contrarie, were driuen of neceſſitie to receiue the blowes of the ſtrong heauie ſwordes of the ROMAINES, vpon their litle weake targets: ſo that what with their heauineſſe, and the vehement force wherewith the blowes lighted vpon them, there was no target nor corſelet, but they paſſed it through, and ranne them in. By reaſon whereof they could make no long reſiſtance, whereupon they turned their backes and ranne away.

*The valiantnes of Marcus Cato.*

But when they came to the ſquadron of the olde beaten ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS, there was the cruelleſt fight and moſt deſperate ſeruice, where they ſay that *Marcus Cato* (ſonne of great *Cato*, and ſonne in lawe of *AEmylius*) ſhewing all the valiantneſſe in his perſon that a noble minde could poſſibly performe, loſt his ſword which fell out of his hand. But he like a young man of noble courage, that had bene valiantly brought vp in all diſcipline, and knew how to follow the ſteppes of his father (the nobleſt perſon that euer man ſawe) was to ſhewe then his value and worthineſſe: and thought it more honour for him there to die, then liuing to ſuffer his enemies to enioy any ſpoile of his. So, by and by he ranne into the ROMAINE armie, to find out ſome of his friends, whom he tolde what had befallen him, and prayed them to helpe him to recouer his ſword: whereto they agreed. And being a good companie of luſtie valiant ſouldiers together, they ruſhed ſtraight in among their enemies, at the place where he brought them, and ſo did ſet vpon them with ſuch force and furie, that they made a lane through the middeſt of them, and with great ſlaughter and ſpilling of bloud, euen by plaine force, they cleared the way ſtill before them. Now when the place was voyded, they ſought for the ſword, and in the ende found it with great a doe, amongeſt a heape of other ſwordes and dead bodies, whereat they reioyced maruellouſly. Then ſinging a ſong of victorie, they went againe more fiercely then before to giue a charge vpon their enemies, who were not yet broken a ſunder: vntill ſuch time as at the length, the three thouſand choſen MACEDONIANS fighting valiantly euen to the laſt man, and neuer forſaking their rankes, were all ſlaine in the place.

*AEmylius victorie of Perſeus.*

After whoſe ouerthrow, there was a great ſlaughter of other alſo that fled: ſo that all the vallie and foote of the mountaines thereaboutes was couered with dead bodies. The next day after the battell, when the ROMAINES did paſſe ouer the riuer of *Leucus*, they found it running all a bloud. For it is ſaide there were ſlaine at this fielde, of *Perſeus* men, aboue fiue and twentie thouſand: and of the ROMAINES ſide, as *Poſidonius* ſaieth, not aboue ſixe ſcore, or as *Naſica* writeth, but foureſcore onely. And for ſo great an ouerthrowe, it is reported it was wonderfull quickly done and executed.

*The battell fought and wonne in one houre.*

For they beganne to fight about three of the clocke in the after noone, and had wonne the victorie before foure, and all the reſt of the day they followed their enemies in chaſe, an hundred and twentie furlongs from the place where the battell was fought: ſo that it was verie late, and farre foorth night, before they returned againe into the campe. So ſuch as returned, were receiued with maruellous great ioye of their pages that went out with linckes and torches lighted, to bring their maſters into their tents, where their men had made great bonfires, and decked them vp with crownes and garlands of laurell, ſauing the generals tent onely: who was very heauie, for that of his two ſonnes he brought with him to the warres, the younger could not be found, which he loued beſt of the twaine, becauſe he ſaw he was of a better nature then the reſt of his bretheren. For euen then, being new crept out of the ſhell as it were, he was maruellous valiaunt and hardy, and deſired honour wonderfully. Now *AEmylius* thought he had bene caſt away, fearing leaſt for lacke of experience in the warres, and through the raſhneſſe of his youth, he had put himſelfe too farre in fight amongſt the preaſe of the enemies. Hereupon the campe heard ſtraight what ſorrow *AEmylius* was in, and how grieuouſly he tooke it. The ROMAINS being ſet at ſupper, roſe from their meate, and with torch light ſome ran to *AEmylius* tent, other went out of the campe to ſeek him among the dead bodies, if they might know him: ſo al the campe was full of ſorrow and mourning, the vallies and hilles all aboutes did ring againe with the cries of thoſe that called *Scipio* aloude. For euen from his childhood he had a naturall gift in him, of all the rare and ſingular parts required in a captaine and wiſe gouernour of the common weale aboue all the young men of his time. At the laſt, when they were out of all hope of his comming againe, he happily returned from the chaſe of the enemies, with two or three of his familiars onely, all bloudied with new bloud (like a ſwift running greyhound fleſhed with the bloud of the hare) hauing purſued very farre for ioy of the victory. It is that *Scipio* which afterwards deſtroyed both the cities of CARTHAGE and NVMANTIVM, who was the greateſt man of warre, and valianteſt captaine of the ROMAINES in his time, and of the greateſt authority and reputation among them. Thus fortune deferring till another time the execution of her ſpite, which ſhee did beare to ſo noble an exploite, ſuffered *AEmylius* for that time, to take his full pleaſure of that noble victory. And as for *Perſeus*, he fled firſt from the city of PYDNE, vnto the city of PELLA, with his horſemen, which were in manner all ſaued. Whereupon the footmen that ſaued them ſelues by flying, meeting them by the way, called them traytours, cowards, and villaines: and worſe then that, they turned them off their horſe backes, and fought it out luſtely with them. *Perſeus* ſeeing that, and fearing leaſt this mutiny might turne to light on his necke, he turned his horſe out of the high way, and pulled off his purple coate, and caried it before him, and tooke his diademe, fearing leaſt they ſhould know him by theſe tokens: and becauſe he might more eaſily ſpeake with his friendes by the way, he lighted a foote, and led his horſe in his hand. But ſuch as were about him, one made as though he would mend the latchet of his ſhooe, another ſeemed to water his horſe, another as though he would drinke: ſo that one dragging after another in this ſort, they all left him at the laſt, and ranne their way, not fearing the enemies fury ſo much, as their Kinges cruelty: who being grieued with his misfortune, ſought to lay the fault of the ouerthrow vpon all other, but him ſelfe. Now he being come into the city of PELLA by night, *Euctus* and *Eudaus*, two of his treaſurers came vnto him, & ſpeaking boldly (but out of time) preſumed to tel him the great fault he had committed, and did counſell him alſo what he ſhould do. The King was ſo moued with their preſumption, that with his owne hands hee ſtabbed his dagger in them both, and ſlue them outright. But after this fact, all his ſeruaunts and friends refuſed him, and there onely taried with him but *Euander* CRETAN, *Archedamus* ÆTOLIAN, and *Neo* BOEOTIAN. And as for the mean ſouldiers, there were none that followed him but the CRETANS, & yet it was not for the good will they did beare him, but for the loue of his gold and ſiluer, as Bees that keepe their hiues for loue of the hony. For he caried with him a great treaſure, and gaue them leaue to ſpoile certaine plate and veſſell of golde and ſiluer, to the value of fifty talents. But firſt of all, when he was come into the city of AMPHIPOLIS, and afterwards into the city of ALEPSE, and that the feare was well blowen ouer: he returned againe to his old humor, which was borne and bred with him, and that was, auarice and miſery. For he made his complaint vnto thoſe that were about him, that he had vnwares giuẽ to the ſouldiers of CRETA, his plate and veſſell of gold to be ſpoiled, being thoſe which in old time belonged vnto *Alexander* the great: and praied them with tears in his eyes that had the plate, they would be contented to chãge it for ready money. Now ſuch as knew his nature, found ſtraight this was but a fraude and a CRETAN lie, to deceiue the CRETANS with: but thoſe that truſted him, and did reſtore againe the plate they had, did loſe it euery iotte, for he neuer paid them penny of it. So he got of his friends, the value of thirty talents, which his enemies ſoone after did take from

*The valiantnes of Scipio the leſſe.*

*Perſeus fled from Pydne to Pella.*

*Time and duty to be obſerued to the Prince.*

*Death, the indignation of the Prince.*

*The couetouſnes of the Cretans.*

*Miſers whine for their goods.*

him. And with that ſumme he went into the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, where he tooke the ſanctuary and priuiledge of the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. They ſay, that the MACEDONIANS of long continuance did naturally loue their Kings: but then ſeeing all their hope and expectation broken, their hearts failed them, and broke withall. For they all came and ſubmitted them ſelues vnto *AEmylius*, and made him Lord of the whole Realme of MACEDON in two daies: and this doth ſeeme to confirme their wordes, who impute all *AEmylius* doings vnto his good fortune. And ſurely, the maruellous fortune he happened on in the city, AMPHIPOLIS, doth confirme it much, which a man cannot aſcribe otherwiſe, but to the ſpeciall grace of the goddes. For one day beginning to doe ſacrifice, lightning fell from heauen, and ſet all the wodde a fire vpon the aulter, and ſanctified the ſacrifice. But yet the miracle of his fame is more to be wondred at. For foure daies after *Perſeus* had loſt the battell, and that the city of PELLA was taken, as the people of ROME were at the liſtes or ſhew place, ſeeing horſes runne for games: ſodainly there roſe a rumor at the entring into the liſtes where the games were, how *AEmylius* had wonne a great battell of king *Perſeus*, and had conquered all MACEDON. Theſe newes was riſe ſtraight in euery mans mouth, and there followed vppon it a maruellous ioy and great cheere in euery corner, with ſhouts and clapping of hands, that continued all the day through the city of ROME. Afterwardes they made diligent enquiry, how this rumor firſt came vp, but no certaine author could be knowen, and euery man ſaide they heard it ſpoken: ſo as in the end it came to nothing, and paſſed away in that ſort for a time. But ſhortly after, there came letters, and certaine newes that made them wonder more then before, from whence the meſſenger came that reported the firſt newes of it: which could be deuiſed by no naturall meanes, and yet proued true afterwardes. We doe read alſo of a battell that was fought in ITALIE, neare vnto the riuer of SAGRA, whereof newes was brought the very ſame day vnto PELOPONNESVS. And of another alſo in like maner that was fought in ASIA againſt the MEDES, before the city of MYCALA: the newes whereof came the ſame day vnto the campe of the GRECIANS, lying before the city of PLATOEES. And in that great iourney where the ROMAINES ouerthrew the *Tarquines*, and the army of the LATINES: immediatly after the battell was wonne, they ſaw two goodly young men come newly from the campe, who brought newes of the victory to ROME, and they iudged they were *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. The firſt man that ſpake to them in the market place before the fountaine, where they watered their horſe being all of a white fome, told them: that they wondred how they could ſo quickly bring theſe newes. And they laughing came to him, and tooke him ſoftly by the beard with both their handes, and euen in the market place his haire being blacke before, was preſently turned yellow. This miracle made them beleeue the report the man made, who euer after was called *AEnobarbus*, as you would ſay, bearded as yellow as gold. Another like matter that happened in our time, maketh all ſuch newes credible. For when *Antonius* rebelled againſt the Emperour *Domitian*, the city of ROME was in a maruellous perplexity, becauſe they looked for great warres towardes GERMANIE. But in this feare, there grew a ſodaine rumor of victory, and it went currantly through ROME, that *Antonius* him ſelfe was ſlaine, and all his army ouerthrowen, & not a man left a liue. This rumor was ſo riſe, that many of the chiefeſt men of ROME beleeued it, and did ſacrifice thereupon vnto the gods, giuing them thankes for the victory. But when the matter came to ſifting, who was the firſt author of the rumor: no man could tell. For one put it ouer ſtill to another, & it died ſo in the end amongſt the people, as in a bottomleſſe matter, for they could neuer boult out any certaine ground of it: but euen as it came flying into ROME, ſo went it flying away againe, no man can tell how. Notwithſtanding, *Domitian* holding on his iourney to make this warre, met with poſtes that brought him letters for the certaine victory: and remembring the rumor of the victory that ranne before in ROME, he found it true, that it was on the very ſame day the victory was gotten, and the diſtance betweene ROME and the place where the fielde was wonne, was aboue twentie thouſand furlongs off. Euery man in our time knoweth this to be true. But againe to our hiſtory. *Cn. Octauius*, lieutenant of the army of *AEmylius* by ſea, came to ancker vnder the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, where he would not take *Perſeus* by force out of the ſanctuary where hee was, for the reuerence he did beare vnto the goddes *Caſtor* and *Pollux*: but he did beſiege him

in

*The Macedonians ſubmit them ſelues to AEmylius.*

*wonders.*

*Newes brought to Rome out of Macedon in 4. daies, of AEmylius victorie there: and no man knew how they came.*

*AEnobarbus why ſo called.*

*Cn. Octauius AEmylius lieutenaut by ſea.*

in ſuch ſort, as he could not ſcape him, nor flie by ſea out of the Iland. Yet he had ſecretly practiſed
with one *Oroandes* a CRETAN, that had a brigantine, and was at a priſe with him for a
ſumme of money to conuay him away by night: but the CRETAN ſerued him a right CRETANS
tricke.. For when he had taken a bord by night into his veſſell, all the Kings treaſure of
golde and ſiluer, he ſent him word that he ſhould not faile the next night following to come
vnto the peere by the temple of *Ceres*, with his wife, his children and ſeruants, where in deed
was no poſſibility to take ſhipping: but the next night following he hoiſed ſaile, and got him
away. It was a pittifull thing that *Perſeus* was driuen to do and ſuffer at that time. For he came
downe in the night by ropes, out of a litle ſtraight window vpon the wals, and not only him
ſelfe, but his wife and litle babes, who neuer knew before what flying and hardnes ment. And
yet he fetched a more grieuous bitter ſigh, when one told him on the peere, that he ſaw *Oroandes*
the CRETAN vnder ſaile in the main ſeas. Then day beginning to breake, & ſeeing him ſelf
voide of all hope, he ran with his wife for life to the wall, to recouer the ſanctuary againe, before
the ROMAINES that ſaw him could ouertake him. And as for his children, he had giuen
them him ſelfe into the hands of one *Ion*, whom before he had maruellouſly loued, and who
then did traiterouſly betray him: for he deliuered his children vnto the ROMAINES. Which
part was one of the chiefeſt cauſes that draue him (as a beaſt that will follow her litle ones being
taken from her) to yeeld him ſelfe into their hands that had his children. Now hee had a
ſpecial confidence in *Scipio Naſica*, and therefore he asked for him when he came to yeeld him
ſelfe. but it was aunſwered him, that he was not there. Then hee beganne to lament his hard
and miſerable fortune euery way. And in the end, conſidering how neceſſity enforced him, he
yeelded him ſelfe into the handes of *Cneus Octauius*, wherein he ſhewed plainely, that he had another
vice in him more vnmanly and vile, then auarice: that was, a faint heart, and fear to die.
But hereby he depriued him ſelfe of others pity and compaſſion towards him, being that only
thing which fortune cannot deny and take from the afflicted, and ſpecially from them that
haue a noble hart. For he made requeſt they wold bring him vnto the generall *AEmylius*, who
roſe from his chaire when he ſaw him come, and went to meete him with his friends, the water
ſtanding in his eyes, to meete a great King by fortune of warre, and by the will of the gods,
fallen into that moſt lamentable fact. But he to the contrary, vnmanly, and ſhamefully behaued
him ſelfe. For he fell downe at his feete, and embraced his knees, and vttered ſuch vncomely
ſpeach and vile requeſtes, as *AEmylius* ſelfe could not abide to heare them: but knitting his
browes againſt him, being heartely offended, he ſpake thus vnto him. Alas poore man, why
doſt thou diſcharge fortune of this fault, wher thou mighteſt iuſtly charge & accuſe her to thy
diſcharge, doing things, for the which euery one iudgeth thou haſt deſerued thy preſent miſery,
and art vnworthy alſo of thy former honor? why doſt thou defame my victory, and blemiſh ”
the glory of my doings, ſhewing thy ſelfe ſo baſe a man, as my honor is not great to ouercome ”
ſo vnworthy an enemy? The ROMAINES haue euer eſteemed magnanimity, euen in their ”
greateſt enemies: but daſtardlines, though it be fortunate, yet it is hated of euery body. Notwithſtanding, ”
he tooke him vp, and taking him by the hand, gaue him into the cuſtody of *AElius* ”
*Tubero*. Then *Amylius* went into his tent, and caried his ſonnes, and ſons in law with him,
and other men of quality, and ſpecially the younger ſort And being ſet downe, he continued a
great ſpace very penſiue with himſelfe, not ſpeaking a word: in ſo much that all the ſtanders by
wondered much at the matter. In the end he began to enter into diſcourſe and talke of fortune,
and the vnconſtancy of theſe worldly things, and ſaid vnto them. Is there any man liuing, my
friends, who hauing fortune at will, ſhould therefore boaſt and glory in the proſperitie of his
doings, for that he hath conquered a countrey, city, or Realme? and not rather to feare the vnconſtancy
of fortune? who laying before our eyes, and all thoſe that profeſſe armes at this preſent, ”
ſo notable an example of the common frailty of men, doth plainely teach vs to thinke, ”
that there is nothing conſtant or perdurable in this world. For when is it, that men may think ”
them ſelues aſſured, conſidering that when they haue ouercome others, then are they driuen ”
to miſtruſt fortune moſt, and to mingle fear & miſtruſt, with ioy of victory: if they will wiſely ”
conſider the cõmon courſe of fatall deſtiny that altereth daily, ſometime fauouring one, otherwhile ”
throwing down another? you ſee, that in an houres ſpace we haue troden vnder our feet ”

*The miſerable ſtate Perſeus was brought vnto, by the craft and ſubtlety of a Cretan.*

*King Perſeus yeeldeth him ſelfe in Samothracia, vnto Cneus Octauius*

*Perſeus vnprincely behauiour vnto AEmylius.*

*AEmylius oration vnto Perſeus priſoner.*

*AEmylius oration touching fortune and her vnconſtancy.*

„ the houſe of ***Alexander*** the great: who hath bene the mightieſt and moſt redoubted prince of
„ the world. You ſee a king, that not long ſince was followed and accõpanied, with many thouſand
„ ſouldiers of horſemen and footemen: brought at this preſent into ſuch miſerable extremity,
„ that he is inforced to receiue his meat and drinke dayly at the hands of his enemies. Should
„ we haue any better hope then, that fortune will alwaies fauour our doings, more then ſhe doth
„ his now, at this preſent? no out of doubt. Therefore digeſting this matter well, you young
„ men I ſay, be not too brag nor fooliſh proude, of this conqueſt and noble victory: but thinke
„ what may happen hereafter, marking to what end fortune will turne the enuy of this our preſent
„ proſperity. Such were ***AEmylius*** wordes to theſe yong men, as it is reported, brideling by
„ theſe and ſuch like perſwaſions, the luſty brauery of this youth, euen as with the bit and bridle of reaſon. Afterwards he put his army into garriſons to refreſh them: and went him ſelf in perſon in the meane time to viſite GREECE, making it an honorable progreſſe, and alſo a cõmendable. For as he paſſed through the cities, he releeued the people, reformed the gouernment of their ſtate, and euer gaue them ſome gift or preſent. Vnto ſome he gaue corne, which king ***Perſeus*** had gathered for the wars: and vnto other he gaue oyles, meeting with ſo great ſtore of prouiſion, that he rather lacked people to giue it vnto, to receiue it at his hands, then wanting to giue, there was ſo much. As he paſſed by the city of DELPHES, hee ſaw there a great piller, foure ſquare, of white ſtone, which they had ſet vp, to put king ***Perſeus*** image of gold vpon it. Whereupon he commanded them to ſet vp his in that place, ſaying: it was reaſon the conquered ſhould giue place vnto the conquerours. And being in the city of OLYMPIA, viſiting the temple of ***Iupiter Olympian***, he ſpake this openly, which euer ſince hath bene remembred: that ***Phidias*** had rightly made ***Iupiter***, as ***Homer*** had deſcribed him. Afterwardes when the tenne ambaſſadors were arriued that were ſent from ROME to eſtabliſh with him the realm of MACEDON, he redeliuered the MACEDONIANS their countrey and townes againe, to liue at liberty, according to their lawes, paying yearely to the ROMAINS for tribute, a hundred talents: where before they were wont to pay vnto their Kinges tenne times as much. And he made playes and games of all ſortes, and did celebrate ſumptuous ſacrifices vnto the goddes. He kept open court to all commers, and made noble feaſts, and defrayed the whole charge thereof, with the treaſure ***Perſeus*** had gathered together, ſparing for no coſt. But through his care and foreſight there was ſuch a ſpeciall good order taken, euery man ſo curteouſly receiued and welcommed, and ſo orderly marſhalled at the table according to their eſtate and calling: that the GRECIANS wondred to ſee him ſo carefull in matters of ſport and pleaſure: and that he tooke as great paines in his own perſon, to ſee that ſmall matters ſhould be ordered as they ought: as he took regard for diſcharge of more weighty cauſes. But this was a maruellous pleaſure to him, to ſee that among ſuch ſumptuous ſightes prepared to ſhew pleaſure to the perſons inuited, no ſight nor ſtately ſhew did ſo delight them, as to enioy the ſight and company of his perſon. So he told them, that ſeemed to wonder at his diligence and care in theſe matters: that to order a feaſt well, required as great iudgement and diſcretion, as to ſet a battell: to make the one fearefull to the enemies, and the other acceptable to his friends. But men eſteemed his bountie and magnanimitie for his beſt vertue and qualitie. For he did not onely refuſe to ſee the kings wonderfull treaſure of golde and ſiluer, but cauſed it to be told, and deliuered to the cuſtodie of the treaſurers, to carie to the coffers of ſtore in ROME: and only ſuffered his ſonnes that were learned, to take the bookes of the kings librarie. When he did rewarde the ſouldiers for their valiant ſeruice in this battell, he gaue his ſonne in law ***Æmylius Tubero*** a cup, weying fiue talents. It is the ſame ***Tubero*** we tolde you of before, who liued with ſixteene other of his kin all in one houſe, and of the onely reuenue they had of a litle farme in the countrie. Some ſay, that cup was the firſt peece of plate that euer came into the houſe of the ***Ælians***, and yet it came for honour and reward of vertue: but before that time, neither themſelues, nor their wiues, would euer haue, or weare, any golde or ſiluer. After he had very well ordered and diſpoſed all things, at the laſt he tooke leaue of the GRÆCIANS, and counſelled the MACEDONIANS to remember the libertie the ROMAINES had giuen them, and that they ſhould be carefull to keepe it, by their good gouernement and concorde together. Then he departed from them, and tooke his iourney towards the countrie of EPIRVS, hauing receiued com-

*AEmylius honorable progreſſe in Greece.*

*AEmylius ſetteth Macedon at a ſtay.*

*AEmylius words about the care and good order at feaſts.*

*AEmylius abſtinence.*

miſsion from the Senate of Rome, to ſuffer his ſouldiers who had done ſeruice in the battell, and ouerthrowe of king *Perſeus*, to ſpoile all the cities of that countrie. Wherefore that he might ſurpriſe them on a ſodaine, and that they ſhould miſtruſt nothing, he ſent to all the cities that they ſhould ſend him by a certaine day, tenne of the chiefeſt men of euerie citie. Who when they were come, he commaunded them to go and bring him by ſuch a day, all the gold and ſiluer they had within their cities, aſwell in their priuate houſes, as in their temples and Churches, and gaue vnto euerie one of them a captaine and garriſon with them, as if it had beene onely to haue receiued and ſearched for the golde and ſiluer he demaunded. But when the day appointed was come, the ſouldiers in diuers places (and all at one time) ſet vpon their enemies, and did rifle and ſpoile them of that they had, and made them alſo pay ranſome euerie man: So as by this policie, there were taken and made ſlaues in one day, a hundred and fiftie thouſand perſons, and three ſcore and tenne cities ſpoiled and ſacked euery one. And yet when they came to deuide the ſpoile of this generall deſtruction of a whole Realme by the polle, it came not to euerie ſouldiers part, aboue eleuen ſiluer Drachmes a peece. Which made euerie one to wonder greatly, and to feare alſo the terrour of the warres, to ſee the wealth and riches of ſo great a Realme, to amount to ſo litle for euerie mans ſhare. When *AEmylius* had done this fact againſt his owne nature, which was verie gentle and courteous: he went vnto the ſea ſide to the citie of Orica, and there imbarked with his army bound for Italie. Where when he was arriued, he went vp the riuer of Tyber againſt the ſtreame, in king *Perſeus* cheefe galley, which had ſixteene owers on a ſide, richely ſet out with the armour of the priſoners, riche clothes of purple colour, and other ſuch ſpoiles of the enemies: ſo that the Romaines running out of Rome in multitudes of people to ſee this galley, and going ſide by ſide by her as they rowed ſoftly, *Æmylius* tooke as great pleaſure in it, as in any open games or feaſtes, or triumphe that had bene ſhewed in deed. But when the ſouldiers ſaw, that the golde and ſiluer of king *Perſeus* treaſure was not deuided amongſt them according vnto promiſe, and that they had a great deale leſſe then they looked for, they were maruellouſlie offended, and inwardly grudged *Æmylius* in their hearts. Neuertheleſſe they durſt not ſpeake it openly, but did accuſe him, that he had bene too ſtraight vnto them in this warre: and therefore they did ſhewe no great deſire, nor forwardneſſe, to procure him the honour of triumphe. Which *Seruius Galba* vnderſtanding, that had bene an olde enemie of his, notwithſtanding he had the charge of a thouſand men vnder him in this warre: he like an enuious viper tolde the people, how *Æmylius* had not deſerued the honor of triumph, and ſowed ſeditious words againſt him among the ſouldiers, to aggrauate their ill will the more againſt him. Moreouer, he craued a day of the Tribunes of the people, to haue reſpit to bring forth ſuch matter as they determined to obiect againſt him: ſaying the time then was farre ſpent, the ſunne being but foure houres high, and that it would require longer time and leyſure. The Tribunes made him aunſwer, that he ſhould ſpeake then what hee had to ſay againſt him, or otherwiſe they would not graunt him audience. Hereupon he began to make a long oration in his diſpraiſe, full of railing wordes, and ſpent all the reſt of the day in that railing oration. Afterwardes when night came on, the Tribunes brake vp the aſſembly, and the next morning the ſouldiers being incouraged by *Galbaes* oration, and hauing confedered together, did flocke about *Galba*, in the mount of the Capitoll, where the Tribunes had giuen warning they would keepe their aſſembly. Now being broad day, *AEmylius* triumphe was referred to the moſt number of voices of the people, and the firſt tribe flatly did deny his triumphe. The Senate, and the reſidue of the people hearing that, were very ſory to ſee they did *AEmylius* ſo open wrong and iniury. The common people ſaide nothing to it, but ſeemed to be very ſory, howbeit they ſought no redreſſe. The Lords of the Senate cried out vpon them, and ſaide it was too much ſhame, and exhorted one another to bridle the inſolency and boldneſſe of theſe ſouldiers, who would grow in the end to ſuch tumult and diſorder, that they would commit all miſchiefe and wickedneſſe, if betimes they were not looked to, and preuented, ſeeing they did ſo openly ſtand againſt their generall, ſeeking to depriue him of the honour of his triumphe and victory. So they aſſembled a good company of them together, and went vp to the Capitoll, and prayed the Tribunes they would ſtay to take the voices of

*AEmylius cruell act ſpoyling of Epirus.*

*AEmylius tooke ſhip at the citie of Orica, and returned into Italie.*

*The enuie of Seruius Galba vnto AEmylius.*

*Contention about AEmylius triumphe.*

*Seruilius oration for the furtherance of AEmylius triumph.*

the people, vntill they had acquainted them with ſuch needefull matter, as they had to open vnto them. The Tribunes graunted to it, and ſilence was made. Then *Marcus Seruilius*, who had bene Conſull, and had fought three and twenty combats of life and death in his own perſon, and had alwaies ſlaine as many of his enemies as chalenged him man for man: roſe vp, and
» ſpake in fauour of *Æmylius* in this manner. I know now (ſaide he) better then before, how
» noble and worthie a captaine *Paulus Æmylius* is, who hath atcheiued ſuch glorie and honorable
» victorie, with ſo diſhonorable and diſobedient ſouldiers. And I can but wonder that the
» people not long ſince reioyced, and made great account of the victories and triumphes won
» vpon the ILLYRIANS and other nations of AFRICKE: and that now they ſhould for ſpight
» enuie his glorie (doing what lieth in them to hinder) to bring a MACEDONIAN king aliue in
» a triumph, and to ſhew the glorie & greatnes of king P*hilip* and *Alexander* the great, ſubdued
» by the ROMAINES force and power. What reaſon haue ye, that not long ſince, vpon a flying
» rumour that *AEmylius* had wonne the battell againſt P*erſeus*, you ſtraight made ſacrifices to
» the goddes with great ioy, praying them that you might be witneſſes of the truth therof: and
» now that the perſon himſelfe whom ye made generall is returned home, and doth deliuer
» you moſt aſſured victorie, you doe fruſtrate the goddes moſt ſolemne thankes and honour
» due to them, and doe depriue your ſelues alſo of your wonted glorie in ſuch a caſe: as if you
» were afeard to ſee the greatneſſe of your proſperitie, or that you ment to pardon a King, your
» ſlaue and priſoner. And yet of the two, you haue more reaſon to hinder the triumphe, as pittying
» the King, then enuying your captaine. But the malice of the wicked, through your pacience
» is growne to ſuch an inſolent audacitie & boldneſſe, that we ſee men preſent here before
» vs,, which neuer went from the ſmoake of the chimney, nor caried away any blowes in the
» field, being crammed at home like women and houſedoues, and yet they are ſo impudent and
» ſhamleſſe, as they dare preſume vnreuerently to your faces, to prate of the office and dutie of a
» generall of an armie, and of the deſert of triumphe, before you I ſay, who by experience of many
» a ſore cut and wound vpon your bodies in the warres, haue learned to know a good & valiant
» captaine, from a vile and cowardly perſon. And ſpeaking theſe words, he caſt open his
» gowne, & ſhewed before them all, the infinite ſcars and cuts he bad receiued vpon his breſt: &
» then turning him behinde, ſhewed all ſuch places as were not fit to be ſeene openly, and ſo turned
» him againe to *Galba*, and ſaid vnto him. Thou mockeſt me for that I ſhew thee: but I reioyce
» before my countrimen and citizens: that for ſeruing my countrie night and day a horſe
» back, I haue theſe wounds vpon me which thou ſeeſt. Now get thee about thy buſineſſe, and
» receiue their voices: & I wil come after, noting them that are naughtie and vnthankfull citizens,
» who like to be ſoothed with flatterie, and not ſtoutly commanded, as behoueth a generall
» in the war. Theſe words ſo reined the hard headed ſouldiers with the curbe of reaſon that all the other tribes agreed in one, and granted *AEmylius* triumphe: the order and ſolemnitie whereof was performed in this ſort.

*A notable deſcription of AEmylius triumphe.*

Firſt, the people hauing ſet vp ſundry ſcaffoldes, aſwell in the liſts and field (called *Circos* by the LATINES) where the games and common running of horſes and charrets are made, as alſo about the market place, and in other ſtreetes of the citie, the which, the ſhew of the triumph ſhould paſſe: they all preſented them ſelues in their beſt gownes to ſee the magnificence and ſtate thereof. All the temples of the goddes alſo were ſet wide open, hanged full of garlandes of flowers, and all perfumed within: and there were ſet through all the quarters of the city, numbers of ſergeaunts and other officers holding tipſtaues in their handes to order the ſtragling people, and to keepe them vp in corners and lanes endes, that they ſhould not peſter the ſtreetes, and hinder the triumphe. Furthermore, the ſight of this triumphe was to continue three daies, whereof the firſt was ſcant ſufficient to ſee the paſſing by of the images, tables, and pictures, and ſtatues of wonderfull bignes, all wonne and gotten of their enemies, and drawen in the ſhew vppon two hundred and fifty charrets. The ſecond day, there were caried vppon a number of cartes, all the faireſt and richeſt armor of the MACEDONIANS, aſwell of copper, as alſo of iron and ſteele, all gliſtering bright, being newly furbiſhed, and artificially layed in order (and yet in ſuch ſort, as if they had bene caſt in heaps one vpon an other, without taking any care otherwiſe for the ordering and laying of them) faire burganets vpon targets: habergions, or brigantines and corſelets, vppon greaues:

round targets of the CRETANS, and iauelings of the THRACIANS, and arrowes amongſt the armed pikes: all this armour and cariage, being bound one to another ſo trimly (neither being too loſe, nor too ſtraight) that one hitting againſt another, as they drew them vpon the cartes through the citie, they made ſuch a ſound and noiſe, as it was fearefull to heare it: ſo that the only ſight of theſe ſpoiles of the captaines being ouercome, made the ſight ſo much more terrible to behold it. After theſe carts loden with armor, there followed three thouſand men, which caried the ready money in ſeuen hundred and fiftie veſſels, which waighed about three talents a peece, and euery one of them were caried by foure men: and there were other that caried great bowles of ſiluer, cups and goblets faſhioned like hornes, and other pots to drinke in, goodly to behold, aſwell for ther bignes, as for their great and ſingular imboſſed workes about it. The third day early in the morning, the trumpets beganne to ſound and ſet forwards, ſounding no march nor ſweet note, to beautifie the triũph withall: but they blew out the braue alarõ they ſound at an aſſault, to giue the ſouldiers courage for to fight. After them followed ſixe ſcore goodly fat oxen, hauing all their hornes gilt, and garlands of flowers & noſegaies about their heads, and there went by them certaine young men, with aprons of needle worke, girt about their middle, who led them to the ſacrifice, & young boyes with them alſo, that caried goodly baſons of gold and ſiluer, to caſt & ſprinkle the bloud of the ſacrifices about. And after theſe, folowed thoſe that caried all coynes of gold deuided by baſons & veſſels, and euery one of them waying three talents as they did before, that caried the great holy cup, which *Æmylius* had cauſed to be made of maſsie gold, ſet full of precious ſtones, waying the weight of ten talents, to make an offering vnto the gods. And next vnto them went other that caried plate, made & wrought after antike faſhion, and notable cups of the ancient kings of MACEDON: as the cup called *Antigonus*, and another *Seleucus*: and to be ſhort, all the whole cubberd of plate of golde and ſiluer of king *Perſeus*. And next them came the charret of his armour, in the which was all king *Perſeus* harneſſe, and his royall band (they call a *Diademe*) vpon his armour. And a litle ſpace betweene them, followed next the Kings children, whom they led priſoners, with the traine of their ſcholemaſters and other officers, & their ſeruants, weeping and lamenting: who held vp their hands vnto the people that looked vpon them, and taught the kings young children to do the like, to aske mercie and grace at the peoples hands. There were three prety litle children, two ſonnes and a daughter amongſt them, whoſe tender yeares and lacke of vnderſtanding, made them (poore ſoules) they could not feele their preſent miſerie, which made the people ſo much more to pittie them, when they ſaw the poore litle infants, that they knew not the change of their hard fortune: ſo that for the compaſsion they had of them, they almoſt let the father paſſe without looking vpon him. Many peoples hearts did melt for very pittie, that the teares ran downe their cheekes, ſo as this ſight brought both pleaſure & ſorow, together to the lookers on, vntil they were paſt & gone a good way out of ſight. King *Perſeus* the father, followed after his children and their traine, and he was clothed in a blacke gowne, wearing a paire of ſlippers on his feete after his country maner. He ſhewed by his countenance his troubled mind, oppreſt with ſorrow of his moſt miſerable ſtate and fortune. He was followed with his kinſefolks, his familiar friends, his officers and houſhold ſeruants, their faces diſfigured by blubbering, ſhewing to the world by their lamenting teares, and ſorrowfull eyes caſt vpon their vnfortunate maiſter, how much they ſorrowed & bewailed his moſt hard and cruell fortune, litle accounting of their own miſery. The voice goeth, that *Perſeus* ſent vnto *Æmylius* to intreat him, that he ſhould not be led through the city in the ſhew & ſight of the triumph. But *AEmylius* mocking (as he deſerued) his cowardly faint heart, aunſwered: as for that, it was before, and is now in him, to do if he will. Meaning to let him vnderſtand thereby, that he might rather chuſe to die, then liuing to receiue ſuch open ſhame. Howbeit his hart would not ſerue him, he was ſo cowardly, and made ſo effeminate, by a certaine vaine hope hee knew not what, that he was contented to make one among his owne ſpoils. After all this, there folowed 400. princely crownes of gold, which the cities and towns of GREECE had purpoſely ſent by their ambaſſadours vnto *AEmylius*, to honour his victory: and next vnto them, he came him ſelfe in his charret triumphing, which was paſſing ſumptuouſly ſet forth and adorned. It was a noble ſight to behold: and yet the perſon of him ſelfe onely was worth the loo-

*Perſius children.*

*King Perſeus*

*AEmylius ſcorneth Perſeus cowardlineſſe.*

*Foure hundred crowns of gold ſent vnto AEmylius by the cities of Greece* king on,without al that great pomp & magnificence.For he was apparelled in a purple gown branched with gold,& caried in his right hand a laurell bough,as all his army did beſides:the which being deuided by bands & companies, followed the triumphing charret of their captaine,ſome of the ſouldiers ſinging ſongs of victorie,which the ROMAINES vſe to ſing in like triumphs,mingling them with merrie pleaſant toyes,reioycing at their captaine.Other of thē alſo did ſing ſongs of triumph, in the honor & praiſe of *Æmylius* noble conqueſt and victorie. He was openly praiſed,bleſſed, & honored of euery bodie,& neither hated nor enuied of honeſt men. Sauing the ordinarie vſe of ſome god,whoſe propertie is alwaies to leſſon or cut off ſome part of mans exceeding proſperitie & felicitie,mingling with mans life the ſence & feeling of good and euill together: becauſe that no liuing perſon ſhould paſſe all his time of life, without ſome aduerſitie or misfortune, but that ſuch(as *Homer* ſaith) ſhould only thinke them ſelues happie, to whom fortune hath equally ſorted the good with the euill.

*Æmilius aduerſitie.*

And this I ſpeake becauſe *Æmylius* had 4. ſonnes, two of the which he gaue in adoption vnto the families of *Scipio* & of *Fabius*, as we haue ſaid before: and two other which he had by his ſecond wife, he brought vp with him in his owne houſe,& were both yet very young. Of the which the one died,being 14.yeres of age fiue daies before his fathers triumph:and the other died alſo 3.daies after the pompe of triumph,at 12.yeres of age.When this ſorowfull chance had befallen him, euerie one in ROME did pittie him in their hearts: but fortunes ſpight and crueltie did more greeue and feare them,to ſee her litle regard towards him,to put into a houſe of triumphe (full of honour and glorie,and of ſacrifices and ioy)ſuch a pittifull mourning,and mingling of ſorrowes and lamentations of death,amongſt ſuch ſongs of triumphe and victory.

*Æmylius fortitude in his great aduerſity*

Notwithſtanding this,*Æmylius* taking things like a wiſe man,thought that he was not only to vſe conſtancie & magnanimitie, againſt the ſword and pike of the enemy: but a like alſo againſt all aduerſitie and enmitie of ſpightfull fortune. So, he wiſely waied and conſidered his preſent miſfortune,with his former proſperitie: & finding his misfortune counterpeaſed with felicity,& his priuate grieues cut off with common ioy, he gaue no place to his ſorowes & miſchances, neither blemiſhed any way the dignity of his triumphe & victory.

*Æmylius oration in his trouble for the death of his children.*

For when he had buried the eldeſt of his two laſt ſonnes,he left not to make his triumphant entrie, as you haue heard before.And his ſecond ſonne alſo being deceaſed after his triumph,he cauſed the people to aſſemble,and in face of the whole city he made an oration,not like a diſcomforted man,but like one
„ rather that did comfort his ſorowfull countrimen for his miſchance. He told them,that concerning
„ mens matters,neuer any thing did feare him: but for things aboue,he euer feared fortune,
„ miſtruſting her change and inconſtancie,and ſpecially in the laſt warre, doubting for ſo
„ great proſperitie as could be wiſhed,to be paide home with an after intollerable aduerſitie,and
„ ſiniſter chance.For as I went(ſaid he)I paſſed ouer the gulfe of the Adriatike ſea,from BRINDES
„ vnto CORFV in one day. And from thence in fiue daies after, I arriued in the cittie of
„ DELPHES, where I did ſacrifice vnto *Apollo*. And within fiue other daies, I arriued in my
„ campe, where I found mine army in MACEDON. And after I had done the ſacrifice, and due
„ ceremonies for purifying of the ſame, I preſently began to follow the purpoſe and cauſe of my
„ comming: ſo as in 15. daies after, I made an honorable end of all thoſe warres. But yet,miſtruſting
„ fortune alwaies, ſeeing the proſperous courſe of my affaires, and conſidering that there
„ were no other enemies,nor dangers I needed to feare:I feared ſorely ſhe would change at my
„ returne,when I ſhould be vpon the ſea,bringing home ſo goodly & victorious an army, with
„ ſo many ſpoiles,and ſo many Princes and Kings taken priſoners. And yet when I was ſafely
„ arriued in the hauen,and ſeeing all the city at my returne full of ioy,and of feaſts and ſacrifices:I
„ ſtill ſuſpected fortune,knowing her manner well enough, that ſhe vſeth not to gratifie men ſo
„ franckly, nor to graunt them ſo great things clearly,without ſome certain ſparke of enuy waiting
„ on them. Neither did my minde being ſtill occupied in feare of ſome thing to happen to
„ the common wealth,ſhake off this fear behind me:but that I ſaw,this home miſhap and miſery
„ lighted vpon me,enforcing me with mine own hands in theſe holy daies of my triumph,to
„ bury my two young ſonnes one after another,which I onely brought vp with me,for the ſucceſſion
„ of my name & houſe. Wherefore,me thinkes now I may ſay,I am out of all danger,at
„ the leaſt touching my chiefeſt and gerateſt misfortune: and do begin to ſtabliſh my ſelfe with

this aſſured hope, that this good fortune henceforth ſhall remaine with vs euermore, without feare of other vnlucky or ſiniſter chance. For ſhe hath ſufficiently countervailed the fauorable victorie ſhe gaue you, with the enuious miſhap wherewith ſhe hath plagued both me & mine: ſhewing the conquerer and triumpher, as noble an example of mans miſerie & weaknes, as the partie conquered, that had bene led in triumph. Sauing that *Perſeus* yet conquered as he is, hath this comfort left him: to ſee his children liuing, & that the conquerour *Aemylius* hath loſt his. And this was the ſumme of *Æmylius* notable oration he made vnto the people of ROME, proceeding of a noble and honorable diſpoſed minde. And though it pitied him in his heart to ſee the ſtraunge chaunge of king *Perſeus* fortune, and that he heartily deſired to helpe him, and to doe him good: yet he could neuer obtaine other grace for him, but onely to remoue him from the common priſon (which the ROMAINES call *Carcer*) into a more cleanly and ſweeter houſe: where being ſtraightly garded & looked vnto, he killed himſelfe by abſtinence from meate, as the moſt part of hiſtoriographers do write. Yet ſome writers tell a maruellous ſtraunge tale, and manner of his death. For they ſay the ſouldiers that garded him, kept him from ſleepe, watching him ſtraightly when ſleepe tooke him, & would not ſuffer him to ſhut his eye liddes (onely vpon malice they did beare him, becauſe they could not otherwiſe hurt him) keeping him awake by force, not ſuffering him to take reſt: vntill ſuch time as nature being forced to giue ouer, he gaue vp the ghoſt. Two of his ſonnes died alſo: but the third called *Alexander*, became an excellent turner and ioyner, and was learned, and could ſpeake the ROMAINE tongue very well, and did write it ſo trimly, that afterwards he was chancelour to the magiſtrates of ROME, and did wiſely and diſcreetly behaue himſelfe in his office. Furthermore, they do adde to this goodly conqueſt of the realme of MACEDON, that *Æmylius* conquered another ſpeciall good thing, that made him maruellouſlie well liked of the common people: that is, that he brought ſo much golde and ſiluer vnto the treaſurie ſtore of ROME, as the common people needed neuer after to make contribution for any thing, vntill the very time and yeare that *Hircius* and *Panſa* were Conſuls, which was about the beginning of the firſt warres of *Auguſtus* and *Antonius*. And yet *AEmylius* had one ſingular good gift in him: that though the people did greatly loue and honour him, yet he euer tooke part with the Senate aud nobilitie, and did neuer by worde nor deed any thing in fauour of the people, to flatter or pleaſe them, but in matters concerning gouernment, he did euer leane to the nobilitie and good men. And this did *Appius* afterwards caſt in his ſonnes teethe, *Scipio Africanus*. For both of them being two of the chiefeſt men of their time, and contending together for the office of Cenſor: *Appius* had about him to fauour his ſute, all the Senate and Nobilitie, as of auncient time the familie of the *Appians* had euer held on their part. And *Scipio Africanus*, though he was a great man of himſelfe, yet he was in all times fauoured and beloued of the common people. Whereupon when *Appius* ſawe him come into the market place, followed with men of ſmall quality and baſe condition, that had bene ſlaues before, but otherwiſe could ſkilfully handle ſuch practiſes, bring the people together, and by opportunity of cries and loud voices (if neede were) obtaine what they would in the aſſemblies of the city: he ſpake out aloud, and ſaide. O *Paulus AEmylius*, now haſt thou good cauſe to ſighe and mourne in thy graue where thou lieſt (if the dead doe know what we doe here on earth) to ſee *AEmylius* a common ſergeant, and *Licinius* a pratling fellow, how they bring thy ſonne vnto the dignity of a Cenſor. And as for *Scipio*, he was alwaies beloued of the common people, becauſe he did fauour them in all things. But *AEmylius* alſo, although hee tooke euer the noble mens part, he was not therefore leſſe beloued of the common people, then thoſe that alwaies flattered them, doing all things as the people would, to pleaſe them: which the common people did witneſſe, aſwell by other honors and offices they offred him, as in the dignity of the Cenſor which they gaue him. For it was the holieſt office of all other at that time, & of greateſt power and authority, ſpecially for inquiry and reformation of euery mans life & manners. For he that was Cenſor, had authority to put any Senatour of the counſell, and ſo diſgrade him, if he did not worthely behaue him ſelfe according to his place and calling: & might name and declare any one of the Senat, whom he thought to be moſt honeſt, and fitteſt for the place again. Moreouer, they might by their authority, take frō licẽtious yong men, their horſe

*The death of king Perſeus.*

*A ſtraunge kind of death.*

*The ſtate of Perſeus ſonnes.*

*By AEmylius victorie, the people payed no more ſubſidie.*

*AEmylius choſen Cenſor.*

*The office and authority of the Cenſor.*

which was kept at the charge of the common weale. Furthermore, they be the ſeſſours of the people, and the muſter maſters, keeping bookes of the number of perſons at euery muſtering. So there appeared numbred in the regiſter booke *Æmilius* made then of them, three hundred ſeuen and thirtie thouſand, foure hundred and two and fiftie men, and *Marcus Æmylius Lepidus* named preſident of the Senate, who had that honour foure times before, and did put of the counſell three Senators, that were but meane men. And the like meane and moderation he and his companion, *Martius Philippus* kept, vpon view and muſter taken of the ROMAINE horſemen. And after he had ordered and diſpoſed the greateſt matters of his charge and office,

*Aemylius ſickneſſe.*

he fell ſicke of a diſeaſe that at the beginning ſeemed very daungerous, but in the ende there was no other daunger, ſauing that it was a lingring diſeaſe, and hard to cure.

*Aemylius remoued from Rome, and dwelt in the citie of Velia.*

So, following the counſell of phiſitians, who willed him to goe to a citie in ITALY called VELIA, he tooke ſea and went thither, and continued there a long time, dwelling in pleaſant houſes vpon the ſea ſide quietly and out of all noiſe. But during this time of his abſence, the ROMAINES wiſhed for him many a time and often. And when they were gathered together in the Theaters, to ſee the playes and ſportes, they cryed out diuerſe times for him: whereby they ſhewed that they had a great deſire to ſee him againe. Time being come about when they vſed to make a ſolemne yearely ſacrifice, and *Æmilius* finding himſelfe alſo in good perfect health: he returned againe to ROME, where he made the ſacrifice with the other prieſtes, all the people of ROME gathering about him, reioycing much to ſee him. The next day after, he made another particular ſacrifice, to giue thankes vnto the gods for recouerie of his health. After the ſacrifice was ended, he went home to his houſe, and ſate him downe to dinner:

*The death of AEmylius in Rome.*

he ſodainlie fell into a rauing (without any perſeuerance of ſickneſſe ſpied in him before, or any change or alteration in him) and his wits went from him in ſuch ſort, that he dyed within three dayes after, lacking no neceſſarie thing that an earthly man could haue, to make him happy in this world.

*AEmylius funeralles.*

For he was euen honoured at his funerals, and his vertue was adorned with manie goodly glorious ornaments, neither with golde, ſiluer, nor iuorie, nor with other ſuch ſumptuouſneſſe or magnificence of apparell, but with the loue and good will of the people, all of them confeſsing his vertue and well doing: and this did not onely his naturall countrimen performe in memorie of him, but his very enemies alſo. For all thoſe that met in ROME by chance at that time, that were either come out of SPAINE, from GENVA, or out of MACEDON, all thoſe that were young and ſtrong, did willingly put themſelues vnder the coffin where his bodie laye, to helpe to carrie him to the churche: and the olde men followed his bodie to accompanie the ſame, calling *Æmylius* the benefactour, ſauiour, and father of their countrie. For he did not onely intreate them gently, and graciouſlie, whom he had ſubdued: but all his life time hee was euer readie to pleaſure them, and to ſet forwardes their cauſes, euen as they had bene his confederates, very friends, and neere kinſmen.

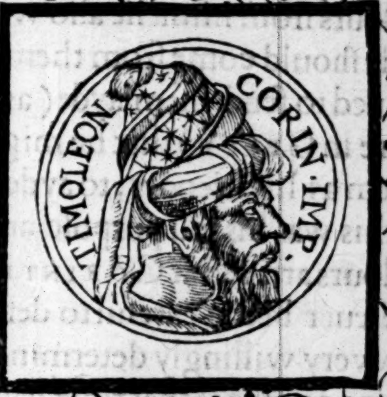
*AEmylius goods what they came to.*

The inuentory of all his gooddes after his death, did ſcant amount vnto the ſumme of three hundred, three ſcore, and ten thouſand ſiluer Drachmes, which his two ſonnes did inherite. But *Scipio* being the younger, left all his right vnto his elder brother *Fabius*, becauſe he was adopted into a very riche houſe, which was the houſe of the great *Scipio Africanus*.

Such they ſay was *Paulus Æmylius* conditions
and life.

*The end of Paulus AEmylius life*

# THE LIFE OF *Timoleon*.



*The ſtate of the Syracuſãs, before Timoleons comming.*

BEFORE *Timoleon* was ſent into SICILE, thus ſtoode the ſtate of the SYRACVSANS. After that *Dion* had driuen out the tyraunt *Dionyſius*, he himſelfe after was ſlaine immediatly by treaſon, and thoſe that ayded him to reſtore the SYRACVSANS to their libertie, fel out, and were at diſſention among themſelues. By reaſon whereof, the cittie of SYRACVSA chaunging continually newe tyrantes, was ſo troubled and turmoiled with all ſort of euills, that it was left in manner deſolate, & without inhabitants. The reſt of SICILE in like caſe was vtterly deſtroyed, and no cities in mãner left ſtanding, by reaſon of the long warres: and thoſe few that remained, were moſt inhabited of forreine ſouldiers & ſtraungers (a company of loſe men gathered together that tooke pay of no prince nor cittie) all the dominions of the ſame being eaſily vſurped, & as eaſie to change their lord. Inſomuch, *Dionyſius* the tyrant, ten yeres after *Dion* had driuen him out of SICILE, hauing gathered a certen number of ſouldiers together againe, and through their helpe driuen out *Niſeus*, that raigned at that time in SYRACVSA: he recouered the Realme againe, and made himſelfe King. So, if he was ſtrangely expulſed by a ſmal power out of the greateſt kingdom that euer was in the world: likewiſe he more ſtrangely recouered it againe, being baniſhed and very poore, making himſelfe King ouer them, who before had driuen him out. Thus were the inhabitantes of the cittie compelled to ſerue this tyrant: who beſides that of his owne nature he was neuer curteous nor ciuill, he was now growne to be far more dogged and cruell, by reaſon of the extreme miſerie and miſfortune he had endured. But the nobleſt cittizens repaired vnto *Icetes*, who at that time as lord ruled the cittie of the LEONTINES, and they choſe him for their generall in theſe wars: not for that he was any thing better then the opẽ tyrants, but becauſe they had no other to repaire vnto, at that time, and they truſted him beſt, for that he was borne (as themſelues) within the cittie of SYRACVSA, and becauſe alſo he had men of war about him, to make head againſt this tyrant. But in the meane time, the CARTHAGINIANS came downe into SICILE with a great armie, and inuaded the countrie. The SYRACVSANS being afraid of them, determined to ſend ambaſſadours into GRECE vnto the CORINTHIANS, to praye

*Icetes, tyrant of the Leontines.*

ayde of them againſt the barbarous people, hauing better hope of them, then of any other of the Grecians. And that not altogether becauſe they were lineally deſcended from them, and that they had receiued in times paſt many pleaſures at their hands: but alſo for that they knew that Corinthe was a cittie, that in all ages and times, did euer loue libertie and hate tyrants, & that had always made their greateſt wars, not for ambition of kingdoms, nor of couetous deſire to conquer and rule, but onely to defend and maintaine the libertie of the Grecians. But *Icetes* in another contrarie ſort, he tooke vpon him to be generall, with a minde to make himſelfe king of Syracusa. For he had ſecretly practiſed with the Carthaginians, and openly notwithſtanding, in wordes he commended the counſell and determination of the Syracusans, & ſent ambaſſadours from himſelfe alſo with theirs, vnto Peloponnesus: not that he was deſirous any ayde ſhould come from them to Syracusa, but becauſe he hoped if the Corinthians refuſed to ſend them ayde (as it was very likely they would, for the warres and troubles that were in Grece) that he might more eaſilie turne all ouer to the Carthaginians, and vſe them as his friendes, to ayde him againſt the Syracusans, or the tyrant *Dionyſius*. And that this was his full purpoſe and intent, it appeared plainely ſoone after. Now when their ambaſſadours arriued at Corinthe, and had deliuered their meſſage, the Corinthians, who had euer beene careful to defend ſuch citties as had ſought vnto them, and ſpecially Syracusa: very willingly determined in counſell to ſend them aide, and the rather for that they were in good peace at that time, hauing warres with none of the Grecians. So their onely ſtay reſted vpon chooſing of a generall to lead their armie. Now as the magiſtrates and gouernours of the cittie were naming ſuch cittizens, as willingly offered their ſeruice, deſirous to aduaunce themſelues: there ſtept vp a meane commoner who named *Timoleon*, *Timodemus* ſonne, a man that vntill that time was neuer called on for ſeruice, neither looked for any ſuch preferment. And truly it is to be thought it was the ſecret working of the gods, that directed the thought of this meane commoner to name *Timoleon*: whoſe election fortune fauored very much, and ioyned to his valiantnes and vertue, maruellous good ſucceſſe in all his doings afterwardes. This *Timoleon* was borne of noble parents, both by father and mother: his father was called *Timodemus*, and his mother *Demareta*. He was naturally inclined to loue his countrie and common weale: and was alwayes gentle and courteous to all men, ſauing that he mortally hated tyrants & wicked men. Furthermore nature had framed his bodie apt for wars and for paines: he was wiſe in his greeneſt youth, in all things he tooke in hand, and in his age he ſhewed himſelfe very valiant. He had an elder brother called *Timophanes*, who was nothing like to him in condition: for he was a raſh harebraind man, and had a greedie deſire to reigne, being put into his head by a companie of meane men, that bare him in hand they were his friends, and by certen ſouldiers gathered together which he had alwaies about him. And becauſe he was very hotte and forward in warres, his cittizens tooke him for a noble captaine, and a man of good ſeruice, and therefore oftentimes they gaue him charge of men. And therein *Timoleon* did helpe him much to hide his fault he committed, or at the leaſt, made them ſeeme leſſe, & lighter then they were, ſtill increaſing that ſmall good gift that nature brought forth in him. As in a battell the Corinthians had againſt the Argives and the Cleoneians, *Timoleon* ſerued as a priuate ſouldier amongeſt the footemen: and *Timophanes* his brother, hauing charge of horſemen, was in great daunger to be caſt awaye, if preſent helpe had not beene. For his horſe being hurte, threwe him on the ground in the middeſt of his enemies. Whereupon part of thoſe that were about him, were afraide and diſperſed themſelues here and there: and thoſe that remained with him, being fewe in number, and hauing many enemies to fight withall, did hardly withſtand their force and charge. But his brother *Timoleon* ſeeing him in ſuch inſtant danger a farre off, ranne with all ſpeede poſſible to helpe him, & clapping his target before his brother *Timophanes*, that lay on the ground, receiuing many woundes on his body with ſword and arrowes, with great difficultie he repulſed the enemies, & ſaued his owne and his brothers life. Now the Corinthians fearing the like matter to come that before had happened vnto them, which was to loſe their cittie through default of their friends helpe: they reſolued in counſell, to entertaine in pay continually foure hundreth ſouldiers that were ſtraungers, whom they aſsigned ouer to *Timophanes* charge.

*By what voice Timoleō came to be generall.*

*Timoleons parentage and manners.*

*Timophanes, Timoleōs brother, what he was.*

*Timoleō ſaued his brothers life.*

*The Corinthians enterteined 400. ſtrāgers, & made Timophanes* charge. Who, abandoning all honeſtie and regard of the truſt repoſed in him, did preſently practiſe all the wayes he could to make himſelfe lord of the cittie: and hauing put diuers of the chiefeſt cittizens to death without order of lawe, in the end he openly proclaimed himſelfe King. *Timoleon* being very ſorie for this, & taking his brothers wickednes would be the very high way to his fall and deſtruction: ſought firſt to winne him with all the good words and perſuaſion he could, to moue him to leaue his ambitious deſire to reigne, and to ſalue (as neere as might be) his hard dealing with the cittizens. *Timophanes* ſet light by his brothers perſuaſions, and would giue no eare vnto them. Thereupon *Timoleon* then went vnto one *Æſchilus* his friend, and brother vnto *Timophanes* wife, and to one *Satyrus* a ſoothſayer (as *Theopompus* the hiſtoriographer calleth him, and *Ephorus* calleth him *Orthagoras* (with whom he came againe another time vnto his brother: and they three comming to him inſtantly beſought him to beleeue good counſell. And to leaue the kingdome, *Timophanes* at the firſt did but laugh them to ſcorne, and ſported at their perſuaſions: but afterwards he waxed warme, and grewe into great choller with them. *Timoleon* ſeeing that, went a litle aſide, and couering his face fell a weeping: & in the meane ſeaſon, the other two drawing out their ſwordes, ſlewe *Timophanes* in the place. This murther was ſtraight blowen abroade through the cittie, & the better ſorte did greatly commend the noble minde and hate *Timoleon* bare againſt the tyrant: conſidering that he being of a gentle nature, and louing to his kinne, did notwithſtanding regard the benefit of his countrie, before the naturall affection of his brother, and preferred dutye and iuſtice, before nature and kinred. For, before he had ſaued his brothers life, fighting for the defence of his countrie: and now in ſeeking to make himſelfe king, and to rule the ſame, he made him to be ſlaine. Such then as miſliked popular gouernment and libertie, and allways followed the Nobilitie: they ſet a good face on the matter, as though they had bene glad of the tyrants death. Yet ſtill reprouing *Timoleon* for the horrible murther he had committed againſt his brother, declaring how deteſtable it was both to the gods and men: they ſo handled him, that it greeued him to the hart he had done it. But when it was told tim that his mother tooke it maruellous euill, and that ſhee pronounced horrible curſes againſt him, and gaue out terrible wordes of him, he went vnto her in hope to comfort her: howbeit ſhe could neuer abide to ſee him, but alwayes ſhut her doore againſt him. Then he being wounded to the hart with ſorrow, tooke a conceite ſodainly, to kill himſelfe by abſteining from meate: but his friends would neuer forſake him in this deſpaire, and vrged him ſo farre by intreatie and perſuaſion that they compelled him to eate. Thereupon he reſolued thenceforth to giue himſelfe ouer to a ſolitarie life in the countrie, ſecluding himſelfe from all companie and dealings: ſo as at the beginning, he did not onely refuſe to repaire vnto the cittie, and all acceſſe of companie, but wandring vp and downe in moſt ſolitarie places, conſumed himſelfe and his time with melancholie. And thus we ſee, that counſells and iudgments are lightly caried awaye (by prayſe or diſprayſe) if they be not ſhored vp with rule of reaſon, and philoſophie, and reſt confounded in themſelues. And therefore it is very requiſite and neceſſarie, that not onely the acte be good and honeſt of it ſelfe, but that the reſolution thereof be alſo conſtant, and not ſubiect vnto chaunge: to the end we may do all things conſiderately. Leaſt wee be like vnto lickerous mouthed men, who as they deſire meates with a greedy appetite, and after are ſoone weary, diſliking the ſame: euen ſo we do ſodainely repent our actions grounded vpõ a weake imagination, of the honeſtie that moued vs thereunto. For repentance maketh the acte which before was good, nought. But determination, grounded vpon certaine knowledge and truth of reaſon, doth neuer chaunge, although the matter enterpriſed, haue not alwayes happie ſucceſſe. And therefore **Photion** the ATHENIAN hauing reſiſted (as much as in him laye) certen things which the generall *Leoſthenes* did, and which contrary to his mind tooke good effect: and perceiuing the ATHENIANS did open ſacrifice vnto the goddes, to giue them thankes for the ſame, and much reioyce at the victorie they had obteined. I would haue reioiced to (ſayed he) if I had done this: but ſo would I not for any thing, but I had giuen the counſell. And after that ſort, but more ſharply did *Ariſtides* LOCRIAN (a very friend and companion of *Platoes*) anſwer *Dionyſius* the elder, tyrãt of SYRACVSA: who asked his good will to marrie one of his daughters. I had rather ſee my daughter dead (ſayde hee) then maried

*captaine of them to keepe their cittie.*

*Timophanes crueltie and vſurpation of the kingdome.*

*Timophanes, ſlaine by his brothers procurement*

*Our acts muſt be honeſt, and conſtant.*

*Photions ſaying.*

*Ariſtides graue ſaying.*

*Timoleon choſen generall to go into Sicile.*

*Icetes tyrant of the Leontines a traytor.*

*A ſigne happẽned to Timoleon.*

*Timoleon tooke ſhippe towards Sicile.*

*A burning torch appeared in the element vnto Timoleõ.*

vnto a tyrant. And within a certaine time after, the tyrant put all his ſonnes to death: and then he asked him in deriſion, to greeue him the more, if he were ſtill of his former opinion for the marying of his daughter. I am very ſorie, (ſayed he) with all my harte for that which thou haſt done: but yet I do not repent me of that I haue ſayed. That peraduenture proceeded of a more perfect vertue. But to returne againe vnto *Timoleon*. Whether that inward ſorrowe ſtrooke him to the harte for the death of his brother *Timophanes*, or that ſhame did ſo abaſhe him, as he durſt not abide his mother, twentie yeeres after, he neuer did any notable or famous acte. And therefore, when he was named to be generall of the ayde that ſhould be ſent into Sicile, the people hauing willingly choſen and accepted of him: *Teleclides*, who was chiefe gouernour at that time in the cittie of Corinthe, ſtanding vpon his feete before the people, ſpake vnto *Timoleon*, and did exhort him to behaue him ſelfe like an honeſt man, and valiant Captaine in his charge. For, ſayed he, if that you handle your ſelfe well, we will thinke you haue killed a tyrant: but if you do order your ſelfe otherwiſe then well, we will iudge you haue killed your brother. Now *Timoleon* being buſie in leauying of men, & preparing himſelfe: letters came to the Corinthians frõ *Icetes*, whereby plainely appeared, that *Icetes* had caried two faces in one hood, and that he was become a traytor. For he had no ſooner diſpatched his ambaſſadours vnto them, but he ſtraight tooke the Carthaginians part, and dealt openly for them, intending to driue out *Dionyſius*, and to make himſelfe king of Syracvsa. But fearing leaſt the Corinthians would ſend aide before he had wrought his feate: he wrote againe vnto the Corinthians, ſending them worde, that they ſhould not neede nowe to put themſelues to any charge or daunger for comming into Sicile, and ſpecially, becauſe the Carthaginians were very angrie, and did alſo lye in wayte in the waye as they ſhould come, with a great fleete of ſhippes to meete with their armie: and that for himſelfe, becauſe he ſawe they taried long, he had made league and amitie with them, againſt the tyrant *Dionyſius*. When they had read his letters, if any of the Corinthians were before but coldly affected to this iorney, choller did then ſo warme them againſt *Icetes*, that they franckly granted *Timoleon* what he would aske, and did helpe to furniſh him to ſet him out. When the ſhippes were readie rigged, and that the ſouldiers were furniſhed of all thinges neceſſarie for their departure, the Nunnes of the goddeſſe *Proſerpina*, ſayed they ſawe a viſion in their dreame, and that the goddeſſes *Ceres* and *Proſerpina* did appeare vnto them, apparelled like trauellers to take a iorney: and tolde them, that they woulde goe with *Timoleon* into Sicile. Vpon this ſpeech onely, the Corinthians rigged a galley, they called, the galley of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*: and *Timoleon* himſelfe before he would take the ſeaes, went into the cittie of Delphes, where he made ſacrifice vnto *Apollo*. And as he entred within the Sanctuarie where the aunſweres of the Oracle are made, there happened a wonderfull ſigne vnto him. For amongeſt the vowes and offeringes that are hanged vppe vppon the walles of the Sanctuarie, there fell a bande directly vppon *Timoleons* heade, imbrodered all about with crownes of victorie: ſo that it ſeemed *Apollo* ſent him already crowned, before he had ſet out one foote towardes the iorney. He tooke ſhippe, and ſayled with ſeuen gallyes of Corinthe, two of Corphve, and tenne the Levcadians did ſet out. When he was launched out in the mayne ſea, hauing a francke gale of winde and large, he thought in the night that the element did open, and that out of the ſame there came a maruellous great bright light ouer his ſhippe, and it was much like to a torche burning, when they ſhewe the ceremonies of the holy myſteries. This torche did accompanie and guide them all their voyage, and in the ende it vaniſhed awaye and ſeemed to fall downe vppon the coaſt of Italie, where the Shippemaſters had determined to arriue. The wiſe mens opinions being asked what this might ſignifie: they aunſwered. That this wonderfull ſight did betoken the dreame, the Nunnes of the goddeſſe *Ceres* dreamed, and that the goddeſſes fauoring this iorney, had ſhewed them the waye, by ſending of this light from heauen: becauſe that the Ile of Sicile is conſecrated vnto the goddeſſe *Proſerpina*, and ſpecially for that they reporte her rauiſhment was in that Ile, and that the whole realme was aſſigned vnto her for her ioynter, at the day of her mariage. Thus did this celeſtiall ſigne of the goddes both encourage thoſe that went this iorney and deliuer them alſo aſſured hope, who ſayled with all poſſible ſpeede they coulde: vntill ſuch time, as hauing croſſed the ſeaes, they arriued vpon the coaſt of ITALIE. But when they came thither, the newes they vnderſtood from SICILE put *Timoleon* in great perplexitie, and did maruellouſly diſcourage the ſouldiers he brought with him, for *Icetes* hauing ouerthrowen the battell of the tyrant *Dionyſius*, and poſſeſſed the greateſt part of the cittie of SYRACVSA: he did beſiege him within the caſtell, and within that part of the cittie which is called the Ile, where he had pent him vp, and incloſed him in with walles round about. And in the meane time he had prayed the CARTHAGINIANS, that they would be carefull to keepe *Timoleon* from landing in SICILE, to the ende that by preuenting that ayde, they might eaſily deuide SICILE betweene them, and no man to let them. The CARTHAGINIANS following his requeſt, ſent twentie of their gallyes vnto RHEGIO, amongſt which *Icetes* Ambaſſadours were ſent vnto *Timoleon*, with teſtimonie of his doings: for they were fayre flattering wordes to cloake his wicked intent he purpoſed. For they willed *Timoleon* that he ſhould goe himſelfe alone (if he thought good) vnto *Icetes*, to counſell him, and to accompanie him in all his doinges, which were nowe ſo farre onwardes in good towardneſſe, as he had almoſt ended them all. Furthermore, they did alſo perſuade him, that he ſhould ſend backe his ſhippes and ſouldiers to CORINTHE, againe, conſidering that the warre was nowe brought to good paſſe, and that the CARTHAGINIANS would in no caſe that his men ſhoulde paſſe into SICILE, and that they were determined to fight with them, if they made any force to enter. So the CORINTHIANS at their arriuall into the cittie of RHEGIO, finding there theſe Ambaſſadours, and ſeeing the fleete of the CARTHAGINIANS ſhippes, which did ryde at ancker not farre off from them: it ſpighted them on the one ſide to ſee they were thus mocked and abuſed by *Icetes*. For euery one of them were maruellous angry with him, and were greatly afearde alſo for the poore SICILIANS, whome too plainely they ſawe left a praye vnto *Icetes* for rewarde of his treaſon, and to the CARTHAGINIANS for recompence of the tyrannie, which they ſuffered him to eſtabliſh. So, on the other ſide they thought it impoſſible to conquer the ſhippes of the CARTHAGINIANS, which did laye in wayte for them, and ſo neere vnto them: conſidering they were twiſe as many in number as they, and hard for them to ſubdue the armie alſo that was in the handes of *Icetes* in SICILE, conſidering that they were not come to him, but onely for the mayntenaunce of the warres. Notwithſtanding, *Timoleon* ſpake very courteouſly vnto thoſe Ambaſſadors, and captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS ſhippes, letting them vnderſtande that he would doe as much as they would haue him: and to ſay ttuly, if he would haue done otherwiſe, he could haue wonne nothing by it. Neuertheleſſe he deſired for his diſcharge, they would ſay that openly, in the preſence of the people of RHEGIO, (being a cittie of GREECE, friend and common to both parties) which they had ſpoken to him in ſecret: and that done he would departe incontinẽtly, alleadging that it ſtood him very much vpon for the ſafetie of his diſcharge, and that they themſelues alſo ſhould more faithfully keepe that they had promiſed vnto him touching the SYRACVSANS, whẽ they had agreed vpon it & promiſed it before all the people of RHEGIO, who ſhould be witnes of it. Now all this was but a fetch and pollicy deliuered by him, to ſhadow his departure, which the captaines and gouenors of RHEGIO did fauor, & ſeeme to help him in: becauſe they wiſhed SICILE ſhould fall into the hands of the CORINTHIANS, and feared much to haue the barbarous people for their neighbours. For this cauſe they cõmanded a generall aſſembly of all the people, during which time, they cauſed the gates of the cittie to be ſhut: giuing it out, that it was becauſe the cittizens ſhould not go about any other matters in the meane time. Then when all the people were aſſembled, they began to make long oratiõs without concluding any matter: the one leauing alwayes to the other a like matter to talke of, to the end they might winne time, vntill the gallyes of the CORINTHIANS, were departed. And ſtaying the CARTHAGINIANS alſo in this aſſembly they miſtruſted nothing, becauſe they ſawe *Timoleon* preſent: who made a countenance, as though he would riſe to ſay ſomething. But in the meane time, ſome one did ſecretly aduertiſe *Timoleon*, that the other gallyes were vnder ſayle, and gone awaye, and that there was but one galley left, which tarryed for him in the hauen. Thereupon he ſodainely ſtole away through the preaſe, with

*Icetes beſiegeth Dionyſius.*

*Icetes ſendeth Ambaſſadors vnto Timoleõ.*

*Timoleõ craftier then the Carthaginians.*

*Rhegio a cittie of Greece.*

*Timoleon landeth at Tauromenion in Sicile.*

*Andromahcus the father of Timæus the hiſtoriographer, gouernor of the cittie of Tauromenion*

*The Carthaginians Ambaſſador did threten to deſtroye the cittie of Tauromenion, by ſhewing Andromachus the palme and backe of his hand.*

*The god Adranus.*

the helpe of the RHEGIANS, being about the chayre where the orations were made: and trudgeing quickely to the hauen, he imbarked incontinently, and hoyſed ſayle alſo. And when he had ouertaken his fleete, they went all ſafe together to lande at the cittie of TAVROMENON, which is in SICILE: there they were very well receiued by *Andromachus*, who long time before had ſent for them, for he gouerned this cittie as if he had beene Lorde thereof. He was the father of *Timæus* the Hiſtoriographer, the honeſteſt man of all thoſe that did beare rule at that time in all SICILE. For he did rule his cittizens, in all iuſtice and equitie, and did allwayes ſhewe him-ſelfe an open enemie of tyrantes. And following his affection therein, he lent his cittie at that time vnto *Timoleon*, to gather people together, and perſuaded his Cittizens to enter into league with the CORINTHIANS, and to ayde them, to deliuer SICILE from bondage, and to reſtore it againe to libertie. But the captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS that were at RHEGIO, when they knewe that *Timoleon* was vnder ſayle and gone, after that the aſſembly of the counſell was broken vppe: they were readye to eate their fingers for ſpight to ſee themſelues thus finely mocked and deceiued. The RHEGIANS on the other ſide, were merry at the matter, to ſee howe the PHENICIANS ſtormed at it, that they had ſuch a fine parte played them. Howbeit in the eud, they determined to ſend an Ambaſſadour vnto TAVROMENION, in one of their gallyes. This ambaſſadour ſpake very boldly and barbarouſly vnto *Andromachus*, and in a choller: and laſt of all, he ſhewed him firſt the palme of his hande, then the backe of his hande, and did threaten him that his cittie ſhould be ſo turned ouer hand, if he did not quickely ſend awaye the CORINTHIANS. *Andromachus* fell a laughing at him, and did turne his hand vppe and downe as the Ambaſſadour had done, and commaunded him that he ſhould gette him going, and that with all ſpeede out of his cittie, if he would not ſee the keele of his gally turned vpward. *Icetes* nowe vnderſtanding of *Timoleons* comming, and being afrayed, ſent for a great number of gallyes vnto the CARTHAGINIANS. Then the SYRACVSANS beganne to deſpayre vtterly when they ſawe their hauen full of the CARTHAGINIANS gallyes, the beſt parte of their cittie kept by *Icetes*, and the caſtell by the tyrante *Dionyſius*. And on the other ſide, that *Timoleon* was not yet come but to a litle corner of SICILE, hauing no more but the litle cittie of TAVROMENION, with a ſmall power, and leſſe hope: becauſe there was not aboue a thouſand footemen in all, to furniſh theſe warres, neither prouiſion of victualles, nor ſo much money as would ſerue to entertaine and paye them. Beſides alſo, that the other citties of SICILE did nothing truſt him. But by reaſon of the violent extorcions which they had of late ſuffered, they hated all captaines and leaders of men of war to the death, and ſpecially for the tretcherie of *Calippus* and *Pharax*, whereof the one was an ATHENIAN, and the other a LACEDÆMONIAN. Both of them ſayed they came to ſet SICILE at libertie, and to driue out the tyrantes: and yet neuertheleſſe, they had done ſo much hurte vnto the poore SICILIANS, that the miſerie and calamitie which they had ſuffered vnder the tyrantes, ſeemed all to be golde vnto them, in reſpect of that which the Captaines had made them to abide. And they did not thinke them more happy, that had willingly ſubmitted them ſelues vnto the yoke of ſeruitude: then thoſe which they ſawe reſtored, and ſet at libertie. Therfore perſuading themſelues, that this CORINTHIAN would be no better vnto them, then the other had beene before, but ſuppoſing they were the ſelfe ſame former craftes, and alluring baytes of good hope and fayre wordes, which they had taſted of before, to drawe them to accept new tyrants: they did ſore ſuſpect it, and reiected all the CORINTHIANS perſuaſions. Sauing the ADRANITANS onely, whoſe litle cittie being conſecrated to the god *Adranus* (and greatly honored and reuerenced through all SICILE) was then in diſſention one againſt another: inſomuch as one part of them tooke part with *Icetes*, and the CARTHAGINIANS, and another ſide of them ſent vnto *Timoleon*. So it fortuned that both the one and the other, making all the poſſible ſpeede they coulde, who ſhould come firſt: arriued both in mãner at one ſelf time. *Icetes* had about 5000 ſouldiers. *Timoleõ* had not in all, aboue 1200 men, with which he departed to go towards the cittie of ADRANVS diſtant from TAVROMENION, about three hundred & 40 furlõgs. For the firſt dayes iorney he went, no great way but lodged betimes: but the next morning he marched very haſtely, & had maruelous ill way.

When night was come,and day light ſhut in,he had news that *Icetes* did but newly arriue before ADRANVS,where he encamped. When the priuate captaines vnderſtood this,they cauſed the voward to ſtay,to eate and repoſe a litle, that they might be the luſtier, & the ſtronger to fight. But *Timoleon* did ſet ſtill forwards,and praied them not to ſtay, but to go on with all the ſpeed they could poſſible,that they might take their enemies out of order (as it was likely they ſhould)being but newly arriued,and troubled with making their cabbons,and preparing for ſupper. Therewithall as he ſpake theſe words,he toke his target on his arme,and marched himſelfe the formoſt man,as brauely & couragiouſly as if he had gone to a moſt aſſured victorie. The ſouldiers ſeeing him marche with that liſe,they followed at his heeles with like courage. So they had not paſſing thirty furlongs to go, which when they had ouercome, they ſtraight ſet vpon their enemies,whom they found all out of order,and began to flie,ſo ſoone as they ſaw they were vpon their backs before they were aware. By this meanes there were not aboue three hundred men ſlaine,and twiſe as many more taken priſoners, and ſo their whole campe was poſſeſſed. Then the ADRANITANS opening their gates, yeelded vnto *Timoleon*, declaring vnto him with great feare,and no leſſe wonder,how at the very time when he gaue charge vpon the enemies,the dores of the temple of their god opened of themſelues, and that the Iaueling which the image of their god did hold in his hãd,did ſhake at the very end where the iron head was,and how all his face was ſeene to ſweat. This(in my opinion)did not onely ſignifie the victorie he had gotten at that time,but all the notable exploites he did afterwards, vnto the which,this firſt encounter gaue a happy beginning. For immediatly after, many cities ſent vnto *Timoleon*,to ioyne in league with him. And *Mamercus*,the tyrant of CATANA, a ſouldier,and very full of money,did alſo ſeeke his friendſhip. Furthermore,*Dionyſius* the tyrant of SYRACVSA, being weary to follow hope any longer, and finding himſelfe in maner forced vnto it by long continuance of ſiege: made no more reckoning of *Icetes*, when he knew that he was ſo ſhamefully ouerthrowne. And contrariwiſe,much eſteeming *Timoleons* valiantneſſe, he ſent to aduertiſe him, that he was contented to yeeld himſelfe and the caſtell into the hands of the CORINTHIANS. *Timoleon* being glad of this good hap vnlooked for, ſent *Euclides* and *Telemachus*,two captaines of the CORINTHIANS, to take poſſeſſion of the caſtel,with foure hundred men,not all at a time,nor openly(for it was vnpoſſible,the enemies lying in waite in the hauen)but by ſmall companies,and by ſtealth,he conueied them all into the caſtell. So the ſouldiers poſſeſſed the caſtell,and the tyrants pallace, with all the moueables and munition of wars within the ſame. There were a great number of horſe of ſeruice, great ſtore of ſtaues and weapons offenſiue of all ſorts,and engines of batterie to ſhoot farre off, and ſundry other weapons of defence,that had bene gathered together of long time,to arme threeſcore and ten thouſand men. Moreouer, beſides all this, there were two thouſand ſouldiers, whom with all the other things rehearſed, *Dionyſius* deliuered vp into the hands of *Timoleon*: and he himſelf,with his money and a few of his friends,went his way by ſea, *Icetes* not knowing it,and ſo came to *Timoleons* campe. This was the firſt time that euer they ſaw *Dionyſius* a priuate man,in baſe and meane eſtate. And yet within few dayes after,*Timoleon* ſent him from thence vnto CORINTHE in a ſhip, with little ſtore of money. Who was borne and brought vp in the greateſt and moſt famous tyrannie,and kingdome,conquered by force,that euer was in the world: and which himſelfe had kept by the ſpace of ten yeares after the death of his father. Since *Dion* draue him out,he had bene maruellouſlie turmoiled in warres, by the ſpace of twelue yeares: in which time, although he had done much miſchiefe, yet he had ſuffered alſo a great deale more. For he ſaw the death of his ſonnes when they were men growne,and able to ſerue and carie armor. He ſaw his daughters rauiſhed by force, and defloured of their virginitie. He ſaw his owne ſiſter(who was alſo his wife)firſt of all ſhamed,and cruelly handled in her perſon, with the greateſt villanies and moſt vile parts done vnto her, that his enemies could deuiſe: & afterwards horribly murthered with his children,& their bodies in the end throwne into the ſea,as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Dion*. Now when *Dionyſius* was arriued in the citie of CORINTHE, euery GRÆCIAN was wonderfull deſirous to go ſee him,and to talke with him. And ſome went thither very glad of his ouerthrow,as if they had troden him downe with their feete,whom fortune had ouerthrowne,ſo bitterly did

*Timoleon ouerthrew Icetes armie,& made him flie from Adranus.*

*The Adranitans yeeld vnto Timoleon.*

*Mamercus tyrant of Catana*

*Dionyſius the tyrant, yeldeth himſelfe and the caſtell of Syracuſa, vnto Timoleon.*

*Dionyſius the tyrant of Syracuſa ſent to Corinthe.*

*The miſeries & calamities of Dionyſius the tyrant.*

*Dionyſius brought to Corinthe.*

they hate him. Other pittying him in their hearts, to ſee ſo great a change, did behold him as it were with a certaine compaſſion, conſidering what great power, ſecret and diuine cauſes haue ouer mens weakeneſſe and frailtie, and thoſe things that daily paſſeth ouer our heads. For the world then, did neuer bring forth any worke of nature, or of mans hand ſo wonderfull, as was this of fortune. Who made the world ſee a man, that before was in maner Lord and King of all SICILE, ſit then commonly in the citie of CORINTHE, talking with a victualer, or ſitting a whole day in a perfumers ſhop, or commonly drinking in ſome celler or tauerne, or to brawle and ſcolde in the middeſt of the ſtreetes, with common whores in face of the world, or elſe to teach common minſtrels in euery lane and alley, and to diſpute with them with the beſt reaſon he had, about the harmony & muſick of the ſongs they ſang in the THEATERS. Now ſome ſay he did this, becauſe he knew not elſe how he ſhould driue the time away, for that indeed he was of a baſe minde, and an effeminate perſon, giuen ouer to all diſhoneſt luſts and deſires. Other are of opinion, he did it to be the leſſe regarded, for feare leaſt the CORINTHIANS ſhould haue him in iealouſie and ſuſpition, imagining that he did take the change & ſtate of his life in grieuous part, & that he ſhould yet looke back, hoping for a time to recouer his ſtate againe: and that for this cauſe he did it, and of purpoſe fained many things againſt his nature, ſeeming to be a ſtarke ideot, to ſee him do thoſe things he did. Some notwithſtanding haue gathered together certaine of his anſwers, which do teſtifie that he did not all theſe things of a baſe brutiſh minde, but to fit himſelfe onely to his preſent miſery and miſfortune. For when he came to LEVCADES, an ancient citie built by the CORINTHIANS, as was alſo the citie of SYRACVSA: he told the inhabitants of the ſame, that he was like to yong boyes that had done a fault. For as they flie from their fathers being aſhamed to come in their ſight, & are gladder to be with their brethren: euen ſo is it with me, ſaid he: for it would pleaſe me better to dwell here with you, then to go to CORINTHE our head citie. Another time, being at CORINTHE, a ſtranger was very buſie with him, (knowing how familiar *Dionyſius* was with learned men and philoſophers, while he raigned in SYRACVSA) & asked him in the end in deriſion: what benefit he got by *Platoes* wiſedome and knowledge? he anſwered him againe: how thinkeſt thou, hath it done me no good, when thou ſeeſt me beare ſo paciently this change of fortune? *Ariſtoxenus* a muſitian, and other, asking him what offence *Plato* had done vnto him: he anſwered. That tyrants ſtate is euer vnfortunate, & ſubiect to many euils: but yet no euill in their ſtate was comparable to this. That none of all thoſe they take to be their moſt familiars, dare once tell them truely any thing: and that through their fault, he left *Platoes* company. Another time there commeth a pleaſant fellow to him, and thinking to mock him finely, as he entred into his chamber, he ſhooke his gowne, as the manner is when they come to tyrants, to ſhew that they haue no weapons vnder their gownes. But *Dionyſius* encountred him as pleaſantly, ſaying to him: do that when thou goeſt hence, to ſee if thou haſt ſtolne nothing. And againe, *Philip* king of MACEDON, at his table one day deſcending into talke of ſongs, verſe, and tragedies, which *Dionyſius* his father had made, making as though he wondred at them, how poſſibly he could haue leiſure to do thē: he anſwered him very trimly, and to good purpoſe. He did them euen at ſuch times (quod he) as you and I, and other great lords whom they reckon happy, are diſpoſed to be drunke, and play the fooles. Now for *Plato* he neuer ſaw *Dionyſius* at CORINTHE. But *Diogenes Sinopian*, the firſt time that euer he met with *Dionyſius*, ſaid vnto him. O, how vnworthy art thou of this ſtate. *Dionyſius* ſtaied ſodainly, and replied: Truly I thanke thee (*Diogenes*) that thou haſt compaſſion of my miſery. Why ſaid *Diogenes* againe: Doeſt thou thinke I pitty thee? Nay it ſpighteth me rather to ſee ſuch a ſlaue as thou (worthy to die in the wicked ſtate of a tyrant like thy father) to liue in ſuch ſecuritie, and idle life, as thou leadeſt amongſt vs. When I came to compare theſe words of *Diogenes*, with *Philiſtus* words the Hiſtoriographer, bewailing the hard fortune of the daughters of the LEPTINES, ſaying that they were brought from the top of all worldly felicity, honour, and goods, (whereof tyrrannicall ſtate aboundeth) vnto a baſe, priuate, and humble life: me thinkes they are the proper lamentations of a woman, that ſorroweth for the loſſe of her boxes of painting colours, or for her purple gownes, or for other ſuch prety fine trimmes of gode, as women vſe to weare. So, me thinkes theſe things I haue intermingled concerning

*Dionyſius,*

*The inconſtancie of fortune.*

*Notable ſayings of Dionyſius Syracuſan.*

*The benefite of Philoſophie.*

*A tyrāts ſtate vnfortunate.*

*This agreeth with AEſops words to Solon, who wiſhed him comming to princes, to pleaſe them, or not to come neere them.*

*See Solons life, and his anſwer to AEſop.*

*Diogenes ſaying to Dionyſius the tyrant.*

*Dionyſius*, are not impertinent to the deſcription of our liues, neither are they troubleſome nor vnprofitable to the hearers, vnleſſe they haue other haſtie buſineſſe to let or trouble them. But now if the tyrant *Dionyſius* wretched ſtate ſeeme ſtrange, *Timoleons* proſperitie then was no leſſe wonderfull. For within fiftie dayes after he had ſet foote in SICILE, he had the caſtell of SYRACVSA in his poſſeſſion, & ſent *Dionyſius* as an exile to CORINTHE. This did ſet the CORINTHIANS in ſuch a iollitie, that they ſent him a ſupply of two thouſand footemen, and two hundred horſemen, which were appointed to land in ITALIE, in the countrie of the THVRIANS. And perceiuing that they could not poſsiblie go from thence into SICILE, becauſe the CARTHAGINIANS kept the ſeas with a great nauie of ſhips, and that thereby they were compelled to ſtay for better opportunitie: in the meane time they beſtowed their leiſure in doing a notable good acte. For the THVRIANS, being in warres at that time with the BRVTIANS, they did put their citie into their hands, which they kept very faithfully and friendly, as it had bene their owne natiue countrie. *Icetes* all this while did beſiege the caſtell of SYRACVSA, preuenting all he could poſsible, that there ſhould come no corne by ſea vnto the CORINTHIANS that kept within the caſtell: and he had hiered two ſtrange ſouldiers, which he ſent vnto the citie of ADRANVS, to kil *Timoleon* by treaſon, who kept no garde about his perſon, and continued amongſt the ADRANITANS, miſtruſting nothing in the world, for the truſt and confidence he had in the ſafegard of the god of the ADRANITANS. Theſe ſouldiers being ſent to do this murther, were by chance enformed that *Timoleon* ſhould one day do ſacrifice vnto this god. So vppon this, they came into the temple, hauing daggers vnder their gownes, and by litle and litle thruſt in through the preaſe, that they got at the length hard to the aulter. But at the preſent time as one encouraged another to diſpatche the matter, a third perſon they thought not of, gaue one of the two a great cut in the head with his ſworde, that he fell to the grounde. The man that had hurt him thus, fled ſtraight vpon it, with his ſworde drawne in his hand, and recouered the top of a high rocke. The other ſouldier that came with him, and that was not hurt, got holde of a corner of the aulter, and beſought pardon of *Timoleon*, and told him he would diſcouer the treaſon practiſed againſt him. *Timoleon* thereupon pardoned him. Then he tolde him how his companion that was ſlaine, and himſelfe, were both hired, and ſent to kill him. In the meane time, they brought him alſo that had taken the rocke, who cryed out aloude, he had done no more then he ſhould do: for he had killed him that had ſlaine his owne father before, in the citie of the LEONTINES. And to iuſtifie this to be true, certaine that ſtood by did affirme, it was ſo in deed. Whereat they wondered greatly to conſider the maruellous working of fortune, how ſhe doth bring one thing to paſſe by meanes of another, and gathereth all things together, how far a ſunder ſoeuer they be, and linketh them together, though they ſeeme to be cleane contrary one to another, with no manner of likeneſſe or coniunction betwene them, making the end of the one, to be the beginning of another. The CORINTHIANS examining this matter throughly, gaue him that ſlue the ſouldier with his ſworde, a crowne of the value of ten minas, becauſe that by meanes of his iuſt anger, he had done good ſeruice to the God that had preſerued *Timoleon*. And furthermore, this good hap did not onely ſerue the preſent turne, but was to good purpoſe euer after. For thoſe that ſawe it, were put in better hope, and had thenceforth more care and regard vnto *Timoleons* perſon, becauſe he was a holy man, one that loued the gods, and that was purpoſely ſent to deliuer SICILE from captiuitie. But *Icetes* hauing miſſed his firſt purpoſe, and ſeeing numbers daylie drawne to *Timoleons* deuotion: he was mad with himſelfe, that hauing ſo great an armie of the CARTHAGINIANS at hand at his commandement, he tooke but a few of them to ſerue his turne, as if he had bene aſhamed of his fact, and had vſed their friendſhip by ſtealth. So he ſent hereupon for *Mago* their generall, with all his fleete. *Mago* at his requeſt brought an huge army to ſee too, of a hundred and fiftie ſaile, which occupied and couered all the hauen: and afterwards landed three ſcore thouſand men, whom he lodged euery man within the citie of SYRACVSA. Then euery man imagined the time was now come, which old men had threatned SICILE with many yeares before, and that continually: that one day it ſhould be conquered, and inhabited by the barbarous people. For in all the warres the CARTHAGINIANS euer had before in the countrie of SICILE, they could

*Timoleons proſperitie.*

*Icetes hireth two ſouldiers to kil Timoleon at Adranus.*

*The treaſon diſcouered to Timoleon by one of the ſouldiers.*

*The wonderfull worke of fortune.*

*Icetes bringeth Mago a Carthaginian with a great armie to Syracuſa.*

neuer come to take the citie of SYRACVSA: and then through *Icetes* treaſon, who had receiued them, they were ſeene encamped there. On the other ſide, the CORINTHIANS that were within the caſtell, found themſelues in great diſtreſſe; becauſe their victuals waxed ſcant, and the hauen was ſo ſtraightly kept. Moreouer, they were driuen to be armed continually to defend the walles, which the enemies battered, and aſſaulted in ſundrie places, with all kindes of engines of batterie, and ſundry ſorts of deuiſed inſtruments and inuentions to take cities: by reaſon whereof, they were compelled alſo to deuide themſelues into many companies. Neuertheleſſe, *Timoleon* without, gaue them all the ayde he could poſſible: ſending them corne from CATANA, in little fiſher botes and ſmall crayers, which got into the caſtell many times, but ſpecially in ſtormie and foule weather, paſsing by the gallies of the barbarous people, that lay ſcatteringly one from another, diſperſed abroad by tempeſt, and great billowes of the ſea. But *Mago* and *Icetes* finding this, determined to go take the citie of CATANA, from whence thoſe of the caſtell of SYRACVSA were victualed: and taking with them the beſt ſoldiers of all their armie, they departed from SYRACVSA, and ſailed towards CATANA. Now in the meane ſpace, *Leon* CORINTHIAN, captaine of all thoſe that were within the caſtell, perceiuing the enemies within the citie kept but ſlender warde: made a ſodaine ſalie out vpon them, and taking them vnwares, ſlue a great number at the firſt charge, and draue away the other. So by this occaſion he wanne a quarter of the citie, which they call ACRADINA, and was the beſt part of the citie, that had receiued leaſt hurt. For the citie of SYRACVSA ſeemeth to be built of many townes ioyned together. So hauing found there great plentie of corne, golde, and ſiluer, he would not forſake that quarter no more, nor returne againe into the caſtell: but fortifying with all diligence the compaſſe and precinct of the ſame, and ioyning it vnto the caſtell with certaine fortifications he built vp in haſt, he determined to keepe both the one & the other. Now were *Mago* and *Icetes* very neere vnto CATANA, when a poſt ouertooke them, purpoſely ſent from SYRACVSA vnto them: who brought them news, that the ACRADINA was taken. Whereat they both wondred, and returned back againe with all ſpeed poſsible (hauing failed of their purpoſe they pretended) to keepe that they had yet left in their hands. Now for that matter, it is yet a queſtion, whether we ſhould impute it vnto wiſedome and valliancie, or vnto good fortune: but the thing I will tell you now, in my opinion, is altogether to be aſcribed vnto fortune. And this it is. The two thouſand footmen and two hundred horſemen of the CORINTHIANS, that remained in the city of the THVRIANS, partly for feare of the gallyes of the CARTHAGINIANS that laye in waite for them as they ſhould paſſe, *Hanno* being their admirall: and partly alſo for that the ſea was very rough and high many dayes together, and was alwaies in ſtorme and tempeſt: in the ende, they ventured to go through the country of the BRVTIANS. And partly with their good will (but rather by force) they got through, and recouered the citie of RHEGIO, the ſea being yet maruellous high and rough. *Hanno* the admirall of the CARTHAGINIANS, looking no more then for their paſſage, thought with himſelfe that he had deuiſed a maruellous fine policie, to deceiue the enemies. Thereupon he willed all his men to put garlands of flowers of triumphe vpon their heads, and therewithall alſo made them dreſſe vp, and ſet forth his gallyes, with targets, corſelets, and brigantines after the GRÆCIANS faſhion. So in this brauery he returned backe againe, ſailing towards SYRACVSA, & came in with force of owers, rowing vnder the caſtels ſide of SYRACVSA, with great laughing, and clapping of hands: crying out alowde to them that were in the caſtell, that he had ouerthrowne their aide which came from CORINTHE, as they thought to paſſe by the coaſt of ITALIE into SICILE, flattering themſelues, that this did much diſcourage thoſe that were beſieged. But whileſt he ſported thus with his fonde deuiſe, the two thouſand CORINTHIANS being arriued through the countrie of the BRVTIANS in the citie of RHEGIO, perceiuing the coaſt cleare, and that the paſſage by ſea was not kept, and that the raging ſeas were by miracle (as it were) made of purpoſe calme for them: they tooke ſeas forthwith in ſuch fiſher boats & paſſengers as they found ready, in the which they went into SICILE, in ſuch good ſafety, as they drue their horſe (holding them by the raines) alongeſt their boates with them. When they were all paſſed ouer, *Timoleon* hauing receiued them, went immediatly to take MESSINA, and marching thence in battell raie, tooke his way

*Leon captaine of the Corinthians within the caſtell.*

*Leon wanne Acradina.*

*Contention of fortune and valliancie.*

*The ſtratagem of Hanno the admirall of the Carthaginians.*

towards SYRACVSA, truſting better to his good fortune, thē to his force he had: for his whole number in all, were not aboue foure thouſand fighting men. Notwithſtanding *Mago* hearing of his comming, quaked for feare, & doubted the more vpon this occaſion. About SYRACVSA are certaine mariſhes, that receiue great quantitie of ſweete freſh water, aſwell of fountaines and ſpringes, as alſo of litle running brookes, lakes & riuers, which runne that waies towards the ſea: and therefore there are great ſtore of eeles in that place, and the fiſhing is great there at all times, but ſpecially for ſuch as delight to take eeles. Whereupon the GRECIANS that tooke pay on both ſides, when they had leaſure, and that all was quiet betweene them, they intended fiſhing. Now, they being all country men, and of one language, had no priuate quarrell one with another: but when time was to fight, they did their duties, and in time of peace alſo frequented familiarly together, and one ſpake with another, and ſpecially when they were buſie fiſhing for eeles: ſaying, that they maruelled at the ſituation of the goodly places thereabouts, and that they ſtood ſo pleaſantly and commodious vpon the ſea ſide. So one of the ſouldiers that ſerued vnder the CORINTHIANS, chaunced to ſay vnto them. Is it poſſible that you that be GRECIANS borne, and haue ſo goodly a citie of your owne, & full of ſo many goodly commodities: that ye will giue it vppe vnto theſe barbarous people, the CARTHAGINIANS, and moſt cruell murderers of the world? where you ſhould rather wiſh that there were many SICILIES betwixt them and GRECE. Haue ye ſo litle conſideration or iudgement to thinke, that they haue aſſembled an armie out of all APHRICKE, vnto *Hercules* pillers, and to the ſea ATLANTICKE, to come hither to fight to ſtabliſh *Icetes* tyrannie? who, if he had bene a wiſe and ſkilfull Captaine, would not haue caſt out his aunceſtors & founders, to bring into his countrie the auncient enemies of the ſame: but might haue receiued ſuch honor and authoritie of the CORINTHIANS and *Timoleon*, as he could reaſonably haue deſired, and that with all their fauour & good will. The ſouldiers that heard this tale, reported it again in their campe: Inſomuch they made *Mago* ſuſpect there was treaſon in hand, and ſo ſought ſome colour to be gone. But hereupon, notwithſtanding that *Icetes* praied him all he could to tarie, declaring vnto him how much they were ſtronger then their enemies, and that *Timoleon* did rather preuaile by his hardines and good fortune, then exceede him in number of men: yet he hoyſed ſaile, and returned with ſhame enough into APHRIKE, letting ſlippe the conqueſt of all SICILE out of his hands, without any ſight of reaſon or cauſe at all. The next day after he was gone, *Timoleon* preſented battell before the citie, when the GRECIANS and he vnderſtoode that the CARTHAGINIANS were fled, and that they ſaw the hauen rid of all the ſhips: and then beganne to ieaſt at *Magoes* cowardlineſſe, and in deriſion proclaimed in the citie, that they would giue him a good reward that could bring them newes, whither the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS were fled. But for all this, *Icetes* was bent to fight, & would not leaue the ſpoile he had gotten, but defende the quarters of the citie he had poſſeſſed, at the ſwordes point, truſting to the ſtrength and ſituation of the places, which were hardly to be approached. *Timoleon* perceiuing that, deuided his armie, and he with one part thereof did ſet vpon that ſide which was the hardeſt to approch, and did ſtande vpon the riuer of ANAPVS: then he appointed another part of his armie to aſſault all at one time, the ſide of ACRADINA, whereof *Iſias* CORINTHIAN had the leading. The third part of his armie that came laſt from CORINTH, which *Dinarchus* and *Demaratus* led: he appointed to aſſault the quarter called EPIPOLES. Thus, aſſault being giuen on all ſides at one time, *Icetes* bandes of men were broken, and ranne their way. Now that the citie was thus wonne by aſſault, and come ſo ſodainely to the handes of *Timoleon*, and the enemies being fled: it is good reaſon we aſcribe it to the valiantneſſe of the ſouldiers, and the captaines great wiſedome. But where there was not one CORINTHIAN ſlaine, nor hurt in this aſſault: ſure me thinkes herein, it was only the worke and deede of fortune, that did fauour and protect *Timoleon*, to contend againſt his valiantneſſe. To the end that thoſe which ſhould hereafter heare of his doings, ſhould haue more occaſion to wonder at his good happe: then to praiſe and commend his valiantneſſe. For the fame of this great exploite, did in fewe daies not onely runne through all ITALIE, but alſo through all GRECE. Inſomuch as the CORINTHIANS, (who could ſcant beleeue their men were paſſed with ſafetie into SICILE) vnderſtood with all that they were ſafely arriued there,

*Mago forſaketh Sicile vpon ſuſpect of treaſon.*

*Anapus fl.*

*Timoleon winneth the citie of Syracuſa.*

and had gotten the victory of their enemies: ſo proſperous was their iorney,& fortune ſo ſpeedily did fauor his noble acts. *Timoleon* hauing now the caſtle of CYRACVSA in his hands, did not follow *Dion*. For he ſpared not the caſtle for the beautie and ſtately building thereof, but auoiding the ſuſpition that cauſed *Dion* firſt to be accuſed, and laſtly to be ſlaine: he cauſed it to be proclaimed by trompet, that any SYRACVSAN whatſoeuer, ſhould come with crowes of iron & mattocks, to helpe to digge downe & ouerthrow the fort of the tyrants. There was not a man in all the citie of SYRACVSA, but went thither ſtraight, and thought that proclamation and day to be a moſt happie beginning, of the recouerie of their libertie. So they did not only ouerthrow the caſtle, but the pallace alſo, and the tombes: and generally all that ſerued in any reſpect for the memorie of any of the tyrants. And hauing cleared the place in few daies, and made all plaine: *Timoleon* at the ſute of the citizens, made counſell hals, and places of iuſtice to be built there: and did by this meanes ſtabliſh a free ſtate and popular gouernment, and did ſuppreſſe all tyrannicall power. Now, when he ſaw he had wonne a citie that had no inhabitants, which warres before had conſumed, and feare of tyrannie had emptied, ſo as graſſe grew ſo high and ranke in the great market place of SYRACVSA, as they graſed their horſes there, and the horſekeepers lay downe by them on the graſſe as they fed: and that all the cities, a few excepted, were full of redde deare and wilde bores, ſo that men giuen to delight in hunting, hauing leaſure, might find game many times within the ſuburbes and towne ditches, hard by the wals: and that ſuch as dwelt in caſtles and ſtrong holdes in the countrie, would not leaue them to come and dwell in cities, by reaſon they were all growen ſo ſtout, and did ſo hate and deteſt aſſemblies of counſel, orations, & order of gouernment, where ſo many tyrants had raigned. *Timoleon* thereupon ſeeing this deſolation, and alſo ſo few SYRACVSANS borne that had eſcaped, thought good, and all his Captaines, to write to the CORINTHIANS, to ſend people out of GRECE to inhabite the citie of SYRACVSA againe. For otherwiſe the countrie would grow barren and vnprofitable, if the ground were not plowed. Beſides, that they looked alſo for great warres out of AFRICKE: being aduertiſed that the CARTHAGINIANS had hung vp the bodie of *Mago* their generall vpon a croſſe (who had ſlaine himſelfe for that he could not anſwere the diſhonour laid to his charge) and that they did leauy another great mightie armie, to returne again the next yere following, to make warres in SICILE. Theſe letters of *Timoleon* being brought vnto CORINTH, and the Ambaſſadors of SYRACVSA being arriued with them alſo, who beſought the people to take care & protection ouer their poore citie, and that they would once againe be founders of the ſame: the CORINTHIANS did not greedily deſire to be Lords of ſo goodly and great a citie, but firſt proclaimed by the trumpet in all the aſſemblies, ſolemne feaſtes, and common plaies of GRECE, that the CORINTHIANS hauing deſtroyed the tyrannie that was in the citie of SYRACVSA, and driuen out the tyrants, did call the SYRACVSANS that were fugitiues out of their countrie, home againe, and all other SICILIANS that liked to come and dwell there, to enioy all freedome and libertie, with promiſe to make iuſt and equall diuiſion of the landes among them, the one to haue as much as the other. Moreouer they ſent out poſtes and meſſengers into ASIA, and into all the Ilands where they vnderſtoode the baniſhed SYRACVSANS remained: to perſwade and intreat them to come to CORINTH, and that the CORINTHIANS would giue them ſhips, Captaines, and meanes to conduct them ſafely vnto SYRACVSA, at their owne proper coſtes and charges. In recompence whereof, the citie of CORINTHE receiued euerie mans moſt noble praiſe and bleſſing, aſwell for deliuering SICILE in that ſort from the bondage of tyrantes: as alſo for keeping it out of the handes of the barbarous people, and reſtored the naturall SYRACVSANS and SICILIANS, to their home and countrie againe. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch SICILIANS as repaired to CORINTH vpon this proclamation (themſelues being but a ſmall number to inhabite the countrie) beſought the CORINTHIANS to ioyne to them ſome other inhabitants, aſwell of CORINTHE it ſelfe, as out of the reſt of GRECE: the which was performed. For they gathered together about tenne thouſande perſons, whom they ſhipped, and ſent to SYRACVSA. Where there were alreadie a great number of other come vnto *Timoleon*, aſwell out of SICILE it ſelfe, as out of all ITALIE beſides: ſo that the whole number (as *Athanis* writeth) came to three ſcore thouſand perſons. Amongeſt them he deuided the whole countrie, and

*Timoleon ouerthroweth the caſtle of Syracuſa.*

*Timoleon made Syracuſa a popular gouernement.*

*The miſerable ſtate of Sicile.*

*Mago ſlew himſelfe, being called to anſwere his departure out of Sicile.*

*The Corinthians repleniſhed the citie of Syracuſa, with three ſcore thouſand inhabitants.*

and ſold them houſes of the citie, vnto the value of a thouſand talents. And becauſe he would leaue the old SYRACVSANS able to recouer their owne, and make the poore people by this meanes to haue money in common, to defray the common charge of the citie, as alſo their expences in time of warres: the ſtatues or images were ſold, and the people by moſt voices did condemne them. For they were ſolemnely indited, accuſed, and arraigned, as if they had bene men aliue to be condemned. And it is reported that the SYRACVSANS, did reſerue the ſtatue of *Gelon*, an auncient tyrant of their citie, honouring his memorie becauſe of a great victorie he had wonne of the CARTHAGINIANS, neere the citie of HIMERA: and condemned all the reſt to be taken away out of euery corner of the citie, and to be ſold. Thus beganne the citie of SYRACVSA to repleniſh againe, and by litle and litle to recouer it ſelfe, many people comming thither from all parts to dwell there. Thereupon *Timoleon* thought to ſet all other cities at libertie alſo, and vtterly to roote out all the tyrants of SICILE and to obtaine his purpoſe, hee went to make warres with them at their owne doores. The firſt he went againſt was *Icetes*, whom he compelled to forſake the league of the CARTHAGINIANS, and to promiſe alſo that he would raſe al the fortreſſes he kept, & to liue like a priuate mã within the city of the LEONTINES. *Leptines* in like maner, that was tyrant of the citie of APPOLLONIA; and of many other litle villages thereabouts: when he ſaw himſelfe in daunger to be taken by force, did yeeld himſelfe. Whereupon *Timoleon* ſaued his life, & ſent him vnto CORINTHE: thinking it honorable for his countrie, that the other GRECIANS ſhould ſee the tyrants of SICILE in their chiefe citie of fame, liuing meanely and poorely like baniſhed people. When he had brought this to paſſe, hee returned forthwith to SYRACVSA about the ſtabliſhment of the common weale, aſſiſting *Cephalus* & *Dionyſius*, two notable men ſent from CORINTHE to reforme the lawes, and to helpe them to ſtabliſh the goodlieſt ordinances for their common weale. And now in the meane time, becauſe the ſouldiers had a mind to get ſome thing of their enemies, & to auoid idleneſſe: he ſent them out abroad to a countrie ſubiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, vnder the charge of *Dimarchus*, & *Demaratus*. Where they made many litle townes rebell againſt the barbarous people, and did not only liue in all abundance of wealth, but they gathered money together alſo to maintaine the warres. The CARTHAGINIANS on the other ſide, while they were buſie about the matters, came downe into LILYBEA, with an army of three ſcore & ten thouſand men, two hundred gallies, & a thouſand other ſhips & veſſels that caried engines of batterie, carts, victuals, munition, and other neceſſary prouiſion for a campe, intending to make ſporting wars no more, but at once to driue all the GRECIANS againe quite out of SICILE. For indeede it was an able army to ouercome all the SICILIANS, if they had bene whole of themſelues, & not deuided. Now they being aduertiſed that the SICILIANS had inuaded their countrie, they went towards them in great furie led by *Aſdrubal* & *Amilcar*, generals of the armie. This newes was ſtraight brought to SYRACVSA, & the inhabitants were ſo ſtriken with feare of the report of their armie: that being a maruellous great number of them within the citie, ſcant three thouſand of them had the harts to arme themſelues, and to goe to the field with *Timoleon*. Now the ſtrangers that tooke pay, were not aboue foure thouſand in all: and of them, a thouſand of their harts failed, & left him in mid way, and returned home againe. Saying, that *Timoleon* was out of his wits, and more raſh then his yeres required, to vndertake with fiue thouſand footmen, & a thouſand horſe, to go againſt threeſcore & ten thouſand men: and beſides, to carie that ſmall force he had to defend himſelfe withall, eight great daies iorney from SYRACVSA. So that if it chaunced they were compelled to flie, they had no place whither they might retire themſelues vnto with ſafetie, nor man that would take care to burie them, when they were ſlaine. Neuertheleſſe, *Timoleon* was glad he had that proofe of them, before he came to battell. Moreouer, hauing incouraged thoſe that remained with him, he made them march with ſpeede towards the riuer of CRIMESVS, where he vnderſtood he ſhould meete with the CARTHAGINIANS. So getting vp vpon a litle hill, from whence hee might ſee the campe of the enemies on the other ſide: by chance certaine moyles fell vpon his army, loden with ſmallage. The ſouldiers tooke a conceit at the firſt vpõ ſight of it, & thought it was a token of ill lucke: becauſe it is a maner we vſe, to hang garlands of this herbe, about the tombes of the dead. Hereof came the common prouerbe they vſe to ſpeake, when one lyeth

*Leptines, tyrant of Apollonia, yeelded to Timoleon.*

*The armie and ſhips of the Carthaginians againſt Timoleon, Aſdrubal and Amilcar being generals.*

*Timoleon went with 6000. men againſt the Carthaginians.*

*Crimeſus fl.*

*Smallage an ill ſigne.*

*Prouerbe.*

a paſſing in his bed: he lacketh but ſmallage. Aſmuch to ſay, he is but a dead man. But *Timoleon* to draw thē from this fooliſh ſuperſtition, & diſcorage they tooke, ſtaied the army. And when he had vſed certaine perſwaſions vnto them, according to the time, his leaſure, and occaſion: he told them that the garland of it ſelfe came to offer them victorie before hand. For, ſaid he, the CORINTHIANS doe crowne them that winne the ISTMIAN games (which are celebrated in their country) with garlands of ſmallage.

*Garlands of ſmallage.*

And at that time alſo euen in the ſolemne ISTMIAN games, they vſed the garland of ſmallage for reward and token of victorie: and at this preſent it is alſo vſed in the games of NEMEA. And it is but lately taken vp, that they haue vſed braunches of pine apple trees in the ISTMIAN games. Now *Timoleon* had thus incouraged his men, as you haue heard before: he firſt of all tooke of this ſmallage, and made himſelfe a garland, & put it on his head. When they ſaw that, the Captaines and all the ſouldiers alſo tooke of the ſame, and made themſelues the like. The ſoothſaiers in like maner at the very ſame time, perceiued two eagles flying towards them: the one of them holding a ſnake in her talents, which ſhe pierced through and through, and the other as ſhe flew, gaue a terrible cry. So they ſhewed them both vnto the ſouldiers, who did then all together with one voice call vpon the goddes for helpe. Now this fortuned about the beginning of the ſommer, and towards the later end of May, the ſunne drawing towards the ſolſtice of the ſommer: when there roſe a great myſt out of the riuer, that couered all the fields ouer, ſo as they could not ſee the enemies campe, but onely heard a maruellous confuſed noiſe of mens voyces, as it had come from a great armie, and riſing vp to the toppe of the hill, they laide their targets downe on the ground to take a litle breath: and the ſunne hauing drawen and ſucked vp all the moiſt vapours of the myſte vnto the toppe of the hils, the aire beganne to be ſo thicke, that the toppes of the mountaines were all couered ouer with cloudes, and contrarily, the valley vnderneath was all cleare and faire, that they might eaſily ſee the riuer of CRIMESVS, and the enemies alſo, how they paſſed it ouer in this ſort.

*The order of the Carthaginians armie.*

Firſt they had put their cartes of warres foremoſt, which were very hotly armed and well appointed. Next vnto them there followed tenne thouſand footemen, armed with white targets vpon their armes: whom they ſeeing a far off ſo well appointed, they coniectured by their ſtately march and goodly order, that they were the CARTHAGINIANS themſelues. After them, diuerſe other nations followed confuſedly one with another, and ſo they thronged ouer with great diſorder. There *Timoleon* cōſidering the riuer gaue him oportunity to take them before they were halfe paſt ouer, and to ſet vpon what number he would: after he had ſhewed his men with his finger, how the battel of their enemies was deuided in two parts by meanes of the riuer, ſome of them being alreadie paſſed ouer, & the other to paſſe:

*Timoleon giueth charge vpon the Carthaginians as they came ouer the riuer of Crimeſus.*

He commaunded *Demaratus* with his horſemen to giue a charge on the voward, to keepe them from putting themſelues in order of battell. And himſelfe comming downe the hill alſo with all his footemen into the valley, he gaue to the SICILIANS the two winges of his battell, mingling with them ſome ſtrangers that ſerued vnder him: & placed with himſelf in the midſt, the SYRACVSANS, with all the choice & beſt liked ſtrangers. So he taried not long to ioine, when he ſaw the ſmall good his horſemen did.

*The ſeruice of the armed cartes.*

For he perceiued they could not come to giue a luſtie charge vpon the battell of the CARTHAGINIANS, becauſe they were paled in with theſe armed carts, that ranne here and there before them: whereupon they were compelled to wheele about continually, (vnleſſe they would haue put themſelues in danger to haue bene vtterly ouerthrowen) & in their returnes to giue venture of charge, by turnes on their enemies. Wherfore *Timoleon* taking his target on his arme, cried out aloud to his footemen, to follow him couragiouſly, and to feare nothing.

*Timoleons maruellous bigge voice.*

Thoſe that heard his voice, thought it more then the voice of a man, whether the furie of his deſire to fight did ſo ſtraine it beyond ordinarie courſe, or that ſome god (as many thought it then) did ſtretch his voice to crie out ſo loud and ſenſibly. His ſouldiers anſwered him againe with the like voice: and praied him to lead them without longer delay.

*Timoleons order and fight.*

Then he made his horſemen vnderſtand, that they ſhould draw on the one ſide from the cartes, and that they ſhould charge the CARTHAGINIANS on the flankes: and after he did ſet the formoſt ranke of his battell, target to target againſt the enemies, commaunding the trumpets withall to ſound. Thus with great furie he went to giue a charge vpon them, who valiantly receiued the firſt charge, their bodies being armed with good iron corſelets, and their heades with faire murrions of copper, beſides the great targets they had alſo, which did eaſily receiue the force of their dartes, and the thruſt of the pike. But when they came to handle their ſwordes, where agility was more requiſite then force: a fearefull tempeſt of thunder, and flaſhing lightning withall, came from the mountaines. After that came darke thicke cloudes alſo (gathered together from the toppe of the hils) and fell vpon the vally, where the battell was fought, with a maruellous extreame ſhowre of raine, fierce violent windes, and haile withall. All this tempeſt was vpon the Grecians backes, and full before the barbarous people, beating on their faces, and did blindefold their eies, and continually tormented them with the raine that came full vpon them with the winde, and the lightnings ſo oft flaſhing amongſt them, that one vnderſtood not another of them. Which did maruellouſly trouble them, and ſpecially thoſe that were but freſh water ſouldiers, by reaſon of the terrible thunderclaps, and the noiſe, the boyſtrous winde and haile made vpon their harnes: for that made them they could not heare the order of their Captains. Moreouer, the durt did as much annoy the Carthaginians, becauſe they were not nimble in their armour, but heauily armed as we haue told you: and beſides that alſo, when the plaites of their coates were through wet with water, they did lode and hinder them ſo much the more, that they could not fight with any eaſe. This ſtood the Grecians to great purpoſe, to throw them downe the eaſier. Thus when they were tumbling in the durt with their heauy armour, vp they could riſe no more. Furthermore, the riuer of Crimesus being riſen high through the great rage of waters, and alſo for the multitude of people that paſſed ouer it, did ouerflow the vally all about: which being full of diches, many caues, and hollow places, it was ſtraight all drowned ouer, and filled with many running ſtreames, that ran ouerthwart the fielde, without any certaine channell. The Carthaginians being compaſſed all about with theſe waters, they could hardly get the way out of it. So as in the end they being ouercome with the ſtorme that ſtill did beat vpon them, and the Grecians hauing ſlaine of their men at the firſt onſet, to the number of foure hundred of their choiceſt men, who made the firſt front of their battell: all the reſt of their army turned their backs immediatly, and fled for life. Inſomuch, ſome of them being followed very neare, were put to the ſword in the middeſt of the vally: other, holding one another hard by the armes together, in the middeſt of the riuer as they paſſed ouer, were caried downe the ſtreame and drowned, with the ſwiftnes and violence of the riuer. But the greateſt number did thinke by footemanſhip to recouer the hils thereabouts, who were ouertaken by thē that were light armed, and put to the ſword euery man. They ſay, that of ten thouſand which were ſlaine in this battell, 3. thouſand of them were meere naturall citizens of Carthage, which was a very ſorrowfull and grieuous loſſe to the city. For they were of the nobleſt, the richeſt, the luſtieſt, and valianteſt men of all Carthage. For there is no chronicle that mentioneth any former wars at any time before, where there died ſo many of Carthage at one field and battell, as were ſlaine at that preſent time. For before that time, they did alwaies entertaine the Fibyans, the Spaniards, & the Nomades, in all their wars: ſo as when they loſt any battell, the loſſe lighted not on them, but the ſtrangers paid for it. The men of accompt alſo that were ſlaine, were eaſily knowen by their ſpoiles. For they that ſpoiled them, ſtood not trifling about getting of copper and iron together, becauſe they found gold and ſiluer enough. For the battell being won, the Grecians paſſed ouer the riue, and tooke the campe of the barbarous people, with all their cariages and bagage. And as for the priſoners, the ſouldiers ſtole many of them away, and ſent them going: but of them that came too ſhort to make common diuiſion of the ſpoile among them, they were about fiue thouſand men, and two hundred cartes of war that were taken beſides. Oh, it was a noble ſight to behold the tent of *Timoleon* their generall, how they enuironed it all about with heaps of ſpoils of euery ſort: among which there were a thouſand braue corſelets guilt, and grauen, with maruellous curious works, and brought thither with them alſo ten thouſand targets. So the conquerors being but a ſmall number, to take the ſpoile of a multitude that were ſlaine they filled their purſes euen to the top. Yet were they three daies about it, & in the end, the third day after the battell, they ſet vp a marke or token of their victory. Thē *Timoleon* ſent vnto Corinth, with the news of this ouerthrow, the faireſt armors that were gotten in the ſpoile: becauſe he would make his countrey & natiue city ſpo-

*A maruellous tempeſt of thunder, lightning, raine, winde and haile, full in the Carthaginians faces as they fought.*

*Timoleons victory of the Carthaginians.*

ken of & cõmended through the world, aboue al the other cities of GREECE. For that at CORINTH only, their chiefe temples were ſet forth and adorned, not with ſpoiles of the GRECIANS, nor offerings gotten by ſpilling the bloud of their own nation and countrey: (which to ſay truly, are vnpleaſant memories) but with the ſpoils taken from the barbarous people their enemies, with inſcriptiõs witneſſing the valiancy and iuſtice of thoſe alſo, who by victory had obtained them. That is to wit, that the CORINTHIANS and their captaine *Timoleon*, (hauing deliuered the GRECIANS dwelling in SICILE, from the bondage of the CARTHAGINIANS) had giuen thoſe offerings vnto the gods, to giue thanks for their victory. That done, *Timoleon* leauing the ſtrangers he had in pay, in the country ſubiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, to ſpoile and deſtroy it: he returned with the reſt of his army vnto SYRACVSA. Wher at his firſt comming home, he baniſhed the thouſand ſouldiers that had forſaken him in his iourney, with expreſſe charge that they ſhould depart the city before ſun ſet. So theſe thouſand cowardly and mutinous ſouldiers paſſed ouer into ITALY, where, vnder promiſe of the countrey, they were all vnfortunatly ſlaine by the BRVTIANS: ſuch was the iuſtice of the gods to pay their iuſt reward of their treaſon. Afterwards, *Mamercus* the tyrant of CATANA, *Icetes* (whether it was for the enuy they did beare to *Timoleons* famous deeds; or for that they were afraid of him) perceiuing tyrants could looke for no peace at his handes: they made league with the CARTHAGINIANS, and wrote vnto them that they ſhould ſend another army and captaine ſodainly, if they would not vtterly be driuen out of SICILE. The CARTHAGINIANS ſent *Giſco* thither with threeſcore and tenne ſailes, who at his firſt comming tooke a certaine number of GRECIAN ſouldiers into pay, which were the firſt the CARTHAGINIANS euer retained in their ſeruice: for they neuer gaue them pay vntill that preſent time, when they thought them to bee men inuincible, & the beſt ſouldiers of the world. Moreouer, the inhabitants of the territory of MESSINA, hauing made a ſecret conſpiracy amongeſt them ſelues, did ſlay foure hundred men that *Timoleon* had ſent vnto them: and in the territories ſubiect vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, near vnto a place they call HIERES, there was another ambuſh laid for *Euthimus* LEVCADIAN, ſo as him ſelfe and al his ſouldiers were cut in peeces. Howbeit the loſſe of them made *Timoleons* doings notwithſtanding more fortunate: for they were euen thoſe that had forcibly entred the temple of *Apollo* in the city of DELPHES, with *Philodemus* the PHOCIAN, and with *Onomarchus*, who were partakers of their ſacriledge. Moreouer, they were loſe people & abiects, that were abhorred of euery body, who vacabondlike wãdred vp & down the country of PELOPONNESVS, when *Timoleon* for lack of other was glad to take them vp. And when they came into SICILE, they alwaies ouercame in all battels they fought, whileſt they were in his cõpany. But in the end, when the fury of wars was pacified, *Timoleon* ſending them about ſome ſpeciall ſeruice to the aide of ſome of his, they were caſt away euery man of them: and not altogether, but at diuers times. So as it ſeemed that gods iuſtice, in fauor of *Timoleon*, did ſeperat them from the reſt, when he was determined to plague them for their wicked deſertes, fearing leaſt good men ſhould ſuffer hurt by puniſhing of the euil. And ſo was the grace & good wil of the gods wonderfull towards *Timoleon*, not onely in matters againſt him, but in thoſe things that proſpered well with him. Notwithſtanding, the common people of SYRACVSA tooke the ieſting words and writings of the tyrants againſt them, in maruellous euill part. For *Mamercus* amongſt other, thinking wel of him ſelfe, becauſe he could make verſes & tragedies, hauing in certain battels gotten the better hand of the ſtrãgers, which the SYRACVSANS gaue pay vnto, he gloried very much. And when he offered vp the targets he had gotten of them, in the temples of the gods: he ſet vp alſo theſe cutting verſes, in deriſion of them that were vanquiſhed.

*Timoleon baniſheth the thouſand trayterous ſouldiers out of Sicile.*

*Giſco ſent from Carthage with 70. ſaile into Sicile.*

*Meſſina riſeth againſt Timoleon.*

*Mamercus verſes, tyraunt of Catana.*

*VVith bucklers potlid like, which of no value were,*
*we haue theſe goodly targets wonne, ſo richly trimmed here,*
*All gorgeouſly with golde, and eke with Iuorie,*
*with purple colours finely wrought, and deckt with Ebonie.*

*Calauria, a city of Sicile.*

Theſe things done, *Timoleon* led his army before the city of CALAVRIA, and *Icetes* therewhile entred the confines of the SYRACVSANS with a maine army, & caried away a maruellous great ſpoile. And after he had done great hurt, and ſpoiled the country, he returned backe againe, and came by CALAVRIA, to deſpite *Timoleon*, knowing well enough hee had at that time but few men about him. *Timoleon* ſuffered him to paſſe by, but followed him afterwards with his horſemen and lighteſt armed footemen. *Icetes* vnderſtanding that, paſſed ouer the riuer called DAMIRIAS, and ſo ſtaied on the other ſide as though he would fight, truſting to the ſwift running of the riuer, and the height of the bankes on either ſide of the ſame. Now the captaines of *Timoleons* bands fell out maruellouſly amongeſt them ſelues, ſtriuing for honour of this ſeruice, which was cauſe of delaying the battell. For none would willingly come behind, but euery man deſired to lead the voward, for honor to begin the charge: ſo as they could not agree for their going ouer, one thruſting another to get before his companion. Wherfore *Timoleon* fell to drawing of lots, which of them ſhould paſſe ouer firſt, & tooke a ring of euery one of them, & caſt them all within the lap of his cloke: ſo rolling them together, by chance he pluckt one at the firſt, whereon was grauen the marks and tokens of a triūph. The yong captains ſeeing that, gaue a ſhout of ioy, & without tarying drawing of other lots, they began euery man to paſſe the riuer as quickly as they could, and to ſet vpon the enemies as ſodainly. But they being not able to abide their force, ran their waies, and were faine to caſt their armour away to make more haſt: howbeit there were a thouſand of thē lay dead in the field. And within few daies after, *Timoleon* leading his army to the city of LEONTINES, tooke *Icetes* aliue there, with his ſon *Eupolemus*, and the generall of his horſemen, who were deliuered into his hands by his own ſouldiers. So *Icetes* & his ſon were put to death, like the traytors & tyrants: and ſo was *Euthydemus* alſo, who though he was a valiant ſouldier, had no better mercy ſhewed him, then the father and the ſon, becauſe they did burdē him with certaine iniurious words he ſpake againſt the CORINTHIANS. For they ſay, that when the CORINTHIANS came firſt out of their country into SICILE, to make wars againſt the tyrants: that he making an oration before the LEONTINES, ſaid amongſt other things, that they ſhould not need to be afraid, if

*The women of Corinth were come out of their countrey.*

*Damirias. fl.*

*Strife among Timoleons captains for paſſing ouer the riuer.*

*Timoleons deuiſe to draw lots to pacifie the ſtrife.*

*Timoleon taketh Icetes, and Eupolemus his ſon aliue, and did put them to death.*

Thus we ſee, that men do rather ſuffer hurt, then put vp iniurious words: & do pardon their enemies, though they reuēge by deeds, becauſe they can do no leſſe. But as for iniurious words they ſeeme to proceed of a deadly hate, and of a canckred malice. Furthermore, when *Timoleon* was returned again to SYRACVSA, the SYRACVSANS arrained the wiues of *Icetes*, and his ſon, and their daughters: who being arrained, were alſo condemned to die by the iudgement of the people. Of all the actes *Timoleon* did, this of all other (in my opinion) was the fowleſt deede: for if he had liſted, he might haue ſaued the poore women from death. But he paſſed not for them, and ſo left them to the wrath of the citizens, who would be reuenged of them, for the iniuries that were done to *Dion*, after he had driuen out the tirant *Dionyſius*. For it was *Icetes* that cauſed *Arete*, the wife of *Dion*, to be caſt into the ſea, his ſiſter *Ariſtomache*, and his ſon that was yet a ſucking child, as we haue written in another place in the life of *Dion*. That done, he wēt to CATANA againſt *Mamercus*, who taried him by the riuer of ABOLVS, where *Mamercus* was ouerthrowen in battell, & aboue two thouſand men ſlaine, the greateſt part whereof were the CARTHAGINIANS, whō *Giſco* had ſent for his reliefe. Afterwards he granted peace to the CARTHAGINIANS, vpō earneſt ſute made to him, with cōdition, that they ſhould keep on the other ſide of the riuer of LYCVS, and that it ſhould be lawfull for any of the inhabitants there that would, to come & dwell in the territory of the SYRACVSANS, and to bring away with them their gods, their wiues & their children: and furthermore, that frō thenceforth the CARTHAGINIANS ſhould renoūce al league, confederacy, & alliance with the tyrants. Wherupon *Mamercus* hauing no hope of good ſucceſſe in his doings, hee would go into ITALY, to ſtir vp the LVCANIANS againſt *Timoleon*, and the SYRACVSANS. But they that were in his company, returned backe again with their gallies in the mid way: and when they were returned into SICILE, they deliuered vp the city of CATANA into the hands of *Timoleon*, ſo as *Mamercus* was conſtrained to ſaue him ſelf, and to flie vnto MESSINA, to *Hippon* the tyrant thereof. But *Timoleon* followed him, & beſieged the city both by ſea and by land. Whereat *Hippon* quaked for feare, and thought to flie by taking ſhippe, but hee was taken ſtatting. And the MESSINIANS hauing him in their hands, made al the children come from the ſchoole to the THEATER, to ſee one of the goodlieſt ſights that they could deuiſe: to wit, to ſee the tyraunt puniſhed, who was openly whipped, and afterwards put to death. Now for *Mamercus*, he did

*Icetes wiues and children put to death.*

*The cruelty of Icetes towards Dion and his.*

*Mamercus ouercome in battell.*

*Abolus. fl.*

*Timoleon maketh peace with the Carthaginians.*

*Lycus. fl.*

*Catana yeelded vp vnto Timoleon.*

*Hippon the tyrant of Meſſina.*

*Hippon put to death.*

yeeld him ſelfe vnto *Timoleon*, to be iudged by the SYRACVSANS, ſo that *Timoleon* might not be his accuſer. So that he was brought vnto SYRACVSA, where he attempted to make an oration to the people, which he had premeditated long before. But ſeeing that the people cried out, and made a great noiſe, becauſe they would not heare him, and that there was no likelyhood they would pardon him: he ranne ouerthwart the THEATER, and knocked his head as hard as he could driue, vppon one of the degrees whereon they ſate there to ſee their ſportes, thinking to haue daſhed out his brains, and haue rid him ſelfe ſodainely out of his paine. But he was not happy to die ſo, for he was taken ſtraight being yet aliue, & put to death as theeues and murtherers are. Thus did *Timoleon* roote all tyrants out of SICILE, and made an end of all wars there. And whereas he found the whole Ile, wilde, ſauage, and hated of the natural countrey men and inhabitants of the ſame, for the extreame calamities and miſeries they ſuffered, he brought it to be ſo ciuil, and ſo much deſired of ſtrangers, that they came far and neare to dwell there, where the naturall inhabitants of the countrey ſelfe before, were glad to flie and forſake it. For AGRIGENTVM, and GELA, two great cities, did witnes this, which after the wars of the ATHENIANS, had bene vtterly forſaken and deſtroied by the CARTHAGINIANS, and were then inhabited againe. The one, by *Megellus* and *Pheriſtus*, two Captaines that came from ELEA: and the other by *Gorgos*, who came from the Ile of CEO. And as neare as they could, they gathered again together the firſt ancient citizens and inhabitants of the ſame: whom *Timoleon* did not only aſſure of peace and ſafety to liue there, to ſettle them quietly together: but willingly did helpe them beſides, with all other things neceſſary, to his vttermoſt meane and abilitie, for which they loued and honored him as their father & founder. And this his good loue and fauour was common alſo to all other people of SICILE whatſoeuer. So that in all SICILE there was no truce taken in wars, not lawes eſtabliſhed, nor lands deuided, nor inſtitution of any pollicy or gouernment thought good or auaileable, if *Timoleons* deuiſe had not bene in it, as chief director of ſuch matters: which gaue him a ſingular grace to be acceptable to the gods, and generally to be beloued of all men. For in thoſe daies, there were other famous men in GREECE, that did maruellous great things: amongſt whom were theſe, *Timotheus*, *Ageſilaus*, *Pelopidas*, and *Epaminondas*, which *Epaminondas Timoleon* ſought to followe in all thinges, as neare as he could, aboue any of them all. But in all the actions of theſe other great Captaines, their glory was alway mingled with violence, paine, and labor: ſo as ſome of them haue beene touched with reproch, and other with repentance. Wheras contrariwiſe, in all *Timoleons* doings (that only excepted which he was forced to do to his brother) there was nothing but they might with troth (as *Timæus* ſaid) proclaime the ſaying of *Sophocles*:

*Mamercus the tyrant put to death.*

*Timoleon quieteth all Sicile.*

*Timoleon compared with the famouſeſt men in Greece.*

*Oh mighty goddes of heauen, what* Venus *ſtately dame,*
*or* Cupid, (*god*) *haue thus yput, their handes vnto this ſame?*

And like as *Antimachus* verſes, and *Dionyſius* painting both COLOPHONIANS, are full of ſinewes and ſtrength, and yet at this preſent we ſee they are things greatly labored, and traueled with much paine: and that contrariwiſe in *Nicomachus* tables, and *Homers* verſes, beſides the paſſing workmanſhip and ſingular grace in them, a man findeth at the firſt ſight, that they were eaſily made, and without great paine. Euen ſo in like manner, whoſoeuer will compare the painefull bloudy warres and battells of *Epaminondas*, and *Ageſilaus*, with the warres of *Timoleon*, in the which, beſides equity and iuſtice, there is alſo great eaſe and quietneſſe: he ſhall finde, waying things indifferently, that they haue not beene fortunes doings ſimply, but that they came of a moſt noble and fortunate courage. Yet he him ſelfe doth wiſely impute it vnto his good happe, and fauorable fortune. For in his letters he wrote vnto his familiar friendes at CORINTHE, and in ſome other orations he made to the people of SYRACVSA: hee ſpake it many times, that he thanked the almighty goddes, that it had pleaſed them to ſaue and deliuer SICILE from bondage, by his meanes and ſeruice, and to giue him the honour and dignity of the name. And hauing builded a temple in his houſe, he did dedicate it vnto fortune, and furthermore did conſecrat his whole houſe vnto her. For he dwelt in a houſe the SYRACVSANS kept for him, and gaue him in recompence of the good ſeruice he had done them in the wars, with a maruellous faire pleaſaunt houſe in the country alſo, where he kept moſt when he was at leyſure. For he neuer after returned vnto CORINTHE againe, but ſent for his wife and chil-

*Timoleon attributeth his good ſucceſſe vnto fortune.*

*Timoleon dwelleth ſtill with the Syracuſans.*

dren to come thither, and neuer dealt afterwards with thoſe troubles that fell out amongſt the GRÆCIANS, neither did make himſelfe to be enuied of the citizens: (a miſchiefe that moſt gouernours and captaines do fall into, through their vnſatiable deſire of honour and authoritie) but liued all the reſt of his life after in SICILE, reioycing for the great good he had done, and ſpecially to ſee ſo many cities, and thouſands of people happy by his meanes. But becauſe it is an ordinarie matter, and of neceſſitie, (as *Simonides* ſaith) that not onely all larkes haue a tuft vpon their heads, but alſo that in all cities there be accuſers, where the people rule: there were two of thoſe at SYRACVSA, that continually made orations to the people, who did accuſe *Timoleon*, the one called *Laphyſtius*, and the other *Demænetus*. So this *Laphyſtius* appointing *Timoleon* a certaine day to come and anſwer to his accuſation before the people, thinking to conuince him: the citizens began to mutinie, and would not in any caſe ſuffer the day of adiornment to take place. But *Timoleon* did pacifie them, declaring vnto them, that he had taken all the extreame paines and labour he had done, and had paſſed ſo many dangers, becauſe euery citizen and inhabitant of SYRACVSA, might frãckly vſe the liberty of their laws. And another time *Demænetus* in opẽ aſſembly of the people, reprouing many things *Timoleon* did when he was generall: *Timoleon* anſwered neuer a word, but only ſaid vnto the people, that he thanked the gods they had granted him the thing he had ſo oft requeſted of them in his prayers, which was, that he might once ſee the SYRACVSANS haue full power and libertie to ſay what they would. Now *Timoleon* in all mens opinion, had done the nobleſt acts that euer GRÆCIAN captaine did in his time, and had aboue deſerued the fame and glory of all the noble exploits, which the rhetoricians with all their eloquent orations perſwaded the GRÆCIANS vnto, in the open aſſemblies, & common feaſts and plaies of GRECE, out of the which fortune deliuered him ſafe and ſound before the trouble of the ciuill warres that followed ſoone after: and moreouer he made a great proofe of his valiancie and knowledge in warres, againſt the barbarous people and tyrants, and had ſhewed himſelfe alſo a iuſt and mercifull man vnto all his friends, & generally to all the GRÆCIANS. And furthermore, ſeeing he won the moſt part of all his victories and triumphes, with out the ſhedding of any one teare of his men, or that any of them mourned by his meanes, and alſo rid all SICILE of all the miſeries and calamities raigning at that time, in leſſe then eight yeares ſpace: he being now growne olde, his ſight firſt beginning a litle to faile him, ſhortly after he loſt it altogether. This happened, not through any cauſe or occaſion of ſickneſſe that came vnto him, nor that fortune had caſually done him that iniurie: but it was in my opinion, a diſeaſe inheritable to him by his parents, which by time came to lay hold on him alſo. For the voice went, that many of his kin in like caſe had alſo loſt their ſight, which by little and little with age, was cleane taken from them. Howbeit *Athanis* the Hiſtoriographer writeth, that during the warres he had againſt *Mamercus* & *Hippon*, as he was in his campe at MYLLES, there came a white ſpot in his eyes, that dimmed his ſight ſomwhat: ſo that euery man perceiued that he ſhould loſe his ſight altogether. Notwithſtanding that, he did not raiſe his ſiege, but continued his enterpriſe, vntill he tooke both the tyrants at laſt: and ſo ſoone as he returned to SYRACVSA againe, he did put himſelfe out of his office of generall, praying the citizens to accept that he had already done, the rather becauſe things were brought to ſo good paſſe, as they thẽſelues could deſire. Now, that he paciently tooke this misfortune to be blinde altogether, peraduenture men may ſomwhat maruell at it: but this much more is to be wondred at, that the SYRACVSANS after he was blind, did ſo much honor him, & acknowledge the good he had done thẽ, that they went themſelues to viſit him oft, & brought ſtrangers (that were trauellers) to his houſe in the city, and alſo in the cõtry, to make them ſee their benefactor, reioycing & thinking thẽſelues happie, that he had choſen to end his life with them, & that for this cauſe he had deſpiſed the glorious returne that was prepared for him in GRECE, for the great & happy victories he had won in SICILE. But amongſt many other things the SYRACVSANS did, and ordained to honor him with, this of all other me thinketh was the chiefeſt: that they made a perpetuall lawe, ſo oft as they ſhould haue warres againſt forrein people, and not againſt their owne countrimen that they ſhould euer chooſe a CORINTHIAN for their generall. It was a goodly thing alſo to ſee how they did honor him in the aſſemblies of their counſell. For if any trifling matter fell

*Simonides ſaying.*

*Timoleons accuſers.*

*Timoleons great praiſe.*

*Timoleon in his age loſt his ſight.*

*The great honor the Syracuſans did Timoleon being blind.*

*A lawe made to honour Timoleon.*

in queſtion among them, they diſpatched it of themſelues: but if it were a thing that required great counſell and aduiſe, they cauſed *Timoleon* to be ſent for. So he was brought through the market place in his litter, into the Theater, where all the aſſembly of the people was, and caried in euen ſo in his litter as he ſate: and then the people did all ſalute him with one voice, and he them in like caſe. And after he had pauſed a while to heare the praiſes and bleſſings the whole aſſembly gaue him, they did propound the matter doubtfull to him, and he deliuered his opinion vpon the ſame: which being paſſed by the voices of the people, his ſeruants caried him backe againe in his litter through the Theater, and the citizens did waite on him a litle way with cries of ioy, and clapping of hands, and that done, they did repaire to diſpatch the common cauſes by themſelues, as they did before.

*The death of Timoleon.*

So his old age being thus entertained with ſuch honour, and with the loue and good will of euery man, as of a common father to them all: in the end a ſickneſſe tooke him by the backe, whereof he died. So the SYRACVSANS had a certaine time appointed them to prepare for his funeralles, and their neighbours alſo thereabouts to come vnto it.

*Timoleons funerals.*

By reaſon whereof his funerall was ſo much more honorably performed in all things, and ſpecially for that the people appointed the nobleſt young gentlemen of the citie to carrie his coffin vpon their ſhoulders, richely furniſhed and ſet forth, whereon his body lay, & ſo did conueigh him through the place, where the pallace and caſtell of the tyrant *Dionyſius* had bene, which then was raſed to the ground. There accompanied his body alſo, many thouſands of people, all crowned with garlands of flowers, and apparrelled in their beſt apparell: ſo as it ſeemed it had bene the proceſſion of ſome ſolemne feaſt, and all their words were praiſings and bleſsings of the dead, with teares running downe their cheekes, which was a good teſtimonie of the entire good will and loue they did beare him, and that they did not this as men that were glad to be diſcharged of the honour they did him, neither for that it was ſo ordained: but for the iuſt ſorowe and griefe they tooke for his death, and for very hartie good-loue they did beare him.

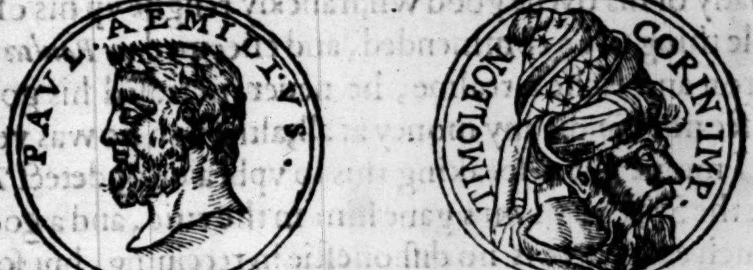
*An honorable decree of the Syracuſans for the memorie of Timoleon.*

And laſtly, the coffin being put vpon the ſtack of wood where it ſhould be burnt, *Demetrius* one of the heralds that had the lowdeſt voice, proclaimed the decree that was ordained by the people, the effect whereof was this. The people of SYRACVSA hath ordained, that this preſent body of *Timoleon* CORINTHIAN, the ſonne of *Timodemus*, ſhould be buried at the charges of the commonweale, vnto the ſumme of two hundred *Minas*, and hath honoured his memorie with playes and games of muſicke, with running of horſes, and with other exerciſes of the bodie, which ſhall be celebrated yerely on the day of his death for euermore: and this, becauſe he did driue the tyrants out of SICILE, for that he ouercame the barbarous people, and becauſe he repleniſhed many great cities with inhabitants againe, which the warres had left deſolate and vnhabited: and laſtly, for that he had reſtored the SICILIANS againe to their libertie, and to liue after their owne lawes.

*Timoleons tombe built in the market place.*

And afterwards, his tombe was built in the market place, about the which a certaine time after, they builded certaine cloiſters and galleries to exerciſe the youth in, with exerciſe of their bodies, and the places ſo walled in, was called *Timoleontium*: and ſo long as they did obſerue the lawes, and ciuill policie he ſtabliſhed amongſt them, they liued long time in great continuall proſperitie.

# THE COMPARISON OF *Paulus Æmylius with Timoleon.*


PAVL. AEMILIVS.
TIMOLEON. CORIN. IMP.

*The compariſon of Timoleō and Paulus Æmylius for the warres.*

SYth theſe two men were ſuch as the Hiſtoriographers haue deſcribed them to be: it is certaine, that comparing the one with the other, we ſhall finde no great oddes nor difference betweene them. For firſt of all, the warres they made, haue bene againſt great and famous enemies: the one againſt the MACEDONIANS, and the other againſt the CARTHAGINIANS, and both their victories very notable. For the one of them conquered the realme of MACEDON, which he tooke from the ſeuenth king that raigned by ſucceſſion from the father to the ſonne, ſince the time of the great *Antigonus*: and the other draue all the tyrants out of SICILE, and reſtored the whole Ile and cities therein, vnto their former libertie. Vnleſſe ſome will alledge perhaps that there was this difference betweene them, that *AEmylius* fought againſt king *Perſeus*, when he had all his power whole and entire, and had fought with the ROMAINES many times before, and had the better of them in all conflicts: where *Timoleon* ſet vpon *Dionyſius*, when he was in greateſt deſpaire, and in manner vtterly caſt away. On the contrarie ſide, it may be obiected for *Timoleon*, that he ouercame many tyrants, and a mightie great armie of the CARTHAGINIANS, with a very ſmall number of men, and yet men of all ſorts: not as *AEmylius* with a great armie of well trained and expert ſouldiers in warres, but with men gathered together at aduenture of all ſorts, being mercenarie hirelings, and fighting men for pay, loſe people, and men vnruly in wars, that would do but what they liſted. For where the goodly deeds are like, and the meanes vnequall: there we muſt confeſſe that the praiſe is due vnto the generall. Both the one and the other kept their hands cleane from corruption, in the charge which they tooke vpon them. But it ſeemeth that *AEmylius* came ſo faſhioned and prepared, by the good ciuill lawe, and morall diſcipline of his countrie: and that *Timoleon* came rawly thither, and afterwards faſhioned himſelfe to be that he was. And this is to be proued: for that all the ROMAINES in that time were ſo ciuilly brought vp, and exceeded all other in ſtraight keeping the lawes of their countrie. Where to the contrarie, there was not one of the captaines of the GRÆCIANS that came then, or were ſent into SICILE, but fell ſtraight to corruption, when he had put his foote in SICILE, *Dion* onely excepted: and yet they had a certaine ſuſpition of him, that he aſpired to the kingdom, & imagined in his head to ſtabliſh a certaine Empire at SYRACVSA, like vnto that of LACEDÆMON. *Timeus* the Hiſtoriographer writeth, that the SYRACVSANS ſent *Gilippus* with ſhame backe againe into his countrie, for his vnſatiable greedy couetouſneſſe, and for his great thefts, and bribes taken in his charge. Diuers other haue alſo written the great treaſons and falſhoods *Pharax* SPARTAN, & *Calippus*

ATHENIAN did commit, both of them ſeeking to make themſelues lordes of SYRACVSA and yet what men are they, and what meanes had they to haue ſuch a fooliſh vaine hope and fancie in their heads? Conſidering that the one did follow & ſerue *Dionyſius*, after that he was driuen out of SYRACVSA: and the other alſo was but a priuate captaine of a band of footmen, of thoſe that came in with *Dion*. *Timoleon* in contrarie manner was ſent, to be generall of the SYRACVSANS, vpon their great inſtance and ſute. And he hauing no need to ſeeke or hunt after it, but onely to keepe the power and authoritie they did willingly put into his hands: ſo ſoone as he had deſtroyed and ouerthrowne all ſuch as would vniuſtly vſurpe the gouernement, he did immediatly of his owne good wil, franckly reſigne vp his office and charge, And ſure, ſo is this a notable thing to be commended, and eſteemed in *Paulus Æmylius*: who hauing conquered ſo great and riche a realme, he neuer increaſed his goods the value of one farthing, neither did ſee nor handle any money at all, although he was very liberall, and gaue largely vnto others. I meane not in ſpeaking this to vpbraide or deteɕt *Timoleon*, for that he accepted a faire houſe the SYRACVSANS gaue him in the citie, and a goodly mannor alſo in the countrie: for in ſuch caſes there is no diſhoneſtie in receiuing, but ſo is it greater honeſty to refuſe, then to take. But that vertue is moſt rare and ſingular, where we ſee they will receiue nor take nothing, though they haue iuſtly deſerued it. And if it be ſo, that the body is ſtronger and better compounded, which beſt abideth change of parching heate, and nipping colde: and that the minde is much more ſtronger & ſtable, that ſwelleth not vp with pride of proſperitie, nor droopeth for ſorow in aduerſity. Thẽ it appeareth, that *Æmylius* vertue was ſo much more perfeɕt, in that he ſhewed himſelfe of no leſſe graue and conſtant a minde, in the patience he endured for his loſſe and ſorrow happened vnto him: (looſing at one time in maner, both his children) then he had done before, in all his triumphe & greateſt felicitie. Where *Timoleon* to the contrary, hauing done a worthy aɕt againſt his brother, could with no reaſon ſuppreſſe the griefe and ſorowe he felt: but ouercome with bitter griefe and repentance, continued the ſpace of twentie yeares together, and neuer durſt once onely ſhew his face againe in the market place, nor deale any more in matters of the commonweale. Truely, for a man to beware to do euill, and to ſhun from euill, it is a very good and comely thing: ſo alſo to be ſorie, and a feard of euery reproache, and ill opinion of the worlde, it ſheweth a ſimpleneſſe of nature, and a good and well diſpoſed minde, but no manly courage.

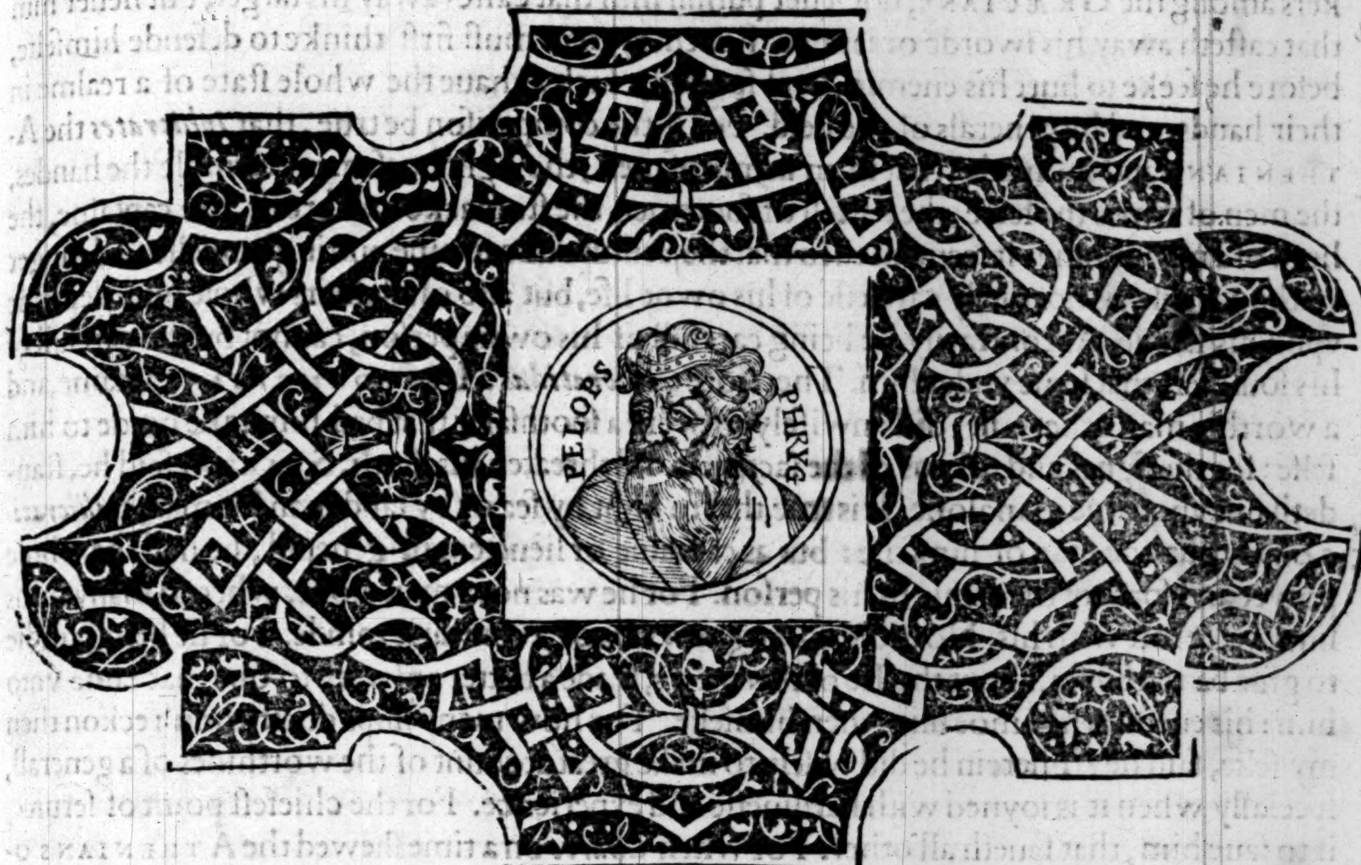
*The wonderful continencie of Æmylius from bribes.*

*Not to take gifts, commended for a ſingular vertue.*

*Æmylius conſtancie far exceedeth Timoleon.*

*The end of Timoleons life.*

# THE LIFE OF *Pelopidas.*



CATO the elder, aunſwered certaine on a time, that maruellouſly commended a bolde, a venturous, and deſperate man for the warres: that there was great oddes, to eſteeme manhood ſo much, and life ſo litle. And ſurely it was wiſely ſpoken of him. The report goeth, that king *Antigonus* gaue pay to a ſouldier among other, that was verie hardie and venturous, but he had a naughtie ſickely bodie. The king asked him one day, what he ayled to be ſo pale, and euill coloured? The ſouldier told him, he had a ſecret diſeaſe vpon him, that he might not tell him with reuerence. The king hearing him ſay ſo, commaunded his Phiſitians and Surgeons to looke to him, and if he were curable, that they ſhould heale him with all poſſible ſpeede: and ſo they did. After the ſouldier had his health againe, he would venter no more ſo deſperately in the warres, as he did before. Inſomuch, king *Antigonus* ſelfe perceiuing his ſlackneſſe and drawing backe, rebuked him, and ſaide vnto him: that he wondred to ſee ſo great a chaunge and alteration in him. The ſouldier neuer ſhrinking at the matter, told him the troth plainely. Your ſelfe, and it pleaſe your maieſtie, is cauſe of my cowardlineſſe now, by healing my diſeaſe, that made my life lothſome to me. Much like were a SIBARITANS words, touching the life and manner of the LACEDÆMONIANS. That it was no maruell they had ſuch a deſire to die in the warres, ſeeing they did it to ridde themſelues of their troubles, and moſt miſerable and ſtraight life. But we muſt not wonder though the SYEARITANS, being womaniſh men, and altogether giuen to pleaſure, did ſo thinke: that thoſe men hated their liues, who feared not death, for the deſire they had to doe good, and goodwill they had to do their dutie. Which was contrarie in the LACEDÆMONIANS. For they were of opinion, that to liue and die willingly, was a vertue: as theſe funerall verſes doe witneſſe.

*To be too bold and venturous is not good.*

*The anſwere of a ſouldier to king Antigonus.*

*Diuers opinions of life & death*

*The dead which here doe reſt, did not in life eſteeme,*
*that life or death were (of themſelues) or good or bad to deeme.*
*But euen as life did end, or death was brought to paſſe,*
*ſo life or death, was good or bad, this their opinion was.*

And in deede to flie death is no ſhame, ſo it proceede not of a cowardly heart: neither to deſire death is commendable, if it be with contempt and hate of life. This is the reaſon why *Homer* ſaith, the valianteſt men are euer beſt armed, when they come to battell. The law makers among the GRÆCIANS, doe euer puniſh him that caſtes away his target, but neuer him that caſteth away his ſworde or launce. For euery man muſt firſt thinke to defende himſelfe, before he ſeeke to hurt his enemie, and ſpecially ſuch as haue the whole ſtate of a realme in their hands, and be generals of the field. For if the compariſon be true, that *Iphicrates* the ATHENIAN captaine made, that in an armie of men, the light horſemen reſemble the handes, the men of armes the feete, the battell of footemen the ſtomacke and breaſt, the captaine, the head of a mans bodie: it ſeemeth then that the venturous captaine putting himſelfe in daunger without cauſe, is not onely careleſſe of his owne life, but alſo of all theirs whoſe liues depende vpon his ſafetie. As contrarily, he being carefull of his owne perſon, cannot but be carefull of his ſouldiers that ſerue vnder him. Therefore *Callicratidas* a LACEDÆMONIAN captaine, and a worthie man otherwiſe, did vnwiſely anſwere a ſoothſaier that bad him take heede to him ſelfe: for the ſignes and tokens of the ſacrifices did threaten his death. SPARTA, ſaid he, ſtandeth not vpon one man alone. It is true, that to fight by ſea or by land man for man, *Callicratidas* was but one man of himſelfe: but as captaine or lieuetenant generall, he had the whole power and force of the armie in his perſon. For he was not a man alone, when ſo many mens liues were loſt with his. Now old *Antigonus* was of a contrarie minde. For he being readie to giue battell by ſea, about the Ile of ANDROS, made a better anſwere to one that ſaide vnto him: his enemies had moe ſhips then himſelfe. For how many ſhips doeſt thou reckon then my ſelfe, ſaid he? Therein he did wiſely to make great account of the worthines of a generall, ſpecially when it is ioyned with hardineſſe and experience. For the chiefeſt point of ſeruice, is to ſaue him, that ſaueth all other. For when *Chares* on a time ſhewed the ATHENIANS openly, the ſundry woundes and cuts he had receiued vpon his bodie, and his target alſo thruſt through with many pikes: *Timotheus* ſtraight ſaid vnto him, *Chares*, I am not of thy minde. For when I did beſiege the citie of SAMOS, I was aſhamed to ſee a dart throwne from the wals, light hard by me, for that I ſhewed my ſelfe a raſh young man, and more venturous then became a generall of ſo great an armie. For when it ſtandeth much vpon the whole armie, and that it is neceſſarie the generall thereof do put himſelfe in daunger: then he ſhould put himſelf forward, and occupie both hands and bodie without reſpect, not regarding their words that ſay, a good wiſe captaine ſhould die for age, or at the leaſt old. But where there is ſmall honour to be wonne by very good ſucceſſe, and contrariwiſe much loſſe and deſtruction by great miſfortune: no man of wiſedome or iudgement would wiſh a generall to fight as a priuate ſouldier, to hazard the loſſe of a generall. I thought good therefore to make this preface before the liues of *Pelopidas* and of *Marcellus*, both which were worthie men, and died otherwiſe then they ſhould. For they both were valiant ſouldiers in the field, and did both of them honour their countrie with famous victories, and ſpecially againſt great and dreadfull enemies. For the one was the firſt (as they ſay) that ouerthrew *Hanniball*, who was neuer ouercome by any before. And the other alſo ouercame the LACEDÆMONIANS in battell, that ruled all GRECE at that time both by ſea and by land. Yet they both careleſſely loſt their liues, by venturing too boldly: when their countrie ſtoode in greateſt neede of ſuch men and captaines as they were. This is the cauſe why we following the reſemblance that was betweene them, haue compared their liues together. *Pelopidas*, the ſonne of *Hippoclus*, came of one of the nobleſt houſes of the citie of THEBES, as *Epaminondas* did. He being brought vp in great wealth, his father left him heire of all his lands and goods, being but a young man. So he ſtraight ſhewed himſelfe willing to do good with his money, to thoſe that needed helpe, and were worthie: to let the world ſee, that his money was not his maſter. For as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, of theſe rich men, the moſt part of them do not vſe their goods, for extreeme couetouſneſſe: other againe do abuſe them, as being giuen to ouermuch pleaſures. So rich men became ſlaues all their life time, ſome to pleaſure, other to profit. Now, all *Pelopidas* other friendes would be beholding to him, and take very thankfully his curteſie & liberalitie towards them. But *Epaminondas* could neuer be brought to take any thing at his hands. Howbeit *Pelopidas* ſelfe folowed *Epaminondas* maner:

for

*Why the Grecians do puniſh him that caſteth away his target.*

*Iphicrates compariſon of an armie of men.*

*A lieutenant of an armie muſt be carefull to ſaue himſelf.*

*Timotheus ſaying.*

*Pelopidas and Marcellus loſt both their liues by too much venturing.*

*Pelopidas ſtock and liberalitie.*

*Ariſtotles ſaying of rich men.*

for he tooke a pride and pleaſure to go ſimply apparelled, to fare meanely, to labour willingly, and to make warres openly as he did. He was euen ſuch an other, as *Euripides* the Poet deſcribed *Capaneus* to be, when he ſaid of him:

*He rich and wealthy was, yet was he therewithall,*
*no wight that purchaſt worldly hate, nor inſolent at all.*

For he would haue beene aſhamed, that the pooreſt man of the citie of THEBES, ſhould haue worne meaner apparell vpon his backe, then himſelfe. As for *Epaminondas*, his pouertie was not dainty to him, becauſe his parents were euer poore and yet for all that he paſſed it ouer more eaſily by ſtudie of Philoſophie, which he gaue himſelfe vnto, & for that from his youth he liked to leade a ſpare life without exceſſe. Where *Pelopidas* matched in a noble houſe, and maried highly, and had two children by his wife: neuertheleſſe he had no minde to keepe or increaſe his goods the more for that, but gaue himſelfe altogether to ſerue the common weale as long as he liued. By reaſon whereof his wealth decaied, and his beſt friendes grew angrie with him, telling him how he did not well to make no more reckoning of a thing that was ſo neceſſarie, as to haue goods. And he anſwered them: In deede they are neceſſarie I do confeſſe it, but yet for ſuch a one as this poore, lame, and blind man that ſtandeth by. They both were a like borne to all vertue, ſauing that *Pelopidas* tooke moſt pleaſure in exerciſe of his bodie and ſtrength, and *Epaminondas* in the exerciſe of his wit & learning. So as the paſtime ech of them tooke when they were at leaſure was, that the one delighted to wraſtle and to hunt, and liked any kind of exerciſe of his bodie: and the other to heare, to ſtudie, and alwaies to learne ſome thing of Philoſophie. But among all the excellent gifts and good parts in either of them, and that moſt wanne them honor and eſtimation in the world, they were only commended, and ſingularly noted of wiſe men, for the perfect loue and friendſhip that was euer inuiolably kept betweene them vntill their deathes: hauing beene ioyned together in ſo many battels, warres, charges of armies, and otherwiſe in matters of ſtate and gouernment. For if a man will conſider, and looke into the doings of *Ariſtides*, *Themiſtocles*, and *Cimon*, of *Pericles*, *Nicias*, and *Alcibiades*, how full of diſſentions, enuies, and ſuſpitions they were one againſt another in gouerning the common weale: and againe will conſider the loue, honor, & kindnes, that continued alwaies betwixt *Pelopidas* & *Epaminondas*: no doubt they will ſay theſe two are more worthy to be called brethren in warre, (as they ſay) & companions in gouernment, then any of them we haue named before, whoſe care & ſtudie was alwaies rather to ouercome one another, then to ouercome their enemies, & the only cauſe thereof was their vertue. For their actes ſhewed they did not ſeeke glorie, nor riches for themſelues (the couetouſneſſe whereof doth alwaies breede quarrels and enuie) but both of them from the beginning fell one in loue with another, with a great kindnes & eſtimation of themſelues, to ſee their countrie flouriſh, and grow to great honour through their ſeruice, and in their time: and ſo they reckoned all the good exploites both of the one and the other, that tended to that end, as their owne. The moſt part of writers thinke, this great and earneſt loue the one did beare to another, did grow firſt betweene them in a iorney they made together vnto MANTINIA, to aide the LACEDÆMONIANS, that were at that time confederates of the THEBANS. For they being both ſet in battell ray, one hard by an other among the footemen, againſt the *Arcadians* that ſtood before them: it fortuned that the point of the battell of the LACEDÆMONIANS in the which they were, gaue backe, and many of them ranne away. But they determining to die rather then to flie, ſtoode cloſe together, and fought with the enemies that came vpon them: vntill ſuch time as *Pelopidas* being hurt in ſeuen places before, fell downe at the laſt vpon a heape of dead bodies, aſwell of their owne ſouldiers as of their enemies, euen one vppon another. Then *Epaminondas* thinking he had bene ſlaine, ſtept notwithſtanding before him to defend his bodie and armour, and he alone fought againſt many, being willing to die rather then to forſake *Pelopidas* lying amongeſt the dead bodies: vntill himſelfe being thruſt into the breaſt with a pike, and ſore cut on his arme with a ſworde, was euen readie to giue ouer, when *Ageſipolis* (king of the LACEDÆMONIANS) came with the other point of the battell in happie houre, who ſaued both their liues paſt all hope. Now after this battell, the LACEDÆMONIANS both in words and deedes did courteouſly intreat the THEBANS as their friendes and confederates.

*Pelopidas ſaying for the neceſſity of mony.*

*The perfect friendſhip betwixt Pelopidas and Epaminondas.*

*The true cauſe of friendſhip.*

*Ageſipolis king of the Lacedæmonians.*

Notwithſtanding, in truth they beganne to feare the power and great courage of that citie, and ſpecially the faction and aſſociates *Iſmenias* and *Androclidas* had ſet vp, whereof *Pelopidas* alſo was a companion: becauſe they thought it was popular, & inclined much to deſire liberty. Wherupon *Archias, Leontidas*, & *Philip*, all three great wealthy men of the citie of THEBES, and miſliking to be equall with other citizens, did perſwade *Phæbidas*, a captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that going and comming through the countrie of BOEOTIA with an armie, he would one day aſſay to take the caſtle of THEBES called CADMEA, & driuing thoſe out of the citie that would reſiſt him, he would put the gouernement of the ſtate into the hands of a few of the nobleſt perſons, who would be at the deuotion of the LACEDÆMONIANS, & obey them in all things. *Phæbidas* brought it to paſſe, and did worke his feate before the THEBANS muſtruſted any thing vpon a holy day called THESMOPHORIA. After he had wonne the caſtle, he apprehended *Iſmenias*, & ſent him to LACEDÆMON, where ſhortly after they put him to death. *Pelopidas, Pherenicus*, and *Androclidas*, with many other, ſaued themſelues by flying, and were baniſhed THEBES by ſound of Trumpet. *Epaminondas* taried ſtill in THEBES, and no man touched him, for they made ſmall account of him, becauſe he was altogether giuen to his booke: and though his goodwill had ſerued him to haue done ſome feate, his pouertie made him vnable to doe any thing. The LACEDÆMONIANS vnderſtanding of the taking of the caſtle, did ſtraight put *Phæbidas* out of his charge, and ſet a fine of a hundred thouſand Drachmes vpon his head: but yet they kept ſtill the caſtle of CADMEA in their handes with a great garriſon. All the other cities and people of GRECE did wonder much at it, that they ſhould allow the fact, and puniſh notwithſtanding the doer. So the THEBANS hauing loſt their auncient libertie, and being made ſubiect by both theſe, *Archias* and *Leontidas*, ſo as all hope was taken from them euer to winde out of this tyrannie, or at any time to ouerthrowe it, ſeeing it was maintained and defended by the LACEDÆMONIANS, and that they could not poſſibly take from them all the ſeigniorie and dominion they had throughout GRECE, aſwell by ſea as by land: *Leontidas* and his followers notwithſtanding, when they vnderſtoode that they who were baniſhed from THEBES, were very well receiued and entertained of the people at ATHENS, and much made of alſo of the nobility, they ſought ſecretly by treaſon to haue them killed. To doe this feate, they ſent certaine men vnknowen vnto ATHENS, who by treaſon ſlew *Androclidas*, howbeit they miſſed the killing of the other. Furthermore, the LACEDÆMONIANS wrote to the ATHENIANS, that they ſhould not receiue ſuch as were baniſhed from THEBES, nor that they ſhould fauour them, but driue them out of their citie, as thoſe which by their allies were iuſtly proclaimed common enemies. The ATHENIANS notwithſtanding, being men alwaies ciuilly giuen, and inclined in nature to humanitie, as being borne and bred vp withall, and very deſirous beſides to requite the THEBANS curteſie, who had beene the chiefeſt meanes and doers in reſtoring againe the popular ſtate and gouernemēt at ATHENS: they would by no means offer the THEBANS any ſuch iniury, ſeing they had ſtabliſhed a law and decree, that if any ATHENIAN paſſing to and fro through the countrie of BOEOTIA, did beare armor againſt the thirtie tyrants, that were gouernors and oppreſſors of the libertie of ATHENS, there ſhould no BOEOTIAN ſeeme to ſee, or knowe any thing thereof. In the meane time *Pelopidas*, though he were of the younger ſort, did procure ſtill euerie one that was baniſhed, to ſeeke the libertie of his countrie, and openly made an oration to them all, declaring that it were not onely a cowardly part, but alſo a wicked offence to the goddes, if they would ſuffer their countrie to remain ſo in continuall bondage, & ſtrangers to inhabite it with a garriſon, to make them ſubiect to the yoke: & they in the meane time to be contented to ſaue themſelues, to liue delicately & idlely at ATHENS, to ſtudie to do what ſhall pleaſe the ATHENIANS to command them, & to be affraid of the orators, and thoſe which through eloquence can perſwade the common people to doe what they luſt. Therefore he perſwaded them that they ſhould hazard all, being a matter of ſo great weight, and take example of *Thraſybulus* noble courage and hardines: who departing from THEBES, did driue out the tyrants that did oppreſſe ATHENS: & euen ſo, we departing from ATHENS, ſhould ſeeke to deliuer THEBES alſo frō bondage. When he had by theſe perſwaſions drawen thē to his opinion they ſecretly ſent vnto their friendes that remained ſtill in THEBES, to let them vnderſtande

their

*Cadmea, the caſtle of Thebes taken by Phæbidas captaine of the Lacedæmonians.*

*Iſmenias death.*

*Pelopidas, Pherenicus & Androclidas, baniſhed from Thebes.*

*Archias and Leontidas, gouernors of Thebes, vnder the Lacedæmonians.*

*Androclidas ſlaine.*

*The thankefulnes of the Athenians vnto the Thebans.*

*Pelopidas counſell for the libertie of the Thebans.*

their minde and determination: who all liked very well of of their purpoſe. Inſomuch *Charon* that was the chiefeſt man among them, promiſed to lend them his houſe to aſſemble in. *Philidas* alſo found meanes to be ſecretary to *Philip* and *Archias*, who were gouernours and captaines of the city at that time for the LACEDÆMONIANS. *Epaminondas* on the other ſide making no ſhew of any thing, had of long time practiſed to ſturre vp the courage of the young men of THEBES. For when they were at any games or exerciſes of body, hee would euer procure them to wraſtle with the LACEDÆMONIANS. And after he ſaw them reioyce when they had caſt them, and that they were the ſtronger: he would chide them, and tell them they might be aſhamed, for lacke of courage to ſuffer the LACEDÆMONIANS to hold their noſes to the grindſtone, that were nothing like to them in ſtrength. Now, the confederats appointed a day certaine, to breake the iſe of their pretended enterpriſe, and agreed that *Pherenicus*, with other that were baniſhed, ſhould tary at the village of THRIASIVM, and that they ſhould ſend the valianteſt and luſtieſt young men before, to giue the venter to enter the city: adding this therewithall, that if the enemies fortuned to ſurpriſe them, all the other of the conſpiracy ioyntly together, ſhould be ready to giue order, that their fathers, mothers, & children, ſhould lacke nothing neceſſary for them. *Pelopidas* was the firſt man offered him ſelfe to vndertake the enterpriſe: and after him *Melon*, *Damoclidas*, and *Theopompus*, all three, men of the greateſt houſes of THEBES, who loued maruellouſly together, and for no reſpect would euer offend one another, although from the beginning there was euer emulation among them for honour and glory, by ſtriuing who ſhould exceede other in vertue and valiantnes. Now they were twelue of them, who taking leaue of the reſt, ſent a foote poſt before to *Charon*, to aduertiſe him of their comming: and they thẽ ſelues went on their iourney caſting litle ſhort clokes vpon them, and taking houndes with them, and hunters ſtaues in their handes, becauſe their enterpriſe ſhould not be miſtruſted by thoſe that met thẽ on the way, & that they ſhould think them hunters vp and downe the fieldes for their pleaſure. So, when their meſſenger they ſent came to the city, and had told *Charon* that they were comming: hee neuer ſhrunke from his word, though the danger toward was great, but like a ſtoute and honeſt man did abide by his promiſe he made, and told him they ſhould be moſt heartely welcome to his houſe. But an other man called *Hippoſthenidas*, very honeſt otherwiſe, and one that loued his country and the preſeruation thereof, and a good friend of thoſe alſo that were baniſhed: fainting ſtraight vpon the ſodaine report of theſe newes, and his mind was troubled, and his heart failed him ſo, as his noſe fell a bleeding, to thinke vpon the greatnes of the inſtant danger hee was like to fall into, hauing neuer caſt before with him ſelfe, how by this enterpriſe they ſhould put all the empire of the LACEDÆMONIANS in hazard of vtter deſtruction, and lay a plotte beſides to ouerthrow all their owne common weale and ſtate, by laying all their hope vppon a few baniſhed mẽ, hardly to wade through with their enterpriſe. Wherupon ſo ſoon as he was come home, he ſecretly diſpatched a meſſenger one of his familiar friends, vnto *Melon* and *Pelopidas*, to will them they ſhould defer their enterpriſe for better oportunity, & ſo to returne backe againe to ATHENS. *Chlidon* was the mã he ſent of this meſſage, who preſently went home to his houſe: and taking his horſe out of the ſtable, bad his wife fetch him the bridle quickly. The bridle not being readily to be found, ſhe told him ſhe had lent it out to one of their neighbors. Then they fell a chiding together about it, and at length brake out to fowle words, and laſtly his wife fell a curſing of him, and praied the gods he might haue ill lucke in his iourney, and thoſe that ſent him. *Chlidon* hauing ſpent the moſt part of the day chiding and brawling with his wife about the bridle, and furthermore miſliking the tokens of his wiues curſing and banning of him: hee determined not to go a foot out of the dores of that arrant, and ſo went about ſome other buſines. Thus had this noble enterpriſe in manner bene altogether daſhed, before it was fully begun. Now thoſe that were in *Pelopidas* company, changed apparell with the country men, becauſe they would not be knowen, and did deuide thẽ ſelues, for that they would not come into the city all together, but at diuers gates, being day light. At that time it was a maruellous wind and great ſnow, & the weather was ſo boiſtrous, that euery man got him within dores: which fell out happily for the cõſpirators, that they were not knowen when they came into the city. So their friends and confederats within the city receiued them as they came, & brought them

*Conſpiracy againſt the Lacedæmonians, for the liberty of Thebes.*

*Charon kept promiſe, with danger of life.*

*Pelopidas commeth into Thebes diſguiſed in clowns apparell.*

*Philidas ſecretary to the tyrants.*

*Pelopidas daunger.*

to *Charons* houſe: where were aſſembled together, with thoſe that were baniſhed, eight and forty perſons only. Now for the tyrants, thus ſtood the matter with them. *Philidas* their ſecretary was of the conſpiracy, as wee haue told you before, and he knew all the practiſe. Wherefore he had long before ſolemnly bidden *Archias* and his company, to ſupper to his houſe that very night, to be mery together, and had promiſed to entertaine them with women to welcome them withal: of purpoſe, that when they had in their full cups, & were in the middeſt of all their pleaſure, the conſpirators might then vſe them as they would. So they being ſet at table, before they were ſped of their cups, one came to them, and told them truly of the treaſon (not the particularities, neither as a thing certaine, but of a rumor onely that ran abroad in the towne) how the baniſhed men were hidden in *Charons* houſe. *Philidas* would haue paſſed the matter ouer. Howbeit *Archias* would needes ſend one of his gard ſtraight for *Charon*, to commaund him to come to him preſently. It was within night, and *Pelopidas* and his company prepared themſelues to worke their feat, being armed euery man, and their ſwords in their hands, when vpon a ſodaine they heard one knocke at the gate. And one of the houſe running ſtraight to the gate, came backe againe afeard to tell them that it was one of *Archias* gard that came for *Charon*, to come immediatly to the gouernors. Then were they in doubt that their practiſe was diſcouered, and that they were all caſt away, before they could make any proofe of their valiantnes: notwithſtãding, they were all of opinion, that *Charon* ſhould obey the meſſage, and that he ſhould preſent him ſelfe before the gouernors, to take away all ſuſpition from them. *Charon* of himſelf was a ſtout man, very conſtant, and reſolute in danger for his own perſon: yet it grieued him much at that time, for feare the confederates ſhould ſuſpect him he had bewraied them, if ſo many honeſt citizens whom he had lent his houſe vnto, ſhould vnfortunatly miſcary. Therfore before he went out of his houſe, he wẽt into his wiues chãber to fetch his ſon, that was a goodly boy, but ſtrong as any boy of his age could be: ſo he brought him to *Pelopidas*, and praied him, if he vnderſtood he had betrayed them any way, or otherwiſe had ſought their hurt, they ſhould then vſe his ſon as an enemy, without any compaſſion towardes him. When the confederats ſaw the good zeale and true noble minde of *Charon*, they all fell a weeping, and were angry with him, that he ſhould thinke any of them ſo faint hearted, or timerous, for any danger could come to them, that they ſhould ſuſpect or accuſe him for anie thing: and therewith all they praied him, not to leaue the boy with them, but rather to conuay him into ſome place out of the tyrants danger, where he might be brought vp, that one daie he might be reuenged of the wrong and iniury they had done to them, and to their country. *Charon* anſwered thẽ, he would not take him away, and that he ſaw no life nor health more happy for him, then to die with his father without infamy, and with ſo many honeſt men his frends. So after he had beſought the gods to proſper them, and had encouraged and embraced euery one of the confederators one after another: he went to the gouernors, and ſtudied by the way ſo to frame his words and countenance, as though he ſhould ſeeme to thinke of any thing els, then of that he purpoſed to do. When he came to *Philidas* dore that made the feaſt, *Archias* & *Philidas* him ſelfe came vnto him, & asked him: *Charon*, what are they (ſaid they) that are come into the city, and hidden in ſome houſe, with certain citizens, that do accompany them? *Charon* was ſomewhat abaſhed at the firſt, and asked them againe: what men be they? who are they that hides them in the city? But when he perceiued that *Archias* could tell nothing of certainety, then he thought ſtraight that ſome man hadde informed them that was not priuy to the practiſe, but had heard ſome thing of it. Thereupon hee willed them to take heede it was no falſe alarome, to make them afrayed: neuertheleſſe (ſaid he) I will enquire further of it: for at all aduenture it is good to be circumſpect in ſuch a caſe to be ſure. *Philidas* aunſwered him, he ſaid truly: and ſo he brought *Archias* backe againe into the hall, where he made him drinke deeper then before, ſtill entertaining the company with hope of the womens comming. *Charon* returning home againe, found all the confederats ready to attempt their enterpriſe, not as mẽ that reckoned of their liues, nor that had any hope to preuaile: but as thoſe that were determined to die valiantly, & to ſell their liues dearly. Now he truly told vnto *Pelopidas* only, what was ſaid vnto him: and the reſt, he told that *Archias* had ſent for him to ſpeake with him, of other matters. The ſtorme of the former danger was ſcant blowen ouer, but fortune ſent them an other. For immediatly vpon talke had with *Charon* at the firſt, came a meſſenger from ATHENS, that brought a letter to the ſame *Archias*, written by the Biſhop of ATHENS at that time, called *Archias* alſo as himſelf, & was his old hoſt and friend: wherin he wrote not of ſimple coniecture, nor ſurmiſed ſuſpition, but the plaine conſpiracy in euery degree, as afterwards it fell out. So the meſſenger was brought to *Archias* that was drunke, and deliuering him the letter, he ſaid vnto him. Sir, he that ſẽdeth you this letter, ſtraightly charged me to tell you, that you ſhould preſently read the contents thereof, becauſe it is a matter of great importance. *Archias* laughing ſaid vnto him: waighty matters to morrow. So he took the letter and put it vp, & then fell againe to his tale he had begun with *Philidas*. But euer after, the GRECIANS made this a common prouerb among them, waighty matters to morrow. Now when the conſpirators ſpied their time to go about their buſines, they deuided them ſelues in two companies. *Pelopidas* and *Damoclidas* went with one company, to ſet vpon *Leontidas* & *Hypates*, becauſe they dwelt neare together: *Charon* and *Melon* with the reſt, went againſt *Archias* and *Philip*, being diſguiſed in womens apparel they had put vpon their priuy coats, & wearing garlands of pine apple and firre trees on their heads, they couered al their faces. So when they came to ſhew thẽ ſelues at the hall dore where the banket was made, they that were in the hall at the firſt ſight, thinking they had bene the women they looked for, began to ſhout, and made great noiſe for ioy. But when the conſpirators caſt their eies round about the hall to know thoſe which were at the table, they drew out their ſwords, and ſet vpon *Archias* and *Philip* ouerthwart the table: then they ſhewed themſelues what they were. Then *Philidas* bad his gueſts he had bidden to the banket with them, that they ſhould not ſtir, for they ſhould haue no hurt: ſo ſome of them ſate ſtill. But the greateſt number of them would needes from the bord, to defend their gouernors. Howbeit becauſe they were drunke that they knew not what they did, they were ſoone ſlaine with them. Now *Pelopidas* enterpriſe was not ſo eaſie. For they went againſt *Leontidas*, that was a ſober diſcrete man, and withal, hardy of his hands: and they found he was gone to bed, his dores were ſhut vp, and they knocked long before any man came to the dore. At the length, one of his men that heard them rappe ſo hard, with much a do came to open the dore: but he had no ſooner thruſt backe the bolt of the dore, and beganne to open it, but they puſhed it from them with ſuch a force vpon him altogether, that they laied him on the grounde, and went ſtraight to his maiſters chamber. *Leontidas* hearing the noiſe of them that ranne vppe to him in ſuch haſt, preſently miſtruſted the matter: and leaping out of his bed, tooke his ſword in his hand, but did forget to put out the lampes that burned in his chãber all night, for if they had beene out, they might eaſily haue hurt one another in the darke. But the lampes giuing cleare light in the chamber, he went to the chamber dore, and gaue *Cephiſodorus* the firſt man that preſſed to enter vpon him, ſuch a blow with is ſword, that he dropped downe dead at his feete. Hauing ſlaine the firſt man, he dealt with the ſecond that came after him, and that was *Pelopidas*. The fight went hard betweene them two, both for that the chamber dore was very ſtraight, as alſo for that *Cephiſodorus* body lying on the ground, did choke the comming in at the chamber. Notwithſtanding, *Pelopidas* ouercame him in the end, and ſlue him: and went frõ thence with his company, ſtraight to *Hypates* houſe, where they got in, as they did vnto *Leontidas* houſe before. But *Hypates* knew preſently what it was, and thought to ſaue him ſelfe in his neighbours houſes. Howbeit the conſpirators followed him ſo hard, that they cut him off before he could recouer their houſes. Then they gathered together, and ioyned with *Melons* company, and ſent immediatly with all poſſible ſpeed to ATHENS, to the baniſhed THEBANS there, & cried through the city, liberty, liberty, arming thoſe citizens that came to thẽ, with the armor and ſpoils of their enemies, that were hanged vp in commmon vauts, & armorers ſhops about *Charons* houſe, which they brake open, or cauſed to be opened by force. On the other ſide, *Epaminondas*, and *Gorgidas*, came to ioine with them, with a company of yong men & honeſt old mẽ well appointed, whom they had gathered together. Hereupon, the whole city was ſtraight in an vprore and tumult, and euery houſe was full of lights, one running to an other to know what the matter was. Neuertheles the people did not yet aſſẽble together, but euery one being amazed, muſing at this ſtur, not vnderſtãding the troth, ſtaied till day came on, that they might call a counſell. But truly herein, me thinkes the Captaines of the garriſon of the LACE-

*Archias Biſhop of Athens, bewraieth the treaſon to Archias in a letter*

*Waighty matters to morrow. Prou.*

*Pelopidas killeth the tyrants.*

*The liberty of the Thebans reſtored.*

DÆMONIANS were greatly in fault, that they did not ſturre betimes, and ſet vppon them incontinently: conſidering there were fifteene hundred ſouldiers, beſides a great number of citizens that would haue come, one after another to take their parts. But the great noiſe they heard, made them afeard, and to ſee lights in euery mans houſe, and the people running vp and downe the ſtreetes in great multitudes to and fro: whereupon they ſturred not, but onely kept them within the caſtell of CADMEA The next morning by breake of day, came the other baniſhed THEBANS from ATHENS very well armed, and all the people of THEBES drew together in counſaile. Thither did *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* bring *Pelopidas*, and his conſorts, and preſented them before the people, compaſſed about with prieſts and the profeſſed of the city, offering them crownes to put vpon their heads, and they praied the aſſembly of the citizens, that they would helpe their gods, and their countrey. All the people that were preſent, when they ſaw them, roſe vp, and ſtoode on their feete, and with great ſhouts and clapping of hands receiued them, as their ſauiours, that had deliuered their countrey from bondage, and reſtored them againe to liberty: and thereupon, before them all, euen in the market place, by the whole voice and conſent of the people, they choſe *Pelopidas*, *Melon*, and *Charon*, gouernors and captaines of all BOEOTIA. *Pelopidas* then immediatly made them beſiege the caſtell of CADMEA about, with trenches, and force of wodde, doing all he could poſſible to winne it, and to expulſe the LACEDÆMONIANS, before any ſupply and aide came to them from SPARTA. So he did, and preuented it ſo ſodainely, that the garriſon being departed out of the caſtell by compoſition, as they returned towards LACEDÆMONIA, they found *Cleombrotus* king of SPARTA in the countrey of MEGARA, comming towards them with a great army to helpe them. Afterward, of the three captaines which had charge of their garriſon that lay at THEBES, the SPARTANS condemned two of them to death: *Hermippidas* and *Arciſſus* were preſently executed: and the third captaine, *Dyſaoridas*, they ſet ſo grieuous a fine on his head, that he went out of PELOPONNESVS. This enterpriſe being attempted, and executed with the like valiantneſſe, and the ſame daunger and trouble, that *Thraſybulus* practiſe was, when he deliuered ATHENS from the ſlauery of the thirty gouernours and tyrants, and hauing the like fortune, and happy end: the GRECIANS termed it coſin german to *Thraſybulus* act. And in deede it were a hard matter to find two other ſuch, beſides them two, that with ſo few men ouercame their enemies, being many moe in number then them ſelues, or that with ſo ſmall helpe did ouercome thoſe that were of ſo great force, or that performed their enterpriſe with their onely valiantes and wiſdome, & were cauſe beſides of ſo great bleſſing and benefit to their countrey, as *Pelopidas* and *Thraſybulus* attempt was But the great change and alteration of the ſtate afterwardes, did make their actes farre more noble and famous. For the warre that ouerthrew the maieſty of SPARTA, and that tooke away all the ſeignory and rule of the LACEDÆMONIANS both by ſea and by land, beganne the very ſame night, when *Pelopidas* him ſelfe making the twelfth perſon, and entring into a priuate houſe, (taking neither city, nor caſtell, nor ſtrong hold) to tell truely by figuratiue ſpeach, did breake and cut in ſunder the linkes and chaines that linked ſtraight together, and ſtrengthened the LACEDÆMONIANS whole empire and monarchy ouer all GREECE: who vntil that preſent time were thought ſo ſtrong, as no poſſibility could breake or ſunder them. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS fortuning afterwards to inuade the countrey of BOEOTIA with a mighty army: the ATHENIANS trembling for feare of their great power, did vtterly leaue to protect them, and renounced the league and alliance they had made before with them. And moreouer, they did ſtraightly proſecute lawe againſt thoſe, that were accuſed to take part with the BOEOTIANS: whereof ſome of them were put to death, other were baniſhed from ATHENS, and the reſt condemned in great ſums of money. To be ſhort, euery man ſaide the THEBANS were but vndone, conſidering they had no helpe, and were beloued beſides of none. At that preſent time it fell out *Pelopidas* and *Gorgidas* were generals ouer all BOEOTIA for that yeare, who deuiſing to throw a bone betwixt the ATHENIANS and the LACEDÆMONIANS againe, to make them ſquare, they vſed this policy. There was a captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS called *Sphodrias*, a valiant man, but elſe of ſmall capacity, and vainely giuen, hauing a certaine fond ambition and humor, perſwading him ſelfe he had done ſome notable good ſeruice in his time. This *Sphodrias* was left

in

*Pelopidas receiueth the Caſtle of Cadmea by compoſition.*

*Pelopidas ouerthrew the ſeignory of the Lacedæmonians.*

*Pelopidas policy to make the Athenians fall out with the Lacedæmonians.*

in the city of THESPIES, with a great band of ſouldiers, to receiue & fauor al the BOEOTIANS that had a mind to reuolt from the THEBANS. *Pelopidas* of himſelfe ſent a marchant, (a verie friend of his) vnto *Sphodrias*, with a great ſome of money from him, and certaine perſwaſions withall, which preuailed more then the money, wiſhing him to attempt ſome greater matter, & to ſeeke to win the hauen of PIRÆA: a thing ſoone wonne, if he came to aſſault it on the ſodaine, & the rather, for that the ATHENIANS miſtruſt nothing, neither keepe watch nor ward there. Moreouer, that he might aſſure himſelfe, nothing could be better welcome to the lords of LACEDÆMONIA, then to make thẽ lords of the citie of ATHENS alſo. And againe, that the THEBANS, being at deadly food with the ATHENIANS, for that they had betraied & forſaken them in their need, would not aide nor ſuccour thẽ in any reſpect. *Sphodrias* giuing too light eare to this vaine perſwaſion, tooke the ſouldiers he had with him, & marching away by night entred the realme of ATTICA, & went on to the citie of ELEVSIN: but when he came thither, his ſouldiers were afeard, & would go no further. So his purpoſe being diſcouered, he was forced to returne backe to THESPIES, hauing raiſed ſuch a warre to the LACEDÆMONIANS, as fell out to be of no ſmal importance to them, nor eaſie to be pacified. For after that time, the ATHENIANS ſought league & amity again with the THEBANS, & did aide them very louingly: and moreouer, putting thẽſelues to ſea, they ſailed vp & downe, procuring & drawing to their league all ſuch as were willing to rebell againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS: and the THEBANS beſides, had many prety ſkirmiſhes with the LACEDÆMONIANS in the meane time, in their owne country of BOEOTIA. It is true they came to no great battels, but yet it was ſuch a great learning and continuall training of them in marſhall diſcipline, as the THEBANS ſtil increaſed in courage and valiantnes, & waxed ſtronger and better ſouldiers: for by thoſe ſkirmiſhes they grew not onely expert ſouldiers, but waxed more ſkilfull in vſing their weapons, then before. As we read, that *Antalcidas* a SPARTAN ſaid one day to king *Ageſilaus*, comming home ſore hurt frõ BOEOTIA: ſurely the THEBANS haue giuen you a worthy reward, for teaching thẽ to be ſoldiers againſt their wils. But to ſay truly, *Ageſilaus* was not their maiſter to teach thẽ to make wars, but they were the good & wiſe leaders of the THEBANS, who like good wod mẽ in choſing their game, could skilfully chuſe both time & place to giue their enemies battell, & make thẽ retire againe with ſafty, after they had bin fleſhed, giuing thẽ a litle taſte of the fruites & cõmodity of victory: but amõg them, *Pelopipas* was he that deſerued moſt honor. For, ſince the firſt time they gaue him charge of men of war, they neuer failed, but choſe him continually euery yeare, either captaine of the holy band, or gouernor of BOEOTIA ſo long as he liued: ſo that *Pelopidas* only did the moſt things in this war. The LACEDÆMONIANS were ouerthrowne in ſundry iorneis, that they were diſtreſſed by the cities of PLATEES, & of THESPIES, where *Phœbidas* him ſelfe (that had before taken the caſtell of CADMEA) was ſlaine amõgſt other. An other great power of theirs alſo was ouerthrowne nere to the city of TANAGRA, where *Pãthoidas* gouernor of the ſame, was alſo ſlaine. Now all theſe victories, though they much encouraged the hearts of the conquerors, and made them hardy: yet did they not therby altogether cõquer the minds of the vanquiſhed. For the LACEDÆMONIANS were not ouercom in any pitched field, nor ſet battel, where they had their whole army together: but they were light rodes, and ſkirmiſhes properly laid of purpoſe, where ſometime flying, ſomtime driuing them again, they bickered very oft, and put them to the worſt. But the battell of TEGYRA, which was but a floriſh & proofe to the iourney of LEVCTRES, wan *Pelopidas* great honor. For he had no cõpaniõ to challenge any part of his glory and victory, neither did he leaue his enemies any lawfull excuſe, to ſhadow or couer their ouerthrow. For he ſpied al accaſion he might poſſible, how to take the city of ORCHOMENE, that tooke part with the LACEDÆMONIANS, & had receiued two enſigues of footemen of theirs to keepe it. *Pelopidas* being aduertiſed one day, that the garriſon of ORCHOMENE was gone abroad to make a rode into the country of the LOCRIDES hoping he ſhould find ORCHOMENE without garriſõ: he marched thither with his holy band, and certaine number of horſemen. But when he drew nere the city, he had intelligence there was another garriſon comming from SPARTA, to ſupply the place of the garriſon that was abroad: whereupon he returned backe againe by the city of TEGYRA, for hee could haue paſſed no other way, but to haue turned downe by the foote of the mountaine. For al the valley

*The Thebans exerciſe in armes.*

*Antalcidas ſaying to king Ageſilaus.*

*The victory of the Thebans againſt the Lacedæmonians.*

*Pelopidas victory of the Lacedæmoniãs at the battell of Tegyra.*

*Melas fl.*

that lay between both, was drowned with the ouerflowing of the riuer of Melas, which euē from his very head carieth euer ſuch breadth with it, as it maketh the mariſhes nauigable, ſo as it is vnpaſſable for any ſhallow it hath. Not farre from theſe mariſhes, ſtandeth the temple of *Apollo* Tegyrian, where was an oracle in old time, but left off at this day, and had neuer long continuance, but onely vntill the time of the warres of the Medes, when *Echecrates* was maiſter and chiefe prieſt there. And ſome hold opinion, that *Apollo* was borne there: for they call the next mountaine to it, Delos, at the foote whereof the mariſhes of the riuer of Melas do end, and behind the temple are two goodly ſprings, from whence commeth great abundance of good ſweete water: whereof the one of them is called to this day the Palme, and the other the Oliue. And ſome ſay alſo, that the goddeſſe *Latona* was not brought to bed betweene two trees, but betweene theſe two ſpringes. For mount Ptovm is hard by it alſo, from whence the wild bore came of a ſodaine that flighted her. And the tale that is told of the ſerpent P*ytho*, and of the giant *Tityus*, doe both confirme it, that *Apollo* was borne in the ſame place. I paſſe ouer many other coniectures confirming the ſame, for that we doe not beleeue in our countrie that *Apollo* is among the number of thoſe, who from mortall men haue bene tranſlated to immortall goddes, as are *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, that through the excellencie of their vertue, did put off mortalitie, and tooke immortalitie vpon them: but wee rather take him for one of thoſe that neuer had beginning nor generation, at the leaſt if thoſe things be to be credited, which ſo many graue and auncient writers haue left in writing to vs, touching ſo great and holy things. The Thebans returning back from Orchomene, and the Lacedæmonians on the other ſide returning alſo frō Locride, both at one time, they fortuned both armies to meete about the city of Tegyra. Now, ſo ſoone as the Thebans had diſcouered the Lacedæmonians paſsing the ſtraite, one of them ran ſodainly to *Pelopidas*, and tolde him: Sir, we are fallen into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. Nay, are not they rather fallen into ours, aunſwered P*elopidas* againe? with theſe words, he commanded his horſemen that were in the rereward, to come before, and ſet vpon them: and himſelfe in the meane time put his footemen immediatly into a prety ſquadron cloſe together, being in all, not aboue three hundred men, hoping when he ſhould come to giue charge with his battell, he ſhould make a lane through the enemies, though they were the greater number. For the Lacedæmonians deuided themſelues in two companies, and euery company, as *Ephorus* writeth, had fiue hundred men: and as *Calliſtenes* ſaid, ſeauen hundred. *Polybius*, and diuers other authors ſay, they were nine hundred men. So *Theopompus* and *Gorgoleon*, the Captaines of the Lacedæmonians, luſtily marched againſt the Thebans: and it fell out ſo, that the firſt charge was giuen, where the chiefetaines or generalles were of either ſide, with great furie on either part, ſo as both the generals of the Lacedæmonians which ſet vpon P*elopidas* together, were ſlaine. They being ſlaine, and all that were about them, being either hurt or killed in the field: the reſt of the army were ſo amaſed, that they deuided in two, and made a lane on either ſide, for the Thebans to paſſe through them if they would. But whē they ſaw *Pelopidas* ment not to take the paſſage they offered him, & that he came on ſtill with his men to ſet vpon thoſe that were yet in battell ray, and ſlue all them that ſtood before him: then they turned taile, and tooke them to their legges. Howbeit the Thebans did not chaſe them farre, fearing the Orchomenians who were not farre from them, and the new garriſon beſides, that were come from Lacedæmon not long before. And this was the cauſe they were contente that they had ouercommed them by force, and had paſſed through their army in deſpite of them, and broken and ouerthrowen thē. So when he had ſet vp marks of triumphe, and ſpoiled their ſlaine enemies, they returned home againe, glad men for their obtained victory. For in all the warres the Lacedæmonians euer made, aſwell with the Grecians as with the barbarous people alſo, there was neuer chronicle mentioned at anie time, that their enemies being ſo fewe, did ouercome them that were ſo many, nor that they were ouercome alſo by any number equall in battell. Whereupon they grew ſo coragious and terrible, that no man durſt once abide them: for their onely fame did ſo terrifie their enemies that came to fight againſt them, that they thought with no equall force to be able to performe as much as they had done. But this battell of Tegyra was the firſt that made both

them

*Latona brought to bed betwene two ſpringes called the Palme and the Oliue.*

*Pelopidas victorie.*

them and the other GRECIANS knowe, that it was not the riuer of EVROTAS alone, nor the valley that lyeth betweene the riuers of CNACION, and of BABYCE, that breedeth the valiant and hardie fighting men: but that it is in all places elſe, where they learne young men to be aſhamed of diſhoneſt and vile thinges, and to venter their liues for honeſt cauſes, fearing more diſhonorable reproch, then honorable daunger. Theſe are the people moſt to be feared, and are moſt terrible alſo to their enemies. And for the holy band we mentioned before, it is ſaid, *Gorgidas* was the firſt erector of the ſame. They were three hundred choſen men entertained by the ſtate, and they alwaies kept within the caſtle of CADMEA, and the band was called the townes band: for at that time, and ſpecially in that part of GRECE, they called the caſtles and great holdes in cities, the townes. Other ſay it was a band of footemen that were in loue one with an other. And therefore *Pammenes* pleaſant wordes are noted, ſaying, that *Neſtor* could no skill to ſet an armie in battell raye, ſeeing he gaue the GRÆCIANS counſell, in the Iliades of *Homer*, that they ſhould ſet them in battell ray, euerie countrie and tribe by themſelues:

*What enemies are moſt terrible and to be feared.*

*The firſt inſtitution of the holy band.*

*That by affections force, and linkes of kindly loue:*
*that one might alwaies helpe at hand, that other to behoue.*

For, ſaid he, one friende ſhould rather be ſet by another that loues together: becauſe in daunger, men commonly doe litle regard their countrie men, or ſuch as are of their tribe. But men that do loue one another, can neuer be broken nor ouercome: for the paſsion of loue that entertaineth each others affection, for affection ſake, doth keepe them from forſaking one another. And thoſe that are beloued, being aſhamed to doo any vile or diſhoneſt thing before thoſe that loue them, for very loue will ſticke one by another to the death. And ſure the reaſon is good, if it bee true that louers do in deed more regarde them they loue, though they be abſent: then other that be preſent. As appeareth by the example of him, that being ſtriken downe to the ground, his enemie lifting vp his ſworde to kill him, he prayed him he would giue him his deaths wound before, leaſt his friend that loued him, ſeeing a wound on his back, ſhould be aſhamed of him. It is reported alſo, that *Iolaus* being beloued of *Hercules*, did helpe and accompanie him in all his labours and quarrels. Whereupon *Ariſtotle* writeth, that vnto his time, ſuch as loued hartily together, became ſworne brethren one to another, vpon *Iolaus* tombe. And therefore me thinkes it is likely, that this bande was firſt called the holy bande, by the ſelfe ſame reaſon that *Plato* calleth a louer, a diuine friend by gods appointment. It is written alſo, that this bande was neuer broken, nor ouerthrowne before the battel of CHÆRONEA: After that battell, *Philip* taking view of the ſlaine bodies, he ſtayed in that place where the foure hundred men of that band lay all dead on the ground, one harde by another, and all of them ſlaine and thruſt through with pikes on their breſts, whereat he wondered much: and being tolde him that it was the louers band, he fell a weeping for pitie, ſaying. Wo bee to them that thinke theſe men did, or ſuffered any euill or diſhoneſt thing. And to be ſhort, the misfortune of *Laius*, that was ſlaine by his owne brother *Oedipus*, was not the firſt originall cauſe of this cuſtome, that the THEBANS beganne to be in loue one with an other as the Poets write: but they were their firſt lawmakers, who perceiuing them to be a ſtout and fierce nation of nature, they ſought euen from their youth to make them gentle and ciuill, and therefore in all their actions both of ſport and earneſt, they continually acquainted them with playing of the flute, being highly eſtemed of them in thoſe dayes. They brought in the vſe alſo to make loue, in the middeſt of all their youthfull ſports and exerciſes of their bodies, to frame the young mens manners, and to bring them to a ciuil life. And therefore they had reaſon that gaue the goddeſſe HARMONIA to the THEBANS, for defender and patroneſſe of their city, who was begotten (as they ſay) betweene *Mars* and *Venus*. For that giueth vs to vnderſtand, that where force and warlike corage is ioyned with grace, to winne and perſwade: all thinges by this vnion and accord are brought to a goodly, profitable, and moſt perfect gouernment. Now, to returne againe to the matter of this holy bande of the THEBANS. *Gorgidas* deuiding it in the former ranckes, and placing it all alongeſt the front of the battell of the footemen, it did not appeare what they were able to doe of them ſelues, for that he brought them not all into one body: ſo as thereby they might

*Men louing together, fight deſperately againſt their enemies.*

*Hercules & Iolaus loue.*

*Platoes ſaying of a louer.*

*The Goddeſſe Harmonia.*

ſee what ſeruice the whole companie could doe being together, conſidering that it was deuided and mingled amongeſt many other, that were a great deale of leſſe value then themſelues. But *Pelopidas* that had made good proofe of their valiantneſſe before, when they fought about him of themſelues, without others by them, at TEGYRA: would neuer after deuide nor ſeparate them one from the other, but keeping them together as one entire bodie that had all his members, he would alwaies beginne with them to giue a charge in his moſt daungerous battels. For, as we ſee in running of couches at games, that horſes being tyed all together in a front, do runne faſter and ſtronger then they doe when they are loſe, and put to it alone: and not for that they being many together doe breake through the aire better, but for that the contention and enuie betweene them to outrunne one another doth indeede ſet their hearts and ſtomackes on fire. Euen ſo he thought, that valiant men giuing one another a deſire and enuie to doe well, ſhould haue the more courage, and would be of greater force, when they fought one in anothers ſight. But the LACEDÆMONIANS afterwardes being at peace and league with all the other GRECIANS, proclaimed open warres againſt the THEBANS only: and king *Cleombrotus* went to inuade them with an armie of tenne thouſand footmen, and a thouſand horſemen. Whereupon the THEBANS were not only in the like danger they ſtood in before to looſe their libertie, but the LACEDÆMONIANS did openly threaten they would vtterly deſtroy thē for euer: ſo that all the country of BŒOTIA ſtood in greater feare, then euer they did before. And one day as *Pelopidas* went out of his houſe to go to the warres, his wife bringing him out of the doores to take her leaue of him, weeping, ſhe prayed him hartely to looke well to himſelfe. But he aunſwered her againe: my good wife, it is for priuate ſouldiers to be careſull of themſelues, but not for captaines, for they muſt haue an eye to ſaue others liues. And when he came to the campe, he found the captaines and the Lieutenants of the armie, in ſundrie opinions: and he was the firſt that agreed with *Epaminondas* opinion, who thought it beſt they ſhould giue battell to the enemies. *Pelopidas* at that time was neither gouernor of BŒOTIA, nor generall of the armie, but onely captaine of the holy band: notwithſtanding they had great affiance in him, and gaue him great authority in counſell concerning their affaires: ſuch as became a man that had made ſo good teſtimonie of his naturall loue and affection to his countrie, as he had done. Now, being determined in counſell that they ſhould giue the enemie battell, they all muſtred together in the valley of LEVCTRES, where he had a viſion in his dreame, that troubled him very much. In that valley there are the tombes of the daughters of one *Scedaſus*, which by reaſon of the place, they call the LEVCTRIDES, for that they were buried there, after they had bene defiled and rauiſhed, by certaine gueſtes of the SPARTANS that laye in their houſe, trauailing that way. This acte being ſo horrible and wicked, the poore father of theſe defiled virgines, could neither haue iuſtice, nor reuenge of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and therefore after he had bande and curſed the LACEDÆMONIANS with moſt horrible and execrable railings and curſes as might be poſſible, he killed him ſelfe vpon the graues of his daughters. The LACEDÆMONIANS had many ſundry oracles, propheſies and ſignes of the goddes to warne them, to take heede of the wrath of the LEVCTRIDES: howbeit euery man vnderſtoode not the ſignification of this prophecy, but were deceiued by the equiuocation of the name. For there was a little towne in the countrey of LACONIA, ſtanding vpon the ſea, called LEVCTRVM: and in ARCADIA alſo by the city of MEGALIPOLIS, there was another towne called by the ſame name. This misfortune chaunced long before the battell of LEVCTRES: but then *Pelopidas* dreaming in his tent, thought he ſaw in a viſion the daughters of *Scedaſus* weeping about their graues, and curſing the LACEDÆMONIANS: and that hee ſaw their father alſo, commaunding him to ſacrifice a red mayden to his daughters, if they would obtaine the victory. This commaundement at the firſt, ſeemed very cruell and wicked: whereupon when he roſe, hee went to the Prognoſticators and generalles of the army, and tolde them his dreame. So, ſome of them ſayed, this was no matter to be lightly paſſed ouer, but to be conſidered of, alledging many examples in the like caſes. As of *Menecius* the ſonne of *Creon* in olde time, and of *Macaria* the daughter of *Hercules*. And yet of later memory, the wiſe *Pherecydes*, whom the LACEDÆMONIANS ſlue, and whoſe ſkinne their kinges doe keepe at this day, by com-

maundement

*Cleombrotus king of the Lacedæmonians.*

*Pelopidas princely anſwer.*

*See what plagues follow where iuſtice is denied.*

*Pelopidas dream and viſion in the fields of Leuctres.*

maundement of an oracle. And *Leonidas*, who following a prophecie of the goddes, did as it were ſacrifice himſelfe, for the ſafetie of GRECE. And furthermore, the young boyes which *Themiſtocles* did ſacrifice to *Bacchus Omeſtes* (to ſay, eating raw fleſh) before the battell of *Salamina*. And all theſe ſacrifices were acceptable to the goddes, as the victories following did plainely ſhew it. In contrarie manner alſo king *Ageſilaus*, comming from thoſe very places, from whence king *Agamemnon* came in the time of the wars of TROIA, and going alſo againſt the ſame enemies: dreamed one night in the citie of AVLIDE, he ſaw the goddeſſe *Diana*, aſking him his daughter for ſacrifice. But he tenderly louing her, would by no meanes performe it: and thereupon was compelled to breake off his iourney before he had executed his enterpriſe, and departed with ſmall honour. Other to the contrarie ſtoode to it ſtoutly, and ſaide it was not to be done. For, ſo cruell, abominable, and brutiſh a ſacrifice, could not be acceptable to any of the goddes, nor to any god, better or mightier then ours: conſidering that they be no impreſſions in the aire, nor giants that rule the world, but the one onely mightie and eternall God, father of gods and men. And to beleeue that either goddes or demy gods doe delight in murder, or ſheadding of mans bloud, it is a meere mockerie and folly. But admit it were ſo, they were no more to be regarded therein, then thoſe that haue no power at all: for it is a manifeſt token of a wicked ſpirite, when they haue ſuch damnable and horrible deſires in them, and ſpecially if they abide ſtill with them. Now the generals and heades of the army of the THEBANS being of ſundry opinions, and *Pelopidas* being more afraide then before, by reaſon of their diſagreement: a young mare colte, or fillie, breaking by chance from other mares running and flinging through the campe, came to ſtay right againſt them. Then euery man began to looke vpon her, and to marke what a faire fillie it was, and red coloured euery where, and what a pride ſhe tooke with her ſelfe to heare her owne neyghing. *Theocritus* then the ſoothſaier being amongſt them, did behold her, and knew ſtraight what the fillie ment, and ſo cryed out forthwith: O happie *Pelopidas*, loe here is the ſacrifice thou lookeſt for, ſeeke no other virgine for thy ſacrifice, but take this that God himſelfe doth ſend thee. When *Theocritus* had ſaid ſo, they tooke the fillie, and laide her vpon the tombe of *Scedaſus* daughters, and put garlands of flowers about her, as they handled other ſacrifices: and then after their prayers made to the gods, they did ſacrifice her with great ioy, and tolde *Pelopidas* viſion in his dreame the night before through all the campe, and the ſacrifice they had made alſo according to the ſignification thereof. Moreouer, when they came to ioyne battell, *Epaminondas* being generall, drew all his armie on the left hand, becauſe he would bring the right wing of the enemies armie (where they had placed the naturall SPARTANS) further from the other GRÆCIANS their friends and allyes, that were ſet in the other wing of their battell: that he comming with his whole power together to giue a charge vppon *Cleombrotus* their king (being in a corner by himſelfe) might be diſtreſſed or ouerthrowne. The enemies finding *Pelopidas* intent, beganne to chaunge their order, and hauing men enowe, ment to thruſte out their right wing at length to compaſſe in *Epaminondas*. But *Pelopidas* in the meane time ſodainely preuented them, and running with great fury with his ſquadron of three hundred men, hee ſet vppon *Cleombrotus* before he could diſorder his men to put forth the right wing, and ioyne them together againe. And ſo hee found the LACEDÆMONIANS not yet ſetled in their rankes, and brake them in this diſorder, thruſting one in anothers place to put them ſelues againe in order: notwithſtanding the LACEDÆMONIANS of all other men were the onely captaines and moſt expert ſouldiers in marſhall diſcipline, as men ſo trained and practiſed, that no ſodaine altering, of forme or order in their rankes, could either trouble or diſorder them. For they were men ſo trained, that they could turne head or ſide vpon any ſodaine occaſion offered, and could fight and order them ſelues in battell euery way alike. So *Epaminondas* going to giue the onſet vpon them alone, with the whole force of his battell together, not tarrying for others: and *Pelopidas* alſo with an incredible courage and readineſſe, preſenting himſelfe in battell before them, did put them into ſuch a terrible feare, that they cleane forgot their skill in fighting, and their wonted courage failed them. For they cowardly turned their backes, and there were moe LACEDÆMONIANS ſlaine that daie, then euer were before in any former battell. *Pelopidas* therefore, being

*Ageſilaus dreame.*

*Godly ſayings concerning God*

*Gods prouidence and ſodaine aide.*

*The filly ſlaine & ſacrificed.*

*The battell at Leuctres.*

*The cauſe of the ouerthrow of the Lacedæmonians.*

*Pelopidas and Epaminondas victory, at the battell of Leuctres.*

*Pelopidas and Epaminondas iourney into Peloponneſus being both gouernours of Bœotia.*

*A penall law at Thebes, for reſigning vp of offices at the yeares end.*

*Pelopidas and Epaminondas went ouer the riuer of Eurotas, with 70 thouſand men.*

neither gouernour of BOEOTIA, nor generall of all the armie, but onely captaine of the holy band: did notwithſtanding win as much honor & glorie of this victorie, as *Epaminondas*, that was gouernor of BOEOTIA, and generall of all the armie. Indeede afterwards they were both gouernors of BOEOTIA together, when they inuaded the coũtry of PELOPONNESVS where they made moſt part of the cities & people rebell againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, and take their part. As the ELIANS, the ARGIVES, and all ARCADIA, and the beſt part of LACONIA ſelfe, notwithſtanding it was in the heart of winter, and in the ſhorteſt daies of the yeare, and towardes the latter end alſo of the laſt moneth of their yeares authoritie and rule, hauing not many daies to continue in office, being forced to leaue their authoritie, vpon paine of death if they did refuſe, vnto other officers new choſen, the beginning of the next moneth following. Whereupon their other companions, and gouernors alſo of the country of BOEOTIA, what for feare to incurre the daunger of the law, as alſo to auoide the trouble to lie in campe in the ſharpeſt of winter: they did vrge & perſwade them to bring the armie backe againe into their country. But *Pelopidas* was the firſt that yeelded to *Epaminondas* opinion, & wanne the other THEBANS alſo to conſent vnto it, to be contented to be led by them, to giue aſſault to the citie ſelfe of SPARTA. So, through their perſwaſion they paſſed ouer the riuer of EVROTAS, and tooke many litle townes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, & waſted and deſtroied all the countrie to the ſea ſide, leading vnder their enſignes an armie of threeſcore and ten thouſand fighting men, and all GRÆCIANS, the THEBANS not making vp the twelfth part of them. Now, the honour and great reputation of theſe two perſons, *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, brought their friends and confederates, that they followed them, without any reſolution of counſell or publike order, and neuer opened their mouthes againſt them, but willingly marched vnder their conduction. And in my opinion, truely me thinkes it is the firſt and chiefeſt point in the lawe of nature, that he that is weake, not able to defend himſelfe, ſhould leane to one that is ſtrong, and able to defend both. Euen much like to freſh water ſouldiers, and rawe ſea men, that lying at ſea in calme weather, and in ſafe harbor, are as luſtie and brag with the maiſters and boateſwaines as may be: and let a little ſtorme of weather come vpon them ſodainely, and that they be in any danger, then they looke on the maiſters, hoping for no life but at their hands. And euen in like maner the ELIANS and ARGIVES, who though in all aſſemblies of counſel they would euer iarre and ſtriue with the THEBANS, for honor and ſuperioritie in the armie: yet when any battell came to be fought, wherein they ſaw there was danger, then their pecockes brauerie was gone, and they were glad to obey their generals commaundement. In this iourney they brought all the cities of the prouince of ARCADIA to bee in league with them, and tooke all the countrie of MESSENIA from the LACEDÆMONIANS, which they peaceably enioyed: and called home againe all the auncient inhabitants of the ſame, and reſtored them to their countrie, and repleniſhed the citie of ITHOME: Then returning afterwards into their country by the city of CENCHREES, they ouerthrew the ATHENIANS that came to trouble them, in entring into the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, ſuppoſing to haue ſtopped their paſſage. Thus was the valiantnes of theſe two worthy men greatly commended and honored of euery body, for ſo many notable exploites and victories as they had won, and their maruellous good ſucceſſe, greatly wondred at. But as their glory and renowne increaſed abroad, ſo did their countrey mens malice and enuy encreaſe againſt them at home: who had prepared ſuch a welcome home for them, as was too bad and vile for ſo honorable ſeruice as they had done. For *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* both at their returne, were accuſed of treaſon. For there was a ſpeciall law at THEBES, that commanded all ſuch as ſhould happen to be gouernors of BOEOTIA, to reſigne their office immediatly to the new officers elect, at the beginning of the firſt moneth of the yeare, which in BOEOTIA they call BOVCATION & they had kept it foure whole moneths aboue their tearme appointed, in which time they had done all that we haue ſpokẽ of before, as wel in the prouince of MESSENIA & of ARCADIA, as alſo in the country of LACONIA. *Pelopidas* was the firſt of the two that was called in by proces, therefore he ſtood in the greater danger: howbeit in the end, they were both diſcharged againe. As for *Epaminondas*, he tooke his accuſatiõ & the attempt of his enemies (whereby they ſought to haue caſt them both away) quietly enough: Iudging, that patience to thoſe that deale in ſtate

*The ingratitude of the Thebanes, toward Pelopidas and Epaminondas.*

*The Law Boucation.*

*Epaminondas patience.*

and gouernment, is a great ſhewe of force & magnanimitie, But *Pelopidas* being of a hotter nature, and more chollericke, and ſet on beſides by ſome of his friends, did take this occaſion to be reuenged. *Meneclidas* the orator was one of thoſe that came into *Charons* houſe with *Pelopidas*, and *Melon*, but notwithſtanding the THEBANS did nothing honour him, as they did the reſt. He taking this ill at their hands, being maruellous eloquent of ſpeach, but vitiouſly giuen otherwayes, and a man of a vile and miſchieuous nature: did fondly abuſe his eloquence, falſely accuſing thoſe that were his betters, in honeſty and credit. And not being contented with this firſt accuſation, he practiſed ſo commonly, that he put *Epaminondas* one yeare from being gouernor of BOEOTIA, which he ſued for: and moreouer he was euer againſt him in all matters of ſtate he tooke in hand. But he could neuer bring *Pelopidas* out of fauour with the people: and therefore he ſought to make bate betwixt him and *Charon*. For it is the common tricke of all ſpightefull perſons, when they cannot be thought ſo honeſt men as thoſe whom they enuie: to go about to proue that they are not ſo honeſt and meete men, as thoſe whom they preferre and commend. So, in all his orations he made to the people, he continually extolled and commended *Charons* noble actes and victories, and ſpecially that victory aboue other, which the THEBANS won before the iorney of LEVCTRES, in a skirmiſh of horſmen, that was before the city of PLATEES, he hauing charge of the ſame: of the which he would leaue this memory. *Androcides* a CYZICENIAN & painter, was at a price with the THEBANS to paynte them ſome other battell in a table, and he did drawe this worke in the cittie ſelfe of THEBES but as he was in hand withall, the rebellion of the THEBANS fell out againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, and warre followed on the necke of that, whereupon the painter forſooke THEBES, leauing his worke in a manner done and perfect. The THEBANS kept this table by them, and this *Meneclidas* moued the people they would hang it vp in ſome temple or publicke place with an inſcription vpon it, ſaying thus: This was *Charons* victorie of purpoſe to deface and obſcure the glorie of *Pelopidas* & of *Epaminondas*. Too vaine & fond was his ambition, to ſet before ſo many noble battells and victories, one ſimple ouerthowe of *Charon*, in the which *Gerandas*, one of the meaneſt gentlemen of all SPARTA was ſlaine, and forty other with him: & this was all he did. *Pelopidas* miſliked *Meneclidas* motiō, maintaining that it was directly againſt the lawes of THEBES, which did expreſly forbid that no priuate perſon ſhould be honored with the title of common victorie, but willed the glory thereof ſhould be attributed to al the the people generally. Indeed *Pelopidas* in al his orations did greatly praiſe & commend *Charon*, notwithſtanding he made open proofe, how *Meneclidas* was an enuious and ſpitefull detractor, & a naughty wicked man, often times asking the THEBANS, if they themſelues were worthy of no honor? ſo as in the end he cauſed *Meneclidas* to be condemned in a great ſumme of money. But he finding himſelfe vnable to pay it, being ſo great a ſumme practiſed aferwardes to alter the whole ſtate and gouernment. I thought good to dilate this at large becauſe me thinkes it doth ſomewhat declare *Pelopidas* nature, and mãners, what they were. Now about that time *Alexander*, the tyrant of PHERES, was at open warres with many people of THESSALIE, and did vſe all policie he could, to bring them all to his obedience. Whereupō the free citties ſent their Ambaſſadours vnto THEBES, to pray them to ſend them a captaine with an army to aide them. Then *Pelopidas* ſeeing *Epaminondas* occupied about the warres of PELOPONNESVS, did offer himſelfe to the THESSALIAN Ambaſſadors, being loth to drowne his experience and ſufficiencie in warres, with vnprofitable and tedious idlenes, knowing that in thoſe parts where *Epaminondas* lay, there needed no other captaine. Now when he came with his army into THESSALIE, the cittie of LARISSA yeelded preſently vnto him: where the tirant *Alexander* came to meet with him, and to pray him to treate a peace betwixt him and the THESSALIANS. *Pelopidas* attēpted to bring it to paſſe, ſeeking in ſtead of a tyrant to make him a gentle, iuſt, & lawfull gouernor of THESSALIE. But when he ſawe no perſwaſions could take place with the tyrant, and that he grew more ſtubborne & vntractable, and woulde not heare reaſon: and moreouer that he heard many grieuous complaints of his great cruelties, and how they accuſed him to be a maruellous diſſolute and vnruly perſon in all his doinges, and extreamely couetous beſides: then he beganne to ſpeake roundly to him, and to handle him roughly. But the tyrant thereupon ſtole away ſecretly from him, and

*Pelopidas condemneth Meneclidas, a ſeditious orator and accuſer.*

*The practiſe of ſpightfull men.*

*Our forefathers did paint and ſet forth their battells.*

*Alexander the tyrant of Pheres.*

*Lariſſa a citie.*

fled with his gard and ſouldiers about him. So **Pelopidas** leauing the Theſsalians out of all feare and daunger of the tyrant, and furthermore in good peace and amitie one with the other, he went into Macedon: where *Ptolomy* made war at that time with *Alexander*, being king of Macedon, they both hauing ſent for him to heare and determine the quarrell betwixt them, and alſo to helpe him that had the right, againſt him that did the wrong. So when he came thither, he pacified them both, and reſtored the baniſhed men of either ſide, to their landes and goods againe. For aſſurance of the peace, he tooke the kings brother in hoſtage, whoſe name was *Philip*, and thirty other children of the nobleſt mens ſonnes of Macedon, whom he brought away with him to Thebes, to let the Grecians ſee, that the reputation of the Thebans power ſtretched far, and the renowne alſo of their manner of gouernment and iuſtice. It is the ſame *Philip*, that made warre afterwardes with the Grecians, to take their libertie frō them: howbeit being but a boy at that time, he was brought vp at Thebes in *Pammenes* houſe. And this is the cauſe, why ſome thought *Philip* did follow *Epaminondas* manner: and it might be peraduenture, he did learne of him to be quicke and ready in the warres, which indeede was but a peece of *Epaminondas* vertue. But as to the continencie, iuſtice, magnanimitie, and clemencie, which were the ſpeciall points, that made *Epaminondas* of great fame: *Philip* could neither by nature, education, nor ſtudie euer attaine vnto. The Theſsalians hauing ſent afterwards to Thebes, to complaine of *Alexander* the tyrant of Pheres, that did againe moleſt and trouble the free citties of Theſsalie: *Pelopidas* was ſent thither Ambaſſador with *Iſmenias*, carying no power with him frō Thebes, litle thinking he ſhould haue needed to haue made warres: wherupon he was compelled to take men of the countrie ſelfe, vpon the inſtant neceſſitie offered. At the very ſame time alſo, all Macedon was vp in armes. For *Ptolomy* had ſlaine the king, and vſurped the kingdom, and the ſeruants and frends of the dead king called vpon *Pelopidas* for ayde: who deſiring to come euen vpon the fact, and hauing brought no men of war out of his own countrie with him, did preſently leauie certaine men where he was, and ſo marched forward with them againſt *Ptolomy*. Now *Ptolomy* when both their powers met, did corrupt the ſouldiers *Pelopidas* had brought with money, to take his part. But notwithſtanding this pollicie he had practiſed, yet he was afrayd of the name only, and greatnes of *Pelopidas* reputation: wherefore he went vnto *Pelopidas*, as to a better man then himſelfe, and making maruellous much of him, and intreating of him, he made promiſe, and bound it by oth, that he would keepe the realme for the bretheren of the dead king, and that he would take all thoſe for his friends or enemies, whom the Thebans did either loue or hate. And for aſſurance of his promiſe, he gaue him his ſonne *Philoxenus* in hoſtage, and fifty other of his friends, all the which *Pelopidas* ſent vnto Thebes. But in the meane time, being maruellouſly offended with the treaſon of the ſouldiers againſt him, vnderſtanding that the moſt part of their goodes, their wiues and children, were in the cittie of Pharsale, he thought if he could winne that, it were a maruellous good way for him to be reuenged of the treachery of the ſouldiers againſt him: wherupon he leauied certaine Theſsalians, & went to that cittie. *Pilopidas* was no ſooner come thither, but *Alexāder* the tyrant arriued alſo with his armie. *Pelopidas* ſuppoſing he had come to iuſtifie himſelfe, clearing the complaints of the Theſsalians made againſt him: wēt to him, though he knew him to be a very wicked man, and one that delited in murder and ſheading of blood. Neuertheles, he hoped he durſt not haue attempted any thing againſt him, for the authority and ſeigniories ſake of Thebes, by whom be was ſent thither, as alſo for his own reputation. But the tyrant ſeing him ſlenderly accompanied, and without traine of ſouldiers: tooke him priſoner, and wanne the cittie of Pharsale at that preſent time. But this act of his put his ſubiects in a great feare, who ſeeing him commit ſo ſhamefull a deed againſt all equity, did thinke ſtraight he meant to ſpare no man, but would vſe men, and all thinges elſe that came in his handes, like a deſperate man, & one that reckoned himſelfe caſt away. But whē the Thebans vnderſtood this news, they were maruellous ſorie, and ſtraight ſent an army thither, appointing other Captaines then *Epaminondas*, becauſe then they had ſome miſliking of him. *Alexander* the tyrant hauing brought *Pelopidas* in the meane time to Pheres, did ſuffer any man that would at the firſt to come and ſee him, and ſpeake with him: ſuppoſing his impriſonment had killed his hart, and

*Philip of Macedon, deliuered for hostage to Pelopidas.*

*Pelopidas takē priſoner by the tyrant Alexāder at Pharſale.*

had made him very humble. But when he was tolde the contrary, how *Pelopidas* did comfort the cittizens of PHERES, and willed them to be of good cheere, telling them the hower was now come that the tyrant ſhould ſmart for all the miſchiefes he had done: and that he ſent him word to his face, he had no reaſon to hang and put his poore cittizens daily to death as he did, with ſundry kindes of cruell torments, who had in nothing offended him, & did let him alone, knowing that if euer he got out of his hands, he would be reuenged of him. The tyrant wondering at this great ſtomacke of his, and at his maruellous conſtancie fearing nothing: aſked what he ment, to long for haſty death? *Pelopidas* being tolde what he ſayed, anſwered him againe: Marry, ſayed he, becauſe thou ſhouldeſt dye the ſooner, being more odious to the gods and men, then yet thou art. After this anſwer, the tyrant would neuer ſuffer any man to come and ſpeake with him againe. But *Thebe*, that was the daughter of the tyrant *Iaſon* deceaſed, and wife at that time of *Alexander* the tyrant, hearing report of *Pelopidas* noble minde and courage by his keepers: ſhe had a maruellous deſire to ſee him, and to ſpeake with him. But when ſhee came to ſee him, like a woman ſhe could not at the firſt diſcerne the greatneſſe of his noble hart, and excellent hidden vertue, finding him in ſuch miſerie: yet coniecturing by exterior ſhewe, noting his ſimple apparell, his haires and beard growen very long, and how poorely he was ſerued, and worſe enterteined: ſhe thought with her ſelfe his caſe was to be pittyed, and that he was in no ſtate meete for the glory of his name, wherewith ſhe fell a weeping for compaſſion. *Pelopidas* that knew not what ſhee was, beganne to muſe at the firſt: but when it was tolde him ſhe was *Iaſons* daughter, then he courteouſly ſaluted her for her father *Iaſons* ſake, who while he liued was his very good friend. So *Thebe* ſayed vnto him: my Lord *Pelopidas*, I pitty thy poore Lady and wife. Truly ſo do I pitty thee, quoth *Pelopidas* againe to her: that thou being no priſoner, canſt abide ſuch a wicked *Alexander*. This anſwer tickled *Thebe* at the hart, who with great impatience did beare the cruelty, violēce, and villany of the tyrant her huſband: that beſides all other infamous actes of his deteſtable life, committed Sodomy with her yongeſt brother. So ſhe oft viſiting *Pelopidas*, and boldly making her mone to him, telling him cloſely all the iniuries her huſband offred her: through *Pelopidas* talke with her, by litle and litle ſhe grewe to abhorre him, and to conceiue a hate in hart againſt him, deſiring reuenge on him. But now the captaines of the THEBANS that were ſent to deliuer *Pelopidas*, being entred into THESSALIE with their armie: (whether it was through defaulte of ignorance, or their miſhap) they returned home with ſhame, and did nothing. Whereupon the THEBANS at their returne home condemned them euery man in the ſumme of ten thouſand Drachmes, and ſent *Epaminondas* thither againe with another armie: at whoſe comming, all THESSALIE roſe incontinently, for the reputation of ſo great a captaine. And his fortune was ſo good, that he had in a manner vtterly ouerthrowen all the whole ſtate of the tyrant: his friends and captaines were ſo much afrayde, and his ſubiectes on the other ſide ſo well diſpoſed to rebell, and maruellous glad for the hope they had, quickely to ſee the tyrant haue his deſerued hyer, for all his former wicked deeds he had committed. Notwithſtanding, *Epaminondas* preferring the deliuery and ſafety of *Pelopidas*, before the conſideratiō of his own honour and glory, and fearing leaſt *Alexander* ſeeing himſelfe in danger to be turned out of al he had, falling into deſpayre like a bedlem beaſt, would bend all his deſperation and furie againſt *Pelopidas*: he drewe theſe warres out in length, compaſſing him round about, but not fiercely ſetting vpon him with colour to prepare his way the better by delaying ſtil, thereby to ſoften the cruell mind of this tyrant, going on in this gentle ſort, and partly to cut his cōmb and extreame pride, but ſpecially to preſerue *Pelopidas*, from the daunger and crueltie of his beaſtly rage. For he knew right well he was a cruell man, and one that neither regarded reaſon, nor iuſtice in any ſorte, conſidering howe he made ſome man to be buried aliue, and others to be put in the skins of beares and wilde bores, and then to ſet hounds vpō them to teare them in peeces, or els himſelfe for his paſtime would kill them, with ſhooting or throwing of dartes at them. And in the citties of MELIBEA and of SCOTVSA, both of them being in league and friendſhippe with him, he ſpying a time one day whē the cittizens were aſſembled in counſell together, ſodainly compaſſed them in with his gard and ſouldiers, and put them euery one to the ſword, euen to the litle children. And he conſecrated the dart alſo wherewith

*Pelopidas ſtoutneſſe.*

*Thebe the wife of Alexander the tyrant.*

*Epaminondas ſent into Theſſalie with an armie.*

*The brutiſh crueltie of Alexander the tyrant.*

he had ſlaine his owne vncle *Polyphron*, and hauing put garlands vpon it, he did ſacrifice to it, as to a god, and called it TYCHON, as one would ſay, happy killer. And another time being in a Theater, where the tragedy of *Troades* of *Euripides* was played, he went out of the Theater, and ſent word to the players notwithſtanding, that they ſhould goe on with their playe, as if he had bene ſtill among them: ſaying that he came not away for any miſliking he had of them or of the play, but becauſe he was aſhamed his people ſhould ſee him weepe, to ſee the miſeries of *Hecuba* and *Andromacha* played, and that they neuer ſaw him pitty the death of any one man, of ſo many of his cittizens as he had cauſed to be ſlaine. The gilty conſcience therefore of this cruel and heathen tyrant, did make him tremble at the only name and reputation of *Epaminondas*: and as the common prouerbe ſayeth:

*He let his wings downe fall, not much vnlike the cocke,*
*which doth refuſe the pit preparde, and liſt not bide the ſhocke.*

*Epaminondas deliuered Pelopidas out of priſon.*
*Artaxerxes king of Perſia.*
*Pelopidas ſent Ambaſſador to the king of Perſia.*

*Pelopidas greatly honored of the king of Perſia.*

*Pelopidas refuſed the great gifts of the king Artaxerxes.*
*Timagoras Ambaſſadour for the Athenians, put to death for taking great giftes of the king of Perſia.*

So he ſent ſtraight vnto *Epaminondas* to excuſe himſelfe. But *Epaminondas* woulde in no wiſe ſuffer the THEBANS, through his meanes, to make league with ſuch an helhound: onely he yeelded to abſtinēce of armes for thirty daies, vpon deliuery of *Pelopidas* & *Iſmenias* into his hands, with whō he ſtraight returned vnto THEBES. Now the THEBANS being aduertiſed that the LACEDÆMONIANS & the ATHENIANS, did ſend Ambaſſadors to *Artaxerxes* the mighty king of PERSIA, to make league with him: they ſent to him *Pelopidas* for them alſo, being wiſely conſidered of them to ſende a man of ſuch fame and reputation. For *Pelopidas* paſſing firſt through countries ſubiect to the king of PERSIA, his fame was ſuch where he came, that the peoples talke was onely of him. For the report of the famous battells he had wonne of the LACEDÆMONIANS, was not only caried into the next regions and countries of ASIA: but ſince the firſt newes of the iorney of LEVCTRES was brought thither, *Pelopidas* hauing after that wonne victorie vpon victorie, his eſtimation grewe ſo great, as it was blowen abroad through the worlde, euen to the higheſt and furtheſt partes of the Eaſt countries. And when he came to the king of PERSIAES court, the princes, great Lordes, and captaines of PERSIA that ſaw him, had him in great admiration, ſaying: loe this is he that conquered the LACEDÆMONIANS, and tooke all their ſeigniorie and authority from them, both by ſea and by land, and draue the SPARTANS beyond the riuer of EVROTAS, and from mount TAVGETVM, who not long before made warres with the great King of PERSIA, being ledde vnder their king *Ageſilaus*, euen in the middeſt of ASIA, for the realmes of SVSE, and of ECBATANE. So king *Artaxerxes* ſelfe was very glad of his comming, and praiſed him aboue them all, and made his eſtimation greater then it was before, by his great and honorable entertaining of him, meaning thereby to returne the honour to himſelfe againe: becauſe menne ſhoulde thinke that the moſt famous men of the worlde came to honour him, and to ſee his court, as eſteeming both him, and his greatneſſe, the onely happineſſe of the world. But when he had ſeene his face, and heard him ſpeake, and perceiued that his wordes were much grauer then the ATHENIANS, and plainer then the LACEDÆMONIANS: he then was further in loue with him thē before, and without diſguiſing, he did honor and fauor him aboue all the other Ambaſſadors, who found that he made more eſtimation of him, then of thē all. Notwithſtanding, he ſeemed to beare greater good will vnto *Antalcidas* LACEDÆMONIAN, thē to any other of the GRECIANS: for that one day being at the table, he tooke a garland of flowers from his owne head, and waſhed it in perfuming water, and ſent it vnto him. Indeed he did not vſe *Pelopidas* with that open familiaritie, yet did he ſend him the goodlieſt and richeſt preſentes he could deuiſe, & granted him beſides all his requeſtes he made vnto him: which were, that all the people of GRECE ſhould be free: that the city & countrie of MESSINA, ſhould be inhabited againe: & that the citizens of THEBES by their ſucceſſors ſhould be takē, as ancient frends & allyes of the kings of PERSIA. So when he had receiued theſe anſwers, he returned home again, & would by no meanes accept any of the great preſents the king had offred him: which cauſed the other ambaſſadours of the GRECIANS to be ſo ill welcome home to their citties. For among other, *Timagoras* was accuſed to the ATHENIANS, & condemned to die, and was executed: which if they did in reſpect of the great preſents he had taken of the king, truely they had reaſon, & it was worthily done of thē. For he tooke not only gold & ſiluer enough, as much as they would giue him:but receiued a very rich bed alſo,& PERSIAN chamberlains to make and dreſſe it vp, as if no GRECIAN ſeruantes of his could haue ſerued that turne. Moreouer he receiued foureſcore milch kine to the paile,and neatcheardes to keepe them, hauing neede of cowes milke belike, to heale a diſeaſe that fell vpon him : and would needes be caried in a litter vpon mens armes from the kings court,vnto the MEDITERRANIAN ſea,the king rewarding them for their paines that caried him , with foure talents. Yet it ſeemeth the gifts he tooke did not offend the ATHENIANS ſo much, conſidering that *Epicrates* (a drudge or tanckerd bearer)did not onely confeſſe before the people, howe he had taken giftes of the king of PERSIA:but ſaied furthermore,that he would haue a law made,that as they did yerely chooſe nine officers to rule the whole city : ſo that they would chooſe nine of the pooreſt and meaneſt cittizens,and ſend them Ambaſſadors vnto the king of PERSIA,that they might returne home rich men with giftes. The people laughed to heare him , but yet were they very angry the THEBANS had obtained all that they had demaunded : not conſidering that *Pelopidas* eſtimation and worthineſſe did more preuaile, and take better effect , then all the orations the other could make, and ſpecially to a Prince that ſought alwaies to entertaine thoſe GRECIANS,which were of greateſt force & power in the warres. This Ambaſſade did greatly increaſe euery mans loue and good will vnto *Pelopidas* , becauſe of the repleniſhing againe of MESSINA with inhabitants, and infrancheſing and ſetting at liberty of all the other GRECIANS. But the tyrant *Alexander* of PHERES,returning again to his old accuſtomed cruelty,and hauing deſtroied many cities of THESSALIE,& placed his garriſõs through al the country of the PHTHIOTES,ACHAIANS,& MAGNESIANS:the cities being aduertiſed of *Pelopidas* returne againe to THEBES, they ſent Ambaſſadors immediatly to THEBES,to pray thẽ to ſend thẽ an army,& namely *Pelopidas* for captaine,to deliuer thẽ from the miſerable bondage of the tyrant. The THEBANS willingly granted them,& put all things in readines very ſodainly. But *Pelopidas* being ready to ſet forward in his iorney, there fell a ſadain eclipſe of the ſun, ſo as at noone day it was very dark in THEBES. *Pelopidas* ſeing euery man afraid of this eclipſe aboue, he would not compell the people to depart with this feare , nor with ſo ill hope to hazard the loſſe of ſeuen thouſand THEBANS,being all billed to go this iorney : but notwithſtanding,he put himſelfe alone into the THESSALIANS handes, with three hundreth horſemen of ſtraungers,that were glad to ſerue with him, with whom he toke his iorney againſt the ſoothſayers mindes,and againſt the good will of all his cittizens,who thought this eclipſe did threatẽ the death of ſome great perſon like himſelfe. But *Pelopidas* though he needed no ſpurre to be reuenged vpon the tyrant *Alexander*, being by nature hotte,and deſirous of himſelfe to reuenge the ſpite and villany he had offred him:yet he had a further hope to finde the tyrants houſe deuided againſt himſelfe,by the former talke he had with his wife *Thebe*, in time of his impriſõment there. Neuertheles,the fame and reputation of the iorney vndertaken, did wonderfully increaſe his noble corage, and the rather,becauſe he was deſirous (all he could) the GRECIANS ſhould ſee, that at the very ſame time when the LACEDÆMONIANS did ſend gouernors & captains to *Dionyſius* the tyrant of SICILE,to ſerue & aide him,& that the ATHENIANS as hyerlings took pay of the tyrant *Alexander* of PHERES,in whoſe honor they had ſet vp a ſtatue of braſſe in their city,as vnto their ſauior: the THEBANS only at the ſelfe ſame time tooke armes againſt thẽ,to deliuer thoſe whom the tyrants oppreſſed,& ſought to roote out al tirannical gouernment ouer the GRECIANS. So when he came to the city of PHARSALE,and had gathered his army together,he wẽt preſently into the field to meet with the tyrant *Alexãder*, perceiuing *Pelopidas* had very few THEBANS about him,and that he had twiſe as many moe THESSALIANS with him, then the other had : he went into the temple of THETIS, to meete with *Pelopidas*. There one telling *Pelopidas*, that *Alexander* was comming againſt him with a great power, *Pelopidas* anſwered him ſtraight, all the better, we ſhall kill the more. Now, in the middeſt of the valley, there are certaine round hils of a good prety height, which they commonly call the dogs heads : they both ſtriued which of their footemen ſhould firſt get thoſe hils. *Pelopidas* hauing a great number of horſemen, and good men at armes in the field, ſent them before to giue charge vpon the enemies, that preaſed to winne the vantage of the place: and hauing ouerthrowne them, they followed the chaſe all the valley ouer.

*Pelopidas ſecond iorney againſt the tyrãt Alexander of Pheres.*

*The eclypſe of the ſun made the Thebans afraide.*

*Battell giuen by the temple of Thetis, vnto the tyrãt Alexander.*

But in the meane time, *Alexander* hauing his footemen by, marched forwardes and got the hilles, becauſe the THESSALIANS that were further off came too late: notwithſtanding, when they came to the hilles, they ſought forcibly to clime them vp, being very high and ſteepe. But *Alexander* comming down the hill, gaue charge vpon them to their diſaduantage, and ſlewe the firſt that gaue the attempt to get vp againſt the hill: and the reſidue being ſore hurt, retyred againe without their purpoſe. *Pelopidas* ſeeing that, ſounded the retreate for the horſemen that followed the chaſe, to repayre to the ſtandard, and commanded them they ſhould ſet vpon the footemen of the enemies that were in battell raye: and he himſelfe ranne to helpe thoſe that fought to winne the hilles. So he tooke his target on his arme, and paſſing through the rereward, he got to the formoſt ranckes: to whom, the ſight of his perſon did ſo redouble their force and courage, that the enemies themſelues thought it had beene a freſh ſupply of newe mens hartes and other bodies, then theirs with whom they had fought before, that came thus luſtely to ſet againe vpon them. And yet they did abide two or three onſettes. Howbeit in the end, perceiuing thoſe men did ſtill more fiercely force to gette vp the hill, and moreouer how their horſemen were come in from the chaſe: they gaue way, and left them the place, retyring backe by litle and litle. Then *Pelopidas* hauing wonne the hilles, ſtayed on the toppe of them, viewing the armie of his enemies, which were not yet returned from their flying, but waued vp and down in great diſorder. And there he looked all about, to ſee if he could ſpye out *Alexander*: and at the length he found him out amongeſt others, in the right wing of his battell, ſetting his men againe in order and incouraging of them. After he had ſet eye on him, it was no holding of him backe, his hart ſo roſe againſt him vpon ſight of him, that giuing place to wrath, he neither regarded his perſon, nor the intent of his iorney, but running farre before his men, he cried with a loud voice to the tyrant, and chalenged the combat of him. The tyrant would not abide him, nor come out to fight with him, but fled, and hid himſelfe amongſt his ſouldiers. But for his ſouldiers, the firſt that thought to ſet vpon *Pelopidas*, were ſlaine by him, and many lefte dead in the field. The reſidue ſtanding ſtoutly to it, and cloſe together, did paſſe his curaces through with their long pykes, and thruſt him into the breſt. The THESSALIANS ſeeing him thus ſore handled and diſtreſſed, for pitties ſake came running from the top of thoſe hilles, to the place where *Pelopidas* was, to helpe him. But euen as they came, he fell down dead before thẽ. Then did they together with their horſmen ſo fiercely ſet vpon them, that they made the whole battell of the enemies to flye: and following them in chaſe a great way from that place, they couered the vallye with dead bodies, for they ſlue aboue three thouſand men. It is no maruell, if the THEBANS that were at *Pelopidas* death, tooke it very heauily, and lamented bitterly: calling him their father, their ſauiour, and maiſter, as one that had taught them the worthieſt things that might be learned of any. But the THESSALIANS, and other friendes and confederates alſo of the cittie of THEBES, beſides their exceeding in ſetting out their common proclamations and edicts in praiſe of his memorie, & doing him all the honour that could be due to the moſt rare and excellent perſon that euer was: they did yet more ſhew their loue and affection towards him by their paſſing great ſorrow and mourning they made for him. For it is ſayed, that they that were at the battell, did not put off their armour, nor vnbridle their horſes, nor woulde dreſſe their wounds, hearing tell of his death: before they went firſt and ſaw his body not yet colde with fighting, laying great heapes of the enemies ſpoyles about it, as if he could haue told what they had done, nor before they had clipped off their own haires, and the haire of their horſes, in token of ſorrowe. And many of them alſo, when they were come into their tentes and pauilions, would neither haue fire, eate, nor drinke: and all in the campe were full of ſorrowe and mourning, as if they had not wonne a notable victorie, but had beene ouerthrowen and made ſubiect by the tyraunt. Afterwardes when the newes of his death was ſpread through all the countrie, the Magiſtrates of euery cittie through which *Pelopidas* bodie was conueyed, went to receiue it very honorablie, accompanied with all the young menne, the Prieſtes and children, carying tokenes, and crownes of triumphe, and other ornamentes of gold, and when his funerall day was come, and that his bodie ſhould be caried to be buried, the oldeſt and the nobleſt perſonnes of the THESSALIANS went vnto the THEBANS, and

*Pelopidas ſlaine.*

*The great lamentation and mourning for Pelopidas death.*

prayed them that they might haue the burying of him: and one among them being the mouth of the reſt, ſpake in this manner to the THEBANS. My Lords of THEBES, our good beloued friendes and confederates, we onely craue this good turne at your handes, wherein you ſhall much honour vs, and in our great calamitie ſomewhat alſo comfort vs. For we ſhall neuer more accompanie *Pelopidas* aliue, nor requite his honorable deſerts to vs, that he ſhall euer know them. But if it pleaſe you to let vs handle his bodie with our handes, and that we may burie him, and ſet foorth his obſequies: we will imagine then at the leaſt that you doe thinke that, which we our ſelues doe certainely beleeue: that we THESSALIANS, not you THEBANS, haue receiued the greateſt loſſe of both. For you haue loſt in deede a worthie Captaine, and we haue not onely receiued that like loſſe with you, but the hope alſo of recouering of our libertie. For how dare we againe ſend to you for an other Captaine, when we can not redeliuer you *Pelopidas*? The THEBANS hearing their petition, granted their deſire: and in mine opinion, no funerals could be done with greater pompe and honour, then the THESSALIANS, performed his: being men that reckon not dignitie, magnificence & pompe, to conſiſt in ornaments of Iuorie, nor of purple. As *Philiſtus* doth ſet it out, who praiſeth to the moone the burying of *Dionyſius* the tyrant of SYRACVSA, which was the end of his tyrannie, as a ſumptuous concluſion of a ſtately tragedie. And *Alexander* the great, at the death of *Epheſtion*, did not onely clippe his horſe haires and mules, but plucked downe alſo the battelments of the walles of the citie: becauſe it ſhould appeare, that the verie walles them ſelues did mourne for his death, ſhewing that deformitie in ſteede of their former beautie. But all ſuch things are done onely by force and compulſion, vpon the Lordes commaundements, which doe but raiſe vp enuie againſt their memorie for whom they are done, and hatred of them that are againſt their willes conſtrained to doe the thing they miſliked: and are no iuſt proofes of honour nor good will, but rather vaine ſhewes of barbarous pompe, and pride in him, that diſpoſeth his authoritie and plentie of goods, in trifling toyes not to be deſired. Where contrariwiſe it plainely appeareth, that a priuate man dying in a forraine countrie, by reaſon ſhould be accounted moſt happie of all other creatures, that hauing neither his wife, kinne, nor his children by him, he ſhould be conueyed to his funeralles, accompanied with ſuch multitudes of crowned people and number of cities, enuying one another, who ſhould moſt honour the funerals, as being vnrequeſted, and leaſt of all compelled. For ſaieth *Eſope*, the death of a happie man is not grieuous, but moſt bleſſed, ſeeing it bringeth all good mens doings to happineſſe, and leaueth fortune to her fickle chaunge, and ſporting pleaſure. But in my iudgement a LACEDÆMONIAN ſpake better, when he ſaid to *Diagoras* an old man, that had himſelfe in old time gotten victorie in the games Olympicall, and had ſeene beſides, his owne children, and his childrens children (both ſonnes and daughters) crowned with victories alſo in the ſelfe ſame games: O *Diagoras*, die preſently, elſe thou ſhalt neuer come to heauen. But theſe victories of the Olympicall and Pythian games, whoſoeuer ſhould put them all together, are not to be compared with one of the battels onely, that Pelopidas hath fought and wonne: hauing ſpent the moſt part of his time in great calling and dignitie, and laſtly ended the ſame, being gouernour of BOEOTIA the third time (which was the higheſt office of ſtate in all his countrie) when he had deſtroied the tyrantes that kept the THEBANS in bondage, and was alſo ſlaine himſelfe, valiantly fighting for the recouerie of the THESSALIANS libertie. But as *Pelopidas* death was grieuous to the THEBANS friends and confederates: ſo fell it out very profitable for them. For the THEBANS hearing of *Pelopidas* death, did not delay reuenge, but ſent an armie forthwith of ſeuen thouſand footemen, and ſeuen hundred horſemen, vnder the conduct of *Malcitas* and of *Diogiton*. They finding *Alexanders* armie ouerthrowen, and that he had loſt the moſt part of his ſtrength, did compell him to giue vp the THESSALIANS townes hee kept by force againſt them, and to ſet the MAGNESIANS, the PHTHIOTES, and the ACHAIANS at libertie, withdrawing his garriſons hee had placed in their ſtrong holdes: and therewithall to ſweare, that from thence forth he would march vnder the THEBANS, againſt any enemie they ſhould leade him, or commaund him to goe againſt. So, the THEBANS were pacified vpon theſe conditions. Now will I tell you how the goddes plagued him ſoone after for *Pelopidas* death, who (as we haue tolde you before) had

*The oration of the Theſſalians to the Thebans.*

*The ſtrange manner of ſorow, of Alexander the great for the death of Epheſtion.*

*Pelopidas happineſſe.*

*Eſops ſaying of the happineſſe of the dead.*

*Death a bleſſed thing.*

*The Thebans reuenged Pelopidas death.*

*Alexander the tyrant of Pheres ſlaine by his wife.*

pretily inſtructed *Thebe* his wife, that ſhe ſhould not feare the outward appearance nor power of his tyrannie, although ſhe were enuironed with ſouldiers of baniſhed men, whom the tyrant entertained to guard his perſon. Her ſelfe on the other ſide, fearing his falſhood, as alſo hating his crueltie, conſpired her husbands death with her three brethren, *Tiſiphomus*, *Pytholaus*, and *Lycophron*, and executed her conſpiracie after this ſort. The tyrants palace where he lay, was ſtraightly guarded euery where with ſouldiers, who nightly watched his perſon: but their bed chamber which they commonly vſed to lie in, was in the toppe of all his palace, where they kept a dogge tyed at the chamber doore to giue warning, which was a terrible dogge, and knew none but the tyrant and his wife, and his keeper that gaue hïm meate. Now when *Thebe* purpoſed to worke her feate, ſhe locked vp her three brethren a whole day neere vnto their bed chamber. So when night was come, and being bed time, ſhe went her ſelfe alone according to her manner, into *Alexanders* chamber: and finding him a ſleepe, ſhe ſtale out ſtraight againe, and bad the keeper of the dogge to carie the dogge away, for her husband was diſpoſed to take reſt, and would haue no noyſe. There was no way to get vp to this chamber but by a ladder, which ſhe let downe: and fearing leaſt her brethren ſhould make a noiſe, ſhe had couered the ladder ſtaues with wolle before ſhe let it fall downe. When ſhe had gotten them vp with their ſwords, and had ſet them before the doore, ſhe went firſt her ſelfe into the chamber, and tooke away the tyrants ſword that hung at his beds head, and ſhewed it them, as a token giuen them that he was a ſleepe. When it came to the pinch to doe the deede, theſe young men were afraide, and their hearts beganne to faile them. But ſhe tooke on with them and called them cowardly boyes, that would not ſtande to it when it came to the point, and withall, ſware in her rage, that ſhe would go wake the tyrant, and open all the treaſon to him. So partly for ſhame, and partly for feare, ſhe compelled them to come in, and to ſteppe to the bed, her ſelfe holding a lampe to light them. Then one of them tooke him by the feete, and bound them hard: another caught him by the haire of his heard, and pulled him backwardes: and the third thruſt him through with his ſword. So by chaunce he died ſooner then he ſhould haue done, and otherwiſe then his wicked life deſerued, for the manner of his death. So *Alexander* was the firſt tyrant that was euer ſlaine by the treaſon of his wife, whoſe bodie was moſt villanouſly and deſpightfully vſed after his death. For when the townes men of Pheres had drawen him through the citie in myre and durt, they caſt him out at length to the dogges to deuour.

*Alexander the tyrant of Pheres was the firſt tyrant that was ſlaine by his wife.*

*The end of Pelopidas life.*

# THE LIFE OF *Marcellus.*

M·MARCELLVS.

*Marcus Claudius* that was fiue times Conſul at Rome, was the ſonne (as they ſay) of another *Marcus*: and as *Poſidonius* writeth, he was the firſt of his houſe ſurnamed *Marcellus*, as who would ſay, a marſhall and warlike man by nature. For he was cunning at weapons, skilful in wars, ſtrong & luſtie of bodie, hardy, and naturally giuen to fight. Yet was he no quarreller, nor ſhewed his great corage, but in warres againſt the enemie: otherwiſe he was euer gentle, and faire conditioned. He loued learning, and delighted in the Greeke tongue, and much eſteemed them that could ſpeake it. For, he himſelfe was ſo troubled in matters of ſtate, that he could not ſtudie and follow it, as he deſired to haue done. For if God (as *Homer* ſaith) did euer make men

*To vſe their youth in warres, and battels fierce and fell,*
*till crooked age came creeping on, ſuch feates for to expell:*

*Marcellus kinred.*

*Marcellus conditions.*

They were the nobleſt and chiefeſt men of Rome at that time. For in their youth, they fought with the Carthaginians in Sicile: in their middle age, againſt the Gavles, to keepe thẽ from the winning of all Italie: & againe in their old age, againſt *Hanniball* & the Carthaginians. For their age was no priuiledge for them to be diſpenced with, in the ſeruice of their warres, as it was els for common citizens: but they were both for their nobilitie, as alſo for their valiantnes and experience in warres, driuen to take charge of the armies deliuered them by the Senate & people. Now for *Marcellus*, there was no battell could make him giue grounde, being practiſed in all fightes: but yet he was more valiant in priuate combate man for man, then in any other fight. Therefore he neuer refuſed enemie that did chalenge him, but ſlew all thoſe in the field that called him to the combat. In Sicile he ſaued his brother *Octacilius* life, being ouerthrowen in a skirmiſh: for with his ſhield he couered his brothers bodie, & ſlew them that came to kill him. Theſe valiant parts of him, being but a young man, were rewarded by the generals vnder whom he ſerued, with many crownes, and warlike honors, vſually beſtowed vpon valiant ſouldiers. *Marcellus* increaſing ſtill his valiantnes and good ſeruice, was by the people choſen Ædilis, as of the number of thoſe that were the

*The Romaines troubled with warres.*

*Marcellus ſaued his brother Octacilius.*

*Marcellus choſen Ædilis and Augure*

worthieſt men, and moſt honorable: and the Prieſts did create him Augure, which is a kinde of Prieſthood at ROME, hauing authoritie by law, to conſider and obſerue the flying of birdes, to diuine and prognoſticate things thereupon. But in the yeare of his office of Ædile, he was forced againſt his will to accuſe *Capitolinus*, his brother in office with him. For he being a raſh and diſſolute man of life, fell in diſhoneſt loue with his colleagues ſonne *Marcellus*, that bare his owne name: who being a goodly young gentleman, and newly come to mans ſtate, was as well thought of, and taken of euery man for his manhoode and good qualities, as any way for his beautie and perſonage. The firſt time *Capitolinus* moued this diſhoneſty to him, he did of himſelfe repulſe his ſhameleſſe offer, without any others priuity: but when he ſaw he came againe to tempt him the ſeconde time, he ſtraight reuealed it to his father. *Marcellus* his father being maruellouſly offended withall, (as he had good cauſe) went and accuſed *Capitolinus* before the Senate. *Capitolinus* at the firſt, laide in many exceptions and fained excuſes, to keepe him from appearing, and in the end he appealed to the Tribunes of the people: but they declared plainely they would not receiue his appeale, nor take any knowledge of the matter. At the length he was forced to aunſwere the matter before the Senate, and denied flatly that he attempted euer any ſuch thing, becauſe there were no witneſſes to proue it againſt him. Whereupon the Senate thought good to ſend for young *Marcellus*, who comming before them, both bluſhed, and wept together. The Senate ſeeing ſhamefaſtneſſe in him, mingled with teares, and a malice that could not be pacified: without ſeeking other proofe, they tooke it a cleare caſe, & ſo condemned *Capitolinus* preſently in a great ſumme of money, which *Marcellus* conuerted into ſiluer veſſell, to ſerue at ſacrifices, and ſo did conſecrate them to the ſeruice of the goddes. Now when the ROMAINES had ended their firſt warre againſt the CARTHAGINIANS, which held them fully the ſpace of two and twentie yeares: Immediatly after that, they beganne a new warre againſt the GAVLES. For the INSVERIANS, being a people deriued from the GAVLES, & dwelling at the foot of the mountaines of the ALPES on ITALY ſide, being able to make a good power of themſelues, did notwithſtanding pray aide of the other GAVLES inhabiting on the other ſide of the mountaines: & they cauſed the GESSATES, a mercenarie people and hirelings to them that would giue pay, to bring great numbers with them. Truely me thinkes it was a maruellous matter, and wonderfull good happe for the ROMAINES, that this war of the GAVLES came not vpon them, while they were at wars with the CARTHAGINIANS: & that the GAVLES alſo had lien quiet all that while (as if they had purpoſely ſworne to ſet vpon the conquerors) expecting ſtill an end betwene thẽ, & then to ſet vpon the conquerors, when they had nothing to ſay to any other. Yet the ſituation of their country did trouble the ROMAINES much, becauſe they were ſo neere neighbours vnto them and had warres as it were at their owne dores. And ſo did the auncient reputation of the GAVLES ſomewhat appaule the ROMAINES, who as it ſhould ſeeme they did feare more then any other nation whatſoeuer: becauſe ROME had bene taken before by the GAVLES. Since which time a law was made, that Prieſtes and eccleſiaſticall perſons ſhould be diſpenced with from going to the warres, vnleſſe the GAVLES did riſe againſt them. The preparation they made for this warre at that time, did plainly ſhew the feare they had thẽ of the GAVLES. For the world thinkes, that neuer before nor ſince, there were ſo many naturall ROMAINES aſſembled together in field, as were then at that preſent. Moreouer, the new come crueltie they vſed in their ſacrifices, doth record this to be true. For before they neuer vſed any ſtraunge maner in their ſacrifice, or barbarous faſhion, but were fauourable in their opinions about the ceremonies of religion, and agreeable to the GRECIANS touching the ſeruice of the goddes. But then, they were compelled to obey certaine oracles, and auncient prophecies they found written in *Sibyles* bookes: and they buried two GRECIANS aliue in the oxe market, a man and a woman, and likewiſe two GAVLES, a man and a woman. Vnto them they do yet continue certaine ſecret anniuerſaries in Nouẽber, that are not to be ſeene of euery body. The ROMAINES in their firſt battels of this warre, were often ouercome, and did ouercome: but theſe battels were to little purpoſe, for ending of the warres. In the yeare that *C. Quintius Flaminius*, and *P. Furius Philo* were Conſuls, and ſent with great armies to make warres vpon the INSVERIANS, people ſubiect to the ſtate of MILANE: newes were brought to ROME, that there was a riuer ſeene

*Marcellus accuſeth Capitolinus.*

*The Romaines had wars with the Carthaginians 22. yeares together.*

*The warre of the Gaules.*

*Geſſates mercenary Gaules.*

*A law to exempt eccleſiaſticall perſons from the wars.*

*The Romaines did feare the warres of the Gaules.*

*Men and women buried aliue.*

*Flaminius and P. Furius Conſuls.*

in the countrie of ROMANIA, red as bloud, & 3. moones alſo at the very ſame time in the citie of RIMINI. Furthermore, the Prieſts and ſoothſaiers that had obſerued and conſidered the tokens, and ſignifications of birdes on that day, when theſe two were choſen Conſuls: they told plainly there was error in their election, & that they were directly choſen againſt all ſignes & tokens of the birdes. Thereupon the Senate wrote immediatly to the campe to them, and willed them to come home to depoſe themſelues of their Conſulſhip, before they did attempt any thing as Conſuls againſt the enemies. The Conſull *Flaminius* receiued the letters in time: but becauſe he was readie to giue battell, he would not open thẽ, before he had firſt ouerthrowen his enemies, & ſpoiled their countrie, as in dede he did. But when he was come back to ROME againe, and had brought maruellous great ſpoiles with him, the people for all that would not goe out to meete him, becauſe he did not preſently obey the letters they wrote vnto him, nor returned vpon it as they commaunded him, but contemptuouſly, without any regard of their diſpleaſure, followed his owne phantaſie: whereupon they had almoſt flatly denied him the honour of triumph. For his triumph was no ſooner ended, but they compelled him to giue ouer his Conſulſhip, and made him a priuate man with his cōpanion. The ROMAINES therin were ſo religiouſly bent, as they would all thinges ſhould be referred vnto the gods good grace & pleaſure, and would ſuffer none to contemne the obſeruations & prognoſticating of the ſoothſaiers, nor their auncient vſes and cuſtomes, for any proſperity and felicity that could happen. For they thought it more neceſſarie and profitable for benefit of the common weale, that the Senate and magiſtrates ſhould reuerence the ceremonies and ſeruice of the gods: then that they ſhould ouercome their enemies in battell. As for example *Tiberius Sempronius*, a man as much honoured and eſteemed of the ROMAINES for his iuſtice and valiantneſſe, as any other of his time: being one yeare Conſull, did nominate and elect two other for Conſuls the yeare following, *Scipio Naſica*, and *Caius Martius*. Theſe two being entred into their Conſulſhip, and ſent from ROME alſo to their ſeuerall prouinces appointed them by lot: *Sempronius* by chance tooke certaine litle bookes in his hand, where were briefly written the rules appertaining to the ceremonies of publique ſacrifice, and reading in them, he found a certaine ordinance he neuer heard before. And this it was. That if a magiſtrate were ſet in any tent or hired houſe without the citie, to behold and obſerue the prognoſtications of birdes, and that vpon any ſodaine occaſion he were driuen to come againe into the citie, before the birds had giuen any certaine ſignes: the ſecond time when he returned againe to ende his obſeruations, there was no remedie, but he muſt leaue his tent or firſt hired houſe, and take another, and beginne new obſeruations againe. *Tiberius* vtterly ignorant of this ordinance before, had kept his obſeruations twiſe in one ſelfe houſe, and had choſen there, *Naſica* and *Martius*, Conſuls to ſucceede him. But when he knew he had offended, he tolde the Senate of it: who would not let ſlip ſo litle a fault, but wrote to the new Conſils, and they ſtraight left their prouinces, and returned againe to ROME, willingly reſigning vp their offices. That was a prety while after. Againe alſo, about the very preſent time we write of now, there were two Prieſtes of noble houſes (and noble perſons alſo) the one called *Cornelius*, and the other *Cethegus*, both which were diſgraded of their Prieſthood, becauſe they had not giuen the intrailes of the ſacrificed beaſt in order as they ſhould haue done. *Quintus Sulpitius* in like maner, was diſgraded of his Biſhopricke, becauſe his miter which the FLAMINES do weare, fell off his head in his ſacrificing. *Minutius* being Dictator alſo, and hauing choſen *Caius Flaminius* generall of the horſemen: becauſe they heard the noyſe of a ratte at the electiō of *Flaminius*, they were both put out of their authority, & other choſen in their place. Now, though they were thus preciſe euen in trifles, it was not by reaſon of any ſuperſtition mingled with their religion: but becauſe they would not breake any iotte of the auncient inſtitutions and ceremonies of their countrie. But to our ſtorie againe. *Flaminius* being depriued of his Conſulſhippe, *Marcellus* was created Conſull in his place, by the regents at that time called *Interreges*. *Marcellus* being inueſted in his office, choſe *Cneus Cornelius* for his companion: and they ſay, that the GAVLES being inclined to peace, and the Senate of ROME alſo willing to harken to peace, *Marcellus* did ſtirre vp the people, and made them rather deſire warre. Notwithſtanding, they concluded peace at that time: but the GAVLES GESSATES immediatly after renued the warres againe. For

*Newes brought to Rome, of ſtrange things ſeene in Romania.*

*Flaminius ouercame the Gaules in battell.*

*The great religion of the Romaines.*

*An ordinance for publique ſacrifice.*

*Marcellus and Cneus Cornelius Conſuls.*

there came ouer the mountains of the ALPES, a thirty thouſand of them, & they ioyned with the INSVBRIANS, which were many moe in number then themſelues. Now, they being in a maruellous iolity, went incontinently to lay ſiege to the citie of ACERRES, that ſtandeth vpon the riuer of PO: and during the ſiege, king *Britomarus* taking ten thouſand GESSATES with him, went & deſtroied al the country about the PO. *Marcellus* hearing that, left with his companion *Cneus Cornelius*, all the armed footmen, & the third part of the horſemen, in his campe by ACERRES: & he himſelfe with the reſidue of the horſemen, & ſix hundred footmen light armed, marched towards the enemie, trauelling night & day, vntill he met with the ten thouſand GESSATES, neere vnto a village of GAVLE on this ſide the mountaines, called CLASTIDIVM, which was ſubiect not long before to the ROMAINES. So he had no leiſure to take reſt nor to refreſh his men a litle: for the barbarous people knew ſtraight he was come, and tooke him for no better then by & by ouercome, becauſe he had ſo few footmen. And for his horſemen, the GAVLES made no reckoning of them: for beſides themſelues are very good men at armes, & excell all other in that fight, yet were their number of horſemen farre aboue *Marcellus*. Therfore they ſtraight marched towards him in a maruellous furie, & with thundering ſhoutes, as if they would haue deuoured them at their comming. *Britomarus* their king, aduanced himſelfe before all his companie. *Marcellus* fearing to be compaſſed in behind, being ſo ſmal a number: he put out the wings of his horſemen as much as he could, to haue the country at large, ſo that his two wings were very ſlender, vntill he came neere his enemies. And being readie to gallop towards the enemie, it fortuned his horſe being affraid with the noiſe of his enemies, turned about, & caried *Marcellus* back againe in ſpight of his teeth. But he fearing the ROMAINES ſuperſtition, in taking this for an euill token, and that they would take a conceite vpon the ſame: plucking the bridle with his left hand, turned his horſe head againe vpon the enemie, and then he worſhipped the ſunne, as though he had not turned his horſe by chaunce, but purpoſely for that cauſe. For it is the ROMAINES maner to turne about ſo, when they do honour their gods. So when they began to ioyne battell, he made a vow to *Iupiter Feretrian*, to offer him vppe the goodlieſt ſpoiles of his enemies, if he did ouercome. The King of the GAVLES ſeeing him at that inſtant, imagined by the markes and tokens he ſaw, that he ſhould be the generall of his enemies: So he ſet ſpurs to his horſe, and gallopped towardes him from all his companie giuing him defiance, and chalenged him, ſhaking his ſtaffe in his hande. He was the goodlieſt perſon and ſtrongeſt man of all the GAVLES, and his armour was all gilt and ſiluered, and ſo ſet forth with ſundry workes and colours, that it ſhined as the ſunne. *Marcellus* on the other ſide hauing viewed all the armie of his enemies through out, and perceiuing none ſo richly armed as the king: thought ſtraight it was againſt him, that he had made his prayer and vow to *Iupiter*. Then hee put his horſe in full cariere againſt him and came with ſuch a force & furie to him, that he pierced his armour with his ſtaffe, and ouerthrew him but yet he killed him not dead: whereupon he ſodainely redoubled two or three ſtrokes beſides vpon him, and ſo ſlew him right out. Then he lighted from his horſe, & taking the dead kings armour in his hand, he lift vp his eyes to heauen, and ſaid. O *Iupiter Feretrian*, thou that doeſt from heauen behold and direct, all marſhall feates and Captaines deedes: thy ſelfe I call to witneſſe, that I am the third ROMAINE Captaine, that being generall of the armie, haue ſlaine with my owne hands, the king and generall of the enemies: and I promiſe here to thee, to offer thee vp the richeſt ſpoiles of mine enemies, ſo thy godhead will vouchſafe to graunt vs the like good fortune in all this warre beſides. His praier ended, the men of armes of the ROMAINES ranne in among the horſemen and footmen of the GAVLES, one being vnparted from another: and fortune did ſo fauour them, that they wanne a paſſing victorie, in ſuch a ſtrange and wonderfull maner, as was incredible. For it was neuer ſeene before nor ſince, that ſo few horſemen did ouerthrow ſo great a number of men of armes and footemen ranged together. Now when *Marcellus* had ſlaine the greater number of them, and had gotten their ſpoiles and all their baggage: he returned againe to his companion *Cneus Cornelius*, whom he founde making warres vnfortunately with the GAVLES, before the greateſt and moſt populous citie they had, called MILLAINE, which the GAVLES on this ſide the mountaines take for their chiefe citie, and from whence all other had their firſt originall. Whereupon they did all

*The Gaules Geſſates make warres with Rome, & come ouer the Alpes.*

*Acerres, a citie vpon the riuer of Po.*

*Claſtidium, a village on this ſide the mountaines.*

*The maner of the Romaines when they worſhippe.*

*The combat a horſebacke betwixt Britomarus king of the Gaules, and Marcellus.*

*Marcellus ſlew king Britomarus at Claſtidium.*

*Marcellus praier vnto Iupiter Feretrian.*

*The Gaules ouercome by Marcellus.*

all their poſsible endeuour to defend it, and did as ſtraightly beſiege the Conſull *Cornelius*, as he did them. Now, when *Marcellus* was come to the camp againe, the GESSATES vnderſtanding that their king *Bartomarus* was ſlaine in battell, returned backe againe into their cou̅trey, & the citie of MILLAINE was take̅. After that, all the other cities there about yeelded of them ſelues, without force of ſiege, and the GAVLES wholly ſubmitted themſelues and all that they had, to the mercy of the ROMAINES, who graunted them peace vpon eaſie conditions. For theſe famous victories, the Senate of ROME gaue all the honour of triumph vnto *Marcellus* onely, and that was as wonderfull & worthy a ſight, as any that euer paſt before him: what for the infinite ſpoyles, and the numbers of great men taken priſoners, and alſo for the exceeding ſumptuouſneſſe & ſtately ſhew thereof. But the goodlieſt ſight of all for the rarenes, was to behold *Marcellus* ſelfe, carying on his ſhoulders the whole ſpoyle of the barbarous king, to offer vp to *Iupiter Feretrian*. For he had cut downe a goodly young oke of the mountaine, ſtraight, and ſhut vp verie long, which he had trimmed vp in forme of triumph, hanging all the armed peeces he had wonne of the king, verie orderly round about it. Then, when all the ſhew of his triumphe was paſt, he himſelfe tooke the oke vpon his ſhoulders, and got vp vpon his triumphing charet, and ſo marched through the city, carying theſe ſignes thereupon: which was the nobleſt ſight, and honorableſt ſhew, of the whole triumphe. His army followed after the charet, ſinging verſes and ſonges of victorie, in prayſe of the gods and their Captaine: and when he had paſſed through the whole city, and was come to the temple of *Iupiter* called *Feretrian*, there he ſet vp this young oke, and token of triumphe. This *Marcellus* is the third and laſt ROMAINE Captaine, to who̅ happened this honour in our age. For the firſt man that euer offred vp to *Iupiter* the ſpoiles of the general of their enemies, was king *Romulus*, who wanne the like ſpoyles of *Acran*, king of the CÆNINIANS. The ſecond was *Cornelius Coſſus*, who ſlue *Tolumnius*, generall of the THVSCANS. And the third was *Marcellus*, who ſlue with his own hands *Britomarus*, king of the GAVLES: and after him, no man euer ſince could obtaine the like good fortune. The god to whom theſe manner of ſpoyles are conſecrated thus, is called *Iupiter Feretrian*, ſo termed as ſome write, becauſe they do cary this token of triumphe to him, following the deriuation of this Greeke word, *Ferin*, which ſignifieth to cary: for in thoſe former times, many Greeke wordes were mingled with the Latin. Other affirme it is one of the ſurnames of *Iupiter*, ſignifying as much as lightening: for *Ferire* in the Latin toung, ſignifieth to ſtrike. And ſome ſay alſo, in warres it is properly to hurt or kill with his owne handes: for the ROMAINES do vſe at this day when they giue a charge vpon their enemies in battell, or that they haue them in chaſe flying, to crie, incouraging one an other, *Feri, Feri*: which is as much, as kill, kill. And the ſpoyles taken fro̅ the enemies alſo, are generally called *Spolia*: but thoſe which Lieutenants generall, or generals, do take from the generals of their enemies, when they haue ſlaine them, they are called particularly *Spolia opima*. Yet ſome hold opinion, that king *Numa Pompilius* mentioning the rich ſpoiles, or *Spolia opima* in his co̅mentaries, ſpeaketh of the firſt, the ſecond, and the third: and commaundeth that the firſt ſpoyles which are wonne, ſhould be conſecrated to *Iupiter Feretrian*: the ſecond vnto *Mars*: and the third vnto *Quirinus*. And that they ſhould giue to him that had wonne the firſt ſpoyles, three hundred Aſſes, the ſecond, two hundred: & the third a hu̅dred. But notwithſtanding, the beſt opinion & vſuall taking of *Spolia opima*, referreth them to be the firſt ſpoiles wonne in a foughten field, & thoſe which the Lieutenant of an armie, or a generall, doth take fro̅ the generall of the enemies, after he hath ſlaine him with his own hands. And thus much for declaration of this matter. Furthermore, the ROMAINES were ſo ioyfull of this victorie, and of their good ſucceſſe in this warre, that they cauſed a maſsie cup of gold to be made of the ſpoyle they had gotten, weighing a hundred pound weight, which they ſent to offer vp in the temple of *Apollo Pythias*: in the city of DELPHES, in token of thankes: and they made liberall diuiſion beſides of the ſpoyles vnto their friendes and confederates, and ſent a great part of it vnto *Hieron* king of SYRACVSA, who was their confederate. Not long after, *Hanniball* being entred ITALIE, *Marcellus* was ſent with an army by ſea, into SICILE. And after the great ouerthrow was giue̅ at the battel of CANNES, wherin there died ſo many thouſand ROMAINES, and that verie few of them ſaued themſelues by flying, into the citty of CANNVTIVM: they looked that *Hanniball* hauing ouercome the flower of all

*Marcellus wanne the cittie of* Mil*laine.*

*Marcellus triumph.*

*Marcellus offering vp of his rich ſpoiles.*

*The three perſons that offered vp* Spolia *opima in Rome:*

*Romulus.*

*Coſſus.*

*Marcellus.*

*Iupiter Feretrian why ſo called.*

*Spolia opima what they be.*

*Marcellus ſent into Sicile with an armie.*

the ROMAINES youth, and their greateſt force, would not fayle to come ſtraight to ROME. Wherefore *Marcellus* firſt ſent fifteene hundred of his men by ſea, to helpe to defend ROME: and hauing afterwardes receaued commaundement from the Senate, he came to CANNVSIVM, where he tooke ſuch as were fled thither for ſuccour after the battell, and ſo brought them out to the field, to defend the country. Now the ROMAINES hauing loſt the moſt part of all their beſt Captaines, in diuerſe ſundry battels before: of all thoſe that remained, *Fabius Maximus* was the onely able and reputed man for commendation of his honeſty & wiſedom, yet they miſliked of him notwithſtanding, for a timerous man, & of no courage, as a mā too full of doubts and conſideration, and loth to put any thing in hazard: ſaying, he was a good Captaine to defend, but not to offend the enemy. Whereupon they thought good to ioyne *Marcellus* liuely youth and courage, with *Fabius* feminine feare and wiſedom: and therefore ſome yeares they choſe them both Conſuls together, or elſe they ſent one of them as Conſull, and the other as Proconſull, ech in his turne, to the country where they had warres. And for proofe hereof, *Poſidonius* writeth, that the ROMAINES at that time called *Fabius Maximus* their target, and *Marcellus* their ſword. Therefore *Hanniball* himſelfe ſaid, he feared *Fabius Maximus* as his gouernour, & *Marcellus* as his enemy: bicauſe the one kept him from hurting of others, and the other did hurt to himſelfe. Immediatly after this great victory at CANNES, *Hannibals* ſouldiers became ſo bold, ſo careleſſe, and diſordered, that they kept the field without feare of any thing, and diſperſed themſelues farre from their camp: wherefore *Marcellus* ſetting vpon thoſe ſtragglers, he ſlue them euerie man, and ſo by litle and litle did ſtill leſſen the power and ſtrength of his enemie. Afterwardes he aided the cities of BIZANTIVM and of NOLA, & ſtabliſhed the true deuotion and loue of the BIZANTINES towardes the ROMAINES: from thence he went to NOLA, & found great ſedition there betwixt the Senate & people, becauſe the Senate could not keepe the people in obedience, but they would needes take *Hannibals* part. The cauſe of the peoples ſtubburnneſſe grew, by occaſion of a gentleman of the cittie called *Bandius*, a noble gentleman to the people, and a valiant man of his hands. This *Bandius* hauing fought valiantly at the battell of CANNES, after he had ſlaine many a CARTHAGINIAN, was himſelfe in the end ſtriken downe, and found lying among dead bodies, ſore wounded and mangled: whereupon *Hanniball* greatly commending his valiantneſſe, did not onely let him go without ranſome, but furthermore preſented him, & made him his hoſt and friend. Hereupon *Bandius* at his comming home, to requite *Hannibals* honour & curteſie, became one of thoſe that moſt fauored *Hanniball*, and moſt perſwaded the people of NOLA to take his part. Notwithſtāding this, *Marcellus* thinking it too great a ſinne againſt the gods, to put a man to death that had made ſo great proofe of his valiantneſſe, and had ſerued with the ROMAINES in their greateſt warres and extremeſt daunger, and who beſides the goodneſſe of his nature, had a maruellous gift alſo, to winne mens good wills by his great curteſie: when this *Bandius* came one day to do his duetie to him, *Marcellus* of purpoſe asked him what he was, though he had knowen him long before, onely to take occaſion to talke with him. The other aunſwered him, his name was *Lucius Bandius*. Then *Marcellus* ſeeming to be maruellous glad, and to wonder at him, ſayd: and art thou that *Bandius* they ſpeake of ſo much at ROME, whom they ſay did ſo notable ſeruice in perſon at the battell of CANNES, and neuer forſooke *Paulus Æmilius* the Conſull, but receaued ſo many woundes vpon thy bodie in defence of him? *Bandius* aunſwered, that he was the man, and therewith ſhewed him many woundes he had vpon his body. *Marcellus* then replyed: alas, thou that carieſt ſuch notable markes of thy vnfained loue towards vs, what diddeſt thou meane, that thou cameſt not ſtraight againe vnto vs? art thou perſwaded we are ſo miſerable & vnthankefull, that we will not worthily reward the vertue and valiantneſſe of our friendes, whom our enemies ſelues do honour? After *Marcellus* had vſed this curteous ſpeech vnto him, and had imbraced him, he gaue him a goodly horſe for ſeruice in the warres, and fiue hundred Drachmes of ſiluer beſides. So after that time, *Bandius* did euer take *Marcellus* part, and alwayes followed him, being very faithfull to him, and ſhewed himſelfe verie ſeuere and earneſt to accuſe them, that tooke *Hannibals* part in the cittie: which were many in number, and had conſpired among themſelues, that the firſt time the ROMAINES ſhould go into the field to skirmiſh with the enemies, they would ſhut the

*Poſidonius wordes of Fabius & Marcellus.*

*Lucius Bandius, of Nola: a valiant man.*

*Marcellus gentleneſſe.*

*Reward made Bandius a true ſubiect.*

gates after them,& take the ſpoile of all their cariages. *Marcellus* being informed of this treaſon,did ſet his men in battell ray within the city,hard by the gates, and behind them he placed all the ſumpters & cariage in good order:beſides that,he made proclamation by trumpet, that no citizen vpon paine of death ſhould approch the walles. This occaſion drew *Hanniball* to come hard to the citie ſeeing no watch vpon the walles, aad made him the bolder to come in diſorder, imagining there had bene ſome mutinie or ſedition within, betweene the noble men and the people. But in the meane time, *Marcellus* ſet open the gates being hard by, and ſalying out vpon the ſodaine with the beſt men of armes he had,he gaue a charge vpō *Hanniball* in the voward. Immediatly after came out his footemen at an other gate, running ſtraight vpon *Hanniball*, with a wonderfull crie and ſhout: ſo as *Hanniball* to withſtand them, was driuen to deuide his men in two companies. But as he was deuiding of them, ſodainely a third gate opened vpon them, from whence all the reſidue of the ROMAINES iſſued out, who ſet vpon the CARTHAGINIANS on euery ſide, they being maruellouſly amazed to be ſo ſodainely ſet on, which they looked not for: ſo hauing their hands full with thoſe that came firſt vpon them, being ſcant able to defend themſelues againſt them, and ſeeing this new and laſt charge alſo, they were forced to retire. This was the firſt time, that euer *Hannibals* ſouldiers began to giue place to the ROMAINES, who draue them backe vnto their camp, and ſlue a great number of them, and did hurt diuerſe of them beſides. For ſome write, there were ſlaine of the CARTHAGINIANS at that conflict, aboue fiue thouſand: and of the ROMAINES there died not paſt fiue hundred men. But *Titus Liuius* doth not ſet out the ouerthrow ſo great, and yet confeſſeth that *Marcellus* wanne great honour by it, and that it made the ROMAINES maruellous valiant againe, after ſo many and ſundry battels as they had loſt one after an other: for then they were perſwaded that they fought not with an enemy altogether vnuincible,but that he might ſometime alſo,as well as themſelues, receiue both loſſe and hurt. Therefore, one of the Conſuls dying about that time, the people cauſed *Marcellus* to be ſent for, and placed him in his roome: and in ſpite of the Senate they deferred all deputation vntill his returne from the camp. *Marcellus* came no ſooner to ROME, but he was choſen Conſull in the dead mans roome, by all the voyces of the people. Notwithſtanding, when they went to chooſe him, it thundred maruellouſly: which the Prieſts and Augures tooke for an ill token, but yet they durſt not openly ſpeake againſt his election, becauſe they feared the people. Howbeit *Marcellus* of himſelfe did willingly giue vp his Conſullſhip, and yet was it no exception to him for his ſeruice in the warres: for they created him Proconſull, and ſent him againe to the camp at NOLA, where he did ſeuerely puniſh ſuch as tooke *Hannibals* part. Who being aduertiſed thereof, came thither with all poſſible ſpeed to helpe them: and euen at his firſt comming,he offered *Marcellus* battell, which refuſed it at that time. Neuertheleſſe he tooke his time, when *Hanniball* had ſent the beſt part of his armie to forage, as meaning to fight no more battels: and then he ſet vpon him, hauing giuen his footemen long pikes, ſuch as they vſe in fight vpon the ſea, and taught them alſo, how to hurt the enemy a farre off,keeping them ſtill in their hands. But the CARTHAGINIANS hauing no skill of their pikes, and fighting with ſhort iauelings in their hands,did ſtrike downe right blowes:which was the cauſe, that they being ſet vpon by the ROMAINES,were driuen to turne their backes, and flee before them. So there were fiue thouſand of the CARTHAGINIANS left dead in the field,foure elephants ſlaine,and two taken aliue:and furthermore,three dayes after the battell, there came a three hundred horſemen, ſome of them SPANIARDS, and other NVMIDIANS, that ſubmitted themſelues to the ROMAINES. Neuer came there ſuch a miſfortune before to *Hanniball*: who had of lōg time kept together in great loue & amity,an army aſſembled of ſundry barbarous nations and people. Howbeit theſe three hundred continued euer after faithfull to the end,both to *Marcellus*,and to all other Lieutenants & generals of the ROMAINES. Shortly after, *Marcellus* being againe choſen Conſull the third time, went into SICILE. For *Hannibals* proſperous ſucceſſe & victories had ſo incouraged the CARTHAGINIANS, as they ſought againe to conquer this Ilande: and ſpecially becauſe that after the death of *Hieronimus* the tyrant, there roſe ſome tumult at SYRACVSA. Vpon which occaſion, the ROMAINES had ſent an army thither before, & a Prætor called *Appius*: at whoſe hands *Marcellus*

*Marcellus victorie of Hanniball at Nola.*

*Marcellus proconſull.*

*Certaine Spanyards and Numidians reuolted from Hanniball.*

*Marcellus the third time Conſull, ſent into Sicile.*

hauing receiued the army, a great number of the Romaines became humble ſuters to him, to pray him to aide them in their calamity, which was this. Of thoſe that ſcaped from the battell of Cannes, ſome ſaued themſelues by flying, other were taken priſoners, of which there were ſuch a number, as it appeared that Rome had not people enough left onely to keepe the walles. Neuertheleſſe, thoſe few that remained, their harts were ſo great, that they would neuer redeeme the priſoners, which *Hanniball* was contented to deliuer them vpon ſmall ranſome, but made a decree they ſhould not be redeemed: and ſo ſuffered ſome of them to be killed, others to be ſold for ſlaues out of Italie. And moreouer, thoſe that ſaued themſelues by flying, they ſent ſtraight into Sicile: commaunding they ſhould not once ſet foote againe in Italie, whileſt they had warres with *Hanniball*. Theſe were the mē that came altogether, and fell downe at *Marcellus* feete, ſo ſoone as he arriued in Sicile, & humbly beſought him, to appoint them to ſerue vnder ſome enſigne, that they might fight to do their coūtry honour and ſeruice: promiſing him with teares running downe their cheekes, that their faithfull ſeruice then ſhould witneſſe for them, that the ouerthrow they had at Cannes, fell vpon them rather by miſfortune, then through lacke of courage. Whereupon *Marcellus* hauing compaſſion on them, wrote to the Senate in their fauour, & prayed them that they would graunt him licence to ſupply the bands of his army, as they diminiſhed, with thoſe poore Romaines his countreymen. Many reaſons paſſed to, & fro, againſt this ſute: neuertheleſſe, it was concluded in the end by the Senate, that the common wealth made no reckening of the ſeruice of faint harted men like women: wherefore if *Marcellus* thought good of their ſeruice, yet it ſhould not be lawfull for him to giue thē any crownes or rewards of honour, for any notable ſeruice ſoeuer they did, as all generals are wont to giue to honeſt men that ſerue valiantly. This order of the Senate miſliked *Marcellus* verie much, who at his returne home out of Sicile, made his complaint in open Senate, and told them they did him maniſeſt wrong, to deny him that fauour, that hauing done his cōmon wealth ſuch faithfull ſeruice diuerſe times, as he had done, he might not reſtore ſo many poore Romaines to their honour againe. Now, when *Marcellus* was in Sicile, he receiued great hurts and iniuries by *Hippocrates*, generall of the Syracuſans: who, to pleaſure the Carthaginians, and by their meanes to make him ſelfe chiefe Lord of Syracuſa, did put many Romaine citizēs to death. Wherupon *Marcellus* went and layed ſiege to the city of the Leontines, and when he had taken it by aſſault, he hurt neuer a townes man, nor naturall citizen of the ſame: but ſuch traytors as he found there, and had fled from his camp, and yeelded to the enemies, them he cauſed to be whipped, and then hanged. But notwithſtanding, *Hippocrates* had before cauſed it to be bruted at Syracuſa, that *Marcellus* had put all the Leontines to the ſword, not ſparing litle children: and afterwards *Hippocrates* comming thither on the ſodaine, in the feare and garboyle of this falſe brute, he eaſily tooke the city. *Marcellus* hearing *Hippocrates* had taken Syracuſa, left forthwith the Leontines, & went with his whole army, & camped hard by Syracuſa: & ſent his Ambaſſadours to tell the Syracuſans truely, what he had done in the city of the Leontines, and quite contrarie to that they were informed of. Howbeit that preuailed not, for they beleeued not *Marcellus*, becauſe *Hippocrates* being the ſtronger, had wonne the citie. Whereupon he began then to approch the walls, and to aſſault in euery quarter, as well by ſea as by land. *Appius* tooke charge of them that gaue aſſault by land. *Marcellus* himſelfe, with three ſcore gallies of fiue owers at euery bancke, well armed, and full of all ſortes of artillerie and fire workes, did aſſault by ſea, and rowed hard to the wall, hauing made a great engine and deuiſe of batterie, vpon eight gallies chained together, to batter the wall: truſting in the great multitude of his engines of batterie, and to all ſuch other neceſſarie prouiſion as he had for warres, as alſo in his owne reputation. But *Archimedes* made light accompt of all his deuiſes, as indeede they were nothing comparable to the engines himſelfe had inuented: and yet were not his owne ſuch, as himſelfe did recken of, to ſhew ſingularitie of worke and deuiſe. For thoſe he had made, were but his recreations of Geometrie, and things done to paſſe the time with, at the requeſt of king *Hieron*: who had prayed him to call to minde a litle, his Geometricall ſpeculation, and to applie it to things corporall and ſencible, and to make the reaſon of it demonſtratiue, and plaine, to the vnderſtanding of the common people by experiments,

*The ſeueritie of the Romaines to cowardly ſouldiers.*

*Cowardes deteſted of the Romaines.*

*Hippocrates generall of the Syracuſans.*

*Marcellus wanne the citie of the Leontines.*

*Marcellus beſiegeth Syracuſa.*

*Archimedes a notable Mathematician.*

ments, and to the benefit and commoditie of vſe. For this inuentiue art to frame inſtruments and engines, (which are called mechanicall, or organicall, ſo highly commended and eſteemed of all ſortes of people) were firſt ſet forth by *Architas*, and by *Eudoxus*: partly to bewtifie a litle the ſcience of Geometry by this fineneſſe, and partly to proue and confirme by materiall examples and ſencible inſtruments, certaine Geometricall concluſions, wherof a man can not finde out the conceiuable demonſtrations, by enforced reaſons and proofes. As that concluſion which inſtructeth one to ſearch out two lynes meane proportionall, which can not be proued by reaſon demonſtratiue, and yet notwithſtanding is a principall and an accepted ground, for many things which are conteined in the art of portraiture. Both of them haue faſhioned it to the workemanſhip of certaine inſtruments, called Meſolabes or Meſographes, which ſerue to finde theſe meane lines proportionall, by drawing certaine curue lines, and ouerthwart and oblike ſextions. But after that, *Plato* was offended with them, and mainteined againſt them, that they did vtterly corrupt and diſgrace, the worthineſſe & excellency of Geometrie, making it to deſcend from things not comprehenſible, and without body, vnto things ſencible and materiall, and to bring it to a palpable ſubſtance, where the vile and baſe handie worke of man is to be employed: ſince that time I ſay, handie craft, or the art of engines, came to be ſeparated from Geometry, and being long time deſpiſed by the Philoſophers, it came to be one of the warlike artes. But *Archimedes* hauing told king *Hieron*, his kinſeman and verie friend, that it was poſsible to remoue as great a weight as he would, with as litle ſtrength as he liſted to put to it: and boaſting himſelfe thus (as they report of him) and truſting to the force of his reaſons, wherewith he proued this concluſion, that if there were an other globe of earth, he was able to remoue this of ours, and paſſe it ouer to the other: king *Hieron* wondering to heare him, required him to put this deuiſe in execution, and to make him ſee by experience, ſome great or heauy weight remoued, by litle force. So *Archimedes* caught hold with a hooke of one of the greateſt carects, or hulkes of the king (that to draw it to the ſhore out of the water, required a maruellous number of people to go about it, and was hardly to be done ſo) and put a great number of men more into her, than her ordinarie burden: and he himſelfe ſitting alone at his eaſe farre off, without any ſtraining at all, drawing the end of an engine with many wheeles and pullyes, fayre and ſoftly with his hand, made it come as gently and ſmoothly to him, as it had floted in the ſea. The king wondring to ſee the ſight, and knowing by proofe the greatneſſe of his art: he prayed him to make him ſome engines, both to aſſault and defend, in all manner of ſieges and aſſaults. So *Archimedes* made him many engines, but king *Hieron* neuer occupied any of them, becauſe he raigned the moſt part of his time in peace, without any warres. But this prouiſion and munition of engines, ſerued the SYRACVSANS turne maruellouſly at that time: & not onely the prouiſion of the engines ready made, but alſo the enginer & worke maiſter himſelfe, that had inuented them. Now, the SYRACVSANS ſeeing them ſelues aſſaulted by the ROMAINES, both by ſea and by land, were maruellouſly perplexed, and could not tell what to ſay they were ſo afrayed: imagining it was impoſsible for them to withſtand ſo great an army. But when *Archimedes* fell to handle his engines, and to ſet them at liberty, there flue in the ayre infinite kindes of ſhot, and maruellous great ſtones, with an vncredible noyſe and force on the ſodaine, vpon the footemen that came to aſſault the cittie by land, bearing downe, and tearing in peeces all thoſe, which came againſt them, or in what place ſoeuer they lighted, no earthly bodie being able to reſiſt the violence of ſo heauie a weight: ſo that all their ranckes were maruellouſly diſordered. And as for the gallies that gaue aſſault by ſea, ſome were ſuncke with long peeces of timber like vnto the yards of ſhips, whereto they faſten their ſayles, which were ſodainly blowen ouer the walles with force of their engines into their gallies, and ſo ſuncke them by their ouer great weight. Other being hoyſed vp by the prooes with hands of Iron, and hookes made like cranes billes, plunged their poupes into the ſea. Other being taken vp with certaine engines faſtened within, one contrary to an other, made them turne in the ayre like a whirlegigge, & ſo caſt them vpon the rockes by the towne walles, and ſplitted them all to fitters, to the great ſpoyle and murther of the perſons that were within them. And ſometimes the ſhips and gallies were lift cleane out of the water, that it was a fearefull thing to ſee them hang and turne in the ayre as they did: vntill that caſting their

*Architas and Eudoxus, famous Mathematicians.*

*Why Plato reproued Eudoxus and Architas.*

*Archimedes with an engine drew one of the greateſt hulkes Hieron the king had a ſhore.*

*The wonderfull force of Archimedes engines at Marcellus ſiege of Syracuſa.*

men within them ouer the hatches, ſome here, ſome there, by this terrible turning, they came in the end to be emptie, and to breake againſt the walls, or elſe to fall into the ſea againe, when their engines left their hold. Now for *Marcellus* engine, which he brought againſt the walls, vpon a bridge made of gallies ioyned together: that was called Sambuca, by reaſon of the faſhion it had like to an inſtrument of muſicke of the ſame name, which is a harpe. The ſame being yet a good pretie way off from the walls, there fell a great ſtone vpon it ſent frō the walles, weighing ten talents. Then, a ſecond after that, and a third one after that, the which falling all into this engine with ſuch a thunder and terrible tempeſt, brake the foundation of the engine, and tare all the bridge of the gallies ioyned together in peeces, that ſuſteined it. So that *Marcellus* being amazed with all, not knowing well what it meant: was glad to retire quickly, and ſent to make his trompet ſound the retreat to thoſe that gaue aſſault by land. Hereupon they ſate in counſell to determine what was to be done, and they reſolued, that the next morning before day they ſhould approch the walles if it were poſsible: becauſe that *Archimedes* engines, which were verie ſtrong and hard wound vp, ſhould by this meanes ſend all the force and furie of their ſtones and ſhot ouer their heades, and that neare hand alſo he could do no good with them, for that they had not the ſcope of their leauell and cariage they ſhould haue. But *Archimedes* had preuented this deuiſe by long preparation before, hauing made prouiſion of engines for farre and neare, the leauell and cariage whereof was proportioned for all diſtances: their ſhot ſhort, the arrowes not verie long, many holes & arches in the walles one hard by an other, where there were ſtore of crosbowes to kill neare hand, ſet in ſuch places, as the enemies could not ſee them without. Wherefore, when the ROMAINES thought to approch, thinking they had bene ſafe and cloſe, that no man ſaw them: it amazed them all when they were receiued againe with infinite ſhot, and ſtriken to the ground with ſtones that fell vpon their heades like lead: (for there was no part of all the walles, from whence they had not the like ſhot.) Whereupon they were forced againe to retire from the walles. And yet when they were further of from them, the arrowes, ſtones, and other kinde of ſhot that flue in euery place among them, killed a great nomber of them, ſcattered farre from thence: ſo that many of them were ſlaine and ſore wounded, and diuerſe of their ſhips ſplitted, and they not once able to be reuenged, nor to hurt their enemies, becauſe *Archimedes* had placed his engines verie cloſely behind the walles, and not vpon the walles in ſight of the enemy. So that it appeared the gods fought againſt the ROMAINES, they were ſo ſlaine and wounded, and yet they could not tell how, nor by whom. Notwithſtāding, *Marcellus* eſcaped with life, ſafe from hurt, and mocking his workemaiſters and enginers he had in his camp, he ſayd vnto them. What, ſhall we not leaue to make warres with this Briarian enginer and Geometrician here? who ſitting ſtill vpon the wharfe, in ſporting manner hath with ſhame ouerthrowen our nauie, and exceeded all the fabulous hundred handes of the Gyants, diſcharging at one inſtant ſo many ſhot among vs? For indeede, all the reſidue of the SYRACVSANS were, as the body and members of *Archimedes* preparation: and he himſelfe was the onely creature that moued and did all, all weapons elſe being quiet, and his engines onely occupied, to aſſault and defend. At the length, *Marcellus* ſeeing his men thus afeard, as if they did but ſee the end of a rope, or any peece of timber vpon the wall, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* was letting looſe ſome of his engines vpon them: he would no more approch the walles, nor giue aſſault, determining to ſee if he could winne it by long ſiege. Notwithſtanding, *Archimedes* had ſuch a great minde, and was ſo profoundly learned, hauing hidden in him the onely treaſure and ſecrets of Geometricall inuentions: as he would neuer ſet forth any booke how to make all theſe warlicke engines, which wanne him at that time the fame & glory, not of mans knowledge, but rather of diuine wiſedom But he eſteeming all kind of handy craft & inuention to make engines, & generally all maner of ſciences bringing common commoditie by the vſe of them, to be but vile, beggerly, and mercenarie droſſe: employed his wit & ſtudie onely to write things, the beawtie and ſubtiltie whereof, were not mingled any thing at all with neceſsitie. For all that he hath written, are geometricall propoſitions, which are without compariſon of any other writings whatſoeuer: becauſe the ſubiect whereof they treate, doth appeare by demonſtration, the matter giuing them the grace & the greatneſſe, and the demonſtration

*Marcellus Sambuca.*

*Marcellus wondred at Archimedes engynes.*

*Archymedes profoundly learned.*

ſtration prouing it ſo exquiſitely,with wonderfull reaſon and facilitie,as it is not repugnable. For in all Geometry are not to be found more profound and difficult matters written,in more plaine and ſimple tearmes,and by more eaſie principles, then thoſe which he hath inuented. Now ſome do impute this,to the ſharpeneſſe of his wit and vnderſtanding,which was a naturall gift in him: other do referre it to the extreame paines he tooke, which made theſe things come ſo eaſily from him,that they ſeemed as if they had bene no trouble to him at all. For no man liuing of himſelfe can deuiſe the demonſtration of his propoſitions, what paine ſoeuer he take to ſeeke it:& yet ſtraight ſo ſoone as he commeth to declare & open it,euery man then imagineth with himſelf he could haue found it out well enough,he can then ſo plainly make demonſtration of the thing he meaneth to ſhew. And therfore that me thinks is like enough to be true,which they write of him: that he was ſo rauiſhed and drunke with the ſweet intiſements of this Syren,which as it were lay continually with him,as he forgat his meat & drink, & was careleſſe otherwiſe of himſelfe, that oftentimes his ſeruants got him againſt his will to the bathes,to waſh and annoint him:& yet being there,he would euer be drawing out of the Geometricall figures,euen in the very imbers of the chimney. And while they were annointing of him with oiles and ſweet ſauors, with his finger he did draw lines vpon his naked body:ſo far was he taken from himſelfe,& brought into an extaſie or traunce,with the delight he had in the ſtudy of Geometry,& truly rauiſhed with the loue of the Muſes. But amongſt many notable things he deuiſed,it appeareth ,that he moſt eſteemed the demonſtration of the proportion betweene the Cylinder(to wit,the round colomne)& the ſphære or globe contained in the ſame: for he praied his kinſmen and friends,that after his death they would put a Cylinder vpon his tombe,containing a maſſie ſphære,with an inſcription of the proportion,wherof the continent exceedeth the thing conteined. So *Archimedes* being as you haue heard, did aſmuch as lay in him, both ſaue himſelfe and SYRACVSA, from taking. But now againe to *Marcellus*. *Marcellus* during the ſiege at SYRACVSA, wanne the citie of MEGARES in SICILE,one of the ancienteſt cities in all the Iland:& he tooke beſides,the campe of *Hippocrates*, lying by ACILES,where he ſlue aboue 8000 men,ſurpriſing them vpon the ſodaine, euen as they were preparing to lodge,& to fortifie their campe. Then he ouercame a great part of the champion countrie of SICILE,& made the cities to rebell that tooke the CARTHAGINIANS part: & in all the battels he fought,he euer ouercame them that durſt bid him battell. It chanced afterwards,that he tooke a LACEDÆMONIAN captaine priſoner,called *Danippus*: euen as he came out of SYRACVSA by ſea. The SYRACVSANS deſirous to redeeme him, ſent to him to pray he might be ranſomed. They made many parlees about his ranſome,and drew out this practiſe to diuerſe meetings: vntill *Marcellus* had taken good markes of a certaine tower, that had no great watch kept vpon it, & into the which he might ſecretly conuey a certaine number of men,the wall of the city in that place being no very hard thing to ſkale. Therfore when he had giuen a good geſſe by eſtimation at the height of that tower,by often approching to it, hauing parled many a time hard by it: he prouided ſkaling ladders,& toke the oportunitie of a feaſt which the SYRACVSANS ſolemnized in the honor of *Diana*, on which day they gaue themſelues to all feaſting,ſporting and plaies. So he tooke not only the tower, but filled all the wals round about with armed men before day,& brake open the maine gate and entrie of the citie called Hexapile. And as the SYRACVSANS began to ſtir, perceiuing the ROMAINES on the wals: *Marcellus* made his men ſound their trumpets on euery ſide. Wherupon the SYRACVSANS were ſo afraid & amazed,that they began to flie,thinking all the city beſides had bin taken,where in deed the greateſt and ſtrongeſt quarter of the city called ACRADINA,was not yet touched:becauſe it is walled in round about,and ſeparated from the reſt of the city,which is deuided into two other parts,the one called the new citie, and the other fortune. The two parts whereof being wonne,*Marcellus* by the breake of the day forced in by the gate or entrie of the Hexapile. And when his captaines told him he was happy,to winne ſo goodly a citie,ſo eaſily: they ſay, that he looking about him,and conſidering the greatneſſe & ſtatelineſſe of the ſame,he wept for very pitie,foreſeeing whereto it ſhould come,thinking with himſelfe what a ſodaine change it ſhould haue,when his armie came to ſpoile and ſack the ſame. For there was not a captaine that durſt denie the ſouldiers when they demanded the ſpoile,& yet were there

*Archimedes Syren.*

*Archimedes demonſtration of the Cylinder.*

*Marcellus victories in Sicile.*

*Dianippus a Lacedæmonian captaine taken priſoner.*

*Marcellus winneth Syracuſa.*

*Acradina.*

*Marcellus gentleneſſe.*

*Riche ſpoiles at Syracuſa.*

*Archimedes mathematician ſlaine in his ſtudie.*

*Diuers opinions of Archimedes death.*

*Marcellus clemencie.*

*Engyium a city in Sicile.*

*Nicias craft.*

many that would needs haue it burnt and raſed to the ground. But *Marcellus* would not agree to that in any caſe, and beſides, it was ſore againſt his minde to graunt them the ſpoile of the goods and ſlaues: ſtraightly commanding them notwithſtanding, not to lay hands of any free man, and not to kill, hurt, nor to make any SYRACVSAN ſlaue. Wherein, though he ſhewed great fauor & mercy, yet it greeued him to ſee ſo famous a city, brought to that miſerable ſtate: and in the midſt of all the ioy he had for his victorie, he could not refraine from weeping for pitty to ſee ſo riche and wealthy a city, in the turning of a hand, ſpoiled, & brought to nought. For it is ſaid, that the riches & goods taken away at the ſack of SYRACVSA, were nothing inferior to the ſpoiles of CARTHAGE, which was alſo ſacked not long after that: for the other part of the city of SYRACVSA called ACRADINA, was ſoone after alſo taken by treaſon, and ſpoiled againſt the captaines wils, ſauing the kings treaſure, which was reſerued to be caried to the common treaſure of ROME. SYRACVSA being taken, nothing greeued *Marcellus* more, then the loſſe of *Archimedes*. Who being in his ſtudie when the city was taken, buſily ſeeking out by himſelfe the demonſtration of ſome Geometricall propoſition which he had drawne in figure, and ſo earneſtly occupied therein, as he neither ſaw nor heard any noiſe of enemies that ran vp and downe the city, and much leſſe knew it was taken: he wondered when he ſaw a ſouldier by him, that bad him go with him to *Marcellus*. Notwithſtanding, he ſpake to the ſouldier, and bad him tary vntill he had done his concluſion, & brought it to demonſtration: but the ſouldier being angry with his anſwer, drew out his ſword, and killed him. Other ſay, that the ROMAINE ſouldier when he came, offered the ſwords point to him, to kil him: & that *Archimedes* when he ſaw him, praied him to hold his hand a litle, that he might not leaue the matter he looked for vnperfect, without demonſtration. But the ſoldier making no reckoning of his ſpeculation, killed him preſently. It is reported a third way alſo, ſaying, that certaine ſoldiers met him in the ſtreets going to *Marcellus*, carying certaine Mathematicall inſtruments in a litle prety coffer, as dials for the ſunne, ſphæres and angles, wherewith they meaſure the greatneſſe of the body of the ſunne by view: and they ſuppoſing he had caried ſome golde or ſiluer, or other pretious iewels in that litle coffer, ſlue him for it. But it is moſt true, that *Marcellus* was maruellous ſory for his death, and euer after hated the villaine that ſlue him, as a curſed and execrable perſon: and how he made alſo maruellous much afterwards of *Archimedes* kinſemen for his ſake. The ROMAINES were eſteemed of at that time by all nations, for maruellous expert ſouldiers, and taken for very valiant and dangerous men to be dealt with: but they neuer ſhewed any example of their clemencie and curteſie, and leaſt of all of any ciuill maner to any ſtrangers, vntill *Marcellus* taught the way, whoſe actes did ſhew the GRÆCIANS then, that the ROMAINES were more gratious and mercifull, then they. For he did ſo courteouſlie intreate thoſe that had to do with him, and ſhewed ſuch fauour to priuate perſons, and alſo to whole cities: that if there were any crueltie ſhewed in the cities of ENNA, or at MEGARES, or againſt the SYRACVSANS, it was rather through their owne fault and folly that were hurt, then theirs that did them the hurt. And for proofe hereof, I will recite you one example onely amongſt many. There is a citie in SICILE called ENGYIVM, it is no great thing, but a very ancient citie of name, by reaſon of the trafficke thither, for that there are certaine goddeſſes to be ſeene, whom they worſhip, called the mothers. Some ſay the CRETANS were the firſt builders and founders of the temple there, where you ſhall ſee ſpeares and helmets of copper, and vpon them are grauen the name of *Meriones*: and vpon others, *Vlyſſes* name alſo, which are conſecrated to theſe goddeſſes. This citie ſtood altogether at the deuotion of the CARTHAGINIANS: and *Nicias* being the chiefeſt man of the ſame, was all he might againſt it, and perſwaded them openly in all their counſels to take part with the ROMAINES, proouing it by many reaſons, that his enemies counſelling the contrarie, were vnprofitable members of the common wealth. Whereuppon *Nicias* enemies fearing his greatneſſe and authoritie, they did conſpire among themſelues to apprehend him, and to deliuer him to the CARTHAGINIANS. But *Nicias* heating of ſuch a matter, and finding that they lay in waite to take him: vſed this pollicie to preuent their treaſon. He gaue out openly very ill ſpeeches againſt the goddeſſes, and did many things in derogation of their honor: and ſaid the ſight of them (which was a matter of great credit) was but a deuiſe, and that there was no credit to be giuen to them. Theſe words tickled his enemies, imagining that the common people would lay the miſcheiſe they pretended againſt him, to himſelfe, as the onely cauſer of his owne hurt. So they hauing appointed a day to apprehend him, by chaunce a common counſell was kept that day they had determined of: where *Nicias* ſpeaking to the people about matter of counſell, in the middeſt of his oration fell to the ground, to the great wonder of the whole aſſembly, as euery man may coniecture. Howbeit neuer a man ſturred, & a prety while after he began to lift vp his head a litle, and to looke gaſtly about him, with a faint trembling voice, which he ſtill gathered higher and lowder by little and litle, vntil he ſaw all the people wonderouſly afraid & amazed, that not one of them durſt ſpeake. Then throwing his gowne from him, and renting his coate, he got vpon his feete halfe naked, and ran towards the gate of the Theater, crying out that the goddeſſes mothers did torment him: and not a man durſt once come neere him, nor offer to ſtop him, they were ſo ſuperſtitious and fooliſhly afraide of the goddeſſes, imagining it was ſome diuine puniſhment. But by this meanes he eaſily got to the gates of the city, and fled from them all: and he was neuer ſeene after that time, to do, or ſpeake, like a mad man in any thing. His wife that was made priuie to his deuiſe, and furthered his intent, went firſt and fell downe on her knees before the goddeſſes mothers in their temple, as ſhe had hartily praied vnto them: and faining afterwards ſhe would go ſeeke her huſband, that ran vp and downe the fields like a mad man, ſhe went out of the city with her litle children, and no body troubled her. Thus did they eſcape without danger, & went vnto *Marcellus* to SYRACVSA. The ENGIENIANS afterwards plaied ſuch inſolent parts, that *Marcellus* in the end went thither, and cauſed them all to be taken and bound, as though he would haue put them to execution. But *Nicias* came to him with the teares in his eyes, & embracing his knees, and kiſſing his hands, beſought him to take pitty of his poore citizens, beginning firſt with thoſe that were his greateſt enemies. This good nature of *Nicias* ſo pacified *Marcellus* wrath, that he pardoned them all, & did no hurt to the city, and gaue *Nicias* certaine land beſides many other rich gifts he beſtowed vpon him. Thus it is reported in the hiſtorie of *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher. Now *Marcellus* being ſent for home by the ROMAINES, becauſe they had wars in their owne countrie, and euen at ROME gates: he departed out of SICILE returning towards ROME, and caried the goodlieſt tables, pictures, and ſtatues, and other ſuch ornaments as were in SYRACVSA, meaning firſt to beautifie his triumph with them, and to leaue them afterwards for an ornament to ROME, which before that time neuer knew what ſuch curious works ment. For, this fineneſſe, and curious tables and imagery, neuer came into ROME before, but was throughly ſet out with armour and weapons of barbarous people, & with bloudy ſpoiles, and was alſo crowned with monuments of victories and triumphes of diuerſe enemies, which were no pleaſant, but rather fearefull ſights to looke vpon, farre vnfit for feminine eyes. But euen as *Epaminondas* did call the plaine of BOEOTIA, *Mars* ſcoffold, where he kept his games: & *Xenophon* alſo called the city of EPHESVS, the armorers ſhop: euē ſome thinkes (as *Pindarus* ſaid) they might rightly haue tearmed ROME, the temple of *Mars* fighting. And this wan the peoples good wils much more to *Marcellus*, becauſe he did ſo paſſingly ſet forth ROME with ſuch excellent fine toyes of GRECE But *Fabius Maximus* on the other ſide, was better beloued of the old men: becauſe he brought no ſuch toies with him frō the city of TARENTVM, when he wan it. Indeed he brought away gold and ready coine, and much other goods that were profitable: but for images & tables, he left them ſtanding in their places, ſpeaking a thing of great note. Let vs leaue the TARENTINES their gods offēded with them. And furthermore the noble men were angry with *Marcellus*, ſaying that by this acte he had purchaſed ROME great malice & hate. Firſt, becauſe he did not onely lead men priſoners in his triumphe, but the gods alſo: & ſecondly, becauſe he had filled the people full of pritle pratle, & idle curioſity, ſpending all the whole day in gaſing, & wondering at the excellency of the workmē, & of their works, where before they would fall to their labor, or elſe they wēt to the wars, not being acquainted with curioſity, nor idle life as *Euripides* ſaid, ſpeaking of *Hercules*:

*Marcellus the firſt that brought in fineneſſe & curious tables and pictures into Rome, of the ſpoiles of Syracuſa.*

*In wicked practiſes, he ſimple was to ſee,*
*but he exceld in vertuous deeds, and feates that worthy be.*

Notwithſtanding, *Marcellus* did glory amongſt the GRÆCIANS themſelues, ſaying: that he had taught the ROMAINES to eſteeme the wonderfull workes of GRECE, which they knew not before But at his returne out of SICILE, his enemies procured, that his honour of triumphe was denied him. So *Marcellus* knowing that he had yet left ſomewhat to do in SICILE, and that the warre was not altogether ended, and fearing beſides leaſt a third triumphe would make him too much enuied: he was contented with good will to haue the honour of the great triumphe, in the mountaine of ALBA onely: and of the litle triumphe, in the city of ROME. This maner of litle triumphe is called in Greeke *Euan*, and the ROMAINES call it *Ouatio*. And this difference there is between them: that in the *Ouation* triumph, the party to whom it is granted, doth not enter into the city vpon triumphing chariot drawne with foure horſes, nor doth cary any lawrell vpon his head in token of triumphe, nor hath any trumpets or hornes blowne before him, but doth marche on foote with a paire of ſlippers on his feete, hauing flutes and howboyes playing before him, and wearing a garland of firre tree vpon his head: ſo as this maner of entry is nothing warlike, and is rather a pleaſant then fearefull ſight. And that reaſon doth flatly drawe me to beleeue, that theſe two kinds of entries they granted to the Captaines, returning from the warres with victorie: were deuided in the olde time, rather for the maner, then for the greatneſſe of the doings. For ſuch as had ouercome their enemies by great ſlaughter and bloudy battels, they did make their entry with pompe of triumphe, that was altogether marſhall and terrible, followed with their ſouldiers armed, and crowned with lawrell garlands, as their cuſtome was in muſtering their campe in the warres. But they on the contrary ſide, that without any exploit of armes returned home with victory, either by peaceable meanes, or by force of their eloquence: the law granted them the honour of Ouation triumphe, which was quiet, and full of all ioy and mirth. For the flute is an inſtrument of pleaſure belonging to peace, and the firre tree is a tree conſecrated to *Venus*, which goddeſſe, aboue all gods and goddeſſes doth moſt deteſt warres. This ſecond kinde of entrie was called *Ouatio*, not as many GRÆCIANS haue taken it, comming of this word *Euan*, which is a voice and ſong of ioy, although they did vſe alſo to accompanie the Captaines making their entry in this ſort, crying and ſinging *Euan*: but there were certaine GRÆCIANS that would haue fetched the deriuation of this word, from an old common cuſtome they had: and were of opinion beſides, that part of this honor did appertaine to god *Bacchus*, whoſe ſurname we call *Euius*, and ſomtimes *Thriambus*. Howbeit this is not the true deriuation of the name, but after this ſort. At the great triumphe and entry made, the captaine or generall that triumpheth as a conqueror, did offer and ſacrifice (by the old orders & ancient cuſtomes of ROME) one, or diuerſe oxen: where at the ſecond triumphe called the Ouation, he onely ſacrificed a mutton, which the ROMAINES call in their tongue *Ouem*, and thereof was it called Ouation. And here by the way is to be noted, the difference betwixt the law maker of the ROMAINE lawes & cuſtomes, and the law maker of the LACEDÆMONIANS: how both of them were contrary to the other, in appointing their ſacrifices for victorie. For at SPARTA, the captaine or generall that had done his feate by policie or friendſhip, the ſacrifice he did offer vp to the gods, was an oxe: and he that by force, and bloudy battell had obtained victory, only offered vp a cocke for ſacrifice. For though they were very good ſoldiers, yet they thought better of his ſeruice, that by his wiſedom and wiſe perſwaſions obteined victorie: then of his, that wan it by valiantneſſe, and force of armes. Thus may you ſee which of theſe two lawemakers had beſt reaſon in his ordinances. But now to *Marcellus* againe. He being choſen Conſull the fourth time, his enemies and euill willers did ſtirre vp the SYRACVSANS againſt him, and perſwaded them to complaine to the Senate of him, that he had cruelly, and vncourteouſly vſed them, contrarie to the ancient league and alliances made long time before with the ROMAINES. *Marcellus* being ſacrificing one day in the Capitoll, while the Senate were ſet in counſell: the SYRACVSANS deputies came before them, and kneeling downe, beſought them to giue them audience, and that they would do them iuſtice. The other Conſull that was preſent rebuked them, being angry they had ſo maliciouſly ſpyed the occaſion of *Marcellus* abſence But when *Marcellus* heard of it, he ſtraight left of all, and came to the Senate, and firſt ſate him downe in his Conſuls chaire, where he gaue audience as Conſull and diſpatched diuerſe cauſes: when he had done ſo, he roſe out of his chaire, and came downe among them,

ſtanding

*Marcellus entreth into Rome with Ouation triumphe.*

*what the Ouation triumphe is.*

*Ouation whereof it is called.*

*The ſacrifices of the quiet triumphe.*

*The ſacrifices of the litle triumph Ouation.*

*The difference betwixt the Spartans and Romaines in their ſacrifices for victorie.*

*The Syracuſans accuſe Marcellus.*

ſtanding as a priuate perſon to aunſwer at the barre,as other offenders and men accuſed,ſuffering the SYRACVSANS to alleadge and ſay againſt him what they would. Then were the SYRACVSANS blanck,when they ſaw the maieſty of *Marcellus*,and his ſtaied countenance in all things: ſo that hauing found him before a very valiant man in warres, and vnconquerable, they found him then a man no leſſe dreadfull in his Conſuls robe:that they hung downe their eyes,and durſt not looke him in the face. Notwithſtanding, they being ſuborned by his enemies,began at the length boldly to accuſe him,and yet with ſorow and lamentation, the effect whereof was this. That they being the ROMAINES friends & confederates,had abidden ſuch iniuries at *Marcellus* hands,as all other generals neuer offered their very enemies. Whereto *Marcellus* ſtraight anſwered againe to the contrary. That for many iniuries the ROMAINES had receiued of them, they ſuffred nothing but that, which was vnpoſſible they ſhould not ſuffer,that reſiſted vntill they were taken by force: and yet they might thanke themſelues for any thing they ſuffered,becauſe they would not obey nor conſent, to reaſonable capitulations and articles of peace, which he had oftentimes offered them. And againe, they could not alledge for their excuſe,that the tyrants had compelled them to make warres: when they to the contrary,becauſe they would enter into warres,were contented to bee ſubiect to a tyrant. So, when both parties had ſpokē their minds,the SYRACVSANS (as the maner is) went out of the Senate houſe,and *Marcellus* alſo,leauing his fellow Conſul in his place in the Senate,& taried without the doore, attending the ſentence of the Senate, neuer altering his countenance nor wonted looke,neither for feare of ſentēce, nor for malice or anger againſt the SYRACVSANS, quietly looking for his iudgement. Afterwards when the Senators voices were gathered together,& that *Marcellus* was cleared by the moſt voices: then the SYRACVSANS fell downe at his feet weeping, and beſought him not to wreake his anger vpon them that were preſent, and moreouer that he would haue compaſſion of the reſidue of the citizens,who did acknowledge his great grace and fauor extended to them, and confeſſed themſelues bound to him for euer. *Marcellus* moued with pitty by their intreaty,he pardoned them, & euer after did all the SYRACVSANS what pleaſure he could poſsible. For through his entreaty and requeſt,the Senate did confirme and ratifie his grant vnto them, which was: that they might vſe the liberty and benefit of their owne lawes,and quietly enioy their goods alſo which were left them. To requite this ſpecial grace procured them by *Marcellus*,the SYRACVSANS gaue him many honors,& among others they made a law,that euer after,as oft as any of *Marcellus* name or houſe came into SICILE, the SYRACVSANS ſhould keepe a ſolemne feaſt, with garlands on their heads,& ſhould alſo ſacrifice vnto the gods. After this, *Marcellus* went againſt *Hanniball*: and where all the other Conſuls almoſt,& generals,after the ouerthrow at CANNES,had vſed this only policy with him,not to come to battell: he tooke a contrary courſe to them all, thinking that tract of time,(whereby they thought to eate out *Hannibals* force (was rather a direct conſuming and deſtroying of all ITALIE: & that *Fabius Maximus* ſtanding too much vpon ſafetie,tooke not the way to cure the diſeaſe & weakneſſe of the commōweale of ROME,looking to end this war,conſuming by litle and litle the ſtrength and power of ROME, committing a fearefull phiſitions fault and errour, being afraide to heale their pacient ſodainly, imagining that to bring them low, doth leſſen the diſeaſe. So,firſt of all he went to beſiege certaine great cities of the SAMNITES,which were reuolted from obedience of the ROMAINES: & thoſe he wan againe with a great prouiſion of corne and money he found in them, beſides 3000 ſouldiers *Hanniball* left in garriſon there,whom he tooke priſoners. *Hanniball* after that, hauing ſlain the viceconſull *Cneus Fuluius* in APVLIA,with eleuen *Tribunis militum*(to wit,colonels, euery one hauing charge of 1000 footemen) and ouerthrowne the greateſt part of his armie: *Marcellus* wrote letters to ROME,hoping to comfort the Senate and people, telling he would go thither,and did warrant them he would driue *Hanniball* out of APVLIA. When the ROMAINS had red his letters,they were nothing the more cōforted, but rather (as *Liuie* writeth) more afraide and diſcouraged: becauſe they doubted the danger to come would be greater, then the loſſe paſt, taking *Marcellus* to be a farre greater and better generall, then euer was *Fuluius*. Neuertheleſſe, *Marcellus* performing the contents of his letters written to ROME, draue *Hanniball* out of APVLIA,and made him retire into LVCANIA. And *Marcellus* finding

*Marcellus being Conſull, anſwered the Syracuſans accuſatiōs as a priuate man.*

*Marcellus conſtancie.*

*Marcellus curteſie to the Syracuſans.*

*Marcellus actes againſt Hanniball in his fourth Conſulſhip.*

*Cneus Fuluius viceconſull ſlaine in Apulia by Hanniball.*

him in that country, by a city called NVMISTRON, lodged vpon hils, and in places of ſtrength and aduantage: he camped hard by him in the valley, and the next morning he was the firſt that preſented his enemy battell. *Hanniball* on the other ſide, came downe into the valley, and they ioyned battell: which was ſo cruelly fought, and ſo long time, as it could not be diſcerned who had the better. For the battell being begun at nine of the clocke in the morning, it was darke night ere they gaue ouer. The next morning by peepe of day, *Marcellus* ſet his men againe in battell raye, in the middeſt of all the dead bodies that lay ſlaine in the field, and chalenged *Hanniball*, to proue who ſhould haue the field. But *Hanniball* refuſed, and marched his way thence: ſo as *Marcellus* thereby had good leaſure left him to ſtrip his ſlaine enemies, and alſo to burie his owne ſouldiers. When he had finiſhed that, he preſently followed his enemy by the foote, who laied many ambuſhes for him, but he could neuer trap him in any: and in euery encounter or skirmiſh they had together, *Marcellus* had euer the better, which wanne him great fame and credit. Now time being come about to chooſe new Conſuls, the Senate thought good to ſend rather for the other Conſul that was in SICILE, then to remoue *Marcellus* thence, who had fought with *Hanniball*. So when the other Conſull was come to ROME, the Senate commaunded him to name *Quintus Fuluius* Dictator, becauſe the Dictator was neither choſen by the people, nor by the Senate: but one of the Conſuls or Prætors, in open aſſembly of the people, nameth ſuch a one Dictator, as he liketh of. Wherefore it ſeemeth, that this word Dictator, came vpon that worde naming: for, *Dicere* in the ROMAINE tongue, ſignifieth to name. Howbeit other hold opinion, that he was called Dictator, becauſe he commandeth of himſelfe what he will, without the counſell of the Senate, & the voices of the people: and this ſeemeth to be true, becauſe the commandements of the Senate of ROME are called *Edicta*, which we GRECIANS call *Diatagmata*. Now the other Conſull and companion of *Marcellus* being come out of SICILE, he would needs name another Dictator, then him whom the Senate offred him: and becauſe he would not be compelled to do that he was vnwilling to do, he ſtale away one night, & returned againe into SICILE. Hereupon the people did name and appoint *Quintus Fuluius* Dictator, and the Senate wrote their letters to *Marcellus*, to confirme him: which *Marcellus* did, and authorized the peoples election. So he himſelfe was choſen againe Proconſull, for the next yeare following: in the which he hauing conferred with *Fabius Maximus* about the warres, they were agreed, that *Fabius* ſhould prooue if he could win the city of TARENTVM againe: and that *Marcellus* in the meane time ſhould keepe *Hanniball* occupied, that he might not come to aide it. This reſolution being taken betweene them, *Marcellus* went to meet *Hanniball* by the city of CANNVSIVM: who as he ſtill changed and ſhifted lodging, becauſe he would not come to the battell againſt his will, found *Marcellus* euer in his eye before him. Inſomuch as *Hanniball* remouing thus his campe, *Marcellus* plied him ſo one day with continuall alarums and skirmiſhes, that he brought him to a battell that held all day long till night, and compelled them both to leaue off till the next morning: where *Marcellus* ſhewed againe in field by breake of the day, in battell raye. Whereat *Hanniball* being in a maruellous rage, he called his ſouldiers together, and made an oration to them, earneſtly mouing them once againe to fight with *Marcellus*, if euer they had heretofore fought for his ſake. You ſee, ſaid he, that hauing fought ſo many battels, & gotten ſuch victories as we haue done, we cannot yet take breath as we would, nor be in quiet, how much ſo euer we win, if we driue not away yonder fellow *Marcellus*. When *Hanniball* had ended his oration to the CARTHAGINIANS, he led them on to the battell: where *Marcellus*, to no purpoſe, & out of time, would needs ſhew *Hanniball* a ſtratagem of war, that turned himſelf to the worſt. For *Marcellus* perceiuing the right wing of his armie diſtreſſed, made one of his legions that was ſet in ray in the rereward of his hoaſt, to marche to the front of his battell, to help thoſe that needed aide. But this remouing of the legion, troubled them that fought, and gaue the enemies the victorie: who ſlue that day two thouſand ſeuen hundred of the ROMAINES. So, when *Marcellus* was come againe into his campe, he ſtraight called his ſouldiers before him, to whome he ſpake in this maner: that he ſaw a great deale of armor, and bodies of men, but he could ſee no ROMAINES. The ROMAINES hearing him ſay ſo, beſought him to pardon the faulte they had committed. *Marcellus* aunſwered, he would neuer pardon them,

*Marcellus fought a battell with Hannibal at Numiſtron in Apulia.*

*The Dictator choſen by the Conſul or Prætor, not by the people nor Senate.*

*Whereof Dictator commeth.*

*Quintus Fuluius choſen Dictator, by the people.*

*Marcellus Proconſull.*

*Hannibals oration to his ſouldiers.*

*Marcellus ſtratagem.*

*Marcellus ouercome in battell by Hanniball.*

*Marcellus hard wordes vnto his ſouldiers.*

ſo long as they were ouercome: but when they ouercame againe, he was content to remit all. So the next morning he agreed to bring thē againe to fight with the enemy, that ſuch as were at ROME ſhould rather heare newes of their victory, then of their running away. When he had ſaid, he appointed they ſhould giue thoſe bands that firſt turned their backes to *Hanniball*, barely for wheate. So, as there were many of them in great daunger of their liues, for the ſore wounds they had giuen them in the battell: yet was there not a man of them, but *Marcellus* words did more grieue them then the grieuous wounds they had. The next morning betimes was ſet out of the generals tent, the coate armour died in skarlet, which is the ordinary ſigne of battell: and the bands that had receiued diſhonor the day before, were placed at their owne requeſt in the front of the battell. The other Captaines beſides, that were not ouerthrowen, did leade their bands alſo to the field, and did ſet them in battell ray. *Hanniball* hearing of that, cried out: O gods, what a man is this, that can not be quiet, neither with good nor ill fortune? for he is the onely odde man, that neuer giueth reſt to his enemy, when he hath ouercome him: nor taketh any for him ſelfe when he is ouercome. We ſhall neuer haue done with him, for any thing that I ſee, ſith ſhame, whether he win or loſe, doth ſtill prouoke him to be bolder and valianter. After orations made of both ſides, both armies marched forwards to ioyne battell. The ROMAINES being as ſtrong as the CARTHAGINIANS, *Hanniball* put his Elephants in the voward and front of his battell, and commanded his men to driue them vppon the ROMAINES: and ſo they did. Which in deed did ſomewhat trouble and diſorder the firſt rankes of the ROMAINES: vntill ſuch time as *Flauius*, Tribune of the ſouldiers, tooke an enſigne in his hands, and marched before the beaſts, and gaue the firſt of them ſuch a thruſt with the point of his enſigne, that he made her turne backe. The firſt beaſt being turned backe thus, ran vpon the ſecond that followed her, and the ſecond made the third goe backe alſo, and ſo from one to an other, vntill they all turned. *Marcellus* perceiuing that, commaunded his horſemen to ſet vpon the enemies with all the fury they could, in that place where he ſaw thē, ſomewhat troubled with theſe beaſts, that turned bake againe vpon them: and that they ſhould driue them further in amongeſt them. Which they did, and gaue ſo hotte a charge vppon the CARTHAGINIANS, that they made them turne their backes and run away, and they purſued them ſtill, killing them downe right, euen to their campe ſide: where was the greateſt ſlaughter of all, by reaſon their Elephantes that were wounded, fell downe ſtarke dead within the gate of their campe. And they ſay of the CARTHAGINIANS there were ſlaine at this battell, aboue eight thouſand, and of the ROMAINES onely three thouſand: howbeit all the reſt of them for the moſt part were very ſore hurt. Which fell out very well for *Hanniball*, that hee might march away at his pleaſure, as he did that night, and got him away far off from *Marcellus*, as knowing he was not in ſtate to follow him ouer ſodainely, becauſe of his great number of hurt men in his campe: and ſo by ſmal iournies he went into CAMPANIA, where he lay in garriſon all the ſommer, in the city of SINVESSE, to heale the wounds of his ſore mangled ſouldiers. *Hanniball* hauing now gotten him ſelfe at the length out of *Marcellus* hands, and hauing his army free to ſerue him as he thought good: he burned and deſtroied al ITALY where he went and ſtood no more in feare of any thing. This made *Marcellus* ill ſpoken off at ROME, and cauſed his enemies to take hold of ſuch a matter againſt him: for they ſtraight raiſed *Publius Bibulus* Tribune, to accuſe him, who was a hot harebrained man, but very eloquent, and could deliuer his mind very wel. So this *Bibulus* called the people oft to counſaile, & told them there, that they muſt needs call home *Marcellus*, and appoint ſome other to take charge of the army: for as for him, ſayd he, becauſe he hath fought a litle with *Hanniball* (and as a man might ſay, wreſtled a litle with him) he is now gotten to the bathes to ſolace him ſelfe. But *Marcellus* hearing this, left his Lieutenants in the campe, and went him ſelfe to ROME, to aunſwer to the vntrue accuſations layed againſt him, and there he perceiued at his comming, how they intended to proſecute the matter againſt him vppon theſe informations. So a day of hearing was appointed for his matter, and the parties came before the people aſſembled in counſaile, in the great liſts or ſhew place, called *Circus Flaminius*, to giue iudgement. There *Publius Bibulus* the Tribune, ſitting in his chaire, layed open his accuſation with great circumſtance: and *Marcellus*, when *Bibulus* had told his tale, aunſwered him in few wordes, and very diſcretely, only

*Hannibals wordes of Marcellus.*

*Battell betwixt Hannibell and Marcellus.*

*The worthy acts of Flauius Tribunus militum.*

*Marcellus victorie of Hanniball.*

*Hanniball laie in garriſon in the city of Sinueſſe in Campania.*

*P. Bibulus Tribune of the people accuſeth Marcellus.*

*Circus Flaminius.*

touching his purgation. But the noble and chiefeſt men of the city, roſe vp and ſpake on *Marcellus* behalfe, telling the people plainely, that they did *Marcellus* wrong, to reckon worſe of his valiantnes, then their enemy did: and to iudge of him as a coward, conſidering *Hanniball* only fled from him, of all other Captaines, and would by no meanes fight with him, neuer refuſing to fight with any other whatſoeuer. Theſe perſwaſions tooke ſuch effect, as wher *Marcellus* accuſer looked for his condẽnation: *Marcellus* to the cõtrary, was not only cleared of his accuſation, but furthermore they choſe him Conſull againe the fift time. So being entred into his office he went firſt into THVSCAN: where viſiting the good cities one after an other, and quieting them, he pacified a great ſedition in the country, when they were all ready to riſe and rebel. Afterwards at his returne, he thought to conſecrat the temple of honor & vertue, which he had built with the ſpoiles he got in the warres of SICILE. But the Prieſtes were againſt it, ſaying, two goddes might not be in one church. Thereupon he built another temple, and ioyned it to the firſt, being very angry the Prieſts denied ſo his conſecration: and he did take it for an euill token, beſides diuers other ſigns in the element that afterwards appeared, and troubled him much. For there were many temples ſet on fire with lightning at one time: and the rattes and miſe did gnaw the gold, that was in the chappell of *Iupiter Capitoline*. And it is reported alſo, that an oxe did ſpeake: and a child came out of the head of an Elephant, and that the child was aliue. Furthermore, the Prieſts and Soothſayers ſacrificing to the gods, to withdraw this euill from them, theſe ſiniſter tokens did threaten: they could neuer finde any fauourable ſignes in their ſacrifices. Whereuppon they ſought to keepe *Marcellus* ſtill at ROME, who had a maruellous earneſt deſire to be gone with ſpeede to the warres: for neuer man longed for anie thing ſo much, as *Marcellus* did, to fight with *Hanniball*. Inſomuch he neuer dreamed other thing in the night, nor ſpake of any matter elſe in the day to his friends and companions, not praied to the gods for any other thing, but that he might fight with *Hanniball* in the field: and I thinke he would willingliest haue fought a priuate combat with him, in ſome walled city or incloſed liſtes for the combat. And had it not bene that he had already won him ſelfe a great fame, and ſhewed him ſelfe to the world, (by ſundry great proofs and experience of his doings) a graue, ſkilfull, and a valiant Captaine as any man of his time: I would haue ſaid it had bene a pang of youth, & a more ambitious deſire, then became a man of his age, who was three ſcore yeare old at that time, when they made him Conſull againe the fift time. Neuertheles, after hee had ended all his propitiatory ſacrifices and purifications, ſuch as the Soothſayers had appointed: he departed from ROME with his fellow Conſull *Quintus Criſpinus* to the wars. He found *Hanniball* lying betweene the cities of BANCIA, and VENOVSA, and ſought all the meanes he could to procure him to fight, but he could neuer get him to it. Howbeit *Hanniball* being aduertiſed by ſpials, that the Cõſuls ſent an army to beſiege the city of the LOCRIANS, ſurnamed EPIZEPHYRIANS: (as ye would ſay) the occidentals, becauſe the GRECIANS, in reſpect of the ITALIANS, are called the orientals:) he laid an ambuſh for them that went, vnder the hil of PETILIVM, which was directly in their way, where he ſlew about two thouſand fiue hundred ROMAINES. That ouerthrow did ſet *Marcellus* on fire, and made him more deſirous of battell: wherupon he remoued his campe from the place he lay in, and marched nearer to his enemie. Betweene their two campes there was a prety litle hill, ſtrong of ſituation, a wilde thing ouergrowen with wod, and there were high hillocks. From whence they might diſcerne a great way, both the one and the others campe, and at the foote of the ſame ran prety ſprings: Inſomuch as the ROMAINS wondered, that *Hanniball* cõming thither firſt, did not take that place, but had left it to his enemies. Howbeit *Hannibal* was crafty enough, leauing it of purpoſe: for as it was commodious to lodge his campe in, ſo it ſerued his turne better for an ambuſh. So he filled the wod, the hollow places, and the vallies there about, with ſtore of ſhot and ſpearemen, aſſuring him ſelfe that the place would intiſe the ROMAINS thither: & in deed he geſſed rightly, for ſo fell it out. Straight there flue a rumor abroad in the ROMAINES campe, that there was a paſſing place to lodge in, & euery man tooke vpõ him like a ſkilfull ſouldier, to tell what vantage they ſhould haue vpon their enemies by taking that place, and ſpecially if they did lodge there, or otherwiſe built a fort vpon it. Whereupon *Marcellus* determined to go ſee the place him ſelf, taking a few horſemẽ with him. Notwithſtãding, before he would take horſe, he called

*Marcellus choſen Conſull the fift time.*

*The temples of honor and vertue built by Marcellus.*

*Wonderfull ſignes were ſeene in Rome, vnfortunate to Marcellus.*

*Marcellus three ſcore yeare old, being choſen Conſull the fift time.*

*Q. Criſpinus Conſull.*

*Hanniball laie betwixt the cities of Bancia and Venouſa.*

*Mons Petelium.*

*An ambuſh laid by Hanniball.*

*Ill ſignes to Marcellus.*

led for his Soothſaier to ſacrifice to the gods. The firſt beaſt that was ſacrificed, the Soothſaier ſhewed *Marcellus* the liuer of it without a head. The ſecond beaſt ſacrificed, had a faire great head of a liuer, and all the other parts were alſo ſound, and very new: that by them it appeared al the feare of the firſt ſigns and tokens were taken away. Yet the Soothſaiers on the other ſide ſayd, it did make them worſe afraid then before: for theſe ſo fauorable and lucky tokens of the ſacrifice, following immediatly after the firſt foule & naughty ſignes, made them doubt them much by reaſon of ſo ſtrange and ſodaine an alteration. But as the Poet *Pindarus* ſaieth.

> ***Nor force of burning fire, nor wall of ſteele nor ſtone,***
> ***nor whatſoeuer other thing, is here this earth vpon:***
> ***Can keepe abacke the courſe of fatall deſtiny,***
> ***nor yet reſiſt the due decrees, which come from heauen on high.***

*Quintus Criſpinus fellow Conſull with Marcellus.*

So *Marcellus* tooke his horſe, with *Quintus Criſpinus* his fellow Conſull, and his ſon one of the Tribunes of the ſouldiers, hauing onely two hundred and twenty horſemen with him, of the which there was not one ROMAINE among them, but al were THVSCANS, ſauing forty FREGELLANIANS, who from the beginning of theſe warres had alwaies ſhewed themſelues very faithfull and louing to *Marcellus*. The hill we ſpake of before, being thicke couered with wodde and buſhes, the enemies had ſet a skout to watch on the top of it, to giue warning if they ſaw any comming towards it. The ROMAINES could not ſee him, and he on the other ſide might ſee euen into their campe, and perceiue what was done, as he did aduertiſe thoſe at that time that lay in ambuſh for *Marcellus* comming: and they ſuffered him to paſſe on, vntill he came directly againſt them. Then they ſhewed vpon the ſodaine, and compaſſing in *Marcellus*, they both ſhot and ſtrake at him, ſome following them that fledde, and other fighting with the forty FREGELLANIANS which onely ſtucke to it: who came roundly in together (notwithſtanding the THVSCANS were fled) vpon the firſt crie they heard, to defend the two Conſuls, vntill ſuch time as the Conſull *Criſpinus* hauing two woundes on his body with a dart, did turne his horſe to flie. And with that, one of the enemies gaue *Marcellus* ſuch a ſore blow with a ſpeare hauing a broade iron head, that he ranne him quite through. The FREGELLANIANS that were left aliue, being but a few in number, ſeeing *Marcellus* ſlaine, left him lying on the ground, and tooke his ſonne away with them that was very ſore hurt, and by the ſwiftneſſe of their horſes recouered their campe, and ſaued them ſelues. At this ouerthrow, there were not ſlaine aboue forty men, and fiue and twenty taken priſoners, of which, fiue of them were the Conſuls ſergeants, and their officers that caried axes before them, and the other were all horſemen. Within few daies after, the other Conſull *Criſpinus* died alſo of his hurts, which was ſuch a misfortune, as neuer came before to the ROMAINES, that both their Conſuls were ſlaine at one battell. Now *Hanniball* made no great reckonning of all that were ſlaine, or taken at this field: but when he heard that *Marcellus* ſelfe was ſlaine at this ouerthrow, he went him ſelfe ſtraight to the place to ſee him. So when he had viewed his body a great while, ſtanding hard by it, and conſidering his ſtrength, his ſtature, and countenance, hauing taken full view of all the parts of him, he ſpake no proud word againſt him, nor ſhewed any glad countenance, as ſome other would haue done, that had ſlaine ſo valiaunt and dangerous an enemy: but wondering how he came to be ſlaine ſo ſtrangely there, he tooke of his ring from one of his fingers that ſealed his letters, and giuing his body buriall according to his eſtate, made it to be honorably burnt, and then put all his bones and aſhes into a ſiluer pot, on which he him ſelfe put a crown of gold, and ſent it vnto *Marcellus* ſonne. It fortuned ſo, that certaine light horſemen of the NVMIDIANS met with them that caried this ſiluer potte, and would haue taken it from them by force: but they ſtoode to it, and would not part withall, and ſo fighting and ſtriuing together for it, the bones & aſhes were ſcattered all about. *Hanniball* hearing this, ſaid to them that were about him: ſee, how nothing can be, which the gods will not. So he puniſhed the NVMIDIANS, and cared no more to get *Marcellus* bones together, but perſwaded him ſelfe it was the will of the gods he ſhould die ſo ſtrangely, and that his body ſhould haue no burial. *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Valerius Maximus* write it thus: but *Liuie*, & *Auguſtus Cæſar* ſay, that the pot was caried vnto his ſon, & honorably buried: *Marcellus* did cõſecrat many monuments in diuers places, beſides thoſe at ROME. As at CATANA in SICILE: a

*Marcellus ſlaine in an ambuſh at the hill of Petelie*

*The Conſull Criſpinus ſlain*

*Marcellus funerall honored by Hanniball.*

*Marcellus monuments.*

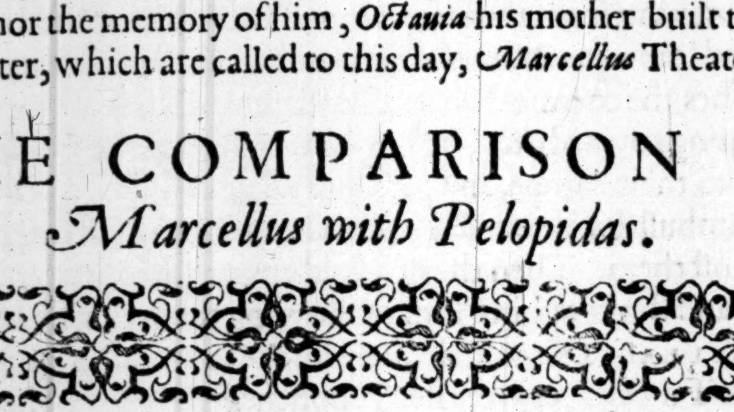
place for young men to exerciſe them ſelues in. In the ile of SAMOTHRACIA, in the temples of the gods called Cabires: many images and tables he brought from SYRACVSA. And in the Ile of LINDOS, in the temple of *Minerua*, where among other, there is a ſtatue of his, and this epigramme grauen vnder it, as *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher writeth.

*O thou my friend (I ſay) which paſſeth forth by me,*
*of Claudius Marcellus here, the image maieſt thou ſee:*
*whoſe family at Rome, was of the nobleſt name.*
*Seuen times he Conſull choſen was, in which he ouercame,*
*great numbers infinite, (in open field and fight)*
*of ſuch as ſought his countries ſpoile, and put them all to flight.*

*Marcellus poſterity.*

The author of this epigramme reckoneth, the two times of his being viceconſull, for two whole Conſulſhippes: but his poſterity continued alwaies in great honour, vnto *Marcellus* the ſonne of *Octauia*, (*Auguſtus Cæſars* ſiſter) and of *Caius Marcellus*. He died a young man, being Ædilis of ROME, and maried vnto *Iulia*, *Auguſtus* daughter, with whom hee liued no long time. But to honor the memory of him, *Octauia* his mother built the library, and *Auguſtus Cæſar* the Theater, which are called to this day, *Marcellus* Theater and library.

# THE COMPARISON OF *Marcellus with Pelopidas.*



*Pelopidas and Marcellus acts in warres.*

These are the greateſt things and beſt worthy of memory (in my opinion) of all *Pelopidas* and *Marcellus* doings: and for their maners and naturall conditions otherwiſe, they were all one, becauſe they were both valiant, painefull, and noble minded: ſauing that this difference onely was betweene them. That *Marcellus* in many cities he tooke by aſſault, did cruelly murder them, and ſpilt much bloud: where *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* contrarily did neuer put any to the ſworde they ouercame, neither did they take away the liberty from any city they tooke: and it is thought the THEBANS would not haue handled the ORCHOMENIANS ſo cruelly as they did, if one, or both of thē had bene preſent. Now for their acts, it was a noble and wonderfull peece of ſeruice that *Marcellus* did, with ſo ſmall a company of horſemen as he tooke with him, to ouerthrow ſo great a cōpany of horſemen & footemen both, of the GAVLES: a thing that neuer Generall but himſelfe did, and ſpecially that ſlew with his owne handes in the field, the Generall of his enemies. Which *Pelopidas* could neuer attaine vnto, for he ſeeking to kill *Alexander* the tyrant of PHERES, was ſlain firſt him ſelfe, and ſuffered that, which he deſired to haue done to an other. And yet for that ſeruice may be obiected, the battels of LEVCTRES, and of TEGYRA, which were both famous

*Marcellus acts peferred before Pelopidas.*

*The manner of Marcellus and Pelopidas deedes.*

*Marcellus made the Romains couragious.*

*Raſhnes in a captaine deſerueth blame.*

*The valiantnes and obedience of Chryſantas a ſouldier.*

and notable. But to encounter with thoſe,there was no notable ambuſh or ſecret practiſe done by *Marcellus*,that was any thing like comparable to that *Pelopidas* did at his returne from exile,when he ſlew the tyrants that kept THEBES in bondage. For that was as notable a policy and ſodain an enterpriſe ſtolen vpō,as none was euer greater,or more famous. It is true *Marcellus* was yoked with *Hanniball*,who was a dreadfull and a violent enemy: ſo were the THEBANS alſo at that very time with the LACEDÆMONIANS, who notwithſtanding were ouercome of *Pelopidas*,at the battels of TEGYRA,and of LEVCTRES. Whereas *Marcellus* did neuer ſo much as once ouercome *Hanniball*, as *Polybius* writeth, but remained vnconquered alwaies,vntil that *Scipio* ouercame him in battel. Notwithſtanding,we do giue beſt credit to the reports of *Cæſar*, *Liuie*,*Cornelius Nepos*, and of king *Iuba* among the GRECIANS: who write, that *Marcellus* otherwhile did ouerthrow certaine of *Hannibals* cōpanies, howbeit they were neuer no great ouerthrowes to ſpeake of,and it ſeemeth rather,it was through ſome mockery or deceit of that AFRICAN then otherwiſe. Yet ſure it was a great matter, and worthy much commendation,that the ROMAINS were brought to that courage, as they durſt abide to fight with the CARTHAGINIANS,hauing loſt ſo many great ouerthrows,and hauing ſo many generals of their armies ſlaine in battell,and hauing the whole Empire of ROME in ſo great danger of vtter deſtruction. For it was *Marcellus* only of al other generals,that put the ROMAINS in hart againe,after ſo great and long a feare throughly rooted in them: & incoraged the ſouldiers alſo too long to fight with their enemy,and not only to hope,but to aſſure them ſelues of victory. For,wher by reaſon of their continuall loſſes and fearefull ouerthrowes they had,they thought them ſelues happy men to eſcape *Hannibals* hands by running away: he taught them to be aſhamed to flie like cowards,to confeſſe they were in diſtreſſe,to retire,& leaue the field, before they had ouercome their enemies And where *Pelopidas* was neuer ouercome in battell being generall,and *Marcellus* did ouercome more then any general in his time: it might ſeeme therefore that the great number of the victories of the one,ſhould compare with the good hap of the other that was neuer ouercome. It is true that *Marcellus* tooke the city of SYRACVSA, and *Pelopidas* failed of taking the city of SPARTA: but yet do I thinke,that it was more valiantly done of *Pelopidas* to come ſo neare SPARTA as he did, and that hee was the firſt that paſſed the riuer of EVROTAS with an army,which neuer enemy did before him,then it was of *Marcellus* to win all SICILE. Vnleſſe ſome peraduenture will ſay againe,this was *Epaminondas*,not *Pelopidas* act,as alſo in the victory of LEVCTRES: where no man liuing can pretend any part of glory to the doings of *Marcellus*. For he tooke SYRACVSA, being only generall alone, and did ouerthrow the GAVLES without his fellow Conſull,and fought with *Hanniball*, without any mans helpe or incouragement:(for all other were againſt it, and perſwaded the contrarie) and he was the firſt that altered the maner of wars the ROMAINES vſed then, and that trayned his ſouldiers,that they durſt fight with the enemy. For their death,I neither commend the one nor the other,and the ſtrangenes of either of their deaths doth grieue me maruellouſly: as I do greatly wonder alſo, how *Hanniball* in ſo many battels as he fought(which are innumerable) could alwaies ſcape vnhurt. I can not but greatly commend alſo the valiantnes of one *Chryſantas*,whom *Xenephon* ſpeaketh of in his booke of the inſtitution of *Cyrus*,ſaying: that he hauing lift vp his ſword in his hand ready to kill one of his enemies, and hearing the trumpet ſound the retreate,he ſoftly retired,and would not ſtrike him. Howbeit it ſeemeth *Pelopidas* is more to be excuſed: for beſide he was very hot and deſirous of battell, yet his anger was honorable and iuſt, and moued him to ſeeke reuenge. For as the Poet *Euripides* ſaieth:

*The beſt that may betide, is when a captaine liues,*
*and doth ſuruiue the victories, which he with force atchieues,*
*But if he needs muſt fall, then let him valiauntly*
*euen thruſt amid the thickeſt throng, and there with honor die.*

For ſo becōmeth his death famous,& not diſhonorable. But now,beſides *Pelopidas* iuſt cauſe of anger,yet was there another reſpect that moſt pricked him forward,to do that he did: for he ſaw his victory ended,in the death of the tyraunt. Otherwiſe he ſhould hardly haue found ſo noble an occaſion to haue ſhewed his valiantnes,as in that. And *Marcellus* contrarily,without any inſtant neceſſity, and hauing no cauſe of heate or choller,(which putteth al men valiant in fight beſides them ſelues, that they know not what they do) did raſhly and vnaduiſedly, thruſt himſelf into the middeſt of the danger, where he died not as a general, but as a light horſeman and skout, (forſaking his three triumphes, his fiue Conſullſhips, and his ſpoiles and tokens of triumph, which he had gotten of kings with his owne handes) among venturous SPANIARDS and NVMIDIANS, that ſold their bloud and liues for pay vnto the CARTHAGINIANS: ſo that I imagine they were angry with them ſelues (as a man would ſay) for ſo great and happy a victory, to haue ſlaine amongeſt FREGELLANIANS skouts, and light horſemen, the nobleſt and worthieſt perſon of the ROMAINES. I would no man ſhould thinke I ſpeake this in reproch of the memory of theſe two famous men, but as a grieſe only of them and their valiantnes: which they emploied ſo, as they blemiſhed all their other vertues, by the vndiſcrete hazarding of their perſons and liues without cauſe, as if they would and ſhould haue died for them ſelues, and not rather for their countrey and friends. And alſo when they were dead, *Pelopidas* was buried by the allies and confederates of the city of THEBES, for whoſe cauſe he was ſlaine: and *Marcellus* in like manner, by the enemies ſelues that had ſlaine him. And ſure the one is a happy thing, and to be wiſhed for in ſuch a caſe: but the other is farre aboue it, and more to be wondered at. That the enemy him ſelfe ſhould honour his valiantneſſe and worthines that hurt him, more then the office of friendſhip performed by a thankfull friend. For nothing moueth the enemy more to honor his dead enemy, then the admiration of his worthineſſe: and the friend ſheweth friendſhip many time, rather for reſpect of the benefits he hath receiued, then for the loue he beareth to his vertue.

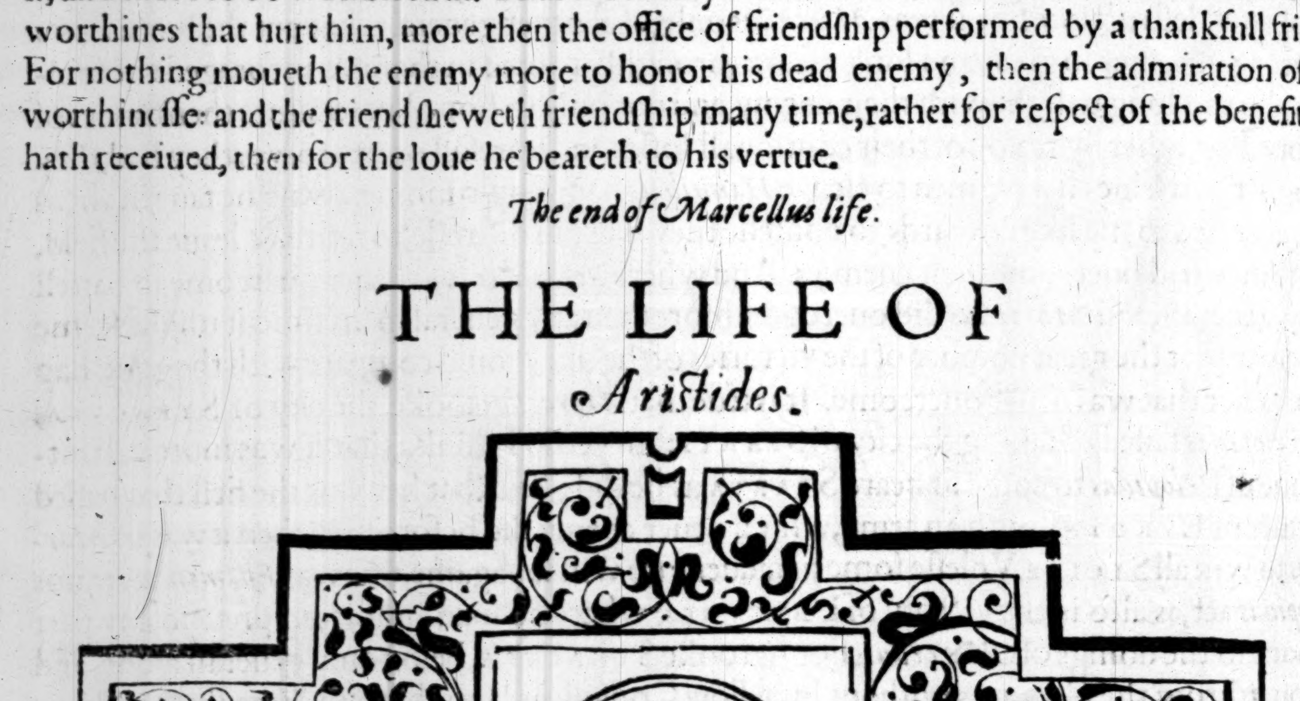
*Plutarch excuſeth his free ſpeach and iudgement of theſe famous men.*

*Pelopidas and Marcellus funeralls vnlike.*

*The end of Marcellus life.*

# THE LIFE OF

## *Ariſtides.*



ARiſtides the ſon of *Lyſimachus*, was certainly of the tribe of *Antiochides*, and of the towne of ALOPECIA. But for his goods and wealth, they diuerſly write of him. For ſome ſay, he liued poorly all the daies of his life, and that he left two daughters, which by reaſon of their pouerty, liued vnmaried many yeares after their fathers death. And many of the oldeſt writers do confirme that for troth. Yet *Demetrius Phalerius*, in his booke intituled *Socrates*, writeth the contrary: that he knew certaine lands *Ariſtides* had in the village of PHALERIA, which

*Ariſtides wealth.*

which did yet beare the name of *Ariſtides* landes, in the which his bodie is buried. And furthermore, to ſhewe that hee was well to liue, and that his houſe was rich and wealthie, he bringeth foorth theſe proofes. Firſt, that he was one yeare Maior or prouoſt of ATHENS, whom they called, *Archon Eponymos*, becauſe the yeare tooke the name of him that had it yearely. And they ſay he came to it, by drawing of the beane, according to the auncient vſe of the ATHENIANS, and their wonted manner of making their election of the ſaid office: In which election none were admitted to drawe the beane, but ſuch as were higheſt ſet in their ſubſidie bookes, according to the value & rate of their goods, whom they called at ATHENS, *pentacoſiomedimnes*, as you would ſay, thoſe that might deſpend fiue hundred buſhels of wheat by the yeare, and vpwards. Secondly, he alleageth he was baniſhed by the Oſtraciſmon, which baniſheth the nobilitie and great rich men onely, whom the common people enuie, becauſe of their greatneſſe, and neuer dealeth with poore men. The third and laſt reaſon he makes is, that he left of his gift, three footed ſtooles in the temple of *Bacchus*, which thoſe do commonly offer vp, as haue won the victorie in comedies, tragedies, or other ſuch like paſtimes, whereof they themſelues had borne the charge. And thoſe threefooted ſtooles remaine there yet, which they ſay were giuen by *Ariſtides*, and haue this inſcription vpon them: The tribe of *Antiochides* wanne the victorie, *Ariſtides*, defraied the charges of the games, and *Archeſtratus* the Poet taught them to play his comedies. This laſt reaſon, though it ſeeme likelieſt of them all, yet is it the weakeſt of the reſt. For *Epaminondas* (whom euery man knoweth was poore euen from his birth, and alwaies liued in great pouertie) and P*lato* the Philoſopher, tooke vpon him to defray the charges of games that were of no ſmall expence, the one hauing borne the charges of flute plaiers at THEBES, and the other the daunce of the children which daunced in a round at ATHENS: towardes the furniſhing of which charges *Dion* the SYRACVSAN gaue P*lato* money, & P*elopidas* alſo gaue *Epaminondas* money. Now, this is not ſpoken that vertuous men ſhould alwaies refuſe the gifts of their friends, and that they might not in ſome ſort accept their friends courteſie offered them: but becauſe they ſhould thinke it vncomely and diſhonorable for them, to take any thing to enrich themſelues, or to ſpare and horde vp. Howbeit where there is any honorable act to be done, or any publike ſhew to be made, not tending to their priuate benefite: in ſuch a caſe they ſhould not refuſe their friendes louing offer, and goodwill towards them. And where *Demetrius* ſaith the three footed ſtoole was offered vp in the temple of *Bacchus*, P*anætius* declareth plainely, that *Demetrius* was deceaued by the ſemblance of the name. For ſince the time of the warres of the MEDES, vnto the beginning of the warre of PELOPONNESVS, in all the regiſters and recordes kept of the defraiers of the charges of common playes, there were founde but two men bearing name of *Ariſtides* that obtained victory: & neither of them both was ſonne vnto *Lyſimachus*, whom we write of at this preſent. For the one is expreſſely named the ſonne of *Xenophilus*, and the other was long after the ſame *Ariſtides* we now ſpeake of: as appeareth eaſily by the writing and orthographie, which is according to the grammer rules, we haue vſed in GRECE euer ſince *Euclides* time. Moreouer it is eaſie to be knowen, by the name of the Poet *Archeſtratus* that is adioyned to it. For there is no man that maketh mention of a Poet of this name, in all the warres of the MEDES: but in the time of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, many doe put him in for an author and maker of rimes and ſonges that were ſung in common daunces. Yet for all P*anætius* obiections, the matter is to be better looked into, and conſidered of. But for the Oſtraciſmon baniſhment, it is true, that ſuch as were great men in eſtimation aboue the common people, either in fame, nobilitie, or eloquence, they onely were ſubiect vnto this baniſhment. For *Damon* himſelfe, being P*ericles* ſchoolemaſter, was baniſhed: onely becauſe the common people thought him too wiſe. Moreouer, *Idomeneus* writeth, that *Ariſtides* was their prouoſt for a yeare, not by lot of beanes, but by voices of the ATHENIANS that choſe him. And if he were prouoſt ſince the iorney of PLATEES, as *Demetrius* writeth: it is likely enough that they did him this honour, for his great vertue and notable ſeruice, which other were wont to obtaine for their riches. But this *Demetrius* doth not only defend *Ariſtides*, but alſo *Socrates* pouertie, as if it were a foule vice and reproch to be poore. For he writeth, that he had not only a houſe of his owne, but alſo threeſcore and ten Minas at vſurie, which *Criton*

*Good men may take giftes, but after a ſort.*

*Damon baniſhed becauſe he was too wiſe.*

*Socrates was not poore.*

gaue him intereſt for. But now to our ſtory again. *Ariſtides* was *Cliſthenes* very friend, he that reſtored the gouernment at ATHENS after the expulſion of the thirty tyrantes, and did reuerence *Lycurgus* the Lawmaker of the LACEDÆMONIANS for his lawes, aboue all the men in his time: and therefore he euer fauored the ſtate of Ariſtocratia, that is, where the noble men rule, and haue the ſoueraignty. Howbeit he euer had *Themiſtocles* (*Neocles* ſonne) his continuall aduerſarie, as taking part with the contrarie, and defending the popular ſtate of gouernement. Some ſay, that being ſchollers, and brought vp together, they were euer contrary one to another in all their actions and doings, were it in ſport, or in matters of earneſt: and euer after, men beganne to ſee the naturall inclination of them both, by their contrary affections. For *Themiſtocles* was quicke, nimble, aduenturous, and ſubtill, and would venter on any thing vpon light occaſion. *Ariſtides* contrariwiſe was very quiet, temperate, conſtant and maruellous well ſtaied, who would for no reſpect be drawen away from equitie and iuſtice, neither would lie, flatter, nor abuſe any bodie, though it were but in ſport. Notwithſtanding, *Ariſtõ* of CHIO writeth, that their malice beganne firſt of light loue, and that it grew to greatneſſe by proceſſe of time betwene them: for (ſaith he) both the one and the other of them fell in loue with *Steſileus*, borne in the Ile of CEOS. This fond light loue of theirs, fell not eaſily from them, nor the enuie they conceiued one againſt another, but continued againſt each other in matters of ſtate: ſuch was their malice towardes one another. In which calling, *Themiſtocles* ſought the way to winne friendes, by whoſe meanes he came to great preferment in ſhort time, and had made himſelfe very ſtrong by them. Therefore, when a friend of his told him one day, he was worthy to gouerne the citie of ATHENS, and were very fit for it, if he were indifferent, and not partiall. The goddes forbid (quoth he) I ſhould euer occupie the place of a gouernour, where my friends ſhould not finde more fauour then ſtraungers, that doe me no pleaſure. But *Ariſtides* taking another courſe by himſelfe, would not ſtand vpon his friendes in gouernment. Firſt, becauſe he would do no man wrong, with pleaſuring his friends: nor yet would anger them, by denying their requeſtes. Secondly, becauſe he ſaw many rulers and men of authoritie bold to doe iniuſtice, and manifeſt wrong, bearing themſelues vpon their friendes: but he caried this opinion, that no honeſt man, or good citizen, ſhould truſt to any bolſtring of friends, but to his owne iuſt and vpright doings. Notwithſtanding, *Ariſtides* perceiuing that *Themiſtocles* did raſhly alter many things, and euer encountered all his waies, and hindered his doings: he was enforced ſometime to croſſe *Themiſtocles* againe, and to ſpeake againſt that he preferred, partly to be euen with him, but moſt to hinder his credite and authoritie, which increaſed ſtill through the peoples fauour and goodwils towards him: thinking it better by contrarying him a litle to diſappoint ſomtime a thing that might haue fallen out well for the common wealth, rather then by giuing him the head, to ſuffer him to grow too great. To conclude, it fortuned on a time that *Themiſtocles* hauing preferred a matter very profitable for the common wealth, *Ariſtides* was ſo much againſt it, as *Themiſticles* purpoſe tooke no place. Moreouer *Ariſtides* was ſo earneſt againſt him, that when the counſell brake vp after *Themiſtocles* motion was reiected, he ſpake it openly before them all: that the common wealth of ATHENS would neuer proſper, vntill they both were laide in Barathrum, which was a priſon or hole, wherein they put all theeues and condemned men. An other time, *Ariſtides* moued a matter to the people, which diuerſe were againſt, but yet it went with him. And when the iudge or preſident of the counſell did put it to the people, to know their allowance of it: *Ariſtides* perceiuing by the arguments made againſt it, that the matter he preferred was hurtfull to the common wealth, he gaue it ouer, and would not haue it paſſe. Manie times alſo *Ariſtides* ſpake by other men, when he would haue a thing goe forward, for feare leaſt *Themiſtocles* ſpight towardes him, would hinder the benefite of the common wealth. They found him very conſtant and reſolute in matters of ſtate, whatſoeuer happened: which wanne him great commendation. For he was neuer the prouder for any honour they gaue him; nor thought himſelfe diſgraced for any ouerthrow he receiued: being alwaies of this minde, that it was the dutie of an honeſt citizen, to be euer readie to offer his bodie and life to do his countrie ſeruice, without reſpect and hope of reward of money, or for honor and glory. Therefore when certaine verſes were repeated in the Theater, of one of the tragedies of

*Ariſtocratia what it ſignifieth.*

*Ariſtides and Themiſtocles enemies in the cõmon wealth.*

*Themiſtocles diſpoſition.*

*Ariſtides nature.*

*Themiſtocles ſaying for partialitie.*

*Ariſtides maner of dealing in the common wealth.*

*Barathrum a priſon or dungeon.*

*Ariſtides conſtancie.*

*AEſchilus* made in commendation of the auncient Soothſayer *Amphiaraus*, to this effect.

*He will not only ſeeme, a iuſt man by his face,*
*but iuſt indeede he will be found, and vertue ſtill embrace:*
*VVith all his thought and ſoule, from whence there may proceede,*
*graue counſels for to beautifie, his countries crowne indeede.*

All the people ſtraight caſt their eyes vpon *Ariſtides*, as vpon him, that in truth aboue all other moſt deſerued the praiſe of ſo great a vertue. For he was ſo ſtout and reſolute, not only to reſiſt fauour and friendſhip: but to reiect hate and anger alſo. For in caſe of iuſtice, neither could friendſhippe make him go away for his friends ſake: nor enuie could moue him to doe iniuſtice, to his very enemie. For proofe hereof it is written, that he had an enemie of his in ſute of law, and did proſecute it to iudgement: inſomuch as after the plaint was read, the iudges were ſo angrie with the offender, that without any more hearing of him, they would haue giuen ſentence againſt him. But *Ariſtides* riſing from his place, went and kneeled at the iudges feete with the offendor his enemie, and beſought them to giue him leaue to ſpeake, to iuſtifie and defende his cauſe, according to the courſe of the law. An other time he being iudge betwene two priuate men that pleaded before him, one of them ſaid vnto him: *Ariſtides*, this fellow mine aduerſarie here, hath done you great iniurie. My friend (quoth *Ariſtides* againe) I pray thee tell me onely the iniurie he hath done thee, for I am iudge here to do thee right, and not my ſelfe. Moreouer, he being choſen high treaſurer of all the reuenues of ATHENS, did declare that all the officers before him, and other his late predeceſſors, had greatly robbed and ſpoiled the common treaſure, but ſpecially *Themiſtocles*: who was a wiſe man, & of great iudgement, but yet ſomewhat light fingered. Therefore when *Ariſtides* was to giue vppe his account, *Themiſtocles*, and many other ſuborned by him, were againſt him, and accuſed him for abuſing his office, and followed him ſo hard, that through their practiſe they condemned him, as *Idomeneus* writeth. Yet the nobleſt citizens ſeeing what iniurie they offered *Ariſtides*, tooke his cauſe in hande, and found meanes to procure the people not onely to releaſe the fine impoſed vpon him, but to reſtore him againe to his office of high treaſurer for the yeare following: in the which he ſeemed to repent his former ſtraightneſſe and gouernement the yeare before, and ſo dealt more fauourably with thoſe he had to doe, and would not examine euery thing ſo ſtraightly as he did before. VVhereupon ſuch as were theeues and ſtealers of the treaſure of the common wealth, did maruellouſly praiſe and like him, and became ſuters for him to continue in the office. But whẽ the day of election came, that the ATHENIANS would chooſe him againe, *Ariſtides* ſelfe reproued them, and ſaid. VVhen I faithfully diſcharged the dutie of mine office committed to me by you, I then receiued ſhame and reproch at your handes: and now that I haue diſſembled, not ſeeming to ſee the theftes and robberies done vpon your treaſure, ye claw me, and ſay I am an honeſt man, and a good citizen. But I would you knew it, and I tell you plainely, I am more aſhamed of the honour you do me now, then I was of the fine you did ſet vpon me, when you condemned me the laſt yeare: and I am ſorie to ſpeake it, that you ſhould thinke it more commendation to pleaſure the wicked, then to preſerue the common wealth. After he had ſpoken theſe words, and had bewrayed the common thefts the officers of the citie did commit: he ſtopped the theeues mouthes that ſo highly praiſed and commended him for ſo honeſt a man; but yet of the noble and honeſt citizens he was much commended. Furthermore, on a time when *Dathis* Lieutenant to *Darius* king of PERSIA, was come with all his nauie to go a land about MARATHON, in the country of ATTICA, vpon pretence (as he ſaid) to be reuenged only of the ATHENIANS that had burnt the citie of SARDIS, but indeede of mind to conquer all GRECE, and to deſtroy the whole countrie before him: the ATHENIANS choſe tenne Captaines to go to the warres, among whom *Miltiades* was the chiefeſt man of authoritie. But *Ariſtides* drew very neere him in reputation and credite, becauſe he did very good ſeruice in obtaining the victorie, ſpecially when he agreed with *Miltiades* in counſell, to giue battell vpon the barbarous people: and alſo when he willingly gaue *Miltiades* the whole rule and order of the armie. For euery one of the ten Captaines did by turnes leade the whole armie for one whole day: and when *Ariſtides* turne came about, he gaue his preferment thereof vnto *Miltiades*, teaching his other companions,

*Ariſtides iuſtice.*

*Ariſtides wiſe ſaying.*

*Ariſtides choſen treaſurer.*

*Themiſtocles couetouſly giuen.*

*Ariſtides accuſed & condemned, for abuſing his office.*

*Ariſtides fine releaſed, and he made treaſurer againe.*

*Ariſtides openly reproueth cloſe theeues in the common wealth, and deteſteth their praiſe.*

*Miltiades chiefe of the ten Captaines that went againſt Dathis the king of Perſiaes Lieutenant.*

*Miltiades victorie of the Perſians.*

that it was no ſhame, but honour for them to be ruled by the wiſeſt. Thus by his example, he appeaſed all ſtrife that might haue growen among them, and perſwaded them all to be contented to follow his direction and counſell, that had beſt experience in warre. And ſo he did much aduance *Miltiades* honor. For after that *Ariſtides* had once yeelded his authoritie vnto him, euery one of the reſt did the like when it came to their turne: and ſo they all ſubmitted themſelues vnto his rule and leading. But on the day of the battell, the place where the ATHENIANS were moſt combred, was in the middeſt of the battell, where they had ſet the tribes of the *Leontides*, and of *Antiochides*: for thither the barbarous people did bend all their force, and made their greateſt fight in that place. By which occaſion, *Themiſtocles* and *Ariſtides* fighting one hard by an other, for that the one was of the tribe *Leontides*, and the other of *Antiochides*, they valiantly fought it out with the enemies, enuying one another: ſo as the barbarous people at the laſt being ouerthrowen, they made them flie, and draue them to their ſhippes. But when they were imbarked & gone, the Captaines of the ATHENIANS perceiuing they made not towardes the Iles which was their direct courſe to returne into ASIA, but that they were driuen backe by ſtorme of winde and pyrries of the ſea, towardes the coaſt of ATTICA, and the citie of ATHENS, fearing leaſt they might find ATHENS vnfurniſhed for defence, and might ſet vpon it: they thereuppon ſent away preſently nine tribes that marched thither with ſuch ſpeede, as they came to ATHENS the very ſame day, and left *Ariſtides* in the campe at MARATHON, with his tribe and countrie men, to looke to the priſoners and ſpoyle they had wonne of the barbarous people. Who nothing deceiued the opinion they had of his wiſdom. For notwithſtanding there was great ſtore of gold and ſiluer, much apparell, moueables, and other infinite goods and riches in all their tentes and pauillions, and in the ſhippes alſo they had taken of theirs: he was not ſo couetous as once to touch them, nor to ſuffer any other to meddle with them, vnleſſe by ſtealth ſome prouided for themſelues. As amongeſt other, there was one *Callias*, one of *Ceres* Prieſtes, called *Dadouchos*, as you would ſay the torch bearer: (for in the ſecret ſacrifices of *Ceres*, his office was to holde the torch) whom when one of the barbarous people ſaw, and how he ware a band about his head, and long haire, he tooke him for ſome king, and falling on his knees at his feete, kiſſed his hand, and ſhewed him great ſtore of golde he had hidden and buried in a ditch. But *Callias*, like a moſt cruell, and cowardly wretch of all other on the earth, tooke away the gold, and killed the poore ſoule that had ſhewed him the place, becauſe hee ſhould not tell it to others. Hereof it commeth, that the comicall Poets do call thoſe that came of him in mockerie, Laccoplutes, as made rich by a ditch: becauſe of the golde that *Callias* found in it. Immediatly after this battell, *Ariſtides* was choſen prouoſt of ATHENS for the yeare: albeit *Demetrius Phalerius* writeth, that it was a litle before his death, after the iorney of PLATEES. For in their Chronicles, where they ſet in order their prouoſts of ATHENS for the yere, ſince *Xanthippides* time, there appeareth no one name of *Ariſtides* in that yeare, that *Mardonius* the king of PERSIAES Lieutenant was ouerthrowen by PLATEES, which was many yeares after. But contrariwiſe they find *Ariſtides*, enrolled among the prouoſtes immediatly after *Phanippus*, in the yeare the battell was fought at MARATHON. Now the people did moſt commende *Ariſtides* iuſtice, as of all other his vertues and qualities: becauſe that vertue is moſt common & in vſe in our life, and deliuereth moſt benefite to men. Hereof it came, that he being a meane man, obteined the worthieſt name that one could haue, to be called by the whole citie, a iuſt man. This ſurname was neuer deſired of kings, princes, nor of tyrantes, but they alwaies delighted to be ſurnamed, ſome *Poliorcetes*, to ſay, conquerors of cities: other *Cerauni*, to ſay, lightning or terrible: other *Nicanores*, to ſay, ſubduers: and ſome other, *Aeti* and *Hieraces*, to ſay Eagles or Faulcons, or ſuch like birdes that prey: deſiring rather (as it ſhould appeare by thoſe ſurnames) the praiſe and reputation growing by force and power, then the commendation that riſeth by vertue and goodneſſe. And notwithſtanding, God whom men deſire moſt to be likened to, doth excell all humaine nature in three ſpeciall things: in immortalitie, in power, and in vertue, of which three, vertue is the moſt honorable and precious thing. For as the natural Philoſophers reaſon, all the foure elements and *Vacuum*, are immortall and vncorruptible, and ſo are force and power, earthquakes, lightning, terrible ſtormes, running riuers, and inundations of

waters:

*The wicked part of Callias the torch bearer*

*Ariſtides choſen prouoſt of Athens.*

*Ariſtides called the Iuſt.*

waters: but as for iuſtice and equitie, no man is partaker of them, ſaue only God, by meanes of reaſon and vnderſtanding. Therefore, becauſe men commonly haue three ſundry honors to the gods: the firſt, that they thinke them bleſſed: the ſecond, that they feare them: the third, that they reuerence them: it appeareth then that they thinke them bleſſed, for the eternitie and immortalitie of their godhead: that they feare them, becauſe of their omnipotencie and power: and that they loue and worſhip them, for their iuſtice and equitie. And yet notwithſtanding, of thoſe three, men doe couet immortalitie, which no fleſh can attaine vnto: and alſo power, which dependeth moſt vpon fortune: and in the meane time they leaue vertue alone, whereof the goddes of their goodneſſe haue made vs capable. But here they ſhew them ſelues fooles. For iuſtice maketh the life of a noble man, and of one in great authoritie, ſeeme diuine and celeſtiall: where without iuſtice and dealing vniuſtly, his life is moſt beaſtly, and odious to the world. But now againe to *Ariſtides*. This ſurname of a iuſt man at the beginning, made him beloued of all the people: but afterwardes it turned him to great ill will, and ſpecially by *Themiſtocles* practiſe. Who gaue it out euery where, that *Ariſtides* had ouerthrowen all iuſtice, becauſe by conſent of the parties he was euer choſen Arbitrator to end all controuerſies: and how by this meanes he ſecretly had procured the abſolute power of a king, not needing any guard or ſouldiers about him. The people moreouer being growen very diſſolute and licentious, by reaſon of the victorie of MARATHON, who ſought that all thinges ſhould paſſe by them, and their authoritie: beganne now to miſlike, and to be greatly offended, that any priuate man ſhould go before the reſt in good fame and reputation. Whereupon, they came out of all ſhires of ATTICA into the citie of ATHENS, and ſo baniſhed *Ariſtides* with the Oſtraciſmon: diſguiſing the enuie they bare to his glory with the name of feare of tyrannie. For this manner of baniſhment called Oſtraciſmon, or Exoſtraciſmon, was no ordinarie puniſhment for any fault or offence committed: but to giue it an honeſt cloke, they ſaide it was onely a pulling downe and tying ſhort, of too much greatneſſe and authoritie, exceeding farre the maner and countenance of a popular ſtate. But to tell you truely, it was none otherwiſe, then a gentle mean to qualifie the peoples enuy againſt ſome priuate perſon: which enuy bred no malice to him whoſe greatneſſe did offend them, but onely tended to the baniſhing of him for tenne yeares. But afterwardes that by practiſe, this Oſtraciſmon baniſhment was laide vpon meane men, and malefactors, as vpon *Hyperbolus* that was the laſt man ſo baniſhed: they neuer after vſed it any more at ATHENS. And by the way, it ſhall not be amiſſe to tell you here, why and wherfore this *Hyperbolus* was baniſhed. *Alcibiades* and *Nicias* were the chiefeſt men of ATHENS at that time, and they both were euer at ſquare together, a common thing amongeſt great men. They perceiuing now by the peoples aſſembling, that they went about to execute the Oſtraciſmon, were maruellouſly affraid it was ment to baniſh one of them: wherfore they ſpake together, and made both their followers friends with ech other, and ioyned them in one tribe together, inſomuch, when the moſt voyces of the people were gathered to condemne him that ſhould be baniſhed, they found it was *Hyperbolus*. The people therewith were much offended, to ſee the Oſtraciſmon ſo embaſed and ſcorned, that they neuer after would vſe it againe, and ſo left it off for euer. But briefely to let you vnderſtande what the Oſtraciſmon was, and after what ſort they vſed it, ye are to know: that at a certaine day appointed, euery citizen caried a great ſhell in his hande, whereupon he wrote the name of him he would haue baniſhed, and brought it into a certaine place railed about with wodden barres in the market place. Then, when euery man had brought in his ſhell: the magiſtrates and officers of the citie, did count and tell the number of them. For if there were leſſe then ſixe thouſand citizens, that had thus brought theſe ſhels together: the Oſtraciſmon was not full and perfect. That done, they laid a part euery mans name written in theſe ſhels: and whoſe name they found written by moſt citizens, they proclaimed him by ſound of trumpet, a baniſhed man for tenne yeares, during which time notwithſtanding, the partie did enioy all his goods. Now euery man writing thus his name in a ſhell, whom they would haue baniſhed: it is reported there was a plaine man of the country (very ſimple) that could neither write nor read, who came to *Ariſtides* (being the firſt man he met with) & gaue him his ſhell, praying him to write *Ariſtides* name vpon it. He being abaſhed withall, did aſke the country

*The praiſe of iuſtice.*

*Authoritie would be without corruption.*

*Themiſtocles enuieth Ariſtides iuſtice.*

*Ariſtides baniſhed with the Oſtraciſmon.*

*The nature of the Oſtraciſmon.*

*Hyperbolus the laſt man baniſhed with the Oſtraciſmon.*

*The cauſe of Hyperbolus baniſhment.*

*A deſcription of the Oſtraciſmon.*

*A tale of a plaine man that came to Ariſtides with his ſhell, to pray him to write Ariſtides name in it.*

*Ariſtides called from exile.*

*Ariſtides actes and counſels againſt king Xerxes.*

*Ariſtides words of Themiſtocles.*

*Ariſtides victorie at Pſyttalea.*

man, if *Ariſtides* had euer done him any diſpleaſure. No, ſaid the country man, he neuer did me hurt, not I know him not: but it greeues me to heare euery man call him a iuſt man. *Ariſtides* hearing him ſay ſo, gaue him no anſwere, but wrote his owne name vpon the ſhell, and deliuered it againe to the country man. But as he went his way out of the citie, he lift vppe his handes to heauen, and made a prayer contrarie to that of *Achilles* in *Homer*, beſeeching the goddes that the ATHENIANS might neuer haue ſuch troubles in hande, as they ſhould be compelled to call for *Ariſtides* againe. Notwithſtanding, within three yeares after, when *Xerxes* king of PERSIA came with his armie through the countries of THESSALY & BOEOTIA, and entred into the heart of the country of ATTICA: the ATHENIANS reuoking the law of their Oſtraciſmon, called home againe all thoſe they had baniſhed, and ſpecially, becauſe they were afraid *Ariſtides* would take part with the barbarous people, and that his example ſhould moue many other to doe the like, wherein they were greatly deceiued in the nature of the man. For before that he was called home, he continually trauelled vp and downe, perſwading and incouraging the GRECIANS to maintaine and defend their libertie. After that lawe was repealed, and publiſhed, and that *Themiſtocles* was choſen the onely Lieutenant generall of ATHENS, he did alwaies faithfully aide and aſſiſt him in all things, as well with his trauell, as alſo with his counſell: and thereby wanne his enemie great honour, becauſe it ſtood vpon the ſafetie and preſeruation of his countrie. For when *Eurybiades*, generall of the armie of the GRÆCIANS, had determined to forſake the Ile of SALAMINA, and that the gallies of the barbarous people were come into the middeſt of the ſeas, and had enuironed the Iles all about, & the mouth of the arme of the ſtraight of SALAMINA, before any man knew they were thus incloſed in: *Ariſtides* departing out of the Ile of *AEgina* with a maruellous boldneſſe, ventred through the middeſt of all the barbarous ſhippes and fleete, and by good happe gotte in the night into *Themiſtocles* tent, and calling him out, ſpake with him there in this ſort. *Themiſtocles*, if we be both wiſe, it is high time we ſhould now leaue off this vaine enuy and ſpight we haue long time borne each other, and that wee ſhould enter into another ſort of enuie more honorable and profitable for vs both. I meane, which of vs two ſhould doe his beſt indeuour to ſaue GRECE: you, by ruling and commanding all like Lieutenant generall: and I, by counſelling you for the beſt, and executing your commaundement: conſidering you are the man alone that will roundlieſt come vnto the point that is beſt: which is in my opinion, that we ſhould hazard battell by ſea within the ſtraight of SALAMINA, and that aſſoone as might be poſſible. But if our friendes and confederates do let this to be put in execution, I do aſſure you your enemies do helpe it forwarde. For it is ſaid, that the ſea both before and behinde vs, and round about vs, is couered all ouer with their ſhippes, ſo as they that would not before, ſhall be now compelled of force, and in ſpight of their hearts, to fight and beſtirre them like men: becauſe they are compaſſed in all about, and there is no paſſage left open for them to eſcape, nor to flie. Whereunto *Themiſtocles* aunſwered. I am ſorie, *Ariſtides*, that herein your honeſtie appeareth greater then mine: but ſince it is ſo, that you haue deſerued the honor in beginning, and procuring ſuch an honorable and commendable ſtrife betwene vs, I will henceforth indeuour my ſelfe to exceede you in continuing this your deſire. After which anſwere, he told *Ariſtides*, how he purpoſed to mocke the barbarous king, and praied him to intreate *Eurybiades* to yeeld to his deuiſe, & to perſwade him that there was no other way to ſaue GRECE, but to fight by ſea: for *Eurybiades* gaue more credite to *Ariſtides* perſwaſions, then he did to *Themiſtocles* wordes. For when all the Captaines were called to counſell, to determine whether they ſhould giue battell or not: one *Cleocritus* CORINTHIAN ſaid to *Themiſtocles*, that his counſell did not like *Ariſtides* at all as it ſeemed, becauſe he ſpake neuer a worde to it being preſent. *Ariſtides* anſwered him ſtraight, that he vtterly miſtooke him. For, quoth he, if I did not thinke his counſell good, I would not hold my peace as I do: but now I am mute, not for any good will I beare him, but becauſe I find his counſell wiſe & ſound. While the Captaines of the GRECIANS were reaſoning in this ſort, *Ariſtides* ſeeing PSYTTALEA (a litle Iland before SALAMINA within the ſtraight) full of men of warre of their enemies: imbarked immediatly the valianteſt and luſtieſt ſouldiers he had of all his countrie men, into the leaſt foyſtes or pinnaſies he had among all his gallies: and went with them, and landed in that Ile, and ouerthrew all the barbarous people he found there, and put them to the ſword euerie man, taking the chiefeſt of them onely priſoners, amōg which, were three ſonnes of *Sandauce*, the kings ſiſter, whom he ſent vnto *Themiſtocles*. Theſe three Lordes were all ſlaine by the commaundement of *Euphrantidas* the ſoothſayer, and ſacrificed to *Bacchus Omeſtes*, as to ſay, the cruell *Bacchus*, and eater of raw fleſh, and all vpon an oracle they had receiued. That done, *Ariſtides* diſperſed his ſouldiers about the Ile, to receaue all ſuch as were by fortune of warre, or of the ſea, caſt into the Iland: to the end that no enemy of theirs ſhould ſcape their hands, nor any of his friends ſhould periſh. For the greateſt fleete of all their ſhips, and the ſharpeſt encounter of the whole battell, was about this litle Iland: and therefore the tokens of triumph were ſet there. After the battell was wonne, *Themiſtocles* to feele *Ariſtides* opinion, ſayd vnto him: we haue done a good peece of ſeruice, but yet there is an other behind of greater importance, and that is this. We muſt bring all ASIA into EVROPE, which we may eaſily do, if we ſayle with all ſpeed to the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, and go breake the bridge the king hath made there. Then *Ariſtides* cried out, ſtay there, neuer ſpeake of that: but I pray you let vs rather ſeeke all the wayes we can, how to driue this barbarous king out of GRECE, leaſt if we keepe him in ſtill with ſo great an army (& he ſhall ſee no way before him to eſcape out) we driue him then to fight like a deſperate man, and perill our ſelues, we can not tell to what. When *Themiſtocles* had heard his opinion, he ſecretly ſent the eunuke *Arnaces* his priſoner, vnto king *Xerxes*, to aduertiſe him from him, that he had altered the GRECIANS purpoſe, which was fully bent to haue broken vp the bridge he had made at the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, to paſſe ouer his armie: and that he was the willinger to let him vnderſtand it, that he might the better prouide for the ſafety of his perſon. King *Xerxes* being netled with this aduertiſement, tooke ſtraight his iourney, and with all ſpeed went to recouer the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, & left *Mardonius* his Lieutenant generall in GRECE, with three hundred thouſand of the beſt ſouldiers of his armie. This *Mardonius* was maruellouſly dreaded of all the GRECIANS, for the wonderfull great armie he had by land, and he did threaten them alſo by his letters he wrote vnto them. You haue, (ſayd he) with your ſhips by ſea, ouercome men acquainted to fight by land, and that neuer handled ower: but now, the plaines of THESSALIE, or the fieldes of BOEOTIA, are very fayre and large for horſemen and footemen to make proofe of their valiantneſſe, if you will come to the battell in the field. He wrote letters to the ATHENIANS, by the king his maiſters commaundement, of other effect, and offered them from him, to build vp their citie againe, to giue them a great penſion, and furthermore to make them Lordes of all GRECE, ſo they would giue ouer, and leaue off theſe warres. The LACEDÆMONIANS being forthwith aduertiſed of his letters written to the ATHENIANS, and fearing leaſt they would haue bene perſwaded by them: ſent their Ambaſſadours with all ſpeed to ATHENS, to pray them to ſend their wiues & children vnto SPARTA, and alſo to offer them victuals, to relieue their poore old people, becauſe of the great ſcarcitie that was at ATHENS, for that their city was burnt & raſed, and all their country beſides deſtroyed by the barbarous people. The ATHENIANS hauing heard the offers of the Ambaſſadours of LACEDÆMON, made them a maruellous aunſwere through *Ariſtides* counſell, & this it was. That they bare with the barbarous people, though they thought all things were to be ſold for gold & ſiluer, becauſe they eſteemed nothing more pretious, nor better in this world, then to be rich & wealthy: but on the other ſide, they were greatly offended with the LACEDÆMONIANS, that they onely regarded the preſent pouerty & neceſsity of the ATHENIANS, and did forget their vertue & noble courage, thinking to make them fight more valiantly for the preſeruation of GRECE, by offering them victuals to liue withall. The people approuing this aunſwere. *Ariſtides* then cauſed the Ambaſſadours of SPARTA to come to the aſſembly, and commaunded them to tell the LACEDÆMONIANS by word of mouth, that all the gold aboue, or vnder the ground, could not corrupt the ATHENIANS, to make them take any ſumme of money or reward, to leaue the defence of the liberty of GRECE: and to the herauld that came from *Mardonius*, he ſhewed him the ſunne, and ſayd vnto him: ſo long as yonder ſunne keepeth his courſe about the world, ſo long will the ATHENIANS be mortall enemies vnto the PERSIANS, becauſe they haue ſpoiled and deſtroyed all their country, and haue defi-

*Ariſtides wiſe counſell for Xerxes flying out of Grece.*

*A ſtratageme of Themiſtocles.*

*Xerxes left Mardonius his Lieutenant in Grece with 300000. men.*

*The noble minde of the Athenians.*

led and burnt the temples of their gods. Beſides, he willed that the Prieſts, by commaundement of the people, ſhould excommunicate and curſe him that would procure them to ſend vnto the Persians to make peace with them, and to breake their league and alliance with the other Grecians. Hereupon, when *Mardonius* came againe the ſecond time to ouerrunne the country of Attica: the Athenians got them againe into the Ile of Salamina, and then they ſent *Ariſtides* Ambaſſadour vnto the Lacedæmonians. He ſharpely tooke them vp, and reproued their ſloth and negligence, becauſe they had againe forſaken Athens, & left it to the ſpoile of the barbarous people: & prayed them yet they would looke to ſaue the reſt of Greece. The Ephori (which were certaine officers that ruled all things within the citie of Sparta) when they had heard *Ariſtides* perſwaſions: ſtraight tooke order for aide, though it appeared they did nothing all day but play, and make good cheare, keeping that day one of their ſolemne feaſtes they called Hyacinthia. Howbeit the next night following, they ſent out fiue thouſand citizens borne in Sparta, into the field, all proper men and valiant ſouldiers, euery one of them carying with him ſeuen Ilotes (which are the coũtry men & ſlaues in the coũtrey of Lacedæmonia) not making the Ambaſſadours of Athens priuie to it at all. Wherefore *Ariſtides* came againe an other time into their counſell, to complaine of their negligence. But they fell a laughing, and ſayd he dreamed, or elſe he mocked them: for their armie which they had ſent againſt the ſtraungers (for ſo they called the Persians) was already at the citie of Orestion in Arcadia. *Ariſtides* hearing their aunſwere, replyed, that they were to blame to mocke them in that ſort, to ſend away their men ſo ſecretly, that they might not know of it: and that it was no time for them now to go about to deceiue their friends, but their enemies rather. *Idomeneus* in his ſtory reporteth the matter thus in euery point. Notwithſtanding, in the decree that was made to ſend Ambaſſadours to Sparta, *Ariſtides* is not named for Ambaſſadour, but there are other appointed: as *Cimon*, *Xanthippus*, and *Myronides*. Afterwardes *Ariſtides* was choſen by voyces of the people, Lieutenant generall of the army of Athens, in this warre againſt the Persians, and went vnto the camp of the Grecians by the citie of Platæes, with eight thouſand footemen well armed & appointed. There he found king P*auſanias* the onely generall of all the whole power and army of the Grecians, who brought with him the force of Sparta: and there came daily into his camp one after an other, a maruellous great multitude of other Grecians. Now touching the army of the barbarous people, they incãped all alongeſt the riuer of Asopus: but becauſe their camp ſtretched out a maruellous way in length, they were not intrenched at all, but had onely fortified a peece of ground foure ſquare with a wall about, which was ten furlongs on euery ſide, to place all their cariage and chiefeſt things in. And for the Grecians againe, the ſoothſayer *Tiſamenus*, borne in the city of Elide, had told P*auſanias*, and all the Grecians together, that they ſhould haue the victory, ſo they did not aſſault at all, but onely defend. And *Ariſtides*, that had ſent to the oracle of *Apollo* at Delphes, in the name of the Athenians, had aunſwer: they ſhould ouercome their enemies, ſo they did ſacrifice and make ſpeciall prayers, vnto *Iupiter* and *Iuno* of mount Cithæron, vnto P*an*, & vnto the *Nymphes Sphragitides*, & alſo vnto the demy gods, *Androcrates*, *Leucon*, P*iſander*, *Damocrates*, *Hypſion*, *Actæon*, & P*olyidus*: and ſo that they did hazard battell alſo within their own territories, and in the plaine of *Ceres Eleuſinian*, and of P*roſerpina*. This oracle troubled *Ariſtides* maruellouſly, becauſe the demy gods whom they had commaundement to do ſacrifice vnto, were the founders and aunceſters of the Platæians: and the caue of the *Nymphes Sphragitides*, is one of the tops of mount Cithæron, looking towardes the weſt, where the ſunne ſetteth in ſommer. They ſay there was an oracle there in old time, whoſe ſpirit poſſeſſed many inhabitants there abouts, and beſtraught them of their wits: whereupon, they called thoſe ſo poſſeſſed, *Nympholepty*, as who would ſay, taken with the *Nymphes*. And againe to tell the Athenians they ſhould haue the victory, ſo they did hazard battell in the plaine of *Ceres Eleuſinian*, and within their owne territorie: it was euen to ſend them backe againe into the coũtry of Attica. *Ariſtides* being thus perplexed, *Arimneſtus* Captaine of the Platæians, had ſuch a viſion in the night in his ſleepe. Him thought that *Iupiter* the ſauiour did appeare vnto him, and asked him what the Grecians intended to do? and that he aunſwered:

my

*Ariſtides Lieutenant generall of the Athenians againſt Mardonius.*

*Pauſanias king of Lacedæmon, generall of all Greece.*

*Aſopus flu.*

*Oracles of the victorie of Platæes.*

*The Nymphes Sphragitides.*

*Arymneſtus dreame.*

my Lord, we muſt to morrow remoue our camp into the territories of Elevsin, and there we will fight with the barbarous people, according to the commaundement the oracle *Apollo* hath giuen vs. Then that *Iupiter* replyed, that they were greatly deceaued: for all that *Apollo* had declared by his oracle was ment within the territorie of the Platæians, and that they ſhould finde it true, if they conſidered it well. *Arimneſtus* hauing plainly ſeene this viſion in his ſleepe, when he did awake in the morning, he ſtraight ſent for the oldeſt citizens, and conſidering with them where this place ſhould be, he found at the length, that at the foote of mount Cithæron, by the citie of Nysia, there was an old temple they called the temple of *Ceres Eleuſinian*, and of her daughter *Proſerpina*. When he heard them ſay ſo, he went ſtraight and told *Ariſtides* of it, and found that it was an excellent place to ſet an army in battell ray, that had but few horſemen: for that the foote of mount Cithæron did let the horſemen, they could not go to the place where the temple ſtoode, and where the plaine and valley did end: beſides alſo, that the chappell of *Androcrates* was euen in that place, which was all hidden with thicke wood round about it. And becauſe they ſhould lacke nothing to hinder the expreſſe commaundement of the oracle for hope of victorie: the Platæians (through *Arimneſtus* counſell and aduiſe) made a common decree, that the confines of the city of Platæes ſhould be taken away towards Athens ſide, and that the land thereof ſhould be giuen clearely vnto the Athenians, becauſe they ſhould fight with the barbarous people in their owne land, for the defence and preſeruation of Grece, according to the commaundement of the oracle. This noble gift and preſent of the Platæians was ſo famous, as many yeares after, king *Alexander* the great hauing conquered the Empire of Asia, built vp the walles againe of the citie Platæes, and when he had done, made a herauld openly proclaime it at the games Olympicall, that *Alexander* had done the Platæians that honour & dignitie, for a memoriall & honour of their magnanimity. Becauſe in the warre againſt the Persians, they had freely and liberally giuen away their land vnto the Athenians, for the ſafetie of the Grecians: and had ſhewed themſelues of a noble courage alſo, and verie willing to defend the ſtate of Grece. Now when the armie of the Grecians came to be ſet in order of battell, there fell a ſtrife betweene the Athenians & the Tegeates, becauſe the Athenians would needes (according to their old cuſtome) haue the left wing of the battell, if the Lacedæmonians had the right wing: and the Tegeates on the contrary part, would haue the preheminence before the Athenians, alledging the famous actes and notable ſeruice of their aunceſters in former warres, whereupon the Athenians did mutine. But *Ariſtides* ſtept betweene them, and told them, that it was no time now to contend with the Tegeates about their nobilitie and valiantneſſe: and as for you, my Lordes of Sparta, ſayd he, and you alſo my maiſters of Grece: we tell you, that the place neither giueth nor taketh vertue away, and we do aſſure you that whereſoeuer you place vs, we will ſo defend & keepe it, as we will not impaire nor blemiſh the honour we haue wonne in former foughten battels, and gotten victories. For we are not come hither to quarrell and fall out with our friends, but to fight with our common enemies: nor to bragge of our aunceſters doings, but to ſhew our ſelues valiant in defence of all Grece. For this battell will make good proofe to all the Grecians, how much eſtimation euery citie, euery Captaine, & particular perſon will deſerue for his part. When *Ariſtides* had ſpoken, the Captaines & all other of the cōſell concluded in fauour of the Athenians, that they ſhould haue one of the wings of the battell. But by this meanes, all Grece ſtood in maruellous garboyle at that time, & the ſtate of the Athenians ſpecially in great daunger. For a nūber of the nobleſt citizēs of Athens, and that brought great ſubſtance with thē to the warres, being now at low ſtate, & in pouertie, their goods being ſpent and gone, and ſeeing themſelues diſcountenanced, not bearing that rule & authoritie in the commō wealth they were wont to do, becauſe other were called to authoritie, and preferred to the offices of the citie: they gathered together, and met at a houſe in the city of Platæes, & there conſpired to ouerthrow the authoritie of the people at Athens: and if they could not obtaine their purpoſe, then that they would rather looſe all, and betray their countrey vnto the barbarous people. While theſe thinges were practiſed in the camp, many being of the conſpiracie, *Ariſtides* came to an inckling of it, and

*The magnanimitie of the Platæians.*

*Alexander the great doth honour the Platæians for their noble mindes.*

*Strife betweene the Athenians and Tegeates.*

*Ariſtides wiſely pacified the mutine.*

*The conſpiracie of the rich noble men of Athens.*

was maruellouſly afrayed, becauſe of the time: wherefore he began to be carefull of the matter, being of ſuch importance as it was, and yet would not be curious to vnderſtand the whole conſpiracy, litle knowing what a number might be drawẽ into this treaſon, if it were narrowly looked into, but rather reſpected that which was iuſt, then what was profitable for the time. So he cauſed eight perſons onely of the great number to be apprehended, and of theſe eight, the two firſt whom they would haue indited as principals, and were moſt to be burdened for the conſpiracy, *AEſchines* of the towne of LAMPRA, and *Egeſias* of the towne of ACHARNA, they found meanes to flie out of the camp, and to ſaue themſelues. And for the other *Ariſtides* ſet them at libertie, and gaue them occaſion that were not diſcouered, to be bold, and to repent them of their follies: ſaying, that the battell ſhould be their iudge, where they ſhould purge themſelues of all accuſations layd againſt them, and ſhew the world alſo, that they neuer had any other intention but honeſt, & good, towards their countrey. *Mardonius*, to proue the courage of the GRECIANS, had ſent all his horſemen, (wherein he was farre ſtronger thẽ the GRECIANS) to skirmiſh with thẽ. Who were lodged at the foote of moũt CITHÆRON, in ſtrong places and full of ſtones, ſauing the three thouſand MEGARIANS, that camped in the plaine: by reaſon whereof, they were ſore troubled and hurt, by the horſemen of the barbarous people that ſet vpon them on euerie ſide, for they might charge them where they would. In ſomuch, in the end, perceiuing they alone could no longer reſiſt the force of ſo great a multitude of the barbarous people: they ſent with all ſpeed poſsible to *Pauſanias*, to pray him to ſend them preſent aide. *Pauſanias* hearing this newes, and ſeeing in his owne ſight the camp of the MEGARIANS almoſt all couered with ſhot and dartes which the barbarous people threw at them, & that they were compelled to ſtand cloſe together in a litle corner: he wiſt not what to do. For, to go thither in perſõ with the LACEDÆMONIANS that were footemen heauy armed, he thought that was no way to helpe them. So he proued to put ſome ambitious deſire and enuie of honour, among the priuate Captaines and generals of the army of the other GRECIANS, which were then about him: to ſee if he could moue any mans courage and deſire, to offer himſelfe willingly to go aide the MEGARIANS. Howbeit they had all deafe eares, but *Ariſtides*: who promiſed to go in the name of the ATHENIANS, and brought *Olympiodorus* into the field, (one of the valianteſt Captaines that ſerued vnder him) with his company of three hundred choſen men, and certaine ſhot mingled amongeſt them. Theſe ſouldiers were ready in a moment, and marched ſtraight in battell ray, a great pace towards the barbarous people. *Maſiſtius*, that was generall of the horſemen of the PERSIANS, a goodly tall man, perceiuing their comming towards him: turned his horſe, and gallopped to them. The ATHENIANS taried him, and kept their ground, and the encounter was very hot, becauſe both the one and the other ſide did the beſt they could at this firſt onſet to put the reſt of the battell in ieopardy: and they fought ſo long, that *Maſiſtius* horſe was ſhot through the body with an arrow, that put him to ſuch paine, as he neuer lin flinging, till he caſt his maiſter on the groũd, armed as he was at all peeces. So being on the ground, he could not riſe againe, as well for the waight of his armour, as for that the ATHENIANS came ſo ſodainly vpõ him. And notwithſtanding there were many about him to hew him in peeces, yet they could finde no way how to kill him, he was ſo throughly armed & loden with gold, copper, and iron, not onely vpon his body and his head, but alſo on his legs and armes: vntill at the length there was one that thruſt the head of his dart through his beuer, and ſo killed him. The PERSIANS perceiuing that, fled immediatly, & forſooke the body of their generall. Shortly after it appeared to the GRECIANS that they had ſped well at this skirmiſh, not becauſe they had ſlaine many enemies, but for the great lamentation the barbarous people made for the loſſe of *Maſiſtius*. For his death did ſo greeue them, that they powled themſelues, they clipped off their horſe & moyles haires, & filled beſides all the field there abouts with pityfull cries & ſhreekes, as thoſe that had loſt the valianteſt and chiefeſt man of authoritie of all their camp, next vnto *Mardonius* the kings Lieutenant. After this firſt skirmiſh, both the one and the other ſide kept their camp, and would not come into the field many dayes after: for the Soothſayers did promiſe both ſides the victory, as much the PERSIANS, as the GRECIANS, ſo they did but onely defend: and contrarywiſe, they did threaten them to be ouerthrowen, that did aſſault. But *Mardonius*

*Mount Cithæron.*

*Maſiſtius generall of the horſemen of the Perſians.*

*Maſiſtius ſlaine by the Athenians.*

*donius* finding victuals waxed ſcant, & that they were ſtored but for few dayes, and moreouer how the GRECIANS daily grew ſtronger by continuall repayre to their camp, the longer he delayed: in the end he reſolued to tary no lõger, but to paſſe the riuer of ASOPVS the next morning by breake of the day, and ſodainly to ſet vpon the GRECIANS. So he gaue the Captaines warning the night before what they ſhould do, becauſe euery man ſhould be ready: but about midnight there came a horſeman without any noyſe at all, ſo neare to the GRECIANS camp, that he ſpake to the watch, and told them he would ſpeake with *Ariſtides*, generall of the ATHENIANS. *Ariſtides* was called for ſtraight, & when he came to him, the horſeman ſayd vnto *Ariſtides*, I am *Alexander* king of MACEDON, who for the loue and great good will I beare you, haue put my ſelfe in the greateſt daunger that may be, to come at this preſent time to aduertiſe you, that to morrow morning *Mardonius* will giue you battell: becauſe your enemies ſodaine cõming vpõ you, ſhould not make you afrayed, being ſodainly charged, & ſhould not hinder alſo your valiant fighting. For it is no new hope that is come to *Mardonius*, that makes him to fight: but onely ſcarcitie of victuals that forceth him to do it; conſidering that the Prognoſticatours are all againſt it that he ſhould giue you battell, both by reaſon of the ill tokens of their ſacrifices, as alſo by the aunſwers of their oracles, which hath put all the armie in a maruellous feare, and ſtand in no good hope at all. Thus he is forced to put all at aduenture, or elſe if he will needes lye ſtill, to be ſtarued to death for veria famine. After king *Alexander* had imparted this ſecret to *Ariſtides*, he prayed him to keepe it to himſelfe, and to remember it in time to come. *Ariſtides* aunſwered him then, that it was no reaſon he ſhould keepe a matter of ſo great importance as that, from *Pauſanias*, who was their Lieutenant generall of the whole armie: notwithſtanding, he promiſed him he would tell it no man elſe before the battell, and that if the gods gaue the GRECIANS the victorie, he did aſſure him, they ſhould all acknowledge his great fauour and good will ſhewed vnto them. After they had talked thus together, king *Alexander* left him, and returned backe againe: and *Ariſtides* alſo went immediatly to P*auſanias* tent, and told him the talke king *Alexander* and he had together. Thereupon the priuate Captaines were ſent for ſtraight to counſell, and there order was giuen, that euery man ſhould haue his bandes ready, for they ſhould fight in the morning. So P*auſanias* at that time (as *Herodotus* writeth) ſayd vnto *Ariſtides*, that he would remoue the ATHENIANS from the left to the right wing, becauſe they ſhould haue the PERSIANS themſelues right before them, and that they ſhould fight ſo much the luſtier, both for that they were acquainted with their fight, as alſo, becauſe they had ouercomme them before in the firſt encounter: and that himſelfe would take the left wing of the battell, where he ſhould encounter with the GRECIANS that fought on the PERSIANS ſide. But when all the other priuate Captaines of the ATHENIANS vnderſtood it, they were maruellous angry with P*auſanias*, and ſayd he did them wrong, and had no reaſon to let all the other GRECIANS keepe their place where they were alwayes appointed, and onely to remoue them, as if they were ſlaues, to be appointed at his pleaſure, now of the one ſide, then of the other, and to ſet them to fight with the valianteſt ſouldiers they had of all their enemies. Then ſayd *Ariſtides* to them, that they knew not what they ſayd, and how before they miſliked, and did ſtriue with the TEGEATES, onely for hauing the left wing of the battell, and when it was graunted, they thought themſelues greatly honored that they were preferred before them, by order of the Captaines: and now where the LACEDÆMONIANS were willing of themſelues to giue them the place of the right wing, and did in maner offer them the preheminence of the whole army: they do not thankefully take the honour offered them, nor yet do recken of the vantage and benefite giuen them to fight againſt the PERSIANS ſelues, their auncient enemies, & not againſt their naturall cõutry men auncientły deſcended of them. When *Ariſtides* had vſed all theſe perſwaſions vnto them, they were very well contented to chaunge place with the LACEDÆMONIANS: and then all the talke among them was to encourage one an other, and to tell them that the PERSIANS that came againſt them, had no better harts nor weapons, then thoſe whom they before had ouercome, in the plaine of MARATHON. For ſayd they, they haue the ſame bowes, the ſame rich imbrodered gownes, the ſame golden chaines and carcanettes of womaniſh perſons, hanging on

*Alexander king of Macedone, reuealeth the Perſians ſecret counſell vnto Ariſtides.*

their cowardly bodies and faint harts: where we haue alo the ſame weapons and bodies we had, & our harts more liuely & couragious thē before, through the ſundry victories we haue ſince gotten of them. Further, we haue this aduantage more. That we do not fight as our other confederates the GRECIANS do, for our citie and country onely, but alſo to continue the fame and renowme of our former noble ſeruice, which we wanne at the iourneys of MARATHON and of SALAMINA: to the ende, the world ſhould not thinke that the glory of theſe triumphes and victories was due vnto *Miltiades* onely, or vnto fortune, but vnto the courage and worthineſſe of the ATHENIANS. Thus were the GRECIANS throughly occupied to chaũge the order of their battell in haſt. The THEBANS on the other ſide that tooke part with *Mardonius*, receiuing intelligence of the altering of their battell, by traytors that ranne betweene both campes: they ſtraight told *Mardonius* of it. He thereupon did ſodainly alſo chaunge the order of his battell, and placed the PERSIANS from the right wing to the left wing of his enemies: either becauſe he was afrayed of the ATHENIANS, or elſe for greater glory that he had a deſire to fight with the LACEDÆMONIANS, and commaunded the GRECIANS that tooke his part, that they ſhould fight againſt the ATHENIANS. This alteration was ſo openly done, that euery man might ſee it: whereupon *Pauſanias* remoued the LACEDÆMONIANS againe, and ſet them in the right wing. *Mardonius* ſeeing that, remoued the PERSIANS againe from the left wing, and brought them to the right wing (where they were before) againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS: and thus they conſumed all that day in chaunging their men to and fro. So the Captaines of the GRECIANS ſat in counſell at night, and there they agreed, that they muſt needes remoue their camp, and lodge in ſome other place where they might haue water at commaundement: becauſe their enemies did continually trouble and ſpoyle that water they had about them, with their horſes. Now when night came, the Captaines would haue marched away with their men, to go to the lodging they had appointed: but the people went very ill willing to it, and they had much a do to keepe them together. For they were no ſooner out of the trenches and fortification of their camp, but the moſt part of them ranne to the citie of PLATÆES, and were maruellouſly out of order, diſperſing themſelues here and there, and ſet vp their tents where they thought good, before the places were appointed for them: and there were none that taried behind, but the LACEDÆMONIANS onely, and that was againſt their willes. For one of their Captaines called *Amompharetus*, a maruellous hardie man, that feared no daunger, and longed ſore for battell: he was in ſuch a rage with theſe trifling delayes, that he cried it out in the camp, that this remouing was a goodly running away, & ſware he would not frō thence, but would there tary *Mardonius* cōming with his company. *Pauſanias* went to him, and told him he muſt do that the other GRECIANS had conſented to in counſell, by moſt voyces. But *Amompharetus* tooke a great ſtone in his handes, and threw it downe at *Pauſanias* feete, and told him there is the ſigne I giue to conclude battell, and I paſſe not for all your cowardly concluſions. *Amompharetus* ſturbburneſſe did ſo amaze *Pauſanias*, that he was at his wits end. So he ſent vnto the ATHENIANS that were onwardes on their way, to pray them to tary for him, that they might go together: and there withall made the reſt of his men to marche towardes the citie of PLATÆES, ſuppoſing thereby to haue drawen *Amompharetus* to haue followed him, or elſe he ment to remaine alone behind. But in trifling thus, the day brake: and *Mardonius* vnderſtanding that the GRECIANS did forſake their firſt lodging, he made his army preſently march in battell ray to ſet vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS. So the barbarous people made great ſhoutes and cries, not thinking to go fight, but to go ſacke and ſpoyle the GRECIANS flying away, as indeede they did litle better. For, *Pauſanias* ſeeing the countenaunce of his enemies, made his enſignes to ſtay, and commaunded euery man to prepare to fight: but he forgate to giue the GRECIANS the ſignall of the battell, either for the anger he tooke againſt *Amompharetus*, or for the ſodaine onſet of the enemies, which made them that they came not in ſtraight, nor altogether to the battell after it was begon, but ſtraggling in ſmall companies, ſome here, and ſome there. In the meane time, *Pauſanias* was buſie in ſacrificing to the gods, and ſeeing, that the firſt ſacrifices were not acceptable vnto them, by the Soothſayers obſeruations they made: he commaunded the SPARTANS to throw their targets at their feete, and not to ſtirre out

*The treaſon of the Thebans.*

*The ſtubburneſſe of Amompharetus Captaine of the Lacedæmonians.*

*The battell of the Grecians, with the Terſians, as the city of Platæes.*

of their places, but onely to do as he bad them, without reſiſting their enemies. When he had giuen this ſtraight order, he went againe and did ſacrifice, when the horſemen of the enemies were at hand, and that their arrowes flew amongſt the thickeſt of the Lacedæmonians, and did hurt diuerſe of them, and ſpecially poore *Callicrates* among the reſt, that was one of the goodlieſt men in all the Grecians hoaſt and armie. He hauing his deaths wound with an arrow, before he gaue vp the ghoſt, ſaid his death did not grieue him, becauſe he came out of his countrie to die for the defence of Grece: but it grieued him to die ſo cowardly, hauing giuen the enemie neuer a blowe. His death was maruellous lamentable, and the conſtancie of the Spartans wonderfull: for they neuer ſtirred out of their places, nor made any countenance to defend themſelues againſt their enemies that came vpon them, but ſuffered themſelues to be thruſt through with arrowes, and ſlaine in the field, looking for the houre the goddes would appoint them, and that their Captaine would commaund them to fight. Some write alſo, that as P*auſanias* was at his prayers, and doing ſacrifice vnto the gods a litle behinde the battell, certaine of the Lydians came vpon him, and ouerthrew and tooke away all his ſacrifice: and how *Pauſanias*, and thoſe that were about him, (hauing no other weapons in their hands) draue them away with force of ſtaues and whippes. In memorie whereof, they ſay there is a ſolemne proceſsion kept at Sparta on that day, which they call the Lydians proceſsion, where they whip and beate young boyes about the aulter. Then was P*auſanias* in great diſtreſſe, to ſee the Prieſts offer ſacrifice vpon ſacrifice, and that not one of them pleaſed the goddes: at the laſt he turned his eyes to the temple of *Iuno*, and wept, and holding vp his hands, beſought *Iuno Cithæron*, and all the other goddes, (patrons and protectors of the countrie of the Platæians) that if it were not the will of the gods the Grecians ſhould haue the victorie, yet that the conquerors at the leaſt ſhould buy their deaths dearely, and that they ſhould finde they fought againſt valiant men and worthy ſouldiers. P*auſanias* had no ſooner ended his prayer, but the ſacrifices fell out very fauourable, inſomuch the Prieſts and Soothſayers came to promiſe him victorie. Thereupon, he ſtraight gaue commaundement to marche toward the enemie, which flew from man to man incontinently how they ſhould marche. So as he that had ſeene the ſquadron of the Lacedæmonians, would haue ſaid it had bene like the body of a fierce beaſt raiſing vp his briſtles, preparing to fight. Then the barbarous people ſawe they ſhould haue a hoate battle, and that they ſhould meete with men that would fight it out to the death: wherefore they couered their bodies with great targets after the Persian faſhion, and beſtowed their arrowes luſtily vpon the Lacedæmonians. But they keeping cloſe together, and couering themſelues with their ſhields, marched on ſtill vpon them, vntill they came to ioyne with the enemie ſo luſtily, that they made their targets flie out of their hands, with the terrible thruſts and blowes of their pikes and ſpeares vpon their breaſts, and ouerthwart their faces, that they ſlew many of them, and laide them on the ground. For all that, they dyed not cowardly, but tooke the Lacedæmonians pikes and ſpeares in their bare hands, and brake them in two by ſtrength of their armes: and then they quickly pluckt out their cimeters and axes, and luſtily laide about them, and wrong the Lacedæmonians ſhields out of their hands by force, and fought it out with them a great while hand to hand. Now, whileſt the Lacedæmonians were buſily fighting with the barbarous people, the Athenians ſtood ſtil imbattelled farre off, & kept their ground. But whē they ſaw the Lacedæmonians tary ſo long, & that they came not, and heard a maruellous noiſe of men as though they were fighting, and beſides that there came a ſpeedy meſſenger vnto them ſent from *Pauſanias*, to let them vnderſtand they were fighting: then they marched with all ſpeed they could to helpe them. But as they were comming on a great pace ouer the plaine, vnto that part where they heard the noiſe: the Grecians that were on *Mardonius* ſide came againſt them. *Ariſtides* ſeeing them comming towards them, went a good way before his company, and cried out as loude as he could for life, and coniured the Grecians in the name of the gods, the protectors of Grece, to leaue off theſe wars, and not to trouble the Athenians that were going to helpe them that ventured their liues, to defend the commonwealth & ſafety of all Grece. But when he ſaw they would needs fight for any requeſt & coniuratiō he could vſe, & that they came ſtil vpon him, bending

*Callicrates ſlaine without fighting.*

*Note the obedience of the Spartan ſouldiers vnto death.*

*Battell betwixt the Grecians and Perſians.*

*The Grecians victorie of the Perſians at Platæes.*

*Mardonius ſlaine of Arimneſtus a Spartan, with a blow of a ſtone.*

*Two hundred and threeſcore thouſand Perſians ſlaine. A thouſand three hundred & threeſcore Grecians ſlaine.*

themſelues to giue charge: then he ſtaied his going to relieue the LACEDÆMONIANS, and was compelled to make head againſt thoſe that ſet vpon him and his company, they being about fiftie thouſand men, of the which, the moſt part notwithſtanding went their waies, and left the army, ſpecially when they vnderſtood the PERSIANS were ouerthrowne and fled. The furie of the battell, and cruelleſt fight (as they ſay) was where the THEBANS were: becauſe the nobilitie and chiefeſt men of the countrie fought very earneſtly for the PERSIANS, but the people refuſed, being led by a ſmall number of the nobility that commanded them. So they fought that day in two places, the LACEDÆMONIANS being the firſt that ouerthrew the PERSIANS, and made them flie: & they ſlue *Mardonius* the kings lieutenant, with a blow of a ſtone one *Arimneſtus* a SPARTAN gaue him vpon his head, rightly as the oracle of *Amphiaraus* had prophecied before vnto him. For *Mardonius* before the battell had ſent thither a LYDIAN, & a CARIAN, vnto the oracle of *Trophonius*, of the which the prophet made anſwer vnto the CARIAN, in the CARIAN tongue: & the man of LYDIA lay within the ſanctuary of *Amphiaraus*, where he thought in his dreame that one of the prieſts of the temple willed him to go out of the place he was in, & he denying it, the Prieſt tooke vp a great ſtone & threw it at his head, and ſo thought he was ſlaine with the blow. And thus it is written. And furthermore, the LACEDÆMONIANS did chaſe the PERSIANS flying, into their fortification they had in a wood: & the ATHENIANS alſo ſhortly after ouerthrew the THEBANS whereof they ſlue in the field, a three hundred of the nobleſt & chiefeſt of them. For euen as the THEBANS began to turne taile, newes came vnto the ATHENIANS, that the PERSIANS had intrenched themſelues within their forte and ſtrength in the wood, where the LACEDÆMONIANS did beſiege them. The ATHENIANS ſuffered the GRECIANS that fled to ſaue themſelues, and they went to helpe the LACEDÆMONIANS, to take the forte of the barbarous people: who went before but ſlenderly about it, becauſe they had no experience to make an aſſault, nor force vpon a wall. But ſo ſoone as the ATHENIANS came in to them, they ſtraight tooke it by aſſault, and made great ſlaughter of the PERSIANS and barbarous people. For of three hundred thouſand fighting men that *Mardonius* had in his campe, there were ſaued onely but fortie thouſand led vnder *Artabazus*: and of the GRECIANS ſide, there were not ſlaine aboue thirteene hundred and three ſcore in all, amongſt which alſo there were two and fiftie ATHENIANS, al of the tribe of *Æantides*, the which had done more valiantly that day, thē any other tribe, as *Clidemus* writeth. And this is the cauſe why the *Æantides* made a ſolemn ſacrifice vnto the *Nymphes Sphragitides*, at the common charge, according to the order giuen them by the oracle of *Apollo*, to giue them thankes for this victorie. Of the LACEDÆMONIANS there died foure ſcore and eleuen: and of the TEGEATES, ſixteene. But I maruell *Herodotus* ſaith, that none but theſe people only fought in that iourney againſt the barbarous nation, and no other GRECIANS beſides: for the number of the dead bodies, and their graues alſo do ſhew, that it was a generall victorie and exploite of all the GRECIANS together. And moreouer, if there had bene but theſe three people onely that had fought againſt them, and that all the reſt had ſtood and looked on, and done nothing: ſure there had bene no ſuch epigram as this, engrauen vpon the aulter or tombe that was ſet vp in the place of the battell.

*VVhen the victorious Greekes, had driuen out of their land,*
*the Perſians by force of armes, which long did them withſtand,*
*they built to mighty Ioue, this holy aulter here,*
*and made it common for all Greece, as plainly may appeare.*
*in Guerdon of the good, which he did them reſtore,*
*in Guerdon of their liberty, which liked them euermore.*

This battell was fought the fourth day of the moneth which the ATHENIANS call Bœdromion, that is, about the moneth of Iuly, or after the BOEOTIANS account, the ſix & twentie of the moneth, they call Panemus, on which day there is yet kept a common aſſembly of the eſtates of GRECE, in the cities of PLATÆES, where the PLATÆIANS make a ſolemne ſacrifice vnto *Iupiter*, protector of their libertie, to giue him thankes alwaies for this victorie. It is no maruell that there was ſuch difference then betwixt the moneths and dayes, conſidering that euen now when aſtronomie is more perfectly vnderſtanded, then it was then:

ſome do yet begin and end their moneths at one day, and ſome at another. After this great battell and ouerthrow of the barbarous people, there roſe great ſtrife betwixt the ATHENIANS and the LACEDÆMONIANS, touching the rewarde and honour of the victory. For the ATHENIANS would not giue place vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor ſuffer them to ſet vp any tokens or ſignes of triumphe. Whereupon the GRECIANS running to armes in mutinie together, by this occaſion they had almoſt ſpoiled one another: had not *Ariſtides* through his wiſedom and wiſe perſwaſions, ſtaied, and quieted the other Captaines his companions, and ſpecially one *Leocrates* and *Myronides*, whom he wanne with ſuch diſcreet and gentle words, that they were contented to referre it wholly vnto the arbiterment and iudgement of the other people of GRECE. So the GRECIANS met in the ſame place together, purpoſely to decide their controuerſie. In this counſell holden there, *Theogiton* a Captaine of the MEGARIANS, ſaid for his opinion, that to auoide the ciuill warre might growe betweene the GRECIANS vpon this quarrell: he thought it very requiſite, to appoint ouer the reward and honor of this victorie, vnto ſome other city, then to any of the two that fell out about it. After him roſe vp *Cleocritus* CORINTHIAN, ſeeming to euery man there that he would haue requeſted this honour for the citie of CORINTHE, being in deed the third citie in eſtimation of all GRECE, next vnto SPARTA & ATHENS: howbeit he made an oration in commendation of the PLATÆIANS, which was maruellouſly liked, & well thought of of euery man. For his opinion went flatly with the PLATÆIANS, that to ende this ſtrife, they ſhould giue the honor of this victory vnto the city of PLATÆES, & ſo would neither of both parties be angrie that they ſhould be honored. Vpon his words, *Ariſtides* firſt agreed on the ATHENIANS behalfe, & then *Pauſanias* for the LACEDÆMONIANS, that the PLATÆIANS ſhould haue the reward. Now they both being agreede, before the ſpoile was deuided betweene them, they ſet aſide foure ſcore talents that were giuen to the PLATÆIANS, with the which they built a temple vnto *Minerua*, and gaue her an image, and ſet out all her temple with pictures that remaine whole vntill this day: and the LACEDÆMONIANS notwithſtanding, did ſet vp their tokens of victory by themſelues, and the ATHENIANS theirs alſo by themſelues. So, they ſending vnto the oracle of *Apollo* in the city of DELPHES, to know vnto what gods, and how they ſhould do ſacrifice: *Apollo* anſwered them that they ſhould build vp an aulter vnto *Iupiter*, protector of their libertie, howbeit that they ſhould put no ſacrifice vpon it, vntill they had firſt put out all the fire through the whole countrie, becauſe it had bene polluted and defiled by the barbarous people: and then, that they ſhould fetche pure and cleane fire at the common aulter, whereon they do ſacrifice vnto *Apollo Pythias*, in the city of DELPHES. This anſwer being deliuered, the great Lords and officers of GRECE went through all the countrie, to put out the fire euery where. And there was a man of the ſame citie of PLATÆES at that time called *Euchidas*, that came and offered him ſelfe, and promiſed he would bring them fire from the temple of *Apollo Pythias*, with all poſſible ſpeed that might be. So when he came to the city of DELPHES, after he had ſprinckled and purified his body with cleane water, he put a crowne of lawrell vpon his head, and went in that manner to take fire from the aulter of *Apollo*. When he had done, he hied him againe as faſt as he could runne for life, vnto the citie of PLATÆES, and came thither before the ſunne was ſet, hauing come and gone that day a thouſand furlongs. But after he had ſaluted his citizens, and deliuered them the fire he brought: he fell downe dead at their feete, and gaue vp the ghoſt. The PLATÆIANS lift him vp ſtarke dead, and buried him in the temple of *Diana Euclia*, to ſay, of good renowme: and cauſed afterwards this Epitaphe following to be grauen vpon his tombe.

*Striſe betwixt the Athenians and Lacedæmonians for honor of the victory.*

*Corinthe the third city of eſtimation in Grece.*
*Sparta.*
*Athens.*
*Corinthe.*

*The Grecians grant the honor of the victory vnto the Platæians.*

*The wonderful ſpeede of Euchidas the Platæian, a foote.*

*Diana Euclia.*

*Euchidas death.*

*Engraued here doth lie, Euchidas ſpeedy man,*
*who in one day both too and fro, to Delphes lightly ranne.*
*Euen from this ſelfe ſame place, which thou doeſt here behold,*
*ſuch haſt, poſt haſt, he ſwiftly made, thereof thou maieſt be bolde.*

Many thinke that this goddeſſe *Euclia* is *Diana*, and ſo they call her. But other holde opinion ſhe was the daughter of *Hercules*, and of *Myrto* the *Nymphe*, *Menætius* daughter, and *Patroclus* ſiſter, that died a virgine, & was honored afterwards as a goddeſſe, of the BOEOTIANS, and of the LOCRIANS. For in all their cities and townes in open places, they finde an aulter

*A generall counſell holden at the city of Platæes.*

*Solemne ſacrifices and funerals kept by the Platæians yearely for the Grecians that were ſlaine at the battell of Platæes.*

*Ariſtides preferreth the popular ſtate.*

*A wicked deuiſe of Themiſtocles.*

and image dedicated vnto her: and all that are maried, do ſacrifice to her vpon that aulter. Afterwards there was a generall counſell holden by all the GRECIANS, in the which *Ariſtides* made a motion, that all the cities of GRECE ſhould yearely ſend their deputies at a certaine day appointed, vnto the city of PLATÆES, there to make their prayers and ſacrifices vnto the gods: and that from fiue yeares, to fiue yeares, they ſhould celebrate common games, that ſhould be called the games of libertie: and that they ſhould alſo leauie through all the prouinces of GRECE, for maintenance of the warres againſt the PERSIANS and barbarous people, ten thouſand footemen, a thouſand horſemen, and a fleete of a hundred ſaile. Item that the PLATÆIANS thenceforth ſhould be taken alſo for deuoute and holy men, and that no man ſhould ſo hardy hurt or offend them, and that they ſhould onely tende the ſacrifices vnto the goddes, for the health and proſperitie of GRECE. All which articles were enacted in forme and manner aforeſaid, and the PLATÆIANS bound themſelues yearely to keepe ſolemne ſacrifices and anniuerſaries for the ſoules of the GRECIANS that were ſlaine in their territories, fighting for defence of the libertie of the GRECIANS. And this they obſerue yet vnto this day in this ſorte. The ſixteenth day of the moneth of Mæmacterion (which the BOEOTIANS call Alaicomenies, and is about the moneth of Ianuarie) they go a proceſſion, and before the proceſsion there goeth a trumpetor that ſoundeth the alarum. Then there follow certaine chariots loden with branches of firre tree, and with noſegayes and garlandes of triumphe: then a blacke bull, and certaine young gentlemen noble men ſonnes, that carie great cawdrons with two eares full of wine and milke, ſuch as they vſe to powre vpon the graues of dead men for propiciatory oblations, and other young boyes free borne, that cary oiles, perfumes, and other ſweete odours in voyall glaſſes. For no ſeruant or bonde man may lawfully be admitted to haue any office about this miſterie, for that they whoſe memory they honor, died all fighting for defence of the libertie of GRECE. After all this ſhew, followeth the prouoſt of the PLATÆIANS for that time being, laſt of all: who may not all the reſt of the yeare beſides ſo much as touch any iron, nor weare any other coloured gowne but white. Howbeit then he weareth on a purple coloured coate, and holdeth a funerall potte in one of his handes, which he taketh in the towne houſe, and a naked ſworde in the other hand, and ſo goeth through the citie in this ſorte after all the pompe aforeſaid, vnto the church yarde where all their graues be that were ſlaine at that battell. So when he commeth thither, he draweth water out of a well that is there, and with the ſame he waſheth the foureſquare pillers and images that ſtand vpon thoſe tombes, and then annointeth them with oyles and ſweete ſauors: afterwards, he ſacrificeth a bull, and laieth him vpon a heape of wood hard by him, as they do when they burne the bodies of dead men, and making certaine praiers and petitions vnto *Iupiter*, and *Mercurie*, goddes of the earth, he doth ſolemnly inuite the ſoules of thoſe valiant men that dyed, fighting for the liberty of GRECE, vnto the feaſt of this funerall ſacrifice. Then he taketh a cup full of wine in his hande, and ſpilling it all vpon their tombes, he ſpeaketh theſe words aloude: I drinke to the worthy and valiant men, that died ſometime in defence of the liberty of GRECE. This ſolemne ceremonie and anniuerſarie, the PLATÆIANS do duely obſerue vnto this preſent day. Now when the ATHENIANS were returned to ATHENS, *Ariſtides* perceiuing the people were bent to ſtabliſh a popular ſtate, where the people might beare the whole rule and authoritie, iudging them well worthy to be conſidered of, in reſpect of their noble ſeruice and valiant courage they had ſhewed in this warre: & conſidering alſo that they would hardly be brought to like of any other gouernment, being yet in armes, and very ſtoute, by reaſon of the famous victories they had obteyned: he cauſed a law to be made, that all authoritie of gouernment ſhould runne in equalitie among the citizens, and that thenceforth all burgeſſes (as well poore as riche) ſhould be choſen by voices of the people, and promoted to offices within the citie. And moreouer, when *Themiſtocles* tolde in open aſſembly, that he had a thing in his head would be greatly to the profit and commodity of the ſtate, but yet it was not to be ſpoken openly for diuerſe reſpects: the people willed him to tell it vnto *Ariſtides* onely, and to take his aduiſe in it, to know whether it was meete to be done or not. Then *Themiſtocles* tolde him ſecretly betwene them, that he thought to ſet the arcenal on fire, where all the GRECIANS ſhips lay: alleadging, that by this meanes the Athenians ſhould be the greateſt men of power in all Grece. *Ariſtides* hearing that, without any more, came preſently to the people againe, and tolde the whole counſell openly: that nothing could be more profitable in deed for the whole commonwealth, and withall more wicked and vniuſt, then that *Themiſtocles* thought good to do. When the people heard *Ariſtides* aunſwer, they willed *Themiſtocles* to let his deuiſe alone whatſoeuer it were: ſo great iuſticers were the Athenians, and ſo much did they truſt *Ariſtides* wiſedom and equitie beſides. So they made *Ariſtides* afterwards generall of the armie of the Athenians together with *Cimon*, and ſent them to make warre againſt the barbarous people. *Ariſtides* at his comming thither, ſeeing P*auſanias*, and the other Captaines that were generals ouer the whole armie, dealing hardly, and churliſhly with people their confederates: he on the contrary ſide, ſpake gently vnto them, and ſhewed himſelfe as courteous and familiar to them as he could poſſible, making his companion alſo familiar to all, and iuſt to euery body not oppreſſing ſome to eaſe other, in defraying the charges of the warres. *Ariſtides* taking this courſe, it was not noted how by litle and litle he cut off the rule and authority of the Lacedæmonians in Grece, not by force of armes, nor by ſhips, nor by numbers of horſes, but onely by his graue and wiſe gouernment. For if the iuſtice and vertue of *Ariſtides*, and the mildeneſſe and courteſie of *Cimon* made the gouernment of the Athenians to be liked of, and accepted of all the other people of Grece: the couetouſneſſe, pride, and fierceneſſe of P*auſanias*, made it much more to be deſired. For P*auſanias* neuer ſpake vnto the other captaines of the people, allyes, and confederates, but it was euer in choller, and he was too ſharpe with them: and for the poore priuate ſouldiers, he would cauſe them to be cruelly whipped for euery ſmall offence, or elſe to make them ſtand a whole day together on their feete, laying a heauy iron ancker vpon their ſhoulders. No man durſt go forrage, neither for ſtrawe nor reedes to make them couches of, nor durſt water their horſe before the Spartans: for he had ſet skoutes for them to whip them home, that went out before them. And one day when *Ariſtides* thought to haue ſpoken to him, and to haue tolde him ſome thing: he frowned vpon him, and ſaid he had no leaſure to ſpeake with him now, and ſo would not heare him. Whereupon the Captaines of the other Grecians, and ſpecially thoſe of Chio, of Samos, and of Lesbos, did afterwards follow *Ariſtides*, and perſwaded him to take vpon him the charge and authoritie to commaund the other people of Grece, and to take into his protection the allyes and confederates of the ſame, who long ſithence wiſhed to reuolt from the gouernment of the Lacedæmonians, and onely to ſubmit themſelues vnto the Athenians. *Ariſtides* aunſwered them thus: that they had not onely reaſon to do that they ſaid, but that they were alſo conſtrained to do it. Notwithſtanding, becauſe the Athenians might haue good ground and aſſurance of their vndoubted fidelitie and good ſeruice, they ſhould deliuer them manifeſt teſtimonie and aſſurance thereof, by ſome famous act attempted againſt the Lacedæmonians, whereby their people hereafter durſt neuer fall from the league of the Athenians. *Vliades* Samian, & *Antagoras* of Chio hearing him ſay ſo, both captaines of galleys confedered together: they went one day to ſet vpon the admirall galley of *Pauſanias*, hard by Bizantium, the one of the one ſide of her, and the other on the other ſide, as ſhe was rowing before all the fleete. P*auſanias* ſeeing them, ſtood vp ſtraight in a maruelous rage againſt them, and threatned them that before it were long he would make them know they had bene better to haue aſſaulted their owne naturall countrie, then to haue ſet vpon him as they had done. But they aunſwered him, and bad him get him away quickly and he were wiſe, and let him thanke fortune hardly, that graunted the Grecians victorie at the battell of Platææs vnder his leading: and that it was nothing elſe but the onely reuerence and reſpect of the ſame, that had made the Grecians hold their hands till now, from giuing him that iuſt puniſhment his pride and arrogancie had deſerued. So the end was, they left the Lacedæmonians, & ſtacke vnto the Athenians: wherein was eaſily diſcerned the great courage, and wonderfull magnanimity of the Lacedæmonians. For when they ſaw their captains were marred and corrupted, through the ouer great authority and liberty they had, they willingly gaue vp their commandement ouer the other Grecians, and did no more ſend their Captaines to be generals of the whole armie of Grece: thinking it better

*Ariſtides ſentence vpon Themiſtocles deuiſe.*

*The iuſtice of the Athenians.*

*Ariſtides and Cimon generals of the Athenians againſt the barbarous people.*

*Ariſtides iuſtice and vertue tooke from the Lacedæmoniãs all their rule & authoritie in Grece.*

*Pauſanias proud and couetous.*

*Pauſanias cruell puniſhing of his ſouldiers.*

*Ariſtides fine tryall of traitors.*

*The rebellious act of Vliades and Antagoras againſt Pauſanias.*

*The temperance of the Lacedæmonians.*

for their citizens, that they ſhould be obedient, and in euery pointe obſerue the diſcipline and law of their countrie, then if they had bin otherwiſe the onely rulers and lords ouer the whole countrie. Now at what time the LACEDÆMONIANS did commaund all GRECE, as Lords: the cities and people of GRECE did pay a certaine ſumme of money, towards deſtraying of the charges of the warres againſt the barbarous people. But after that their ſeigniorie and rule was taken from them, the GRECIANS were contented a taxe ſhould be leauied, and that euery city ſhould be reaſonably ſeſſed, according to their wealth and abilitie: becauſe euery citie might know what they ſhould pay. And for this purpoſe, they prayed the ATHENIANS they would appoint *Ariſtides* to take order for it, vnto whom they gaue full power & authoritie to taxe and ſeſſe euery citie indifferently, conſidering the greatneſſe of the territorie, and the reuenues of the ſame, as euery one was reaſonably able to beare it. But if *Ariſtides* were poore when he entred into that great charge and office of authoritie, wherein all GRECE in manner did referre themſelues vnto his diſcretion: he came out of that office more poore, and had made this aſſeſſement and taxation not onely iuſtly and truly, but alſo ſo indifferently according vnto euery mans abilitie, that there was no man could finde fault with his doings. And like as the auncient men in olde time did celebrate, and ſing out the bleſſedneſſe of thoſe that liued vnder the raigne of *Saturne*, which they called the golden age: euen ſo did the people and confederates of the ATHENIANS afterwards honour the aſſeſſement made by *Ariſtides*, calling it the fortunate & bleſſed time of GRECE, and ſpecially, when ſhortly after it did double, and treble on the ſodaine. For the taxe *Ariſtides* made, came to about foure hundred and three ſcore talents: and *Pericles* raiſed it almoſt vnto a third parte. For *Thucydides* writeth, that at the beginning of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, the ATHENIANS leauied ſixe hundred talents yearely vpon their confederates. And after the death of *Pericles*, the orators and counſellers for matters of ſtate, did raiſe it vp higher by litle and litle, vntill it mounted vnto the ſumme of thirteene hundred talents. And this was not, becauſe the warres did riſe to ſo great a charge, by reaſon of the length of the ſame, and of the loſſes the ATHENIANS had receiued: but for that they did accuſtome the people to make diſtributions of money by hand vnto euery citizen, to make them ſet vp games, and make goodly images, and to builde ſumptuous temples. Thus was *Ariſtides* therefore iuſtly honoted, praiſed, and eſteemed aboue all other, for this iuſt impoſition of taxes, ſauing onely of *Themiſtocles*: who went vp and downe fleering at the matter, ſaying it was no meete praiſe for an honeſt man, but rather for a cofer wel barred with iron, where a man might ſafely lay vp his gold and ſiluer. This he ſpake to be euen with *Ariſtides*, which was nothing like the ſharpe girde *Ariſtides* gaue him openly, when *Themiſtocles* talking with him, tolde him it was an excellent thing for a Captaine to be able to know, and to preuent the counſels and doings of the enemies: and ſo is it, ſaied *Ariſtides* againe, not onely a needfull, but an honeſt thing, and meete for a worthy generall of an armie, to be cleane fingered, without bribery or corruption. So *Ariſtides* made all the other people of GRECE to ſweare, that they would truely keepe the articles of the alliance, and he him ſelfe as generall of the ATHENIANS, did take their othes in the name of the ATHENIANS: and ſo pronouncing execrations & curſes againſt them that ſhould breake the league and othe taken, he threw iron wedges red hotte into the ſea, and praied the gods to deſtroy them euen ſo, that did violate their vowed faith. Notwithſtanding, afterwardes (in my opinion) when there fell out great alteration in the ſtate, and that the ATHENIANS were forced to rule more ſtraightly then before: *Ariſtides* then willed the ATHENIANS to let him beare the daunger and burden of periury and execration, and that they ſhould not let for feare thereof to do any thing whatſoeuer they thought meet or neceſſary. To conclude, *Theophraſtus* writeth, that *Ariſtides* was not only a perfect, an honeſt, and iuſt man, in priuate matters betwixt party & party: but in matters of ſtate, and concerning the common weale, he did many things oftentimes according to the neceſſitie of the time, and troubles of the citie, wherein violence and iniuſtice was to be vſed. As when the queſtion was asked in open counſell, to know whether they might take away the gold and ſiluer that was left in the Ile of DELOS ſafely laid vp in the temple of *Apollo*, to beare out the charges of the wars againſt the barbarous people, & to bring it from thence vnto ATHENS, vpon the motion of the SAMIANS,

***Ariſtides did ſeſſe the cities of Grece.***

***Ariſtides a true ceſſer.***

***Tauntes betwixt Themiſtocles and Ariſtides.***

***Ariſtides preferred neceſſitie of time, before law and reaſon.***

although it was directly againſt the articles of the alliance, made and ſworne among all the GRECIANS. *Ariſtides* opinion being asked in the ſame, he anſwered: it was not iuſt, but yet profitable. Now, notwithſtanding *Ariſtides* had brought his city, to rule and command many thouſands of people: yet was he ſtill pore for all that, and vntill his dying day he gloried rather to be praiſed for his pouerty, then for all the famous victories and battels he had won: and that plainely appeareth thus. *Callias Ceres* torch bearer, was his neare kinſeman, who through enemies came to be accuſed, and ſtoode in hazard of life: ſo when the day came that his matter was to be heard before the Iudges, his accuſers very faintly, and to litle purpoſe, vttered the offences whereof they accuſed him, and running into other byematters, left the chiefeſt matter, and ſpake thus to the Iudges. My Lords, you all know *Ariſtides* the ſonne of *Lyſimachus*, and you are not ignorant alſo that his vertue hath made him more eſteemed, then any man els is, or can be, in all GREECE. How thinke ye doth he liue at home? when you ſee him abroad vp and downe the city, in a thred bare gowne all to tattered? Is it not likely, trow ye that he is ready to ſtarue at home for lacke of meate and reliefe, whom we all ſee quake for very coulde, being ſo ill arrayed and clothed? And yet M. *Callias* here his coſin germaine the richeſt citizen in all ATHENS, is ſo miſerable: that notwithſtanding *Ariſtides* hath done much for him, by reaſon of his great credit and authority among you, he ſuffereth him, and his poore wife and children ready to beg, to ſtarue for any help he giueth him. *Callias* perceiuing the Iudges more angrie with him for that, then for any matter elſe hee was accuſed of: hee prayed *Ariſtides* might be ſent for, and willed him to tell truely whether hee had not offered him good rounde ſums of money, many a time and oft, and intreated him to take it, which he euer refuſed, and anſwered him alwaies, that he could better boaſt of his pouerty, then him ſelfe could of his riches: (which he ſayd many did vſe ill, and few could vſe them well) and that it was a hard thing to find one man of a noble mind, that could away with pouerty, and that ſuch onely might be aſhamed of pouerty, as were poore againſt their wils. So *Ariſtides* confirmed all hee ſpake to be true: and euery man that was at the hearing of this matter, went wholly away with this opinion, that he had rather be poore as *Ariſtides*, then rich as *Callias*. This tale is written thus by *AEſchines* the Socratian Philoſopher: and *Plato* reporteth of him alſo, that notwithſtanding there were many other famous and notable men of ATHENS, yet hee gaue *Ariſtides* praiſe aboue them all. For others, ſayd he, (as *Themiſtocles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles*) haue beautified the city with ſtately porches, and ſumptuous buildings of golde and ſiluer, and with ſtone of other fine ſuperfluous deuiſes: but *Ariſtides* was only he, that vertuouſly diſpoſed himſelf and all his doings, to the furtherance of the ſtate and common weale. His iuſtice and good nature appeared plainely in his doings and behauiour towards *Themiſtocles*. For though *Themiſtocles* was euer againſt *Ariſtides* in all things, and a continuall enemy of his, and that by his meanes and practiſe he was baniſhed from ATHENS: yet when *Themiſtocles* was accuſed of treaſon to the ſtate, hauing diuerſe ſharpe enemies againſt him: as *Cimon*, *Alcmaon*, with diuerſe other: *Ariſtides* ſought not reuenge, when he had him at his aduantage. For he neither ſpake nor did any thing againſt him at that time to hurt him: neither did he reioice to ſee his enemy in miſery, no more then if he had neuer enuied him in his proſperity. And touching *Ariſtides* death, ſome write that he died in the realme of PONTVS, being ſent thither about matters of the ſtate: and other think he died an old man in the city of ATHENS, greatly honored and beloued of al the citizens. But *Craterus* the MACEDONIAN writeth of his death in this ſort. After that *Themiſtocles* (ſaith he) was fled, the people of ATHENS became very ſtubborn and inſolent: wherupon, many lewd men grew to be common appeachers and accuſers of the noble men & chiefeſt citizens, and to ſtirre vp the malice and ill will of the common people againſt them, who were waxen proud by reaſon of their proſperity, and dominion that was enlarged. Among the reſt, *Arſtides* was condemned for extorcion and ill behauiour in the commõ wealth, vpon one *Diophantes* accuſation, of the village of AMPHITROPE: who burdned him, that he tooke money of the IONIANS, to make the annual tribute ceaſe which they payed vnto ATHENS: & ſo *Craterus* ſaith, that becauſe *Ariſtides* was not able to pay the fine they ſet vpon his head (which was fiue Minas) he was driuen to forſake ATHENS, and to get him into IONIA where he died. Yet doth not *Craterus* bring forth any probable matter to proue this true he writeth: as his

*Ariſtides gloried in his pouerty.*

*A hard thing to away with pouerty.*

*Who may be aſhamed of pouerty.*

*Ariſtides commended of Plato.*

*Ariſtides temperance vnto Themiſtocles.*

*Ariſtides death.*

*Ariſtides condemned for extorcion.*

pleading, his ſentence and condemnation, or any decree paſſed againſt him, although he vſed great diligence elſe in collecting all ſuch matters, and vouching his authors. Furthermore, all other writers that haue ſpecially noted the faults and offences committed by the people of ATHENS in former times againſt their Captaines and gouernours: they doe declare *Themiſtocles* exile, *Miltiades* captiuity that died in priſon, *Pericles* fine wherein he was condemned, & *Paches* death that ſlue himſelfe in the pulpit for orations, when he ſaw he was condemned: and tell diuerſe ſuch ſtories, adding to alſo *Ariſtides* baniſhment: but yet they make no maner of mention of the condemnation which *Craterus* ſpeaketh off. Moreouer, *Ariſtides* tombe is to be ſeene at this day vpon the hauen of Phalerus, which was ſet vp for him at the charge of the common wealth, as it is reported, becauſe he died ſo poore a man, as they found nothing in his houſe to bury him with. Other go further, and ſay that his daughters were maried by decree of the people, at the charge of the common wealth, and that the city gaue euery one of them three thouſand Drachmas: and his ſonne *Lyſimachus*, a hundred Minas of ſiluer, and a hundred Iugera, & at *Alcibiades* requeſt, who was the author of the decree, they gaue him foure Drachmas a day beſides, of ordinary allowance. Furthermore, when this *Lyſimachus* died, hee left aliue one onely daughter called *Polycrite*, whom the people appointed, as *Calliſthenes* writeth, as much prouiſion to liue withall, as they gaue to any that wan the Olympian games. And ſithence, *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, *Hieronymus* RHODIAN, *Ariſtoxenus* the Muſitian, and *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher, at the leaſt if the booke intituled of Nobility bee any of *Ariſtotles* workes: all theſe agree together, that one *Myrto*, *Ariſtides* daughters daughter, was maried to the wiſe *Socrates*, who tooke her to his wife (hauing a wife already) becauſe ſhee was a poore widdow, and could not be maried for her pouerty, hauing much a doe to liue. Yet *Panatius* doth write againſt them, in his booke of *Socrates* life. But *Demetrius* PHALERIAN writeth in his booke he intituled *Socrates*, that he could remember very well hee had ſeene one *Lyſimachus*, *Ariſtides* ſonnes ſonne, or his daughters ſonne, that was very poore, and liued of that he could get to interpret dreames, by certaine tables, wherein was written the arte to interpret the ſignification of dreames: and that he kept commonly about the temple of *Bacchus* called *Iacchion*, vnto whom, together with his mother and his ſiſter, he ſayd he had cauſed the people to giue them a Triobolum a peece, euery day towardes their liuing. It is very true that the ſelfe ſame *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, when he reformed the ſtate of ATHENS, ordained that his mother and ſiſter ſhould haue ech of them a Drachma by the day to finde them withall, out of the common chamber of the city. And it is no new, nor ſtrange thing, that the people of ATHENS were ſo carefull to helpe, and to relieue, the women that dwelt in the city: conſidering that in times paſt, *Ariſtogiton* hauing a litle daughter in the Ile of LEMNOS, in very hard and poore ſtate, and that could not be beſtowed in mariage for her pouerty, they cauſed her to be brought to ATHENS, and maried her in one of the nobleſt houſes of the city, and made her a ioynter beſides in the village of POTAMOS. Which great curteſie and humanity of theirs, hath euer deſerued great fame and commendation, and yet continueth euen vntill this daie, in that noble city of ATHENS, in the mouth of euery man there.

*Ariſtides tombe.*

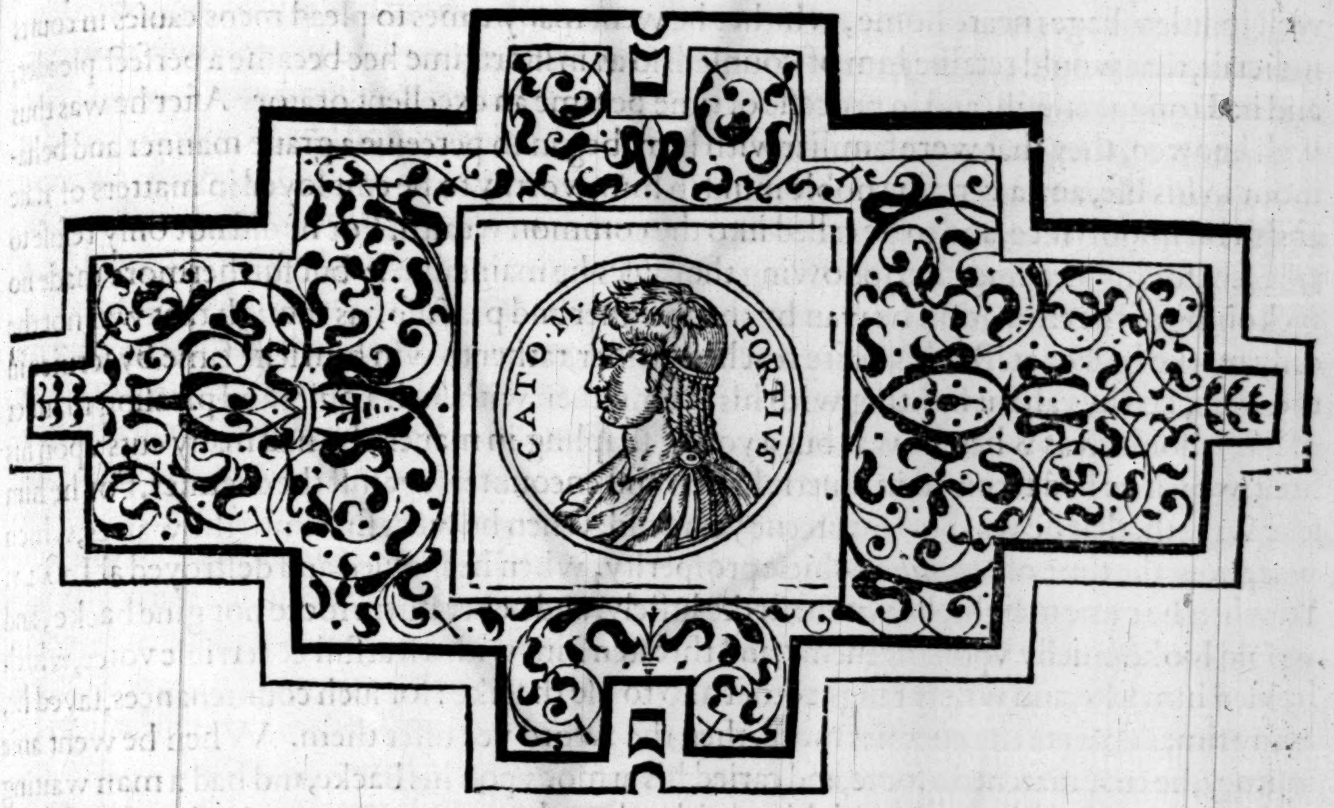
*The Athenians thankefulneſſe vnto Ariſtides children.*

*Myrto Ariſtides daughters daughter, maried vnto Socrates.*

*The Athenians commended for their liberality.*

THE

# THE LIFE OF *Marcus Cato the Cenſor.*



*Marcus* *Cato* and his aunceſters, were(as they ſay)of the city of THVSCVLVM: but before he went vnto the warres, and dealt in matters of the common wealth, he dwelt and liued in the countrey of the SABYNES, vpon certaine land his father left him. And though to many his aunceſters were knowen to haue bene obſcure: yet hee him ſelfe did highly commend his father *Marcus*, by bearing his name, & ſaying he was a ſouldier, and had ſerued valiantly in the fielde. And he teleth alſo of another *Cato* that was his great grandfather, who for his valiant ſeruice had bene oft rewarded of the generals, with ſuch honorable gifts, as the ROMAINES did vſe to giue vnto them, that had done ſome famous act in any battel: and how that he hauing loſt fiue horſes of ſeruice in the wars, the value of the ſame were reſtored to him againe in money of the common treaſure, becauſe he had ſhewed himſelfe truſty and valiant for the common welth. And where they had a common ſpeach at ROME to call them vpſtarts, that were no gentlemen borne, but did riſe by vertue: it fortuned *Cato* to be called one of them. And for his part he did confeſſe it, that he was of the firſt of the houſe that euer had honour, and office of ſtate: but by reaſon of the noble actes and good ſeruice of his aunceſtors, he maintained he was very auncient. He was called at the beginning after his third name, *Priſcus*: but afterwards by reaſon of his great wiſedome and experience he was ſurnamed *Cato*, becauſe the ROMAINS call a wiſe man, and him that hath ſeene much, *Cato*. He was ſomewhat giuen to be red faced, and had a paire of ſtaring eyes in his head, as this man telleth vs, that for ill will wrote theſe verſes of him after his death.

*Cato called an vpſtart.*

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THE

# THE LIFE OF *Marcus Cato the Cenſor.*

CATO M. PORTIVS

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and all becauſe he did vſe to labor and toile euen from his youth, and to liue ſparingly, as one that was euer brought vp in the wars from his youth: ſo that he was of a very good conſtitution, both for ſtrength of body, as for health alſo. As for vtterance, he eſteemed it as a ſecond body, and moſt neceſſary gift, not only to make men honeſt, but alſo as a thing very requiſite for a man that ſhould beare ſway and authority in the common wealth. He practiſed to ſpeake well in litle villages neare home, whither he went many times to plead mens cauſes in courts iudiciall, that would retaine him of counſell: ſo as in ſhort time hee became a perfect pleader, and had tongue at will, and in proceſſe of time became an excellent orator.

*Cato an excellent orator.*

After he was thus well knowen, they that were familiar with him, began to perceiue a graue manner and behauiour in his life, and a certaine noble mind in him, worthy to be employed in matters of ſtate and great importance, and to be called into the common wealth. For he did not only refuſe to take fees for his pleading, and following the cauſes he maintained: but furthermore made no reckoning of the eſtimation he wan by that manner and practiſe, as though that was not the only marke he ſhot at. But his deſire reached further, rather to win him ſelfe fame by ſeruice in the wars, and by valiant fighting with his enemy: then with ſuch a quiet and pleaſing manner of life. Inſomuch as when he was but a young ſtripling in maner, he had many cuts vpon his breſt, which he had receiued in diuerſe battels and encounters againſt the enemies.

*Cato a ſouldier at 17. yeares of age.*

For he him ſelfe writeth, that he was but ſeuenteene yeare old, when he went firſt vnto the warres, which was about the time of *Hannibals* chiefe proſperity, when he ſpoyled and deſtroyed al ITALY. So when he came to fight, he would ſtrike luſtely, and neuer ſturre foote nor giue backe, and would looke cruelly vpon his enemy, and threaten him with a fearfull & terrible voice, which he vſed him ſelfe, and wiſely taught other alſo to vſe the like: for ſuch countenances, ſayed he, many times do feare the enemies more, then the ſword yee offer them.

*A grim looke giueth terror to the enemy.*

When he went anie iourney, he euer marched a foote, and caried his armor vpon his backe, and had a man waiting on him that caried his vittels with him, with whom he was neuer angry (as they ſay) for any thing he had prepared for his dinner or ſupper, but did helpe to dreſſe it him ſelfe for the moſt part, if he had any leyſure, when hee had done the duty of a priuate ſouldier in fortifying the campe, or ſuch other needfull buſineſſe. All the while he was abroad in ſeruice in the wars, he neuer dranke other then cleane water, vnles it were when he found he was not well, and then he would take a litle vineger: but if he ſaw he were weake, he would then drinke a litle wine.

*This Manius Curius ouerthrew king Pyrrus being generall of the Tarentines.*

*Cato the elder wondered at the thriftines of Manius Curius.*

Now it fortuned that *Manius Curius* the ROMAINE, who had triumphed thriſe, had a prety houſe and land hard by *Cato*, where he kept in times paſt, which *Cato* for a walke would viſite oft. And he conſidering how litle land he had to his houſe, and what a litle houſe he had withall, and how poorely it was built, wondered with him ſelfe what maner of man *Curius* hadde bene, that hauing bene the greateſt man of ROME in his time, and hauing ſubdued the mightieſt nations and people of all ITALY, and driuen king *Pyrrus* alſo out of the ſame: yet him ſelfe with his owne hands did manure that litle patch of ground, and dwell in ſo poore and ſmall a farme.

*The moderation of Manius Curius.*

Whither notwithſtanding, after his three triūphs, the SAMNYTES ſent their Ambaſſadours to viſite him, who found him by the fires ſide ſeething of parſeneapes, and preſented him a maruellous deale of gold from their ſtate and communalty. But *Curius* returned them againe with their gold, and told them, that ſuch as were contented with that ſupper, had no neede of gold nor ſiluer: and that for his part, he thought it greater honour to commaund them that had gold, then to haue it him ſelfe. *Cato* remembring theſe thinges to him ſelfe, went home againe, and beganne to thinke vppon his houſe, of his liuing, of his family and ſeruaunts, and alſo of his expences: and to cut off all ſuperfluous charges, and fell him ſelfe to labour with his owne handes, more then euer he had done before.

*Nearchus the Pythagorian Philoſopher, Catoes ſchoolemaiſter.*

*Platoes opinion of pleaſure.*

Furthermore, when *Fabius Maximus* tooke the city of TARENTVM againe, *Cato* ſerued vnder him being very young, where he fell into familiar acquaintance with *Nearchus* the PYTHAGORIAN philoſopher, in whō he toke maruellous delight to hear him talke of Philoſophy. Which *Nearchus* held the ſame opinion of pleaſure, that *Plato* did, by calling it the ſweete poyſon and chiefeſt bayte to allure men to ill: and ſaying that the body was the firſt plague vnto the ſoule, and that her onely health, remedy, and purgation ſtoode vppon rules of reaſon, good examples and contemplations, that driue ſinfull thoughts and carnall pleaſures of the body, far off from her. *Cato* moreouer gaue him ſelfe much to ſobriety and temperaunce, and framed him ſelfe to be contented with litle. They ſay he fell in his very olde age to the ſtudy of the Greeke tongue; and to reade Greeke books, and that he profited ſomwhat by *Thucydides*, but much more by *Demoſthenes*, to frame his matter, and alſo to be eloquent. Which plainely appeareth, in all his bookes and writings, full of authorities, examples, & ſtories taken out of Greeke authors: and many of his ſentences and morals, his adages and quick anſwers, are tranſlated out of the ſame word for word. Now there was a noble man of Rome at that time, one of great authority, and a deepe wiſe man beſides, who could eaſily diſcerne buddes of vertue ſprowting out of any towardly youth, who was of a good and honourable diſpoſition to helpe forward, and to aduaunce ſuch. His name was *Valerius Flaccus*, a neare neighbour vnto *Cato*, who was informed by his ſeruaunts of *Catoes* ſtrange life, how he would be doing in his ground with his owne hands: and how he would be gone euery day betimes in the morning to litle villages thereabout, to pleade mens cauſes that praied his counſaile, & that when he had done, he would come home againe: and if it were in winter, that he would but caſt a litle coat on his ſhoulders, and being ſommer hee would go out bare, naked to the waſt, to worke in his ground among his ſeruaunts and other workemen: and would beſides, ſit and eate with them together at one bord, and drinke as they did. Moreouer, they told him alſo a world of ſuch maners and faſhions which he vſed, that ſhewed to be a maruellous plaine man, without pride and of a good nature. Then they told him what notable wiſe ſayings and graue ſentences they heard him ſpeake. *Valerius Flaccus* hearing this report of him, willed his men one day to pray him to come to ſupper to him. Who falling in acquaintance with *Cato*, and perceiuing he was of a very good nature, & well giuen, & that he was a good griffe to be ſet in a better ground: he perſwaded him to come to Rome, and to practiſe there in the aſſembly of the people, in the common cauſes and affaires of the common weale. *Cato* followed his counſaile, who hauing bene no long practiſer among them, did grow ſtraight into great eſtimation, and wanne him many friends, by reaſon of the cauſes he tooke in hand to defend: and was the better preferred and taken alſo, by means of the ſpeciall fauor and countenance *Valerius Flaccus* gaue him. For firſt of all, by voice of the people he was choſen Tribune of the ſouldiers, (to ſay, colonell of a thouſand footemen) and afterwards was made treaſurer: and ſo went forwards, and grew to ſo great credit and authority, as he became *Valerius Flaccus* companion in the chiefeſt offices of ſtate, being choſen Conſull with him, & then Cenſor. But to begin withal, *Cato* made choiſe of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, aboue all the Senators of Rome, & gaue him ſelfe to follow him altogether: and not ſo much for the credit & eſtimation *Fabius Maximus* was off, (who therein exceeded all the Romains of that time) as for the modeſty and diſcrete gouernment he ſaw in him, whom hee determined to follow, as a worthy mirrour and example. At which time *Cato* paſſed not for the malice and euill will of *Scipio* the great, who did ſtriue at that preſent being but a yong man, with the authority and greatneſſe of *Fabius Maximus*, as one that ſeemed to enuy his riſing and greatnes. For *Cato* being ſent treaſurer with *Scipio*, when he vndertooke the iourney into Afrike, and perceiuing *Scipioes* bountifull nature and diſpoſition to large giftes without meane to the ſouldiers: he tolde him plainely one day, that he did not ſo much hurt the common wealth in waſting their treaſure, as he did great harme in changing the auncient manner of their aunceſters: who vſed their ſouldiers to be contented with litle, but hee taught them to ſpend their ſuperfluous money (all neceſſaries prouided for) in vaine toies and trifles, to ſerue their pleaſure. *Scipio* made him aunſwer, hee would haue no treaſurer ſhould controll him in that ſort, nor that ſhould looke ſo narrowly to his expenſes: for his intent was to go to the warres, with full ſailes as it were, and that he would (and did alſo determine to) make the ſtate priuy to all his doings, but not to the money he ſpent. *Cato* hearing this aunſwere, returned with ſpeede out of Sicile vnto Rome, crying out with *Fabius Maximus* in open Senate, that *Scipio* ſpent infinitely, and that he tended plaies, commedies, and wreſtlings, as if he had not beene ſent to make warres, inuaſions, and attempts vppon their enemies. Vpon this complaint the Senate appointed certaine Tribunes of the people, to goe and ſee if their informations were true: and finding them ſo, that they ſhould bring him backe againe to Rome. But *Scipio* ſhewed farre otherwiſe to the commiſſioners that came thither, and made them ſee apparaunt

*Cato learned the Greeke tongue in his olde age.*

*Cato profited moſt by Demoſthenes eloquence.*

*Valerius Flaccus a graue wiſeman.*

*Catoes ſtrange life.*

*Cato goeth to Rome by Valerius Flaccus perſwaſion.*

*Cato choſen Tribunus militum.*

*Catoes offices in the Senate.*

*Cato followed Fabius Maximus.*

*Catoes emulation with Scipio the great.*

*Cato being treaſorer vnder Scipio African, reproued him for his waſtfull expences.*

*Cato accuſeth Scipio of riot.*

victory, through the neceſſary preparation and prouiſion he had made for the warres: and he confeſſed alſo, that when he had diſpatched his great buſines, and was at any leyſure, he would be priuately mery with his friends: and though he was liberall to his ſouldiers, yet that made him not negligent of his duety and charge in any matter of importaunce. So *Scipio* tooke ſhipping, and ſailed towards AFRIKE, whither he was ſent to make warre. Now to returne to *Cato*. He daily increaſed ſtill in authority and credit by meanes of his eloquence, ſo that diuerſe called him the *Demoſthenes* of ROME: howbeit the maner of his life was in more eſtimation then his eloquence. For all the youth of ROME did ſeeke to attaine to his eloquence and commendation of wordes, and one enuied another which of them ſhould come neareſt: but few of them would file their handes with any labour as their forefathers did, and make a light ſupper and dinner, without fire or prouiſion, or would be content with a meane gowne, and a poore lodging, and finally would thinke it more honorable to defie fanſies & pleaſures, then to haue and enioy them. Becauſe the ſtate was waxẽ now of ſuch power and wealth, as it could no more retaine the auncient diſcipline, and former auſterity and ſtraightnes of life it vſed: but by reaſon of the largenes of their dominion and ſeigniory, and the numbers of people and nations that were become their ſubiects, it was euen forced to receiue a medley of ſundry countrey faſhions, examples, and maners. This was a cauſe, why in reaſon men did ſo greatly wonder at *Catoes* vertue, when they ſaw other ſtraight wearied with paines and labour, tenderly brought vp like pulers: and *Cato* on the other ſide neuer ouercommen, either with the one or with the other, no not in his youth, when he moſt coueted honor, nor in his age alſo when he was gray headed and balde, after his Conſulſhip and triumphe, but like a conquerour that had gotten the maiſtery, he would neuer giue ouer labor euen vnto his dying day. For he writeth him ſelfe, that there neuer came gowne on his backe that coſt him aboue a hundred pence, & that his hindes and workemen alwaies drunke no worſe wine, when he was Conſull and generall of the army, then he did him ſelfe: and that his Cater neuer beſtowed in meate for his ſupper, aboue thirty Aſſes of ROMAINE money, and yet he ſayed it was, becauſe hee might be the ſtronger, and apter to do ſeruice in the wars for his countrey and the common wealth. He ſayd furthermore, that being heire to one of his friends that died, he had a peece of tapeſtry by him with a deepe border, which they called then the Babylonian border, and he cauſed it ſtraight to be ſold: and that of all his houſes he had abroade in the countrey, hee had not one wall plaſtered, nor rough caſt. Moreouer he would ſay, hee neuer bought bondeman or ſlaue dearer, then a thouſand fiue hundred pence, as one that ſought not for fine made men, and goodly perſonages, but ſtrong fellowes that could away with paines, as carters, horſekeepers, neatheardes, and ſuch like: and againe he would ſell them when they were olde, becauſe hee would not keepe them when they could do no ſeruice. To conclude, he was of opinion, that a man bought any thing deare, that was for litle purpoſe: yea, though he gaue but a farthing for it, he thought it too much to beſtow ſo litle, for that which needed not. Hee would haue men purchaſe houſes, that had more ſtore of arable land and paſture, then of fine horteyardes or gardeins. Some ſay, he did thus, for very miſery and couetouſneſſe: other thinke, and tooke it that he liued ſo ſparingly, to moue others by his example to cutte off all ſuperfluity and waſt. Neuertheleſſe, to ſell ſlaues in that ſort, or to turne them out of dores when you haue had the ſeruice of all their youth, and that they are growen old, as you vſe brute beaſtes that haue ſerued whileſt they may for age: me thinkes that muſt needes proceede of too ſeuere and greedy nature, that hath no longer regard or conſideration of humanity, then whileſt one is able to to doe an other good. For we ſee, gentleneſſe goeth further then iuſtice. For nature teacheth vs to vſe iuſtice onely vnto men, but gentleneſſe ſometimes is ſhewed vnto bruite beaſtes: and that commeth from the very fountaine and ſpring of all curteſie and humanity, which ſhould neuer drie vp in any man liuing. For to ſay truely, to keepe caſt horſes ſpoiled in our ſeruice, and dogs alſo not onely when they are whelps, but when they be old: be euen tokens of loue and kindneſſe. As the ATHENIANS made a law, when they builded their temple called Hecatompedon: that they ſhould ſuffer the moyles and mulets that did ſeruice in their cariages about the building of the ſame, to graze euery where, without let or trouble of any man. And they ſay, there was one of their moiles thus turned at liberty, that came her ſelfe to the place to labour,

*Catoes eloquence, his continent life, and extream pains.*

*Catoes wonderfull thriſt.*

*Catoes ſharpeneſſe.*

*Gentleneſſe goeth further then iuſtice. Gentleneſſe to be vſed vnto brute beaſts.*

*A gentle law made by the Athenians in fauour of their laboring moils.*

about, going before all the other draught beaſtes, that drew vp cartes loden towardes the caſtle, and kept them companie, as though ſhe ſeemed to encourage the reſt to draw: which the people liked ſo well in the poore beaſt, that they appointed ſhee ſhould be kept whileſt ſhe liued, at the charge of the towne. And yet at this preſent are the graues of *Cimons* mares to be ſeene, that wanne him thriſe together the game of the horſe race at the games Olympian, and they are hard by the graue of *Cimon* himſelfe. We heare of diuerſe alſo that had buried their dogges they brought vppe in their houſe, or that waited on them: as among other, olde *Xanthippus* buried his dogge on the toppe of a cliffe, which is called the dogges pit till this day. For when the people of ATHENS did forſake their citie at the comming downe of *Xerxes* the king, this dogge followed his maiſter, ſwimming in the ſea by his gallies ſide, from the firme lande, vnto the Ile of SALAMINA. And there is no reaſon, to vſe liuing and ſenſible things, as wee would vſe an olde ſhoo or a ragge, to caſt it out vppon the dunghill when we haue worne it, and can ſerue vs no longer. For if it were for no reſpect elſe, but to vſe vs alwaies to humanitie: we muſt euer ſhewe our ſelues kinde and gentle, euen in ſuch ſmall pointes of pittie. And as for me, I could neuer finde in my heart to ſell my draught Oxe that had ploughed my lande a long time, becauſe he could plough no longer for age: and much leſſe my ſlaue to ſell him for a litle money, out of the country where he had dwelt a long time, to plucke him from his old trade of life wherewith he was beſt acquainted, and then ſpecially, when he ſhall be as vnprofitable for the buier, as alſo for the ſeller. But *Cato* on the other ſide gloried, that he left his horſe in SPAYNE he had ſerued on in the warres during his Conſulſhip, becauſe he would not put the commonwealth to the charge of bringing of him home by ſea into ITALIE. Now a queſtion might be made of this, and probable reaſon of either ſide, whether this was nobleneſſe, or a niggardlineſſe in him: but otherwiſe to ſay truly, he was a man of a wonderful abſtinēce. For when he was generall of the army, he neuer tooke allowance but after three buſhels of wheat a moneth of the cōmonwealth, for himſelfe & his whole family: and but a buſhell and halfe of barley a day, to keepe his horſe and other beaſts for his cariage. On a time when he was Prætor, the gouernment of the Ile of SARDINIA fell to his lot. And where the other Prætors before him had put the country to exceeding great charge, to furniſh them with tents, bedding, clothes, and ſuch like ſtuffe, and burthened them alſo with a maruellous traine of ſeruants and their friends that waited on them, putting them to great expence of feaſting and banketing of them: *Cato* in contrary maner brought downe all that exceſſe and ſuperfluitie, vnto a maruellous neere and vncredible ſauing. For when he went to viſite the cities, he came a foote to them, and did not put them to a penny charge for himſelfe: and had onely one officer or bailife of the ſtate, that waited on him, and caried his gowne and a cup with him, to offer vp wine to the gods in his ſacrifices. But though he came thus ſimply to the ſubiects, and eaſed them of their former charges, yet he ſhewed himſelfe ſeuere and bitter to them in matters concerning iuſtice: and ſpared no man, in any commaundement or ſeruice for the ſtate and common wealth. For he was therein ſo preciſe, that he would not beare with any litle fault. So by this meanes, he brought the SARDINIANS vnder his gouernment, both to loue and feare the Empire of ROME, more then euer they did before. For his grace both in ſpeaking and writing did rightly ſhew him ſelfe: becauſe it was pleaſant and yet graue: ſweete and fearefull: merry and ſeuere: ſententious, and yet familiar: ſuch as is meete to be ſpoken. And he was to be compared, as *Plato* ſayed vnto *Socrates*: who at the firſt ſight ſeemed a plaine ſimple manne to them that knew him not outwardly, or elſe a pleaſaunt taunter or mocker: but when they did looke into him, and found him throughly, they ſaw he was full of graue ſentences, goodly examples, and wiſe perſwaſions, that he could make men water their plantes that heard him, and leade them as hee would by the eare. Therefore I can not ſee any reaſon that moues men to ſay, *Cato* hadde *Laſias* grace and vtteraunce. Notwithſtanding, lette vs referre it to their iudgements that make profeſſion to diſcerne orators graces and ſtiles: for my part I ſhall content my ſelfe to write at this preſent, onely certaine of his notable ſayings and ſentences, perſwading my ſelfe that mens manners are better diſcerned by their wordes, then by their lookes, and ſo doe many thinke. On a time he ſeeking to diſſwade the people of ROME, which would needes make a thanke-

*Xanthippus buried his dogge, that ſwam by his gallies ſide from Athens to Salamina, and died when he landed.*

*Catoes ſtraight life.*

*Cato, Prætor in Sardinia.*

*Catoes neereneſſe in his circuite.*

*Catoes ſeuerity.*

*Catoes ſpeach and writing.*

*The praiſe of Socrates.*

full diſtribution of corne vnto euerie citizen, to no purpoſe: beganne to make an oration with this preface. It is a harde thing (my Lordes of ROME) to bring the bellie by perſwaſion to reaſon, that hath no eares. And an other time, reprouing the ill gouernement of the citie of ROME, hee ſaide: it was a hard thing to keepe vp that ſtate, where a litle fiſh was ſolde dearer then an Oxe. He ſaid alſo that the ROMAINES were like a flocke of ſheepe. For ſaieth he, as euery weather when he is alone, doth not obey the ſhepheard, but when they are all together they one follow an other for loue of the formoſt: euen ſo are you, for when you are together, you are all contented to be ledde by the noſes by ſuch, whoſe counſell not a man alone of you would vſe in any priuate cauſe of your owne. And talking an other time of the authoritie the women of ROME had ouer their husbandes. He ſaide: other men commaunde their wiues, and we commaund men, and our wiues commaund vs. But this laſt of all he borrowed of *Themiſtocles* pleaſant ſayings. For his ſonne making him doe many things by meanes of his mother, he told his wife one day. The ATHENIANS commaund all GRECE, I commaunde the ATHENIANS, you commaund me, and your ſonne ruleth you. I pray you therefore bid him vſe the libertie he hath with ſome better diſcretion, foole and aſſe as he is, ſithence he can doe more by that power and authoritie, then all the GRECIANS beſides. He ſaide alſo that the people of ROME did not onely delight in diuerſe ſorts of purple, but likewiſe in diuerſe ſorts of exerciſes. For ſaide he, as diuerſe commonly die that colour they ſee beſt eſteemed, and is moſt pleaſant to the eye: euen ſo the luſtie youthes of ROME do frame themſelues to ſuch exerciſe, as they ſee your ſelues moſt like, and beſt eſteeme. He continually aduiſed the ROMAINES, that if their power & greatneſſe came by their vertue & temperance, they ſhould take heed they became no changelings, nor waxe worſe: and if they came to that greatneſſe by vice and violence, that then they ſhould change to better, for by that meanes he knew very well they had attained to great honor and dignity. Againe he told them, that ſuch as ſued ambitiouſly to beare office in the commonwealth, and were common ſuters for them: did ſeeme to be afraid to loſe their way, and therefore would be ſure to haue vſhers & ſergeants before them, to ſhew them the way, leaſt they ſhould loſe themſelues in the city. He did reproue them alſo, that often choſe one man to continue one office ſtill: for it ſeemeth, ſaith he, either that you paſſe not much for your officers, or that you haue not many choiſe men you thinke worthy for the office. There was an enemy of his that led a maruellous wicked & an abhominable life, of whom he was wont to ſay, that when his mother prayed vnto the gods that ſhe might leaue her ſonne behinde her, ſhe did not thinke to pray, but to curſe: meaning to haue him liue for a plague to the world. And to another alſo that had vnthriftely ſolde his lands which his father had left him, lying vpon the ſea ſide: he pointed vnto them with his finger, & made as though he wondred how he came to be ſo great a man, that he was ſtronger then the ſea. For that which the ſea hardly conſumeth, & eateth into, by litle & litle a long time: he had conſumed it all at a clappe. An other time, when king *Eumenes* was come to ROME, the Senate entertained him maruellous honorably, and the nobleſt citizens did ſtriue, enuying one an other, who ſhould welcome him beſt. But *Cato* in contrary maner ſhewed plainely, that he did ſuſpect all this feaſting and entertainement, and would not come at it. When one of his familiar friendes told him, I maruell why you flie from king *Eumenes* company, that is ſo good a Prince, and loues the ROMAINES ſo well. Yea, ſayed he, let it be ſo, but for all that, a king is no better then a rauening beaſt that liues of the prey: neither was there euer any king ſo happy, that deſerued to be compared to *Epaminondas*, to *Pericles*, to *Themiſtocles*, nor to *Manius Curius*, or to *Hamylcar*, ſurnamed *Barca*. They ſay his enemies did malice him, becauſe he vſed commonly to riſe before day, & did forget his owne buſines to follow matters of ſtate. And he affirmed, that he had rather looſe the reward of his well doing, then not to bee puniſhed for doing of euill: and that he would beare with all other offending ignorantly, but not with him ſelfe. The ROMAINES hauing choſen on a time three Ambaſſadors to ſend into the realme of BITHYNIA, one of them hauing the goute in his feete, the other his head full of cuttes and great gaſhes, and the third being but a foole: *Cato* laughing, ſayed the ROMAINES ſent an Ambaſſade that had neither feete, head nor heart. *Scipio* ſued once to *Cato* at *Polybius* requeſt, about thoſe that were baniſhed from ACHAIA. The matter was argued afterwardes

in

*Catoes ſayings.*

*Themiſtocles ſaying.*

*Honor nouriſheth arte.*

*Cato against offices of perpetuity.*

*Cato would puniſh himſelfe for offending. That is to ſay vnderſtanding. For they iudged that the ſeat of reaſon was placed in the heart, following Ariſtotles opinion.*

in the Senate, and there fell out diuers opinions about it. Some would haue had them reſtored to their country and goods againe: other were wholly againſt it. So *Cato* riſing vp at the laſt, ſaid vnto them. It ſeemes we haue litle elſe to doe, when we ſtande beating of our braines all day, diſputing about theſe olde GRECIANS, whether the ROMAINES or the ACAIANS ſhall burie them. In the end, the Senate tooke order they ſhould be reſtored vnto their countrie againe. Whereupon *Polybius* thought to make petition againe vnto the Senate, that the baniſhed men whom they had reſtored by their order, might enioy their former eſtates and honors in ACHAIA, they had at the time of their baniſhment: but before he would moue the ſute vnto the Senate, he would feele *Catoes* opinion firſt, what he thought of it. Who anſwered him, ſmyling: me thinkes *Polybius* thou art like *Vlyſſes*, that when he had ſcaped out of *Cyclops* caue the giant, he would needes goe thither againe, to fetch his hatte and girdle he had left behind him there. He ſaid alſo, that wiſe men did learne and profite more by fooles, then fooles did by wiſe men. For wiſe men ſaide he, do ſee the faultes fooles commit, and can wiſely auoide them: but fooles neuer ſtudie to follow the example of wiſe mens doings. He ſaid alſo that he euer liked young men better that bluſhed, then thoſe that looked euer whitely: and that he would not haue him for a ſouldier, that wagges his hande as he goeth, remoues his feete when he fighteth, and rowteth and ſnorteth louder in his ſleepe, then when he cryeth out to his enemie. An other time when he would taunt a maruellous fatte man: ſee, ſaide he, what good can ſuch a body do to the commonwealth, that from his chinne to his codpeece is nothing but belly? And to another man that was giuen to pleaſure, and deſired to be great with him: my friend, ſaied *Cato*, as refuſing his acquaintance: I cannot liue with him that hath better iudgement in the pallate of his mouth, then in his hart. This was alſo his ſaying, that the ſoule of a louer, liued in anothers body: and that in all his life time he repented him of three things. The firſt was, if that he euer tolde ſecret to any woman: the ſecond, that euer he went by water, when he might haue gone by lande: the third, that he had bene idle a whole day, and had done nothing. Alſo when he ſaw a vicious olde man, he would ſay, to reproue him: O gray beard, age bringeth many deformities with it, helpe it not beſides with your vice. And to a ſeditious Tribune of the people that was ſuſpected to be a poiſoner, and would needes paſſe ſome wicked law by voice of the people, he would ſay: O young man, I know not which of theſe two be worſe, to drinke the drugges thou giueſt, or to receiue the lawes thou offereſt. An other time, being reuiled by one that led a lewde and naughtie life: go thy way, ſaid he, I am no man to ſcolde with thee. For thou art ſo vſed to reuile, and to be reuiled, that it is not dainty to thee: But for my ſelfe, I neuer vſe to heare ſcolding, and much leſſe delight to ſcolde. Theſe be his wiſe ſayings we finde written of him, whereby we may the eaſilier coniecture his maners and nature. Now, when he was choſen Conſul with his friend *Valerius Flaccus*, the gouernment of SPAYNE fell to his lot, that is on this ſide of the riuer of BÆTIS. So, *Cato* hauing ſubdued many people by force of armes, and wonne others alſo by friendly meanes: ſodainly there came a maruellous great army of the barbarous people againſt him, and had enuironed him ſo, as he was in maruellous danger, either ſhamefully to be taken priſoner, or to bee ſlaine in the field. Wherefore, he ſent preſently vnto the CELTIBERIANS, to pray aide of them, who were next neighbours vnto the marches where he was. Theſe CELTIBBERIANS did aske him two hūdred talents to come & helpe him: but the ROMAINS, that were about him, could not abide to hire the barbarous people to defend them. Then *Cato* told them ſtraight, there was no hurt in it, nor any diſhonour vnto them. For ſayed he, if the field be ours, then we ſhall pay their wages we promiſed, with the ſpoile and money of our enemies: and if we loſe it, then our ſelues and they lie by it, being left neither man to paie, nor yet any to aske it. In the end hee wanne the battell, after a ſore conflict, and after that time he had maruellous good fortune. For *Polybius* writeth, that all the walles of the cities that were on this ſide the riuer of BÆTIS, were by his commaundement raſed all in one day, which were many, and full of good ſouldiers. Him ſelfe writeth, that hee tooke moe cities in SPAINE, then he remained there daies: and it is no vaine boaſt, if it be true that is written, that there were foure hundred cities of them. Now, though the ſouldiers vnder him had gotten well in this iourney, and were rich, yet he cauſed a pound weight of ſiluer to be giuen to

*Bluſhing in young men is a better token then paleneſſe.*

*A louer liueth in an other body.*

*Cato and Valerius Flaccus Conſuls.*

*Catoes doings in Spaine.*

euery ſouldier beſides: ſaying, he liked it better that many ſhould returne home with ſiluer in their purſes, then a few of them with gold onely. But for himſelfe he affirmed: that of all the ſpoile gotten of the enemies, he neuer had any thing, ſauing that which hee tooke in meate and drinke. And yet, ſaith he, I ſpeake it not to reproue them that grow rich by ſuch ſpoiles: but becauſe I would contend in vertue rather with the beſt, then in money with the richeſt, or in couetouſneſſe with the moſt vertuous. For, not onely he himſelfe was cleare from bribes and extortion, but his officers alſo vnder him kept the ſame courſe. In this Spaniſh iorney, he had fiue of his ſeruantes with him, whereof one of them called *Pauus*, bought three young boyes that were taken in the warres, when the ſpoile was ſold to them that would giue moſt. So *Cato* knew it. But *Pauus* being affraide to come neere his maiſter, hung himſelfe: and then *Cato* ſolde the boyes againe, and put the money made of them into the treaſurie cheſtes of ſauing at ROME. Now while *Cato* was in SPAINE. *Scipio* the great that was his enemy, & ſought to hinder the courſe of his proſperitie, and to haue the honour of conquering all the reſt of SPAYNE: he made all the friendes he could to the people, to be choſen in *Catoes* place. He was no ſooner entred into his charge, but he made all the poſſible ſpeede he could to be gone, that he might make *Catoes* authoritie ceaſe the ſooner. *Cato* hearing of his haſtie comming, tooke only fiue enſignes of footemen, and fiue hundred horſmen to attend vpon him home: with the which, in his iorney homeward, he ouercame a people in SPAYNE called the LACETANIANS, and tooke ſixe hundred traitors alſo that were fled from the ROMAINES campe to their enemies, and did put to death euery mothers childe of them. *Scipio* ſtorming at that, ſaid *Cato* did him wrong. But *Cato* to mocke him finely, ſaid: it was the right way to bring ROME to floriſh, when noble borne citizens would not ſuffer meane borne men, and vpſtarts as himſelfe was, to go before them in honor: and on the other ſide when meane borne men would contend in vertue, with thoſe that were of nobleſt race, and farre aboue them in calling. For all that, when *Cato* came to ROME, the Senate commaunded that nothing ſhould be changed nor altered otherwiſe, then *Cato* had appointed it, whileſt he was in his office. So that the gouernment for which *Scipio* made ſuch earneſt ſute in SPAYNE, was a greater diſgrace vnto him, then it was vnto *Cato*: becauſe he paſſed al his time & office in peace, hauing no occaſion offered him to do any notable ſeruice worthy memorie. Furthermore, *Cato* after he had bene Conſull, and had graunted to him the honor to triumphe: did not as many others doe, that ſeeke not after vertue, but onely for worldly honor and dignity. Who, when they haue bene called to the higheſt offices of ſtate, as to be Conſuls, and haue alſo granted them the honour to triumphe: do then leaue to deale any more in matters of ſtate, & diſpoſe themſelues to liue merrily and quietly at home, and not to trouble themſelues any more. Now *Cato*, farre otherwiſe behaued himſelfe. For he would neuer leaue to exerciſe vertue, but began a freſh, as if he had bene a young noueſſe in the worlde, and as one greedy of honour and reputation, and to take as much paines and more then he did before. For, to pleaſure his friends or any other citizen, he would come to the market place, and plead their cauſes for them that required his counſell, and goe with his friends alſo into the warres. As he went with *Tiberius Sempronius* the Conſull, and was one of his Lieutenants at the conqueſt of the countrey of THRACE, and vnto the prouinces adioyning to the riuer of DANVBYE vpon thoſe marches. After that, he was in GREECE alſo, Collonell of a thouſand footemen, vnder *Manius Aquilius*, againſt king *Antiochus* ſurnamed the great, who made the ROMAINES ſo much affraid of him, as euer they were of enemy but *Hanniball*. For, when he had conquered all the regions and prouinces of ASIA, which *Seleucus Nicanor* enioyed before, & had ſubdued many barbarous and warlike nations: he was ſo proud hearted, as he would needs haue wars with the ROMAINS, whom he knew to be the only worthy men, and beſt able to fight with him. So he made ſome honeſt ſhew and pretence of warres, ſaying: it was to ſet the GRECIANS at liberty, who had no cauſe thereof, conſidering they liued after their owne lawes, and were but lately deliuered from the bondage of king *Philip*, and of the MACEDONIANS, through the goodneſſe of the ROMAINES. Notwithſtanding, he came out of ASIA into GREECE with a maruellous great army, and all GREECE was ſtraight in armes and in wonderfull daunger, becauſe of the great promiſes and large hopes the gouernours of diuerſe cities (whom the king had wonne and

*Catoes abſtinence from ſpoile and briberie.*

*Diſcorde betwixt Cato and Scipio.*

*Cato ouercame the Lacetanians.*

*Catoes actes after his Conſulſhip and triumphe.*

*The power of Antiochus the great.*

corrupted with money) did make vnto them. Whereupon *Manius* diſpatched Ambaſſadors vnto the citie, and ſent *Titus Quintius Flaminius* among others, who kept the greateſt part of the people from rebelling (that were eaſily drawen to giue eare to this innouation) as we haue expreſſed more amply in his life: and *Cato* being ſent Ambaſſadour alſo, perſwaded the CORINTHIANS, thoſe of PATRAS, and the ÆGIANS, and made them ſticke ſtill to the ROMAINES, and continued a long time at ATHENS. Some ſay they finde an oration of his written in the Greeke tongue, which hee made before the ATHENIANS, in commendation of their aunceſtors: wherein he ſaid, he tooke great pleaſure to ſee ATHENS, for the beautie and ſtatelineſſe of the citie. But this is falſe. For he ſpake vnto the ATHENIANS by an interpreter, though he could haue vttered his oration in the Greeke tongue if he had beene diſpoſed: but he did like the lawes and cuſtomes of his owne countrie, and the ROMAINE tongue ſo well, that he laughed at them that would praiſe and commend the Greeke tongue. As he did once mocke *Poſthumius Albinus*, who wrote an hiſtorie in the Greeke tongue, praying the readers in his preface to beare with him, if they found any imperfection in the tongue: mary, ſaide *Cato*, he had deſerued pardon in deede, if he had beene forced to haue written his ſtorie in the Greeke tongue, by order of the ſtates of GRECE, called the councel of the Amphictyons. They ſay the ATHENIANS wondered to heare his ready tongue. For what he had vttered quickly in few words vnto the interpreter: the interpreter was driuen to deliuer them againe with great circumſtances, and many wordes. So that he left them of this opinion, that the GRECIANS words lay all in their lips, and the ROMAINES wordes in their heads. Now king *Antiochus* kept all the ſtraites and narrow paſſages of the mountaines called THERMOPYLES (being the ordinary way and entry into GRECE) and had fortified them aſwell with an armie that camped at the foote of the mountaine, as alſo with walles and trenches he had made by hand, beſides the naturall ſtrength and fortification of the mount itſelfe in ſundry places: and ſo he determined to remaine there, truſting to his owne ſtrength and fortifications aforeſaid, and to turne the force of the warres ſome other way. The ROMAINES alſo, they deſpaired vtterly they ſhould be able any way to charge him before. But *Cato* remembring with himſelfe the compaſſe the PERSIANS had fetched about before time likewiſe to enter into GRECE: he departed one night from the campe with part of the armie: to proue if he could finde the verie compaſſe about, the barbarous people had made before. But as they climed vp the mountaine, their guide that was one of the priſoners taken, in the countrie, loſt his way, and made them wander vp and downe in maruellous ſteepe rockes and crooked wayes, that the poore ſouldiers were in maruelous ill taking. *Cato* ſeeing the danger they were brought into by this lewde guide, commaunded all his ſouldiers not to ſturre a foot from thence, and to tarry him there: and in the meane time he went himſelfe alone, and *Lucius Manlius* with him (a luſtie man, and nimble to climbe vpon the rockes) and ſo went forwarde at aduenture, taking extreame and vncredible paine, and in as much danger of his life, grabbing all night in the darke without moone light, through wilde Olyue trees, and high rockes (that let them they could not ſee before them, neither could tell whither they went) vntill they ſtumbled at the length vppon a litle path way, which went as they thought directly to the foote of the mountaine, where the campe of the enemies lay. So they ſet vppe certaine markes and tokens, vppon the higheſt toppes of the rockes they could chooſe, by view of eye to be diſcerned furtheſt off vppon the mountaine called Callidromus. And when they had done that, they returned backe againe to fetch the ſouldiers, whom they led towardes their markes they had ſet vp: vntill at the length they found their path way againe, where they putte their ſouldiers in order to march. Now they went not farre in this path they found, but the way fayled them ſtraight, and brought them to a bogge: but then they were in worſe caſe then before, and in greater feare, not knowing they were ſo neare their enemies, as in deede they were. The day began to breake a litle, and one of them that marched formoſt, thought he heard a noiſe, and that he ſaw the GREEKES campe at the foote of the rockes, and certaine ſouldiers that kept watch there. Whereupon *Cato* made thẽ ſtay, and willed only the FIRMANIANS to come vnto him, and none but them, becauſe hee had found them faithfull before, and very ready to obey his commandement. They were with him at a triſe to know his pleaſure: ſo *Cato* ſayd vnto them.

*Cato mocked Poſthumius Albinus a Romaine for writing a ſtorie in the Greeke tongue.*

*King Antiochus armie.*

*Catoes doings againſt king Antiochus.*

*Mount Callidromus.*

*Catoes oration to his ſouldiers.*

My fellowes, I muſt haue ſome of our enemies taken priſoners, that I may know of them who they be that keepe that paſſage, what number they be, what order they keepe, how they are camped and armed, and after what ſort they determine to fight with vs. The way to worke this feate ſtandeth vpon ſwiftneſſe and hardineſſe to runne vpon them ſodainely, as Lions doe, which being naked feare not to runne into the middeſt of any heard of fearefull beaſtes.

*The boldneſſe and valiant attempt of Catoes ſouldiers.*

*Cato aduertiſed of the ſtrength of king Antiochus campe.*

He had no ſooner ſpoken theſe wordes, but the FIRMANIAN ſouldiers beganne to runne downe the mountaine as they were, vpon thoſe that kept the watch: and ſo ſetting vpon them, they being out of order, made them flie, and tooke an armed man priſoner. When they had him, they ſtraight brought him vnto *Cato*, who by oath of the priſoner, was aduertiſed howe that the ſtrength of their enemies armie was lodged about the perſon of the king, within the ſtraight and valley of the ſaide mountaine: and that the ſouldiers they ſaw, were ſixe hundred ÆTOLIANS, all braue ſouldiers, whom they had choſen and appointed to keepe the toppe of the rockes ouer king *Antiochus* campe. When *Cato* had heard him, making ſmall account of the matter, as well for their ſmall number, as alſo for the ill order they kept: he made the trumpets ſound ſtraight, and his ſouldiers to march in battell with great cries, himſelfe being the formoſt man of all his troupe, with a ſword drawen in his hand.

*Cato tooke the ſtraight of Thermopyles.*

But when the ÆTOLIANS ſaw them comming downe the rockes towardes them, they beganne to flie for life vnto their great campe, which they filled full of feare, trouble, and all diſorder. Now *Manius* at the ſame preſent alſo, gaue an aſſault vnto the walles and fortifications the king had made, ouerthwart the vallies and ſtraights of the mountaines: at which aſſault king *Antiochus* ſelfe had a blow on the face with a ſtone, that ſtrake ſome of his teeth out of his mouth, ſo that for very paine and anguiſh he felt, he turned his horſe back, and got him behinde the preaſe.

*King Antiochus hurt in the face with a ſtone.*

And then there were none of his armie that made any more reſiſtance, or that could abide the fierceneſſe of the ROMAINES. But notwithſtanding that the places were very ill for flying, becauſe it was vnpoſſible for them to ſcatter and ſtraggle, being holden in with high rockes on the one ſide of them, and with bogges and deepe mariſſes on the other ſide, which they muſt needes fall into if their feete ſlipped, or were thruſt forward by any: yet they fell one vpon an other in the ſtraights, and ranne ſo in heapes together, that they caſt themſelues away, for feare of the ROMEINES ſwords that lighted vpon them in euery corner.

*Catoes victory of king Antiochus.*

And there *Marcus Cato*, that neuer made ceremonie or niſeneſſe to praiſe himſelfe openly, nor reckoned it any ſhame to do it: did take a preſent occaſion for it, as falleth out vpon all victorie and famous exploites. And ſo did ſet it out with all the oſtentation and braue words he could giue.

*Cato would praiſe his owne doings.*

For he wrote with his owne hands, and ſuch as ſaw him chaſe and lay vpon his flying enemies that day, were driuen to ſay, that *Cato* was not bound to the ROMAINS, but the ROMAINS bound vnto *Cato*. And then *Manius* the Conſull ſelfe, being in a great heate with the furie of the battell, embraced *Cato* a great while, that was alſo hotte with chaſing of the enemie: and ſpake aloude with great ioy before them all, that neither he, nor the people of ROME could recompence *Cato* for his valiant ſeruice that day.

*Manius ſendeth Cato to Rome to cary newes of the victory.*

After this battell, the Conſull *Manius* ſent *Cato* to ROME, to be the meſſenger him ſelfe to report the newes of the victory. So hee imbarked incontinently, and had ſuch a faire winde, that he paſſed ouer the ſeas to BRINDES without any daunger, and went from thence vnto TARENTVM in one day, and from TARENTVM in foure daies more to ROME. And ſo he came to ROME in fiue dayes after his landing in ITALIE, and made ſuch ſpeede, that him ſelfe was in deede the firſt meſſenger that brought newes of the victory. Whereupon he filled all ROME with ioy and ſacrifices, and made the ROMAINES ſo proude, that euer after they thought them ſelues able men to conquer the world both by ſea and land. And theſe bee all the martiall deedes and noble actes *Cato* did.

*Cato an accuſer of men.*

But for his doings in ciuill policy and ſtate, he ſeemed to be of this opinion. That to accuſe and purſue the wicked, he thought it was the beſt thing an honeſt man and good gouernour of the common wealth could employ him ſelfe vnto: for he accuſed many, and ſubſcribed many other accuſations which they preferred. And to be ſhort, he did alwaies ſtirre vp ſome accuſer, as he did *Petilius* againſt *Scipio*. But *Scipio*, by reaſon of his nobility, the greatnes of his houſe, and the magnanimity of his minde, paſſed not for any accuſation they could lay againſt him: being out of all feare, they ſhould be able to condemne him. And ſo he let fall the accuſation he had againſt

gainſt him. Notwithſtanding,he ioyned with other that accuſed *Lucius Scipio*,his own brother, and followed the matter ſo ſore againſt him, that he cauſed him to be condemned in a great ſumme of money to the cõmon wealth : who being vnable to pay the fine, had gone to priſon,and hardly ſcaped it, had not the Tribunes of the people reuoked his condemnation. It is ſaid that *Cato* comming through the market place one day, and meeting with a young man by the waye that had ouerthrowne his aduerſarie in ſute, and put one of his late fathers greateſt enemies to open ſhame and ſoyle before the people: he imbraced him with a good countenance, and ſayed vnto him. Oh my ſonne, ſacrifices that good children ſhould offer to their fathers ſoule, be not lambes nor kiddes, but the teares and condemnations of their enemies. But as he vexed other, ſo he ſcaped not free himſelfe from danger, in adminiſtration of the commonwelth. For if they could catch the leaſt vantage in the world of him,his enemies ſtraight accuſed him : ſo as they ſay he was accuſed almoſt a fifty times, and at the laſt time of his accuſation,he was about the age of foureſcore yeares. And then he ſpake a thing openly that was noted : that it was a harder thing to giue vp an account of his life before men in any other world, then in this amongſt whome he liued. And yet was not this the laſt ſute he followed : for foure yeares after,when he was foureſcore and tenne yeares of age,he accuſed *Seruius Galba*. And thus he liued as *Neſtor*, in manner three ages of man, alwayes in continuall ſute & action. For when he wreſtled with the firſt *Scipio* the AFRICAN about matters of ſtate and commonwealth : he went on vnto the time of the ſecond, that was adopted by the firſt *Scipioes* ſonne,the naturall ſonne of *Paulus AEmilius*, who ouercame *Perſeus* king of MACEDON. Furthermore,*Marcus Cato* tenne yeares after his Conſulſhip,ſued to be Cenſor, which was in ROME the greateſt office of dignity that any citizen of ROME could attaine vnto: & as a man may ſay, the roome of all glory and honour of their common wealth. For among other authorities, the Cenſor had power to examin mens liues and manners,and to puniſh euery offendor. For the ROMAINES were of that minde,that they would not haue men marry, beget children, liue priuately by themſelues, and make feaſtes and banquets at their pleaſure, but that they ſhould ſtand in feare to be reproued and inquired of by the magiſtrate : and that it was not good to giue euery body liberty,to do what they would,following his owne luſt and fanſie. And they iudging that mens naturall diſpoſitions do appeare more in ſuch things,then in all other things that are openly done at noone dayes, and in the ſight of the world : vſed to chooſe two Cenſors,that were two Surueyors of mãners,to ſee that euery man behaued himſelfe vertuouſly,and gaue not themſelues to pleaſure, nor to breake the lawes and cuſtomes of the common wealth. Theſe officers were called in their tongue,*Cenſores*, and alwayes of cuſtome one of them was a PATRICIAN,and the other a cõmoner. Theſe two had power & authoritie to diſgrade a knight by taking away his horſe,and to put any off the Senate,whom they ſaw liue diſſolutely and diſorderly. It was their office alſo,to ceſſe and rate euery cittizen according to the eſtimation of their goodes, to note the age, genealogie, and degrees of euery man,and to keepe bookes of them, beſides many other prerogatiues they had belonging to their office. Therefore when *Cato* came to ſue for this office among other, the chiefeſt Senators were all bent againſt him. Some of them for very enuy, thinking it ſhame and diſhonor to the nobility, to ſuffer men that were meanely borne, and vpſtartes ( the firſt of their houſe and name,that euer came to beare office in the ſtate) to be called and preferred vnto the higheſt offices of ſtate in all their cõmon wealth. Other alſo that were ill liuers, & knowing that they had offended the lawes of their coũtry: they feared his cruelty too much,imagining he would ſpare no man,nor pardon any offence,hauing the law in his own hands. So when they had conſulted together about it,they did ſet vp ſeuen competitors againſt him,who flattered the people with many fayre words and promiſes, as though they had neede of magiſtrates to vſe them gentely, and to doe things for to pleaſe them. But *Cato* contrariwiſe,ſhewing no countenance that he would vſe them gentely in the office, but openly in the pulpit for orations, threatning thoſe that had liued naughtily and wickedly,he cryed out: that they muſt reforme their citie, and perſwaded the people not to chooſe the gentleſt, but the ſharpeſt phiſitions : and that himſelfe was ſuch an one as they needed, and among the PATRICIANS *Valerius Flaccus* an other,in whoſe company he hoped ( they two being choſen Cenſors ) to

*Cato fifty times accuſed.*

*The dignitie and office of the Cenſor*

*How the Cenſors were choſe.*

*The Senators and nobilitie bent all againſt Catoes ſute.*

do great good vnto the common wealth, by burning and cutting off (like *Hydras* heades) all vanitie and voluptuous pleaſures, that were crept in amongeſt them: and that he ſaw well enough, how all the other ſuters ſought the office by diſhoneſt meanes, fearing ſuch officers as they knew would deale iuſtly and vprightly. Then did the people of ROME ſhew themſelues nobly minded, and worthy of noble gouernours.

*Cato choſen Cenſor.*

For they refuſed not the ſowerneſſe or ſeuerity of *Cato*, but reiected thoſe meale-mouthed men, that ſeemed ready to pleaſe the people in all things: and thereupon choſe *Marcus Cato* Cenſor, and *Valerius Flaccus* to be his fellow, and they did obey him, as if he had beene preſent officer, and no ſuter for the office, being in themſelues to giue it to whom they thought good.

*Catoes acts in his Cenſorſhip.*

*Cato put Lucius Quintius Flaminius off the Senate.*

The firſt thing he did after he was ſtalled in his Cenſorſhip, was that he named *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, his frend & fellow Cenſor with him, prince of the Senate: & among many other alſo whom he thruſt out of the Senate, he put *Lucius Quintius Flaminius* off the Senate, that had bene Conſul ſeuen yeares before, and was brother alſo vnto *Titus Quintius Flaminius* that ouercame *Philip* king of MACEDON in battell, which was greater glory to him, then that he had bene Conſul. But the cauſe why he put him off the Senate, was this.

*The cauſe why Cato put Quintius off the Senate.*

This *Lucius Quintius* caried euer with him a young boy to the warres, whom he gaue as good countenance and credit vnto, as to any of his beſt familiar friends he had about him. It fortuned on a time whileſt *Lucius Quintius* was Conſul and gouernour of a prouince, that he made a feaſt, and this boy being ſet at his table, hard by him, as his manner was, he beganne to flatter him, knowing how to handle him when he was pretily merry: and ſoothing him, told him he loued him ſo deerly, that vpon his departing frõ ROME, when the Swordplayers were ready to fight for life and death with vnrebated ſwords to ſhew the people paſtime, he came his way, and left the ſight of that he neuer ſaw, that was very deſirous to haue ſeene a man killed. Then this *Lucius Quintius*, to make him ſee the like, ſayed: care not for the ſight thou haſt loſt, boy, for I will let thee ſee as much.

*Lucius Quintius Flaminius wickedneſſe and crueltie.*

And when he had ſpoken theſe wordes, he commaunded a priſoner, condemned to dye, to be fetched and brought into his hall before him, and the hangman with his axe. Which was forthwith done according to his commaundement. Then asked he the boy, if hee would ſtraight ſee the man killed: yea ſir, ſayed the boy: and with that he bad the hangman ſtrike off his head. Moſt writers report this matter thus. And *Cicero* to confirme it alſo, wrote in his booke *de Senectute* that the ſame was written in an oration *Cato* made before the people of ROME. Now *Lucius Quintius* being thus ſhamefully put off the Senate by *Cato*, his brother *Titus* being offended withall, could not tell what to doe, but beſought the people that they would commaund *Cato* to declare the cauſe, why he brought ſuch ſhame vnto his houſe. Whereupon *Cato* openly before the people, made recitall of all this feaſt. And when *Lucius* denied it, affirming it was not ſo: *Cato* would haue had him ſworne before them all, that it was not true they had burdened him withall. But *Lucius* prayed them to pardon him, who ſayed he would not ſweare: Whereupon the people iudged ſtraight that he deſerued well that ſhame. So not long after, certaine games being ſhewed in the Theater, *Lucius* came thither, and paſſing beyonde the ordinary place that was appointed for thoſe that had been Conſuls, he went to ſit aloofe off amongeſt the multitude. The people tooke pity on him, and made ſuch a do about him, as they forced him to riſe, and to go ſit among the other Senators that had bene Conſuls: ſaluing the beſt they could, the ſhame and diſhonor happened vnto ſo noble a houſe.

*Manlius put off the Senate for kiſſing his wife before his daughter.*

*Merry with married men when Iupiter thundereth.*

*Cato* put out of the Senate alſo, one *Manlius*, who was in great towardnes to haue beene made Conſul the next yeare following, onely becauſe he kiſſed his wife too louingly in the day time, and before his daughter: and reprouing him for it, he tolde him, his wife neuer kiſſed him, but when it thundered. So when he was diſpoſed to be merry, he would ſay it was happy with him whẽ *Iupiter* thundered. He tooke away *Lucius Scipioes* horſe from him, that had triumphed for the victories he had won of the great king *Antiochus*: which wan him much ill will, becauſe it appeared to the world he did it of purpoſe, for the malice he did beare *Scipio* the AFRICAN, that was dead.

*Banqueting & feaſtes put downe by Cato.*

But the thing that moſt grieued the people, of all other extreamities he vſed, was his putting downe of all feaſtes and vaine expences. For a man to take it cleane away, and to be openly ſeene in it, it was vnpoſſible, becauſe it was ſo common a thing, and euery man was giuẽ ſo to it. Therefore *Cato* to fetch it about indirectly, did praiſe euery citizens goodes, and rated their apparell, their coches, their litters, their wiues chaines and iewels, and all other moueables and houſehold ſtuffe, that had coſt aboue a thouſand fiue hundred Drachmes a peece, at tenne times as much as they were worth: to the end that ſuch as had beſtowed their money in thoſe curious trifles, ſhould pay ſo much more ſubſidie to the maintenance of the common wealth, as their goods were ouer valued at. Moreouer he ordained for euery thouſand Aſſes that thoſe trifling things were praiſed at, the owners thereof ſhould pay three thouſand Aſſes to the common treaſury: to the end that they who were grieued with this taxe, and ſawe other pay leſſe ſubſidy (that were as much worth as themſelues, by liuing without ſuch toyes) might call home themſelues againe, and lay aſide ſuch fooliſh brauery and fineneſſe. Notwithſtanding *Cato*, was enuied euery way. Firſt, of them that were contented to pay the taxe impoſed, rather then they would leaue their vanity: and next, of them alſo, that would rather reforme themſelues, then pay the taxe. And ſome thinke that this law was deuiſed rather to take away their goods, then to let them to make any ſhewe of them: and they haue a fond opinion beſides, that their riches are better ſeene in ſuperfluous things, then in neceſſarie. Whereat they ſay *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher did wonder more, then at any other thing: how men could thinke them more rich and happy, that had many curious and ſuperfluous things, then thoſe that had neceſſary and profitable things. And *Scopas* the THESSALIAN, whẽ one of his familiar frends asked him, I know not what trifling thing, & to make him grant it the ſooner, told him it was a thing he might well ſpare, and did him no good: marry ſayeth he, all the goods I haue, are in ſuch toyes as do me no good. So this couetous deſire we haue to be rich, commeth of no neceſſarie deſire in nature, but is bred in vs by a falſe opinion from the common ſort. Now *Cato* caring leaſt of all for the exclamations they made againſt him, grewe to be more ſtraight and ſeuere. For he cut off the pipes and quilles priuate men had made to cõuey water into their houſes & gardens, robbing the city of the water that came frõ their cõmon conduite heads, and did plucke downe alſo mens porches that were made before their dores into the ſtreete, and brought down the priſes of cõmon works in the city, and moreouer raiſed the common farmes and cuſtomes of the city, as high as he could: all which things together made him greatly hated and enuied of moſt men. Wherefore, *Titus Flaminius*, and certaine other being bent againſt him in open Senate, cauſed all *Catoes* couenants and bargains made, with the maſter work-man for repairing and mending of the common buildings and holy places, to be made voyde, as things greatly preiudiciall to the common wealth. And they did alſo ſtirre vp the boldeſt and raſheſt of the Tribunes of the people againſt him, becauſe they ſhould accuſe him vnto the people, and make requeſt he might be condemned in the ſumme of two talents. They did maruellouſly hinder alſo the building of the pallace he built at the charge of the common wealth, looking into the market place vnder the Senate houſe: which pallace was finiſhed notwithſtanding, and called after his name, Baſilica Porcia: as who would ſay, the pallace *Porcius* the Cenſor built. Howbeit it ſeemed the people of ROME did greatly like and commend his gouernment in the Cenſorſhip. For they ſet vp a ſtatue of him in the tẽple of the goddeſſe of health, whereunder they wrote not his victories nor triumph, but onely ingraued this inſcription word for word, to this effect by tranſlation: For the honor of *Marcus Cato* the Cenſor: becauſe he reformed the diſcipline of the common wealth of ROME (that was farre out of order, and giuen to licentious life) by his wiſe precepts, good manners, and holy inſtitutions. Indeed, before this image was ſet vp for him, he was wont to mocke at them that delighted, and were deſirous of ſuch things: ſaying; they did not conſider how they bragged in founders, painters and image makers, but nothing of their vertues: and that for himſelfe, the people did alwaies carry liuely images of him in their hartes, meaning the memory of his life and doings. When ſome wondred why diuerſe meane men & vnknowne perſons had images ſet vp of thẽ, and there were none of him: he gaue them this anſwer. I had rather men ſhould aske why *Cato* had no image ſet vp for him, then why he had any. In the end, he would haue no honeſt mã abide to be praiſed, vnles his praiſe turned to the benefit of the cõmon wealth: and yet was he one of them that would moſt praiſe himſelfe. So that if any had done a fault, or ſtept awry, and that men had gone about to reproue them: he would ſay they were not to be blamed, for they were no *Catoes* that did offend. And ſuch as

*Catoes counſell for reforming exceſſe at Rome.*

*Superfluous things reconed for riches.*

*Scopas goodes were all in toyes, that did him no good.*

*Baſilica Porcia built by Cato.*

*Catoes image ſet vp in the temple of the goddeſſe of health.*

*Honor changeth conditions.*

*No man ſhould abide to be praiſed but for the common wealth.*

counterfeated to follow any of his doings, and came ſhort of his manner, he called them left handed *Catoes*. He would ſay that in moſt daungerous times the Senate vſed to caſt their eyes vpon him, as paſſengers on the ſea do looke vpon the maſter of the ſhippe in a ſtorme: and that many times when he was abſent, the Senate would put ouer matters of importance, vntill he might come among them. And this is confirmed to be true, as well by other as by himſelfe. His authoritie was great in matters of ſtate, for his wiſdome, his eloquence, and great experience. Beſides this commendation, they praiſed him for a good father to his children, a good husband to his wife, and a good ſauer for his profit: for he was neuer careleſſe of them, as things to be lightly paſſed on. And therefore me thinkes I muſt needes tell you by the way ſome part of his wel doing, to follow our declaration of him. Firſt of all he married a gentlewomā more noble then rich, knowing that either of both ſhould make her proud and ſtout enough: but yet he thought the nobler borne, would be the more aſhamed of diſhoneſty, then the meaner borne: and therefore they would be more obedient to their husbandes, in all honeſt manner and reaſonable things. Furthermore, he ſayed: that he that bet his wife or his childe, did commit as great a ſacriledge, as if he polluted or ſpoyled the holieſt thinges of the worlde: and he thought, it a greater praiſe for a man to be a good husband then a good Senator. And therefore he thought nothing more commendable in the life of olde *Socrates*, then his patience, in vſing his wife well, that was ſuch a ſhrewe, and his children that were ſo harebrainde. After *Catoes* wife had brought him a ſonne, he coulde not haue ſo earneſt buſines in hand, if it had not touched the common wealth, but he would let all alone, to go home to his houſe, about the time his wife did vnſwadell the young boy to waſh and ſhift him: for ſhe gaue it ſucke with her owne breaſts, and many times would let the ſlaues children ſucke of her alſo, becauſe they might haue a naturall loue towardes her ſonne, hauing ſucked one milke, and beene brought vp together. When his ſonne was come to age of diſcretion, and that he was able to learne any thing, *Cato* himſelfe did teach him, notwithſtanding he had a ſlaue in his houſe called *Chilo* (a very honeſt man, and a good Grammarian) who did alſo teach many other: but as he ſayed himſelfe, he did not like, a ſlaue ſhould rebuke his ſonne, nor pull him by the eares, when peraduenture he was not apt to take very ſodainly that was taught him: neither would he haue his ſonne bounde to a ſlaue for ſo great a matter as that, as to haue his learning of him. Wherefore he himſelfe taught him his grammer, the lawe, and to excerciſe his body, not onely to throwe a dart, to play at the ſword, to vawte, to ride a horſe, and to handle all ſortes of weapons, but alſo to fight with fiſtes, to abide colde and heate, and to ſwim ouer a ſwift running riuer. He ſayed moreouer, that he wrote goodly hiſtories in great letters with his owne hand, becauſe his ſonne might learne in his fathers houſe the vertues of good men in times paſt, that he taking example by their doings, ſhould frame his life to excell them. He ſayed alſo, that he tooke as great heed of ſpeaking any foule or vncomely words before his ſonne, as he would haue done if he had been before the Veſtall Nunnes. He neuer was in the hotte houſe with his ſonne: for it was a common vſe with the ROMAINES at that time, that the ſonnes in law did not bathe themſelues with their fathers in lawe, but were aſhamed to ſee one another naked. But afterwardes they hauing learned of the GREEKES to waſh themſelues naked with men, it taught them alſo to be naked in the bathe euen with their wiues. There lacked no towardlines, nor good diſpoſitiō in *Catoes* ſonne, to frame himſelfe vertuous: for he was of ſo good a nature, that he ſhewed himſelfe willing to followe whatſoeuer his father had taught him. Howbeit he was ſuch a weake puling, that he could not away with much hardneſſe. & therefore his father was contēted not to binde him to that ſtraight and painefull life, which himſelfe had kept. Yet he became valiant in the warres. For he fought maruellous ſtoutly in the battell, in which *Perſeus* king of MACEDON was ouerthrowen by *Paulus AEmilius*: where his ſword being ſtricken out of his hand, with a great blow that lighted on it, and by reaſon his hand was ſomewhat ſweaty beſides, he fell into a great fury and prayed of his frends about him to recouer it. So they all together ranne vpon the enemies in that place where his ſword fell out of his hand, & came in ſo fiercely on them, that they made a lane through them, and clearing the place, found it in the end, but with much a do, being vnder ſuch a heape of dead bodies and other weapons as well

*VVhat Cato was at home in his houſe, and towards his wife and children.*

*Cato iudgeth the noble borne gentlewomen the beſt wiues.*

*Socrates patience cōmended bearing with the ſhrewdnes of his wife.*

*Catoes wife was nource to her own childe.*

*Cato taught his ſonnes.*

*Chilo a grammarian.*

*VVhat excerciſes Cato brought vp his ſonnes in.*

*Catoes ſonne was valiant.*

ROMAINES as MACEDONIANS, one lying on an other. *Paulus Æmilius* the generall hearing of this act of his, did highly cõmend the young man. And at this day there is a letter extant from *Cato* to his ſonne, in the which he praiſeth this worthy fact and toile of his, for the recouering of his ſworde againe. Afterwardes, this *Cato* the younger maried *Tertia*, one of *Paulus AEmilius* daughters, and ſiſter vnto *Scipio* the ſecond, & ſo was matched in this noble houſe, not only for his own vertues ſake, but for reſpect of his fathers dignity and authority: whereby the great care, paines and ſtudy that *Cato* the father tooke in bringing vp his ſon, in vertue and learning, was honorably rewarded in the happy beſtowing of his ſonne. He euer had a great number of young litle ſlaues which he bought, when any would ſell their priſoners in the warres. He did chooſe them thus young, becauſe they were apt yet to learne any thing he would traine them vnto, & that a man might breake thẽ, like yoũg coltes, or litle whelps. But none of them all, how many ſoeuer he had, did euer go to any mans houſe, but whẽ himſelfe or his wife did ſend them. If any man asked them what *Cato* did: they anſwered, they could not tell. And when they were within, either they muſt needs be occupied about ſomewhat, or elſe they muſt ſleepe: for he loued them well that were ſleepy, holding opinion that ſlaues that loued ſleepe were more tractable, and willing to do any thing a man would ſet them to, then thoſe that were waking. And becauſe he thought that nothing did more prouoke ſlaues to miſchiefe and naughtines, then luſt & deſire of women: he was contented his ſlaues might company with his bondwomen in his houſe, for a peece of money he appointed them to pay, but with ſtraight commaundement beſides, that none of them ſhould deale with any other woman abroad. At the firſt when he gaue himſelfe to followe the warres, and was not greatly rich, he neuer was angry for any fault his ſeruants did about his perſon: ſaying that it was a foule thing for a gentleman or noble man, to fall out with his ſeruants for his belly. Afterwardes, as he roſe to better ſtate, and grew to be wealthier, if he had made a dinner or ſupper for any of his friends and familiars, they were no ſooner gone, but he would ſcourge them with whips and leather thongs, that had not waited as they ſhould haue done at the borde, or had forgotten any thing he would haue had done. He would euer craftily make one of them fall out with another: for he could not abide they ſhould be friends, being euer iealous of that. If any of them had done a fault that deſerued death, he would declare his offence before them all: and then if they condemned him to dye, he would put him to death before thẽ all. Howbeit in his latter time he grew greedie, and gaue vp his tillage, ſaying that it was more pleaſant, thẽ profitable. Therefore becauſe he would lay out his mony ſurely, & bring a certen reuenue to his purſe, he beſtowed it vpon ponds, and naturall hotte bathes, places fit for fullers craft, vpon meadows and paſtures, vpon copiſes and young wood: and of all theſe he made a great & a more quiet reuenue yearely, which he would ſay, *Iupiter* himſelfe could not diminiſh. Furthermore, he was a great vſurer, both by land and by ſea: and the vſurie he tooke by ſea, was moſt extreame of all other, for he vſed it in this ſort. He would haue them to whom he lent his money vnto, that trafficked by ſea, to haue many partners, and to the nũber of fifty: and that they ſhould haue ſo many ſhippes. Then he would venture among them for a part only, whereof *Quintius* his ſlaue whom he had manumiſſed, was made his factor, & vſed to ſayle, and traficke with the marchantes, to whom he had lent his money out to vſury. Aud thus he did not venture all the money he lent, but a litle peece only for his part, and got maruellous riches by his vſury. Moreouer he lent monie to any of his ſlaues, that would therwith buy other yoũg ſlaues, whom they taught & brought vp to do ſeruice, at *Catoes* charge and coſt: & then they ſold them againe at the yeares end, and ſome of them *Cato* kept for his owne ſeruice, and gaue his ſlaues as much for them, as any other offred. Therefore to allure his ſon in like manner to make profit of his money: he told him it was no wiſe mans part to diminiſh his ſubſtance, but rather the parte of a widdowe. Yet this was a token of a moſt greedy couetous minde, that he durſt affirme him to be diuine, and worthy immortall praiſe, that increaſed his wealth and patrimony more, then his father left him. Furthermore, when *Cato* was grown very old, *Carneades* the ACADEMICKE, and *Diogenes* the STOICKE, were ſent from ATHENS as Ambaſſadors to ROME, to ſue for a releaſe of a fine of fiue hundred talents which they had impoſed on the ATHENIANS vpon a condẽnatiõ paſſed againſt thẽ for

*Cato the yonger maried Tertia Paulus AEmilius daughter.*

*Scipio the ſecõd was AEmilius naturall ſonne.*

*Catoes diſcipline to his ſlaues.*

*Catoes opinion for ſleepy men.*

*Note how Cato altered his mãner and opiniõ by wealth.*

*Catoes good husbandry for increaſing his wealth.*

*Cato a great vſurer.*

*He tooke extreame vſury by ſea.*

*Carneades and Diogenes Philoſophers ſent Ambaſſadours to Rome.*

a contempt of appearaunce, by the ſentence of the SICYONIANS, at the ſute of the OROPIANS. Immediately whē theſe two Philoſophers were arriued in the city of ROME, the yoūg gentlemen that were giuen to their bookes, did viſit and welcome them, and gaue great reuerence to them after they had heard them ſpeake, and ſpecially to *Carneades*: whoſe grace in ſpeaking, and force of perſwading was no leſſe, then the fame ranne vpon him, and ſpecially when he was to ſpeake in ſo great an audience, and before ſuch a ſtate, as would not ſuppreſſe his praiſe. ROME ſtraight was full, as if a winde had blown this rumor into euery mans eare: that there was a GRECIAN arriued, a famous learned man, who with his eloquence would leade a man as he luſt. There was no other talke a while through the whole city, he had ſo inflamed the young gentlemens mindes with loue and deſire to be learned: that all other pleaſures and delightes were ſet aſide, and they diſpoſed themſelues to no other excerciſe, but to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, as if ſome ſecret and diuine inſpiration from aboue had procured them to it. Whereof the Lordes and Senators of ROME were glad, and reioyced much to ſee their youth ſo well giuen to knowledge, and to the ſtudie of the Greeke tongue, and to delight in the company of theſe two great and excellent learned men. But *Marcus Cato*, euen from the beginning that young men beganne to ſtudie the Greeke tongue, and that it grew in eſtimation in ROME, did diſlike of it: fearing leaſt the youth of ROME that were deſirous of learning and eloquence, would vtterly giue ouer the honour and glory of armes. Furthermore, when he ſawe the eſtimation and fame of theſe two perſonages did increaſe more and more, and in ſuch ſort that *Caius Aquilius*, one of the chiefeſt of the Senate made ſute to be their interpretour: he determined then to conuey them out of the cittie by ſome honeſt meane and colour. So he openly found fault one daye in the Senate, that the ambaſſadours were long there, and had no diſpatch: conſidering alſo they were cunning men, and could eaſily perſwade what they would. And if there were no other reſpect, this only might perſwade them to determine ſome anſwer for thē, and ſo to ſend them home againe ſo to their ſchooles, to teach their children of GRECE, and to let alone the children of ROME, that they might learne to obey the lawes and the Senate, as they had done before. Now he ſpake this to the Senate, not of any priuate ill will or malice he bare to *Carneades*, as ſome men thought: but becauſe he generally hated Philoſophy, and of ambition deſpiſed the muſes and knowledge of the Greeke tongue. Which was the more ſuſpected, becauſe he had ſayed, the anciēt *Socrates* was but a buſy man, & a ſturrer vp of ſedition, and ſought by all meanes poſſible to vſurpe tiranny, and rule in his coūtrie: by peruerting & changing the manners & cuſtōs of the ſame, and alluring the ſubiectes thereof to a diſliking of their lawes and auncient cuſtomes. And he laughed at *Socrates* ſchoole, that taught the arte of eloquēce: ſaying his ſcholers waxed olde, and were ſtill ſo long in learning, that they ment to vſe their eloquence and pleade cauſes in an other world, before *Minos* when they were dead. Therefore to plucke his ſonne from the ſtudie of the Greeke tongue, he ſayed to him with a ſtrained voyce, and in a bigger ſound then he was wont to do: (as if he had ſpoken to him by way of prophecy or inſpiration) that ſo long as the ROMAINES diſpoſed themſelues to ſtudie the Greeke tongue, ſo long would they mar and bring all to naught. And yet time hath proued his vaine words falſe and vntrue. For the cittie of ROME did neuer flouriſh ſo much, nor the ROMAINE Empire was euer ſo great, as at that time, when learning and the Greeke tongue moſt flouriſhed. Howbeit *Cato* did not onely hate the philoſophers of GRECE, but did diſlike them alſo, that profeſſed phiſicke in ROME. For he had either heard or read the anſwer *Hippocrates* made, when the king of PERSIA ſent for him, & offred him a great ſumme of gold and ſiluer, if he would come and ſerue him: who ſware he would neuer ſerue the barbarous people, that were naturall enemies to the GRECIANS. So *Cato* affirmed, it was an oth that all other phiſitians ſware euer after: wherefore he commaunded his ſonne to flye from them all alike, and ſayed he had written a litle booke of phiſicke, with the which he did heale thoſe of his houſe when they were ſicke, and did keepe them in health when they were whole. He neuer forbad them to eate, but did alwaies bring them vp with hearbes, and certaine light meates, as mallard, ringdoues and hares: for ſuch meates, ſayed he, are good for the ſicke, and light of digeſtion, ſauing that they make them dreame and ſnort that eate them. He boaſted alſo how with this

*Cato miſliked the Greeke tongue.*

*Catoes phiſicall bookes.*

maner of phiſicke, he did alwaies keepe himſelfe in health, and his family from ſickneſſe. Yet for all that, I take it he did not all that he bragged of: for he buried both his wife, and his ſonne alſo. But he himſelfe was of a ſtrong nature, and a luſtie bodie, full of ſtrength, and health, and liued long without ſickeneſſe: ſo that when he was a very olde man and paſt mariage, he loued women well, and married a young maiden for that cauſe onely. After his firſt wife was dead, he maried his ſonne vnto *Paulus Æmylius* daughter, the ſiſter of *Scipio*, the ſecond AFRICAN. *Cato* him ſelfe being a widower, tooke paines with a pretie young maide that waited in his houſe, and came by ſtelth to his chamber: howbeit this haunt could not long continue ſecret in his houſe, and ſpecially where there was a young gentlewoman maried, but needs muſt be ſpied. So, one day when this young maide went ſomwhat boldly by the chamber of young *Cato*, to goe in to his father, the young man ſaid neuer a worde at it: yet his father perceiued that he was ſomewhat aſhamed, and gaue the maide no good countenance. Wherefore finding that his ſonne and daughter in law were angrie with the matter, ſaying nothing to them of it, nor ſhewing them any ill countenance: he went one morning to the market place (as his maner was) with a traine that followed him, amongeſt whom was one *Salonius*, that had bene his clearke, and waited vpon him as the reſt did. *Cato* calling him out aloude by his name, asked him if he had not yet beſtowed his daughter. *Salonius* aunſwered him, he had not yet beſtowed her, nor would not before he made him priuie to it. Then *Cato* tolde him againe: I haue found out a husbande for her, and a ſonne in lawe for thee, and it will be no ill match for her, vnleſſe ſhe miſlike the age of the man, for in deede hee is very olde, but otherwiſe there is no fault in him. *Salonius* tolde him againe, that for that matter, he referred all to him, and his daughter alſo, praying him euen to make what match he thought good for her: for ſhe was his humble ſeruant, and relyed wholly vppon him, ſtanding in neede of his fauour and furtherance. Then *Cato* beganne to diſcouer, and tolde him plainely hee would willingly marrie her himſelfe. *Salonius* therewith was abaſhed, becauſe he thought *Cato* was too olde to marrie then, and him ſelfe was no fit man to match in any honourable houſe, ſpecially with a Conſull and one that had triumphed: howbeit in the ende, when he ſawe *Cato* ment good earneſt, he was very glad of the match, and ſo with this talke they went on together to the market place, and agreed then vpon the marriage. Now while they went about this matter, *Cato* the ſonne taking ſome of his kinne and friendes with him, went vnto his father, to aske him if he had offended him in any thing, that for ſpight he ſhould bring him a ſteppe mother into his houſe. Then his father cried out, and ſaid: O my ſonne, I pray thee ſay not ſo, I like well all thou doeſt, and I find no cauſe to complaine of thee: but I do it, becauſe I deſire to haue many children, and to leaue many ſuch like citizens as thou art, in the common wealth. Some ſay that *Piſiſtratus* the tyrant of ATHENS, made ſuch a like aunſwere vnto the children of his firſt wife, which were men growen, whẽ he maried his ſecond wife *Timonaſſa*, of the towne of ARGOS, of whom he had (as it is reported) *Iophon*, and *Theſſalus*. But to returne againe to *Cato*, he had a ſonne by his ſecond wife, whom he named after her name, *Cato* SALONIAN: and his eldeſt ſonne died in his office being Prætor, of whom he often ſpeaketh in diuerſe of his bookes, commending him for a very honeſt man. And they ſay, he tooke the death of him very paciently, and like a graue wiſe man, not leauing therefore to do any ſeruice or buſineſſe for the ſtate, otherwiſe then he did before. And therein he did not as *Lucius Lucullus*, and *Metellus* ſurnamed P*ius*, did afterwards: who gaue vp medling any more with matters of gouernment and ſtate, after they were waxen olde. For he thought it a charge and duetie, whereunto euery honeſt man whileſt he liued was bound in all pietie. Nor as *Scipio* AFRICAN had done before him, who perceiuing that the glorie and fame of his doings did purchaſe him the ill will of the citizens, he changed the reſt of his life into quietneſſe, and forſooke the citie and all dealings in cõmon wealth, and went & dwelt in the country. But as there was one that told *Dionyſius* the tirant of SYRACVSA, as it is written, that he could not die more honorably, then to be buried in the tyrannie: euen ſo did *Cato* thinke, that he could not waxe more honeſtly old, then in ſeruing of the common wealth vnto his dying day. So at vacant times, when *Cato* was deſirous a litle to recreate and refreſh himſelfe, he paſſed his time away in making of bookes, and looking vppon his husbandry in the country. This is the cauſe why he

*Cato talketh with Salonius his clarke about the mariage of his daughter.*

*Catoes anſwere to his ſonne of his ſecond mariage.*

*Cato maried Salonius daughter, being a very old man and had a ſonne by her.*

*How Cato paſſed his age.*

*Catoes writings and monuments.*
*Catoes reuenue.*
*Catoes companie pleaſant both to old and young.*
*The table a good meane to procure loue, and how table talke ſhould be vſed.*
*Cato author of the laſt warres againſt the Carthaginians.*

wrote ſo many kindes of bookes and ſtories. But his tillage and husbandry in the country, he did tend and follow all in his youth, for his profit. For he ſaid he had but two ſortes of reuenue, tillage, and ſparing: but in age, whatſoeuer he did in the countrie, it was all for pleaſure, and to learne ſome thing euer of nature. For he hath written a booke of the countrie life, and of tillage, in the which he ſheweth how to make tartes and cakes, and howe to keepe frutes. He would needes ſhew ſuch ſingularity and skill in all things: when he was in his houſe in the country, he fared a litle better then he did in other places, and would oftentimes bid his neighbours, and ſuch as had land lying about him, to come and ſuppe with him, and he would be merry with them: ſo that his companie was not onely pleaſant, and liking to old folkes as him ſelfe, but alſo to the younger ſort. For he had ſeene much, and had experience in manie things, and vſed much pleaſant talke profitable for the hearers. He thought the borde one of the chiefeſt meanes to breede loue amongeſt men, and at his owne table would alwaies praiſe good men and vertuous citizens, but would ſuffer no talke of euill men, neither in their praiſe nor diſpraiſe. Now it is thought the laſt notable act and ſeruice he did in the common wealth, was the ouerthrow of CARTHAGE: for in deede he that wanne it and raſed it vtterly, was *Scipio* the ſecond, but it was chiefely through *Catoes* counſell & aduiſe, that the laſt warre was taken in hand againſt the CARTHAGINIANS, & chaunced vpon this occaſion. *Cato* was ſent into AFRICKE to vnderſtand the cauſe and controuerſie that was betwene the CARTHAGINIANS and *Maſsiniſſa*, king of NVMIDIA, which were at great warres together. And he was ſent thither becauſe king *Maſſiniſſa* had euer bene a friend vnto the ROMAINES, and for that the CARTHAGINIANS were become their confederates ſince the laſt wars, in the which they were ouerthrowen by *Scipio* the firſt, who tooke for a fine of them, a great part of their Empire, and impoſed vpon them beſides, a great yearely tribute. Nowe when he was come into that countrie, he found not the citie of CARTHAGE in miſerie, beggerie, and out of hart, as the ROMAINES ſuppoſed: but full of luſtie youthes very rich and wealthy, and great ſtore of armour and munition in it for the warres, ſo that by reaſon of the wealth thereof, CARTHAGE caried a high ſaile, and ſtouped not for a litle. Wherefore he thought that it was more then time for the ROMAINES to leaue to vnderſtand the controuerſies betwixt the CARTHAGINIANS and *Maſſiniſſa*, and rather to prouide betimes to deſtroy CARTHAGE, that had bene euer an auncient enemie to the ROMAINES, and euer ſought to be reuenged of that they had ſuffered at their hands before, and that they were now growen to that greatneſſe and courage in ſo ſhort time, as in manner it was incredible: ſo as it was likely they would fall into as great enmitie with the ROMAINES, as they euer did before. Therefore ſo ſoone as he returned to ROME, he plainely told the Senate, that the loſſes and harmes the CARTHAGINIANS had receiued by the laſt warres they had with them, had not ſo much diminiſhed their power and ſtrength, as the ſame had ſhewed their owne folly and lacke of wiſedome: for it was to be feared much, leaſt their late troubles had made them more skilfull, then weakened them for the warres. And that they made warres now with the NVMIDIANS, to exerciſe them onely, meaning afterwards to warre with themſelues: and that the peace they had made with them, was but an intermiſſion and ſtay of warres, onely expecting time and opportunity to breake with them againe. They ſay moreouer, that beſides the perſwaſions he vſed, he brought with him of purpoſe, AFRICKE figges in his long ſleeues, which he ſhooke out amongeſt them in the Senate. When the Senators maruelled to ſee ſo goodly faire greene figges, he ſaide: the countrie that beareth them, is not aboue three daies ſailing from ROME. But yet this is more ſtraunge which they report of him beſides: that he neuer declared his opinion in any matter in the Senate after that, but this was euer the one end of his tale: me thinketh ſtill CARTHAGE would be vtterly deſtroyed. *Publius Scipio Naſica*, vſed euer in like manner the contrarie ſpeech: that he thought it meete CARTHAGE ſhould ſtand. This *Publius Scipio* ſawe, in my opinion, that the ROMAINES through their pride and inſolency were full of abſurdities, and caried themſelues very high, by reaſon of their happy ſucceſſe and victories, and were ſo lofty minded, that the Senate could hardly rule them: and that by reaſon of their great authoritie, they imagined they might bring their citie to what height they would. Therefore he ſpake it that the feare of CARTHAGE might alwaies continue as a bridle, to raigne in the inſolencie

*Scipio Naſica, againſt Cato, for the deſtroying of Carthage* of the people of ROME, who knew well enough, that the CARTHAGINIANS were of no ſufficient power to make wars with the ROMAINES, nor yet to ouercome them: & euen ſo were they not wholly to be deſpiſed, and not to be feared at all. *Cato* ſtill replied to the contrary, that therein conſiſted the greateſt danger of all: that a citie which was euer of great force & power, and had bene puniſhed by former warres & miſerie, would alwaies haue an eie of reuenge to their enemies, & be much like a horſe that had broken his haltar, that being vnbridled, would runne vpon his rider. And therefore he thought it no good nor ſound aduiſe, ſo to ſuffer the CARTHAGINIANS to recouer their ſtrength, but rather they ought altogether to take away all outward daunger, and the feare they ſtood in to looſe their conqueſt: and ſpecially, when they left meanes within the citie ſelfe to fall ſtill againe to their former rebellion. And this is the cauſe why they ſuppoſe *Cato* was the occaſion of the third and laſt warre the ROMAINES had againſt the CARTHAGINIANS. But now when the warre was begun, *Cato* died, and before his death he prophecied, as a man would ſay, who it ſhould be that ſhould end thoſe wars. And it was *Scipio* the ſecond, who being a young man at that time, had charge only as a Colonell ouer a thouſand footmen: but in all battels, and whereſoeuer there was wars, he ſhewed himſelfe euer valiant and wiſe. Inſomuch as newes being brought thereof continually vnto ROME, and *Cato* hearing them, ſpake as they ſay, theſe two verſes of *Homer*:

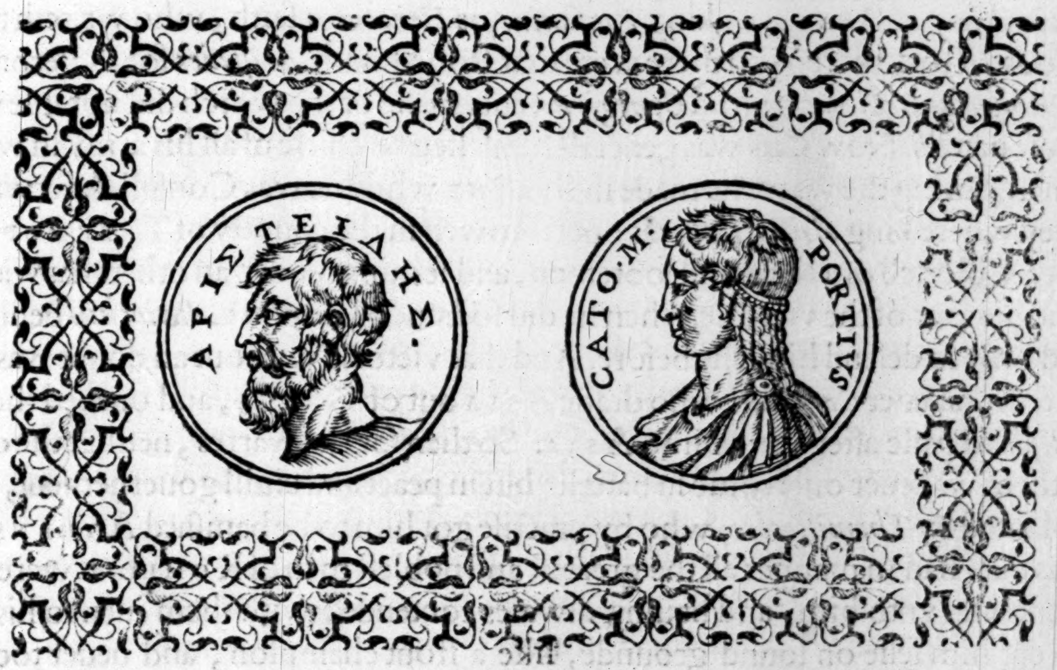
*Catoes death.*

*This only man right wiſe, reputed is to be,*
*all other ſeeme but ſhadowes ſet, by ſuch wiſe men as he.*

Which prophecie *Scipio* ſoone after confirmed true by his doings. Moreouer, the iſſue *Cato* left behinde him, was a ſonne he had by his ſecond wife: who was called (as we ſaid before) *Cato* SALONIAN, by reaſon of his mother, & a litle boy of his eldeſt ſon that died before him. This *Cato* SALONIAN died being Prætor, but he left a ſonne behind him that came to be Conſull, & was grandfather vnto *Cato* the Philoſopher, one of the moſt vertuous men of his time.

*Catoes poſterity*

# THE COMPARISON OF
# *Ariſtides with Marcus Cato.*



NOW that we haue ſet downe in writing, theſe notable and worthy thinges of memorie: if we will conferre the life of the one, with the life of the other, perhappes the difference betweene the one and the other will not eaſily be diſcerned, ſeeing there be ſo many ſimilitudes and reſemblances one of an other. But if wee come to compare them in euery particularitie, as we would do Poets works, or pictures drawen in tables: firſt, in this we ſhall finde them much a like, that hauing had nothing elſe to preferre and commend them, but their only vertue and wiſedom, they haue bene both gouernors

*Ariſtides and Catoes acceſſe to the common wealth.*

in their common wealth, and haue thereby atchieued to great honour and eſtimation. But me thinkes when *Ariſtides* came to deale in matters of ſtate, the common wealth and ſeigniorie of Athens was then of no great power, & therefore it was eaſie for him to ſet himſelfe in preaſe. Beſides, the other gouernors & captaines that were of his time, & competitors with him, were not very rich, nor of great authoritie. For the taxe of the richeſt perſons then at Athens in reuenue, was but at fiue hundred buſhels of corne and vpwards, and therefore were ſuch called Pentacoſiomedimni. The ſecond taxe was but at three hundred buſhels, and they were called knights. The third & laſt was at two hundred buſhels, and they called them Zeugitæ. Where *Marcus Cato* comming out of a litle village from a rude countrie life, went at the firſt daſh (as it were) to plunge himſelfe into a bottomleſſe ſea of gouernement in the common wealth of Rome: which was not ruled then by ſuch gouernors and captaines, as *Curius*, *Fabricius*, and *Oſtilius* were in old time. For the people of Rome did no more beſtow their offices vpon ſuch meane labouring men, as came but lately from the plough and the mattocke: but they would looke now vpon the nobilitie of their houſes, and vpon their riches that gaue them moſt money, or ſued earneſtly to them for the offices. And by reaſon of their great power and authoritie, they would be waited vpon and ſued vnto, by thoſe that ſought to beare the honorable offices of the ſtate and common wealth. And it was no like match nor compariſon, to haue *Themiſtocles* an aduerſarie and competitor, being neither of noble houſe, nor greatly rich (for they ſay, that all the goods his father left him, were not worth aboue foure or fiue hundred talents, when he began to deale in ſtate) in reſpect as to contend for the chiefeſt place of honour & authority againſt *Scipio* African, *Seruilius Galba*, or *Quintius Flaminius*, hauing no other maintenance, nor helpe to truſt vnto, but a tongue ſpeaking boldly with reaſon and all vprightnes. Moreouer, *Ariſtides* at the battels of Marathon, and of Platæes, was but one of the ten captaines of the Athenians: where *Cato* was choſen one of the two Conſuls among many other noble and great competitors, and one of the two Cenſors, before ſeuen other that made ſute for it, which were all men of great reputation in the citie, and yet was *Cato* preferred before them all. Furthermore, *Ariſtides* was neuer the chiefeſt in any victorie. For at the battell of Marathon, *Miltiades* was the generall: and at the battell of Salamina, *Themiſtocles*: and at the iourney of Platæes, king *Pauſanias*, as *Herodotus* ſaith, who writeth that he had a maruellous victory there. And there were that ſtriued with *Ariſtides* for the ſecond place, as *Sophanes*, *Amynias*, *Callimachus*, and *Cynegirus*, euery one of the which did notable valiant ſeruice at thoſe battels. Now *Cato* was generall himſelfe, and chiefe of all his army in worthineſſe and counſell, during the warre he made in Spayne while he was Conſull. Afterwards alſo in the iourney where king *Antiochus* was ouerthrowen in the country of Thermopyles, *Cato* being but a Colonell of a thouſand footemen, and ſeruing vnder an other that was Conſull, wanne the honour of the victorie, when he did ſodainely ſet vpon *Antiochus* behind, wheras he looked only to defend himſelfe before. And that victorie without all doubt was one of the chiefeſt actes that euer *Cato* did, who draue Asia out of Grece, and opened the way vnto *Lucius Scipio* to paſſe afterwardes into Asia. So then for the warres, neither the one nor the other of them was euer ouercome in battell: but in peace and ciuill gouernement, *Ariſtides* was ſupplanted by *Themiſtocles*, who by practiſe got him to be baniſhed Athens for a time. Whereas *Cato* had in manner all the greateſt and nobleſt men of Rome that were in his time ſworne enemies vnto him, and hauing alwaies contended with them euen to his laſt houre, he euer kept him ſelfe on ſound grounde, like a ſtout champion, and neuer tooke fall nor foyle. For he hauing accuſed many before the people, and many alſo accuſing him: him ſelfe was neuer once condemned, but alwaies his tongue was the buckler and defence of his life and innocencie. Which was to him ſo neceſſarie a weapon, and with it he could help himſelfe ſo in great matters, that (in my opinion) it was only cauſe why he neuer receiued diſhonour, nor was vniuſtly condemned: rather then for any thing elſe he was beholding to fortune, or to any other that did protect him. And truely, eloquence is a ſingular gift, as *Antipater* witneſſeth, in that he wrote of *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher after his death: ſaying, that amongeſt many other ſingular graces and perfections in him, he had this rare gift, that he could perſwade what he liſted. Now there is a rule confeſſed of all the world, that no man can attaine any greater

*Cato in martiall affaires excelled Ariſtides.*

*Ariſtides and Catoes diſpleaſures in the common wealth*

*The power of innocencie and eloquence.*

vertue

*Oeconomia, houſerule.*

vertue or knowledge, then to knowe how to gouerne a multitude of men, or a citie: a part whereof is Oeconomia, cõmonly called houſerule, conſidering that a citie is no other, then an aſſembly of many houſholds & houſes together, and then is the citie commonly ſtrong and of power, when as the townes men and citizens are wiſe and wealthy. Therefore *Lycurgus* that baniſhed gold and ſiluer from LACEDÆMON, and coyned them money of iron, that would be marred with fire & vineger when it was hot, did not forbid his citizens to be good husbands: but like a good lawmaker, exceeding all other that euer went before him, he did not only cut off all ſuperfluous expences that commonly waite vpon riches, but did alſo prouide that his people ſhould lacke nothing neceſſarie to liue withall, fearing more to ſee a begger and needy perſon dwelling in his citie, and enioy the priuiledges of the ſame, then a proud man by reaſon of his riches. So me thinkes, *Cato* was as good a father to his houſehold, as he was a good gouernor to the common wealth: for he did honeſtly increaſe his goods, and did teach other alſo to doe the ſame, by ſauing and knowledge of good husbandry, whereof in his booke he wrote ſundry good rules and precepts. *Ariſtides* contrariwiſe, made iuſtice odious and ſlaunderous by his pouertie, and as a thing that made men poore, and was more profitable to other, then to a mans ſelfe that vſed iuſtice. And yet *Heſiodus* the Poet, that commendeth iuſtice ſo much, doth wiſh vs withall to be good husbands, reprouing ſloth and idlenes, as the roote and originall of all iniuſtice. And therefore me thinkes *Homer* ſpake wiſely when he ſaid.

*In times paſt, neither did I labour, carcke nor care*
*for buſineſſe, for family, for foode, nor yet for fare:*
*but rather did delight, with ships the ſeaes to ſaile,*
*to draw a bow, to fling a dart in warres, and to preuaile.*

*The nature of oyle.*

*No man wiſe, that is not wiſe to himſelfe.*

*VVhether pouertie be an ill thing.*

As giuing vs to vnderſtand that iuſtice & husbandry are two relatiues, & neceſſarily linked one to the other: and that a man who hath no care of his owne things, nor houſe, doth liue vniuſtly, and taketh from other men. For iuſtice is not like oyle, which Phiſitions ſay is very holſome for mans bodie, if it be applied outwardly: and in contrary manner very ill, if a man drinke it: neither ought a iuſt man to profite ſtraungers, and in the end not to care for him ſelfe nor his. Therefore, me thinkes this gouerning vertue of *Ariſtides* had a fault in this reſpect, if it be true that moſt authors write of him: that he had no care nor forecaſt with him to leaue ſo much, as to marrie his daughters withall, nor therewith to burie himſelfe. Where thoſe of the houſe of *Cato*, continued Prætors and Conſuls of ROME, euen vnto the fourth deſcent. For his ſonnes ſonnes, and yet lower, his ſonnes ſonnes ſonnes came to the greateſt offices of dignitie in ROME. And *Ariſtides*, who was in his time the chiefeſt man of GRECE, left his poſteritie in ſo great pouerty, that ſome were compelled to become Soothſaiers (that interprete dreames, and tell mens fortune) to get their liuing, and other to aske almes: and left no meane to any of them, to do any great thing worthy of him. But to contrary this, it might be ſaid, pouertie of it ſelfe is neither ill nor diſhoneſt: but where it groweth by idleneſſe, careleſſe life, vanitie, and folly, it is to be reproued. For when it lighteth vpon any man that is honeſt, and liueth well, that taketh paines, is very diligent, iuſt, valiant, wiſe, and gouerneth a common wealth well: then it is a great ſigne of a noble minde. For it is vnpoſſible that man ſhould doe any great thinges, that had ſuch a baſe minde as to thinke alwaies vppon trifles: and that he ſhould relieue the poore greatly, that lacketh himſelfe reliefe in manie thinges. And ſure, riches is not ſo neceſſarie for an honeſt man that will deale truely in the common wealth, and gouernement, as is ſufficiencie: which being a contentation in it ſelfe, and deſirous of no ſuperfluous thing, it neuer withdraweth a man from following his buſineſſe in the common wealth, that enioyeth the ſame. For God is he alone, who ſimply and abſolutely hath no neede of any thing at all: wherefore the chiefeſt vertue that can be in man, and that commeth neereſt vnto God, ought to be eſteemed that, which maketh man to haue neede of leaſt things. For like as a luſtie bodie, and well complexioned, hath no neede of ſuperfluous fare and curious apparell: euen ſo a cleane life, and ſound houſe, is kept with a little charge, and ſo ſhould the goods alſo be proportioned, according to vſe and neceſſitie. For hee that gathereth much, and ſpendeth litle, hath neuer enough. But admit he hath no deſire to ſpend much, then he is a foole to trauell to get more then he needeth: and if he do deſire it, and dare nor for niggardlineſſe ſpend part of that he laboureth for, then is he miſerable. Now would I aske *Cato* with a goodwill, if riches be made but to vſe them, why do you boaſt then you haue gotten much together, when a litle doth ſuffiſe you? and if it be a commendable thing (as in truth it is) to be contented with the bread you finde, to drinke of the ſame tappe workemen and labourers do, not to care for purple died gownes, nor for houſes with plaſtered walles: it followeth then that neither *Ariſtides*, nor *Epaminondas*, not *Manius Curius*, nor *Caius Fabricius*, haue forgotten any part of their duties, when they cared not for getting of that which they would not vſe nor occupie. For it was to no purpoſe for a man that eſteemed rootes and parſenippes to be one of the beſt diſhes in the worlde, and that did ſeeth them himſelfe in his chimney, whileſt his wife did bake his bread, to talke ſo much of an Aſſe, and to take paines to write by what art and induſtrie a man might quickely enrich himſelfe. For it is true, that ſufficiencie and to be contented with a litle, is a good and commendable thing: but it is becauſe it taketh from vs all deſire of vnneceſſarie thinges, and maketh vs not to paſſe for them. And therefore we finde that *Ariſtides* ſaide, when rich *Callias* caſe was pleaded, that ſuch as were poore againſt their wils, might well be aſhamed of their pouertie: but ſuch as were willingly poore, had good cauſe and might iuſtly reioyce at it. For it were a mad part to thinke that *Ariſtides* pouertie proceeded of a baſe minde and ſlothfulnes, ſince he might quickly haue made himſelfe rich without any diſhoneſtie at all, by taking only the ſpoile of ſome one of the barbarous people whom he had ouercome, or any one of their tentes. But enough for this matter. Furthermore, touching the victorie and battels *Cato* had wonne, they did in manner litle helpe to increaſe the Empire of ROME: for it was already ſo great, as it could almoſt be no greater. But *Ariſtides* victories are the greateſt conqueſtes and nobleſt actes that the GRÆCIANS euer did in any warres: as the iourney of MARATHON, the battell of SALAMINA, and the battell of PLATEES. And yet there is no reaſon to compare king *Antiochus* with king *Xerxes*, nor the wals of the citie of SPAINE which *Cato* ouerthrew and raſed, vnto ſo many thouſandes of barbarous people, which were then ouerthrowen and put to the ſword by the GRECIANS, aſwell by land as by ſea. In all which ſeruices, *Ariſtides* was the chiefeſt before all other, as touching his valiantnes in fighting: notwithſtanding, he gaue other the glory of it, that deſired it more then himſelfe, as he did eaſily alſo leaue the gold & ſiluer vnto thoſe, that had more neede of it then himſelfe. Wherein he ſhewed himſelfe of a nobler minde, then all they did. Furthermore, for my part, I will not reproue *Catoes* manner, to commend and extoll himſelfe ſo highly aboue all other, ſince he himſelfe ſayth in an oration he made, that to praiſe himſelfe is as much folly, as alſo to diſpraiſe himſelfe: but this I thinke, his vertue is more perfect, that deſireth other ſhould not praiſe him, then he that commonly doth vſe to praiſe himſelfe. For, not to be ambitious, is a great ſhew of humanitie, & neceſſary for him that will liue amongeſt men of gouernement: and euen ſo, ambition is hatefull, and procureth great enuie vnto him, that is infected withall. Of the which *Ariſtides* was cleare, and *Cato* farre gone in it. For *Ariſtides* did helpe *Themiſtocles* his chiefeſt enemie, in all his nobleſt actes, and did ſerue him (as a man would ſay) like a priuate ſouldier that garded his perſon, when *Themiſtocles* was generall, being the onely inſtrument and meane of his glorie: which was indeede the onely cauſe that the citie of ATHENS was ſaued, and reſtored againe to her former good ſtate. *Cato* contrariwiſe, croſſing *Scipio* in all his enterpriſes, thought to hinder his voyage and iourney vnto CARTHAGE, in the which he ouercame *Hanniball*, who vntill that time was euer inuincible: and ſo in the ende, continuing him ſtill in iealouſie with the ſtate, and euer accuſing of him, he neuer left him till he had driuen him out of the citie, and cauſed his brother *Lucius Scipio* to be ſhamefully condemned for theft, and ill behauiour in his charge. Furthermore, for temperance and modeſtie, which *Cato* did euer commende ſo highly: *Ariſtides* truely kept them moſt ſincerely. But *Catoes* ſecond wife, who maried a maide (that was neither fit for his dignitie and calling, nor agreeable for his age) made him to be thought a lecherous man, and not without manifeſt cauſe. For he can not be excuſed with honeſtie, that being a man paſt mariage, brought his ſonne that was married, and his faire daughter in law, a ſteppe mother into his houſe, and but a clarkes daughter, whoſe father did write for money, for any man that would hire him. Take it *Cato* maried her to ſatisfie his luſt, or elſe for ſpight to be reuenged

*VVhether Ariſtides factes or Catoes did moſt benefite their countrie.*

*Ambition, a hatefull thing in the common wealth.*

*Cato reproued for his ſecond wife.*

of his ſonne, becauſe his ſonne could not abide his young filth he had before: either of theſe turneth ſtill to his ſhame, as well the effect, as alſo the cauſe. Againe, the excuſe he made to his ſonne why he maried, was alſo a lye. For if he had grounded his deſire indeede, to haue gotten either children, as he ſayd, that might be as honeſt men as his eldeſt ſonne: then ſurely he had done well after the death of his firſt wife, if he had ſought him an other wife ſoone after, that had bene of an honeſt houſe, and not to haue lyen with a young harlatry filth, till his ſonne had ſpyed him and then when he ſaw it was knowen, to go and mary her, and to make alliance with him, not becauſe it was honorable for him to do it, but was eaſieſt to be obtained.

*The end of Marcus Catoes life the Cenſor.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Philopœmen.*

ΦΙΛΟΠΟΙΜΗΝ

IN the citie of MANTINEA, there was a citizen in old time called *Caſſander*, one that was as nobly borne and of as great authoritie in gouernment there, as any man of his time whatſoeuer. Notwithſtanding, fortune frowned on him in the end, in ſomuch as he was driuẽ out of this country, and went to lye in the city of MEGALOPOLIS, only for the loue he bare vnto *Crauſis*, *Philopæmenes* father, a rare mã, and nobly giuen in all things, and one that loued him alſo very well. Now ſo lõg as *Crauſis* liued, *Caſſander* was ſo well vſed at his hands, that he could lacke nothing: and when he was departed this world, *Caſſander*, to requite the loue *Crauſis* bare him in his life time, tooke his ſonne into his charge, being an orphane, and taught him, as *Homer* ſayd *Achilles* was brought vp by the old Phœnix. So this child *Philopæmen* grew to haue noble conditions, and increaſed alwayes from good to better. Afterwardes, when he came to grow to mans ſtate. *Ecdemus* and *Demophanes*, both MEGALOPOLITANS, tooke him into their gouernment. They were two Philoſophers that had bene hearers of *Arceſilaus*, in the ſchoole of Academia, and afterwardes employed all the Philoſophy they had learned, vpon their gouerning of the common wealth, and dealing in matters of ſtate, as much or more, then any other men of their time. For they deliuered their city from the tyranny of *Ariſtodemus*, who kept it in ſubiection, by corrupting thoſe that kil-

*Crauſis, Philopæmenes father.*

*Caſſander Philopæmenes ſchoolemaiſter.*

*Ecdemus and Demophanes read Philoſophie to Philopæmen.*

led him. And they did helpe *Aratus* alſo to driue the tyrant *Niocles*, out of SICYONE. At the requeſt of the CYRENIANS, that were troubled with ciuill diſſentiõ & factions amõg them, they went vnto CYRENA, where they did reforme the ſtate of the common wealth, and ſtabliſhed good lawes for them. But for themſelues, they reckened the education and bringing vp of *Philopœmen*, the chiefeſt acte that euer they did: iudging that they had procured an vniuerſall good vnto all GRECE, to bring vp a man of ſo noble a nature, in the rules and preceptes of Philoſophy. And to ſay truely, GRECE did loue him paſsingly well, as the laſt valiant man ſhe brought foorth in her age, after ſo many great and famous auncient Captaines: and did alwayes increaſe his power and authoritie, as his glory did alſo riſe. Whereupon there was a ROMAINE, who to prayſe him the more, called him the laſt of the GRECIANS: meaning, that after him, GRECE neuer brought ſorth any worthy perſon, deſeruing the name of a GRECIAN. And now concerning his perſon, he had no ill face, as many ſuppoſe he had: for his whole image is yet to be ſeene in the citie of DELPHES, excellently well done, as if he were aliue. And for that they report of his hoſteſſe in the citie of MEGARA, who tooke him for a ſeruing man: that was by reaſon of his curteſie, not ſtanding vpon his reputation, and becauſe he went plainly beſides. For ſhe vnderſtanding that the generall of the ACHAIANS came to Inne there all night, ſhe beſtirred her, and was very buſie preparing for his ſupper, her husband paraduenture being from home at that time: and in the meane ſeaſon came *Philopœmen* into the Inne, with a poore cloke on his backe. The ſimple woman ſeeing him no better apparelled, tooke him for one of his men that came before to prouide his lodging, and ſo prayed him to lend her his hand in the kitchin. He ſtraight caſt off his cloke, and began to fall to hew wood. So, as *Philopœmen* was buſie about it, in commeth her husband, and finding him riuing of wood: ha ha ha, ſayd he, my Lord *Philopœmen*, why what meaneth this? Truely nothing elſe, ſayd he in his DORICAN toung, but that I am puniſhed, becauſe I am neither fayre boy, nor goodly man. It is true that *Titus Quintius Flaminius* ſayd one day vnto him, ſeeming to mocke him for his perſonage: O *Philopœmen*, thou haſt fayre hands, and good legges, but thou haſt no belly, for he was fine in the waſt, and ſmall bodied. Notwithſtanding, I take it this ieſting tended rather to the proportion of his army, then of his body: becauſe he had both good horſemen, and footemen, but he was often without money to pay them. Theſe ieſtes, ſchollers haue taken vp in ſchooles, of *Philopœmen*. But now to deſcend to his nature and conditions: it ſeemeth that the ambition and deſire he had to winne honoúr in his doings, was not without ſome heate and wilfulneſſe. For, becauſe he would altogether follow *Epaminondas* ſteps, he ſhewed his hardineſſe to enterpriſe any thing, his wiſedome to execute all great matters, and his integrity alſo, in that no money could corrupt him: but in ciuill matters and controuerſies, he could hardly other whiles keepe himſelfe within the bondes of modeſtie, patience, and curteſie, but would often burſt out into choller, and wilfulneſſe. Wherefore it ſeemeth, that he was a better Captaine for warres, thẽ a wiſe gouernour for peace. And indeede, euen from his youth he euer loued ſouldiers, and armes, and delighted maruellouſly in all martiall exerciſes: as in hãdling of his weapõ well, riding of horſes gallantly, and in vawting nimbly. And becauſe he ſeemed to haue a naturall gift in wreſtling, certaine of his friends, and ſuch as were carefull of him, did wiſh him to giue himſelfe moſt vnto that exerciſe. Then he asked them, if their life that made ſuch profeſsion, would be no hinderaunce to their martiall exerciſes. Aunſwere was made him againe, that the diſpoſition of the perſon, and manner of life that wreſtlers vſed, and ſuch as followed like exerciſes, was altogether contrary to the life and diſcipline of a ſouldier, and ſpecially touching life and limme. For wreſtlers ſtudied altogether to keepe themſelues in good plight, by much ſleeping, eating, and drinking, by labouring, and taking their eaſe at certaine houres, by not miſſing a iotte of their exerciſes: and beſides, were in hazard to looſe the force and ſtrength of their body, if they did ſurfet neuer ſo litle, or paſſed their ordinary courſe & rule of diet. Where ſouldiers contrariwiſe are vſed to all chaunge, and diuerſitie of life, and ſpecially be taught from their youth, to away with all hardneſſe, and ſcarſitie, and to watch in the night without ſleepe. *Philopœmen* hearing this, did not onely forſake thoſe exerciſes, and ſcorned them, but afterwardes being generall of an armie, he ſought by all infamous meanes he could to put

downe

*Philopœmen the laſt famous man of Grece.*

*Philopœmen taken for a ſeruing man.*

*Philopœmen, haſtie and wilfull.*

*Philopœmen delighted in warre and martiall exerciſes.*

*Philopœmen did reproue wreſtling.*

downe all wreſtling, and ſuch kinde of exerciſe, which made mens bodies vnmeete to take paines, and to become ſouldiers for to fight in defence of their country, that otherwiſe would haue bene very able and handſome for the ſame. When he firſt left his booke and ſchoolemaſters, and began to weare armour in inuaſions the MANTINEIANS vſed to make vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS, to get ſome ſpoile on a ſodaine, or to deſtroy a part of their coũtry: *Philopœmen* then would euer be the formoſt to go out, and the hindermoſt to come in. When he had leaſure, he vſed much hunting in time of peace, all to acquaint his body with toyle and trauell, or elſe he would be digging of his groundes. For he had a fayre manor, not paſsing twenty furlongs out of the citie, whither he would walke commonly after dinner or ſupper: and then when night came that it was bed time, he would lye vpon ſome illfauored matreſſe, as the meaneſt labourer he had, and in the morning by breake of the day, he went out either with his vine men to labour in his vineyard, or elſe with his plough mẽ to follow the plough, and ſometimes returned againe to the city, and followed matters of the common wealth, with his friends and other officers of the ſame. Whatſoeuer he could ſpare and get in the warres, he ſpent it in buying of goodly horſes, in making of fayre armours, or paying his poore countrymens ranſome, that were taken priſoners in the warres: but for his goods and reuenue, he ſought onely to increaſe them, by the profit of tillage, which he eſteemed the iuſteſt and beſt way of getting of goods. For he did not trifle therein, but employed his whole care and ſtudy vpon it, as one that thought it fit for euery noble man & gentleman ſo to trauell, gouerne, and increaſe his owne, that he ſhould haue no occaſion to couet or vſurpe an other mans. He tooke no pleaſure to heare all kinde of matters, nor to read all ſortes of bookes of Philoſophie: but thoſe onely that would teach him moſt to become vertuous. Neither did he much care to read *Homers* workes, ſauing thoſe places onely that ſtirred vp mens harts moſt vnto valiantneſſe. But of all other ſtories, he ſpecially delighted to read *Euangelus* bookes, which treated of the diſcipline of warres, how to ſet battels, and declared the actes and geſtes of *Alexander* the great, ſaying: that men ſhould euer bring his wordes vnto deedes, vnleſſe men would take them for vaine ſtories, and things ſpoken, but not to profit by. For in his bookes of the feates of warre, and how battels ſhould be ordered, he was not onely contented to ſee them drawen and ſet out, in chartes and mappes: but would alſo put them in execution, in the places themſelues as they were ſet out. And therefore, when the armie marched in order of battell in the field, he would conſider and ſtudie with himſelfe, the ſodaine euents and approches of the enemies, that might light vpon them, when they comming downe to the valley, or going out of a plaine, were to paſſe a riuer or a ditch, or through ſome ſtraight: alſo when he ſhould ſpread out his army, or elſe gather it narrow: and this he did not onely forecaſt by himſelfe, but would alſo argue the ſame with the Captaines that were about him. For *Philopœmen* doubtleſſe was one of the odde men of the world, that moſt eſteemed the diſcipline of warre, (and ſometime peraduenture more then he needed) as the moſt large field and moſt fruitefull ground that valiantneſſe could be exerciſed in: ſo that he deſpiſed & cōtemned all that were no ſouldiers, as men good for nothing. When he was come now to thirty yeares of age, *Cleomenes* king of LACEDÆMON, came one night vpon the ſodaine, and gaue an aſſault to the city of MEGALOPOLIS, ſo luſtely, that he draue backe the watch and got into the market place, and wanne it. *Philopœmen* hearing of it, ranne immediatly to the reſcue. Neuertheleſſe, though he fought verie valiantly, and did like a noble ſouldier, yet he could not repulſe the enemies, nor driue them out of the citie. But by this meanes he got his citizens leaſure, and ſome time to get them out of the towne to ſaue themſelues, ſtaying thoſe that followed them: and made *Cleomenes* ſtill waite vpon him, ſo that in the end he had much a do to ſaue himſelfe being the laſt man, and very ſore hurt, & his horſe alſo ſlaine vnder him. Shortly after, *Cleomenes* being aduertiſed that the MEGALOPOLITANS were gottẽ into the city of MESSINA, ſent vnto them to let them vnderſtãd, that he was ready to deliuer them their citie, lands, & goods again. But *Philopœmen* ſeeing his coũtreymen very glad of theſe newes, & that euery man prepared to returne againe in haſt: he ſtayd them with theſe perſwaſions, ſhewing them that *Cleomenes* deuiſe was not to redeliuer thẽ their citie, but rather to take thẽ together with their city: foreſeeing well enough, that he could not continue long there, to keepe naked

*Philopœmenes gaines how they were employed.*

*Philopœmenes ſtudy and care in tillage.*

*Philopœmenes delight to read Euangelus bookes of the diſcipline of warres.*

*Philopœmen ſaued the Megalopolitans from Cleomenes king of Sparta.*

*Philopœmen very ſore hurt.*

*King Antigonus came to aide the Achaiãs againſt Cleomenes king of Lacedæmon.*

*Philopœmenes noble fact in the battell againſt king Cleomenes.*

*Philopœmen hurt in fight.*

*Antigonus ſaying of Philopœmenes skill of a ſouldier.*

walles and emptie houſes, and that himſelfe in the end ſhould be compelled to go his way. This perſwaſion ſtayed the MEGALOPOLITANS, but withall it gaue *Cleomenes* occaſion to burne and plucke downe a great part of the citie, and to cary away a great ſumme of money and a great ſpoyle. Afterwardes, when king *Antigonus* was come to aide the ACHAIANS againſt *Cleomenes*, and that *Cleomenes* kept on the top of the mountaines of Sellaſia, and kept all the paſſages, & wayes vnto them out of all thoſe quarters: king *Antigonus* ſet his armie in battell hard by him, determining to ſet vpon him, and to driue him thence if he could poſsibly. *Philopœmen* was at that time amongeſt the horſemẽ with his citizens, who had the ILLYRIANS on the ſide of them, being a great number of footemen & excellent good ſouldiers, which did ſhut in the taile of all the army. So they were commaunded to ſtand ſtill, and to keepe their place, vntill ſuch time as they did ſhew them a redde coate of armes on the top of a pyke, from the other wing of the battell, where the king himſelfe ſtood in perſon. Notwithſtanding this ſtraight cõmaundement, the Captaines of the ILLYRIANS would abide no longer, but went to ſee if they could force the LACEDÆMONIANS that kept on the top of the mountaines. The ACHAIANS contrariwiſe, kept their place and order, as they were commaunded. *Euclidas*, *Cleomenes* brother, perceiuing thus their enemies footemen were ſeuered from their horſemen, ſodainly ſent the lighteſt armed ſouldiers & luſtieſt fellowes he had in his bands, to giue a charge vpon the ILLYRIANS behind, to proue if they could make them turne their faces on them, becauſe they had no horſemen for their garde. This was done, and theſe light armed men did maruellouſly trouble and diſorder the ILLYRIANS. *Philopœmen* perceiuing, that, and conſidering how theſe light armed men would be eaſily broken and driuen backe, ſince occaſion ſelfe inforced them to it: he went to tell the kings Captaines of it, that led his men of armes. But when he ſaw he could not make them vnderſtand it, and that they made no reckening of his reaſons, but tooke him of no skill, becauſe he had not yet attained any credit or eſtimation to be iudged a man, that could inuent or execute any ſtratageme of warre: he went thither himſelfe, and tooke his citizens with him. And at his firſt comming, he ſo troubled theſe light armed men, that he made them flie, and ſlue a number of them. Moreouer, to encourage the better king *Antigonus* men, and to make them giue a luſty charge vpon the enemies, whileſt they were thus troubled and out of order: he left his horſe, and marched a foote vp hill and downe hill, in rough and ſtony wayes, full of ſprings and quauemyres, being heauily armed at all peeces as a man at armes, and fighting in this ſort very painfully and vneaſily, he had both his thighes paſt through with a dart, hauing a leather thong on the middeſt of it. And though the blow did not take much hold of the fleſh, yet was it a ſtrong blow, for it pearced both thighs through & through, that the iron was ſeene on the other ſide. Then was he ſo combered with this blow, as if he had bene ſhackled with irons on his feete, and knew not what to do: for the leather faſtened in the middeſt of the dart, did greeue him maruellouſly, when they thought to hane pulled the dart out of the place where it entred in, ſo as neuer a man about him durſt ſet his hands to it. *Philopœmen* on the other ſide, ſeeing the fight terrible on either ſide, and would ſoone be ended: it ſpited him to the guttes, he would ſo fayne haue bene among them. So at the length he made ſuch ſtruggling, putting backe one thigh, and ſetting forward an other, that he knapped the ſtaffe of the dart a ſunder, and made them pull out the two troncheons, the one on this ſide, and the other on the other ſide. Then when he ſaw he was at libertie againe, he tooke his ſword in his hand, and ranne through the middeſt of them that fought, vnto the foremoſt ranckes, to meete with the enemy: ſo that he gaue his men a new courage, and did ſet them on fire with enuie, to follow his valiantneſſe. After the battell was wonne, *Antigonus* asked the MACEDONIAN Captaines, to proue them: who moued the horſemen to deuide themſelues, and giue the charge, before the ſigne that was commannded. They aunſwered him, that they were forced to do it againſt their willes, becauſe a young MEGALOPOLITAN gentlemã gaue a charge with his company, before the ſigne was giuen. Then *Antigonus* laughing, told them: the young gentleman played the part of a wiſe and valiant Captaine. This exploit, together with *Antigonus* teſtimony, gaue great reputatiõ vnto *Philopœmen*, as we may eaſily imagine. So king *Antigonus* maruellouſly intreated him he would ſerue with him, and offered him a bande of men at armes, and great entertainement,

tainement, if he would go with him. But Philopœmen refuſed his offer, and chiefly, becauſe he knew his owne nature, that he could hardly abide to be commaunded by any. Notwithſtanding, becauſe he could not be idle, he tooke ſea, and went into CRETA, where he knew there were warres, onely to continue himſelfe in exerciſe thereof. So when he had ſerued a long time with the CRETANS, which were valiant ſouldiers, and very expert in all policies and feates of warre, and moreouer were men of a moderate and ſpare dyet: he returned home againe to ACHAIA, with ſo great credit and reputation of euery one, that he was preſently choſen generall of all the horſemen. So when he entred into his charge, he founde many horſemen very ill horſed, vpon litle iades, ſuch as might be gotten cheapeſt, and how they vſed not to go themſelues in perſon to the warres, but did ſend other in their ſtead: and to be ſhort, how they neither had harts, nor experience of the warres, and all becauſe the Generals and Captaines of the people of the ACHAIANS that ſerued before him, did take no heede to thoſe matters, as fearing to offend any, becauſe they had the greateſt authority in their hands, to puniſh or reward whom they thought good. *Philopœmen* fearing none of all theſe things, would leaue no part of his charge and duety vndone, but went himſelfe in perſon to all the cities, to perſwade and encourage the young gentlemen, to be well horſed, & well armed, that they might winne honour in the field, be able to defend themſelues, and ouerthrow their enemies. And where perſwaſion could do no good, there he would ſet fynes vpon their heades that ſo refuſed, and did vſe to muſter them oft, and did acquaint them with tilting, turning, and barriers, and one to fight with an other, and at ſuch times and places ſpecially, as he knew there would be multitudes of people to giue them the looking on: that in ſhort ſpace he made them very forward, proper, and ready horſemen, whoſe chiefeſt propertie is, to keepe their order and ranckes in the battell. So as when neceſsitie ſerued for the whole company of horſemen to turne together, halfe turne, or whole turne, or elſe euery man by himſelfe: they were ſo throughly trained in it, that all the whole troupe ſet in battell ray, did ſeeme as it were to be but one body, they remoued ſo together, and withall ſo eaſily, and at all times, and ſo oft, as turne they would on the one ſide, or on the other. Now in a great battell the ACHAIANS had with the ÆTOLIANS and the ELIANS, by the riuer of Lariſſus: *Demophantus* generall of the horſemen of the ÆTOLIANS, came from his company to fight with Philopœmen, who alſo made towardes him, and gaue him firſt ſuch a blow with his ſpeare, that he ſtrake him ſtarke dead. When *Demophantus* fell to the ground, his ſouldiers fled by and by vpon it. This wanne *Philopœmen* great honour, who gaue no place to the youngeſt men in fighting moſt valiantly with his owne hands: nor to the oldeſt men in wiſedome, for the wiſe leading of his army. In deed the firſt man that made the people of ACHAIA grow in power and greatnes, was *Aratus*: for before his time ACHAIA was of ſmall reckning, becauſe the cities of the ſame ſtood deuided betweene themſelues, and *Aratus* was the firſt man that made them ioyne together, & ſtabliſhed among them an honeſt ciuill gouernement. Whereby it happened, that as we ſee in brookes and riuers where any litle thing ſtoppeth and falleth to the bottom, which the courſe of the water bringeth downe the ſtreame, there the reſt that followeth doth vſe to ſtay, and go no further: euen ſo in the citie of GRECE that were in hard ſtate, and ſore weakened, by faction one againſt an other, the ACHAIANS were the firſt that ſtayd themſelues, and grew in amitie one with the other, and afterwardes drew on the reſt of the cities into league with them, as good neighbours & confederates. Some by helping and deliuering them from the oppreſſion of tyrants, and winning other alſo by their peaceable gouernement and good concorde: they had a meaning in this wiſe, to bring all the country of PELOPONNESVS into one body and league. Neuertheleſſe, while *Aratus* liued, they depended moſt vpon the ſtrength & power of the MACEDONIANS: firſt with ſticking vnto king *Ptolomie*, and then vnto *Antigonus*, and laſt to P*hilip*, who ruled in manner all the ſtate of GRECE. But when *Philopœmen* came to gouerne, & to be the chiefeſt man, the ACHAIANS being ſtrōg enough to reſiſt the ſtrongeſt, would march thē no more vnder any other bodies enſigne, nor would ſuffer any more ſtrāuge gouernours or Captaines ouer them. For *Aratus* (as it ſeemed) was ſomwhat too ſoft and cold for the warres, and therefore the moſt things he did, were by gentle intreaties, by intelligēces, & by the kings friendſhips with whom he was great, as we haue at large declared in his

*Philopœmen choſen generall of the horſemē of the Achaians.*

*Philopœmen ſlue Demophantus, generall of the horſemen of the AEtolians.*

*The prayſe of Philopœmen.*

*Aratus raiſed Achaia to greatneſſe.*

*Philopœmen and Aratus compared.*

*Aratus a ſoft mā in warres.*

*Philopœmen chaungeth the Achaiãs order and diſcipline of warres.*

*Philopœmen turned all curioſitie and daintie fare, into braue and rich armours.*

*Braue armour incourageth mens mindes to ſerue nobly.*

life. But *Philopœmen* being a man of execution, hardy and valiant of perſon, and of very good fortune, in the firſt battell that he euer made, did maruellouſly encreaſe the courage and hartes of the ACHAIANS: becauſe vnder his charge they euer foyled their enemies, and alwayes had the vpper hand ouer them. The firſt thing *Philopœmen* began withall at his comming, he chaunged the manner of ſetting of their tables, and their faſhion of arming themſelues. For before they caried litle light targettes, which becauſe they were thinne and narrow, did not couer halfe their bodies, and vſed ſpeares farre ſhorter then pykes, by reaſon whereof they were very light, and good to skirmiſh and fight a farre off: but when they came to ioyne battell, their enemies then had great vantage of them. As for the order of their battelles, they knew not what it ment, nor to caſt themſelues into a ſnaill or ring, but onely vſed the ſquare battell, nor yet gaue it any ſuch fronte where the pykes of many ranckes might puſh together, and where the ſouldiers might ſtand ſo cloſe, that their targettes ſhould touch one an other, as they do in the ſquadron of the battell of the MACEDONIANS: by reaſon whereof, they were ſoone broken, and ouerthrowen. *Philopœmen* reformed all this, perſwading them to vſe the pyke and ſhield, in ſtead of their litle target, ſpeare, or boreſtaffe, and to put good morrians or burganettes on their heads, corſelettes on their bodies, and good taſſes and greaues to couer their thighes and legges, that they might fight it out manfully, not giuing a foote of ground, as light armed men that runne to and fro in a skirmiſhe. And thus hauing perſwaded and taught the young men to arme themſelues throughly, firſt he made them the bolder and more couragious to fight, as if they had bene men that could not haue bene ouercome: then he turned all their vaine ſuperfluous charge, into neceſſarie and honeſt expences. But he could not poſsibly bring them altogether from their vaine and riche apparell, they had of long time taken vp, the one to exceede an other: nor from their ſumptuous furniture of houſes, as in beddes, hangings, curious ſeruice at the table, and delicate kinde of diſhes. But to begin to withdraw this deſire in them which they had, to be fine and delicate, in all ſuperfluous and vnneceſſarie things, and to like of things neceſſarie, and profitable: he wiſhed them to looke more nearely to their ordinarie charge about themſelues, taking order as well for their apparell, as alſo for their diet, and to ſpare in them, to come honorably armed to the field, for defence of their country. Thereupon, if you had looked into the goldſmithes ſhoppes, ye ſhould haue ſeene nothing elſe in their handes, but breaking and battering of pottes of gold and ſiluer, to be caſt and molten downe againe, and then gilding of armours and targettes, and ſiluering of bittes. In the ſhew places for the running of horſes, there was mannaging and breaking of young horſes, and young men exerciſing armes. Womens handes alſo were full of morrians and head peeces, whereto they tyed goodly braue plumes of feathers of ſundry colours, and were alſo full of imbrodered arming coates and caſſockes, with curious and very rich works. The ſight of which brauerie did heaue vp their hartes, and made them gallant and liuely: ſo as enuie bred ſtraight in them who ſhould do beſt ſeruice, and no way ſpare for the warres. Indeede, ſumptuouſneſſe and brauerie in other ſightes, doth ſecretly cary mens mindes away, and allure them to ſeeke after vanities, which makes them tender bodied, and womaniſh perſons: becauſe this ſweete tickling, and intiſing of the outward ſence that is delighted therewith, doth ſtraight melt and ſoften the ſtrength and courage of the minde. But againe, the ſumptuous coſt beſtowed vpon warlike furniture, doth incourage and make great a noble hart. Euen as *Homer* ſayth it did *Achilles*, when his mother brought him new armour and weapons, ſhe had cauſed *Vulcan* to make for him, and layed them at his feete: who ſeeing them, could not tarie, but was ſtraight ſet on fire with deſire to occupie them. So when *Philopœmen* had brought the youth of ACHAIA to this good paſſe, to come thus brauely armed and furniſhed into the field, he began then to exerciſe them continually in armes: wherein they did not onely ſhewe themſelues obedient to him, but did moreouer ſtriue one to excell an other, and to do better then their fellowes. For they liked maruellous well the ordering of the battell he had taught them, becauſe that ſtanding ſo cloſe together as they did, they thought ſurely they could hardly be ouerthrowen. Thus by continuaunce of time, being much vſed to weare their armour, they found them a great deale eaſier and lighter then before, beſides the pleaſure they tooke to ſee their armor ſo braue, and ſo riche : in ſo much as they longed for ſome occaſion to trie them ſtraight vpon their enemies. Now the ACHAIANS at that time were at warres with *Machanidas*, the tyrant of LACEDÆMON, who ſought by all deuiſe he could with a great armie, to become chiefe Lorde of all the PELOPONNESIANS. When newes was brought that *Machanidas* was come into the countrie of the MANTINIANS, *Philopœmen* ſtraight marched towards him with his armie : ſo they met both not farre from the citie of MANTINEA, where by and by they put themſelues in order of battell. They both had entertained in pay a great number of ſtrangers to ſerue them, beſides the whole force of their countrie : and when they came to ioyne battell, *Machanidas* with his ſtrangers gaue ſuch a luſty charge vpon certaine ſlingers and archers being the forlorne hope whom *Philopœmen* had caſt off before the battel of the ACHAIANS to begin the skirmiſh, that he ouerthrew them, and made them flie withall. But where he ſhould haue gone on directly againſt the ACHAIANS that were ranged in battell ray, to haue proued if he could haue brokẽ them: he was very buſie, and earneſt ſtill, to follow the chaſe of them that firſt fled, & ſo came hard by the ACHAIANS that ſtood ſtill in their battel, and kept their rancks. This great ouerthrow fortuning at the beginning, many men thought the ACHAIANS were but caſt away. But *Philopœmen* made as though it had bin nothing, and that he ſet light by it, and ſpying the great fault his enemies made, following the forlorne hope on the ſpur, whom they had ouerthrowne, and ſtraying ſo far from the battell of their footmen, whom they had left naked, and the field open vpon them : he did not make towards them to ſtay them, nor did ſtriue to ſtop them that they ſhould not follow thoſe that fled, but ſuffered them to take their courſe. And when he ſaw that they were gone a good way from their footmen, he made his men marche vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS, whoſe ſides were naked, hauing no horſemen to garde them: and ſo did ſet vpon them on the one ſide, & ran ſo haſtily on them to win one of their flancks, that he made them flie, and ſlue withall a great number of them. For it is ſaid, there were foure thouſand LACEDÆMONIANS ſlaine in the field, becauſe they had no man to leade them. And moreouer, they ſay they did not looke to fight, but ſuppoſed rather they had wonne the field, when they ſaw *Machanidas* chaſing ſtill thoſe vpon the ſpur, whom he had ouerthrowne. After this *Philopœmen* retired to meete *Machanidas*, who came backe from the chaſe with his ſtrangers. But by chance there was a great broad ditch betwene them, ſo as both of them rode vpon the bancks ſides of the ſame, a great while together, one againſt another of them : the one ſide ſeeking ſome conuenient place to get ouer and flie, and the other ſide ſeeking meanes to keepe them from ſtarting away. So, to ſee the one before the other in this ſort, it appeared as they had bin wilde beaſts brought to an extreamitie, to defend themſelues by force, from ſo fierce a hunter as *Philopœmen* was. But whileſt they were ſtriuing thus, the tyrants horſe that was luſty and couragious, and felt the force of his maſters ſpurres pricking in his ſides, that the bloud followed after, did venter to leape the ditche, comming to the bancks ſide, ſtood vpon his hindmoſt legs, and aduaunced forward with his foremoſt feete, to reach to the other ſide. Then *Simmias* and *Polyænus*, who were about P*hilopœmen* when he fought, ranne thither ſtraight to keepe him in with their boreſtaues that he ſhould not leape the ditch. But P*hilopœmen* who was there before them, perceiuing that the tyrants horſe by lifting vs his head ſo high, did couer all his maiſters body : forſooke by and by his horſe, and tooke his ſpeare in both his hands, and thruſt at the tyrant with ſo good a will, that he ſlue him in the ditche. In memory whereof, the ACHAIANS that did highly eſteeme this valiant act of his, and his wiſdome alſo in leading of the battell : did ſet vp his image in braſſe, in the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES, in the forme he ſlue the tyrant. They ſay, that at the aſſembly of the cōmon games called Nemea, (which they ſolemnize in honor of *Hercules*, not far from the citie of ARGOS) and not long after he had wonne this battell of MANTINEA, being made Generall the ſecond time of the tribe of the ACHAIANS, and being at good leiſure alſo by reaſon of the feaſt : he firſt ſhewed all the GRECIANS that were come thither to ſee the games and paſtimes, his armie ranging in order of battell, and made them ſee how eaſily they remoued their places euery way, as neceſſitie and occaſion of fight required, without troubling or confounding their ranckes, and that with a maruelous force and redineſſe. When he had done this, he went into

*Philopœmen made warres with Machanidas tyrant of Lacedæmon.*

*Battell fought betweene Philopœmen and Machanidas.*

*Philopœmen ouercame Machanidas army, tyrant of the Lacedæmonians.*

*Philopœmen ſlue Machanidas.*

the Theater to heare the muſitians play,and ſing to their inſtruments,who ſhould win the beſt game,being accompanied with luſty young gentlemen apparrelled in purple cloakes, and in ſkarlet coates & caſſockes they ware vpon their armor, being all in the flower of their youth, and well giuen and diſpoſed: who did greatly honor and reuerence their captaine,and beſides that,ſhewed themſelues inwardly of noble hearts, being incouraged by many notable battels they had fought, in which they had euer attained the victorie, and gotten the vpper hand of their enemies. And by chance,as they were entred into the Theater, *Pylades* the muſitian,ſinging certaine poems of *Timotheus*,called the *Perſes*,fell into theſe verſes.

*O Greekes,it is euen he, which your proſperitie*
*Hath giuen to you: and therewithall a noble liberty.*

When he had ſweetly ſong out aloude theſe noble verſes,paſſingly well made: the whole aſſembly of the GRECIANS in the Theater, that were gathered thither to ſee the games, caſt all their eyes ſtraight vpon *Philopœmen*, and clapped their hands one to an other for ioy, becauſe of the great hope they had in him, that through him they ſhould ſoone recouer their auncient reputation, and ſo imagined they poſſeſſed already the noble and worthy mindes of their aunceſters. And as young horſe that do alwaies looke to be ridden by their ordinarie riders, if any ſtranger get vp on their backes, do ſtraight waxe ſtrange to be handeled, and make great a do: euen ſo, when the ACHAIANS came to any dangerous battell, their hearts were euen done, if they had any other Generall or leader then *Philopœmen*, on whom ſtill they depended and looked. And when they ſaw him euer, the whole armie reioyced, and deſired ſtraight to be at it, they had ſuch confidence in his valiantneſſe and good fortune: and truely not without cauſe. For of all men, their enemies did feare him moſt, and durſt not ſtand before him: becauſe they were afraide to heare his name onely, as it ſeemed by their doings. For *Philip* king of MACEDON, imagining that if he could finde meanes to diſpatche *Philopœmen* out of the way, howſoeuer it were, the ACHAIANS would ſtraight take part againe with him: ſent men ſecretly into the city of ARGOS, to kill him by treaſon. Howbeit the practiſe was diſcouered, and the king euer after was mortally hated of all the GRECIANS generally, and taken for a cowardly and wicked Prince. It fortuned one day when the BOEOTIANS laid ſiege to the city of MEGARA, and thought certainly to haue wonne it at the firſt aſſault: there roſe a rumor ſodainly amongſt them, that *Philopœmen* came to aide the city, and was not farre from it with his armie. But it was a falſe report. Notwithſtanding, the BOEOTIANS were ſo ſcared, that for feare they left their ſcaling ladders behinde them, which they had ſet againſt the wals to haue ſcaled the towne, and fled ſtraight to ſaue themſelues. An other time, when *Nabis* the tyrant of LACEDÆMON, that ſucceeded *Machanidas*, had taken the city of MESSINA vpon the ſodaine: *Philopœmen* being then a priuate man, and hauing no charge of ſouldiers, went vnto *Lyſippus*, general of the ACHAIANS that yere, to perſwade him that he would ſend preſent aide vnto them of MESSINA. *Lyſippus* told him, it was too late now to go thither, and that it was but a loſt towne, not to be holpen: conſidering the enemies were in it already. *Philopœmen* perceiuing he could not procure him to go, went thither himſelfe with the force of MESSINA only, not ſtaying for the aſſembly of the MEGALOPOLITANS, that were in counſel about it, to giue him cōmiſſion by voices of the people to take thē with him: but they all willingly followed him, as if he had bene their continuall Generall, and the man that by nature was worthieſt of all other to commaund them. Now when he came neere vnto MESSINA, *Nabis* hearing of his comming, durſt not tary him, though he had his army within the citie, but ſtole out at an other gate, and marched away in all the haſt he could, thinking himſelfe a happy man and he could ſo eſcape his hands, and retire with ſafety, as indeed he did. And thus was MESSINA, by his meanes deliuered from captiuitie. All that we haue written hitherto concerning *Philopœmen*, falleth out doutleſſe to his great honor and glory: but afterwards he was greatly diſpraiſed for a iorney he made into CRETA, at the requeſt of the GORTYNIANS, who ſent to pray him to be their Captaine, being ſore troubled with wars at that time. Becauſe *Philopœmen* went then to ſerue the GORTYNIANS, when the tyrant *Nabis* had greateſt wars with the MEGALOPOLITANS, in their own country: they laid it to his charge, either that he did it to flie the warres, or elſe that he ſought honor out of ſeaſon with forreine

nations,

*The onely name of Philopœmen made the Bœotians flee for feare.*

*Nabis tyrant of Lacedæmon, wanne the city of Meſſina.*

*Nabis flieth Philopœmen. Philopœmen deliuered the city of Meſſina from Nabis the tyrant of Lacedæmon.*

*Philopœmenes ſecond iourney into Creta diſcommended.*

nations, when his poore citizens the MEGALOPOLITANS were in ſuch diſtreſſe, that their country being loſt & deſtroyed, they were driuen to keep them within their city, and to ſow all their voide groundes and ſtreetes in the ſame with corne, to ſuſtaine them withall, when their enemies were encamped almoſt hard at their towne gates. And the rather, becauſe himſelfe making warres with the CRETANS, and ſeruing ſtrangers beyonde the ſea in the meane time, gaue his enemies occaſion to ſlaunder him that he fled, that he would not tary to fight for defence of his countrie. Againe, there were that ſaid, becauſe the ACHAIANS did chooſe other for their Generall, that he being a priuate man and without charge, was the rather contented to be Generall of the GORTYNIANS, who had maruellouſly intreated him to take the charge: for he was a man that could not abide to liue idlely, and that deſired ſpecially aboue all things to ſerue continually in the warres, and to put in practiſe his ſkil and diſcipline in the leading of an armie. The wordes he ſpake one day of king *Ptolomie* do witneſſe as much. For when there were ſome that praiſed king Ptolomie highly, ſaying that he trained his army well, and that he ſtill continued his perſon in exerciſe of armes: It is not commendable for a king (ſaid he) of his yeares, to delight in training his men to exerciſe armes, but to do ſome act himſelfe in perſon. Well, in the ende, the MEGALOPOLITANS tooke his abſence in ſuch euill part, that they thought it a peece of treaſon, and would needs haue baniſhed him, and put him from the freedome of the citie: had not the ACHAIANS ſent their Generall *Ariſtænetus* vnto them, who would not ſuffer the ſentence of baniſhment to paſſe againſt him, although otherwiſe there was euer contention betweene them about matters of the commonwealth. Afterwards, *Philopœmen* perceiuing his countrimen made no more account of him, to ſpight them withall, he made diuerſe ſmall villages and cities rebell againſt them, and taught them to ſay, & to giue it out, that they were not their ſubiects, neither paide them tribute from the beginning: and he made them ſtand to it openly, and maintaine their ſedition againſt the city of MEGALOPOLIS, before the counſell of the ACHAIANS. Theſe things hapned ſhortly after. But whileſt he made wars in CRETA for the GORTYNIANS, he ſhewed not himſelfe a PELOPONNESIAN, nor like a man borne in ARCADIA, to make plaine & open wars: but he had learned the maner of the CRETANS, to vſe their owne policies, fine deuiſes, and ambuſhes againſt themſelues. And made them know alſo, that all their crafts, were but childiſh ſports as it were: in reſpect of thoſe that were deuiſed, and put in execution, by a wiſe experienced captaine, and ſkilfull to fight a battell. So *Philopœmen*, hauing wun great fame by his acts done in CRETA, returned againe to PELOPONNESVS, where he foũd, that *Philip* king of MACEDON had bin ouercome in battell, by *T. Q. Flaminius*: and that the ACHAIANS ioyning with the ROMAINES, did make war againſt the tyrant *Nabis*, againſt whom he was made generall immediatly vpon his returne, and gaue him battell by ſea. In the which it ſeemed he fell into like misfortune, as *Epaminondas* did: the euent of this battell falling out much worſe with him, then was looked for, in reſpect of his former courage and valiantneſſe. But as for *Epaminondas*, ſome ſay he returned willingly out of ASIA, & the Iles, without any exploit done, becauſe he wold not haue his countrimen fleſhed with ſpoile by ſea, as fearing leaſt of valiant ſoldiers by land, they wold by litle & litle (as *Plato* ſaid) become diſſolute mariners by ſea. But *Philopœmen* contrariwiſe, preſuming on the ſkill he had to ſet the battel in good order by lãd, wold needs take vpon him to do the ſame by ſea. But he was taught to his coſt to know what exerciſe & experience ment, & how ſtrong it maketh them that are practiſed in things. For he loſt not only the battell by ſea, being vnſkilful of that ſeruice: but he cõmitted beſides a fouler error. For he cauſed an old ſhip to be rigged, which had bin very good of ſeruice before, but not occupied in 40 yeares together, and imbarked his countrimen into the ſame, which were all likely to periſh, becauſe the ſhip had diuers leakes, by fault of good calking. This ouerthrow made his enemies deſpiſe him vtterly, perſwading themſelues he was fled for altogether, & had giuen them ſea rome: whereupon they laid ſiege to the citie of GYTHIVM. *Philopœmen* being aduertiſed therof, imbarked his men ſodainly, and ſet vpon his enemies ere they wiſt it, or had any thought of his comming: and found them ſtragling vp and downe, without watch or garde, by reaſon of the victorie they had lately wonne. So he landed his men cloſely by night, and went and ſet fire vpon his enemies campe, and burnt it euery whit: and in this feare and hurly burly, ſlue

*Philopœmen made diuerſe cities to rebell againſt the Achaians.*

*The Cretans politicke men of warre.*

*Philopœmen made Generall of the Achaians againſt Nabis.*

*Philopœmen ouercome by ſea.*

*Nabis beſiegeth the city of Gythium.*

a great number of them. Shortely after this ſtealing vpon them, the tyrant *Nalis* alſo ſtole vpon him againe vnwares, as he was to go through a maruellous ill & dangerous way. Which made the ACHAIANS amazed at the firſt, thinking it vnpoſsible for them that they could euer ſcape that danger, conſidering their enemies kept all the wayes thereabouts. But *Philopœmen* bethinking himſelfe, and conſidering the nature & ſcituation of the place: after he had viewed it well, he ſhewed them plainly then, that the chiefeſt point of a good ſouldier, and man of war, was to know how to put an armie in battell, according to the time and ſcituation of the place. For he did but alter the forme of his battell a litle, and ſorted it according to the ſcituation of the place, wherein he was compaſſed: and by doing this without trouble or buſineſſe, he tooke away all feare of danger, and gaue a charge vpon his enemies in ſuch fierce wiſe, that in a ſhort time he put thē all to flight.

*Philopœmen ouercame Nabis, tyrant of Lacedæmon, in battell.*

And when he perceiued that they did not flie all in troopes together towards the city, but ſcatteringwiſe, abroade in the fields in euery place: he cauſed the trumpet to ſound the retreate. Then he commaunded the chaſe to be followed no further, for that all the countrie thereabout was full of thick woods and groues, very ill for horſemen: and alſo becauſe there were many brookes, vallies, and quauemires, which they ſhould paſſe ouer, he encamped himſelfe preſently, being yet broade day. And ſo, fearing leaſt his enemies would in the night time draw vnto the city, one after another, and by couples: he ſent a great number of ACHAIANS, and laid them in ambuſh amongſt the brookes and hils neere about it, which made great ſlaughter of *Nabis* ſouldiers, becauſe they came not altogether in troopes, but ſcatteringly one after an other as they fled, one here, an other there, and ſo fell into their enemies hands, as birds into the fowlers net. Theſe acts made *Philopœmen* ſingularly beloued of the GRECIANS, and they did him great honour in all their Theaters and common aſſemblies.

*Titus Quintius enuieth Philopœmen.*

Whereat *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, of nature very ambitious, and couetous of honour: did much repine, and was enuious at the matter, thinking that a Conſul of ROME ſhould haue place and honor amongſt the ACHAIANS, before a meane gentleman of ARCADIA. And he imagined he had deſerued better of all GRECE, then *Philopœmen* had: conſidering, how by the only proclamation of an herald, he had reſtored GRECE againe to her ancient liberty, which before his comming was ſubiect vnto king *Philip*, & vnto the MACEDONIANS.

*Nabis ſlaine by the Ætolians.*

Afterwards, *Titus Quintius* made peace with the tyrant *Nabis*. *Nabis* was ſhortly after very traiterouſlie ſlaine by the ÆTOLIANS. Wherupon the city of SPARTA grew to a tumult, & *Philopœmen* ſtraight taking the occaſion, went thither with his armie, & handled the matter ſo wiſely: that partly for loue, and partly by force, he wan the city, and ioyned it vnto the tribe of the ACHAIANS. So was he maruellouſly commended and eſteemed of the ACHAIANS for this notable victory, to haue wonne their tribe and communalty ſo famous a city, and of ſo great eſtimation. For the city of SPARTA was no ſmall encreaſe of their power, and being ioyned as a member of ACHAIA. Moreouer he wan by this meanes, the loue & good will of all the honeſt men of LACEDÆMON, of the hope they had to finde him a protector and defender of their liberty. Wherefore, when the tyrant *Nabis* houſe and goods were ſold, as forfited to the ſtate: they reſolued in their counſell to make him a preſent of the money thereof, which amounted to the ſum of ſixe ſcore talents, and ſent Ambaſſadors purpoſely vnto him, to offer it him.

*Philopœmen free from couetouſneſſe.*

Then *Philopœmen* ſhewed himſelf plainly to be no counterfeit honeſt man, but a good man indeed. For firſt of all, there was not one of all the LACEDÆMONIANS that durſt preſume to offer him this money, but euery man was afraide to tell him of it: & euery body that was appointed to do it, made ſome excuſe or other for themſelues. Notwithſtãding, in the end they made one *Timolaus* to take the matter vpon him, who was his familiar friend, and alſo his hoaſt. And yet the ſame *Timolaus* when he came vnto MEGALOPOLIS, & was lodged and entertained in *Philopœmens* houſe, did ſo much reuerence him for his wiſe talke & conuerſation, for his moderate diet, & iuſt dealing with all men: that he ſaw there was no likely poſsibility to corrupt him with money, ſo as he durſt not once open his mouth to ſpeake to him of the preſent he had brought him, but found ſome other occaſion to excuſe the cauſe of his cõming vnto him. And being ſent vnto him again the ſecond time, he did euē as much as at the firſt time. And making a third proofe, he ventured at the laſt to open the matter vnto him, and told him the good will the city of SPARTA did beare him. *Philopœmen* became a glad man to heare it: and when he had heard all he had to ſay to him, he went himſelfe vnto the citie of Sparta. There he declared vnto the counſell, that it was not honeſt men, and their good friends, they ſhould ſeeke to win and corrupt with money, conſidering they might command their vertue vpon any occaſion, without coſt vnto them: but that they ſhould ſeeke to bribe naughty men with money, and ſuch as by ſeditious orations in counſell did mutine, and put a whole citie in vprore: to the end that hauing their mouthes ſtopped with gifts, they ſhould trouble them the leſſe in the commonwealth. For, ſaid he, it is more neceſſarie to ſtop your enemies mouthes, and to ſowe vp their lips from libertie of ſpeaking: then it is to keepe your friends from it. So noble a man was Philopœmen againſt all couetouſneſſe of money. Shortly after, the Lacedæmonians beginning to ſtir againe, *Diophanes* (who was then Generall of the Achaians) being aduertiſed of it, began to prepare to puniſh them. The Lacedæmonians on the other ſide preparing for the warres, did ſet all the country of Peloponneſus in armes. Hereupon *Philopœmen* ſought to pacifie *Diophanes* anger, declaring vnto him, that king *Antiochus*, and the Romaines, being at warres together at that preſent time, and they both hauing puiſant armies one againſt an other in the middeſt of Grece: it was meete for a good Generall & wiſe gouernor, to haue an eye to their doings, to be carefull of the ſame, and to beware that he did not trouble or alter any thing within his countrie at that inſtant, but then rather to diſſemble it, & not to ſeeme to heare any fault whatſoeuer they did. *Diophanes* would not be perſwaded, but entred the territories of Lacedæmon with a great army, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius* with him: and they together marched directly towards the city of Sparta. *Philopœmen* was ſo mad with their doings, that he tooke vpon him an enterpriſe not very lawfull, nor altogether iuſt: neuertheleſſe, his attempt proceeded of a noble minde, & great courage. For he got into the citie of Sparta, and being but a priuate perſon, kept out the Generall of the Achaians, and the Conſull of the Romains for entring the citie: & when he had pacified all troubles and ſeditions in the ſame, he deliuered it vp again as it was before, into the hands of the comunalty of the Achaians. Neuertheleſſe, himſelfe being afterwards generall of the Achaians, did compell the Lacedæmonians to receiue thoſe home againe whom they had baniſhed for certaine faults, and did put foure ſcore naturall borne citizens of Sparta vnto death, as *Polybius* writeth. Or three hundred & fifty, as *Ariſtocrates* an other hiſtoriographer reciteth. Then he pulled downe the wals of the city, and raſed them to the ground, and tooke away the moſt part of their territories, and gaue them to the Megalopolitans. All thoſe whome the tyrants had made free denizens of Sparta, he compelled them to depart the country of Lacedæmon, and forced them to dwell in Achaia, three thouſand only excepted, who would not obey his commandement: all thoſe he ſolde for ſlaues, & with the money he made of them (to ſpight them the more) he built a goodly faire walke within the citie of Megalopolis. Yet furthermore, to do the Lacedæmonians all the miſchiefe he could, and as it were, to treade them vnder the feete in their moſt grieuous miſery: he did a moſt cruell and vniuſt act toward them. For he compelled them to leaue the diſcipline and maner of education of their children, which *Lycurgus* had of olde time inſtituted: and made them to follow the maner the Achaians vſed, in liew of their old grounded country cuſtome, becauſe he ſaw they would neuer be humble minded, ſo long as they kept *Lycurgus* order and inſtitution. Thus were they driuen to put the heads in the choller, by the miſerable miſhap that befell them: and in all deſpight, to ſuffer *Philopœmen* in this maner to cut a ſander (as it were) the ſinews of their commonwealth. But afterwards they made ſute to the Romaines, that they might be ſuffered to enioy their ancient diſcipline againe, which being graunted them, they ſtraight left the maner of the Achaians, and did ſet vp againe as much as was poſſible (after ſo great miſerie & corruption of their maners) their old ancient cuſtomes and orders of their countrie. Now about the time the wars began in Grece, betwene the Romaines & king *Antiochus*, *Philopœmen* was then a priuate man, & without any authority. He ſeeing that king *Antiochus* lay ſtill in the citie of Chalcis, and did nothing but feaſt and loue, and had maried a young maide farre vnmeete for his years: & perceiuing that his Syrian ſoldiers wandred vp & downe the townes in great diſorder, playing many lewde parts without guide of Captaines, he was very ſory he was not at that time Generall of the Achaians, and tolde the Romaines, that he enuied

*Philopœmens wiſe counſell to the Lacedæmonians, how they ſhould beſtow their gifts*

*Diophanes and T. Quintius Flaminius do inuade Lacedæmonia.*

*Philopœmens noble act.*

*Philopœmens cruelty to the Spartans.*

*Philopœmen made the Spartans forſake Lycurgus law.*

*Antiochus ſolace and mariage at Chalcis.*

*Philopœmens counſell againſt the Romaines.*

their victorie,hauing warres with enemies that were ſo eaſily to be ouercome. For(ſaid he)if fortune fauored me that I were Generall of the ACHAIANS at this preſent, I would haue killed them euery man in the cellers and tippling houſes. Now when the ROMAINES had ouercome *Antiochus*, they began to haue ſurer footing in GRECE: and to compaſſe in the ACHAIANS of all ſides, and ſpecially, by reaſon the heads and gouernours of the cities about them did yeeld to the ROMAINES,to winne their fauour. And now their greatneſſe grew in haſt, by the fauour of the gods, ſo as they were become the monarche of the whole worlde, who brought them now to the ende that fortune had determined. *Philopæmen* in the meane time did like a good pylot,bare hard againſt the billowes and roughneſſe of their waues: and though for the time he was forced to giue place,and to let things paſſe, yet for all that he was againſt the ROMAINES and did withſtand them in the moſt part of their proceedings,by ſeeking euer to defend the liberty of thoſe,who by their eloquence and well doing caried great authority among the ACHAIANS. And when *Ariſtænetus* MEGALOPOLITAN, (a man of great authoritie among the ACHAIANS, and one that euer bare great deuotion to the ROMAINES(ſaid in open Senate among the ACHAIANS, that they ſhould deny the ROMAINS nothing,nor ſhew themſelues vnthankfull to them: *Philopæmen* hearing what he ſaid,held his peace a while,and ſuffered him to ſpeake(though it boiled in his heart, he was ſo angrie with him)and in the end,breaking all pacience,& as one ouercome with choller,he ſaid. O *Ariſtænetus*,why haue you ſuch haſt to ſee the vnfortunate ende of GRECE? An other time,when *Manius* Conſull of ROME (after he had conquered king *Antiochus*) did make requeſt to the counſell of the ACHAIANS, that ſuch as were baniſhed from LACEDÆMON, might returne home into their countrie againe, and that *Titus Quintius Flaminius* alſo did earneſtly intreate them: *Philopæmen* was againſt it,not for any hatred he bare vnto the baniſhed mē, but becauſe he would haue done it by his owne meane, and the onely grace of the ACHAIANS, to the end they ſhould not be beholding for ſo good a turne, neither vnto *Titus*, nor yet to the ROMAINES. Afterwards he himſelfe,being Generall of the ACHAIANS, did reſtore them wholly to their owne again. Thus was *Philopæmen* ſomtime,a litle too bolde & quarrellous,by reaſon of his great ſtomack: and ſpecially when any man of authority ſought for to haue things. Laſtlie, being three ſcore and ten yeares of age, he was the eight time choſen Generall of the ACHAIANS,and hoped well,not onely to paſſe the yeare of his charge in peace and quietneſſe, but alſo all the reſt of his life without any ſturre of new warres,he ſaw the affaires of GRECE take ſo good ſucceſſe. For like as the force and ſtrength of ſickneſſe declineth, as the naturall ſtrength of the ſickly body empaireth: ſo through all the cities and people of GRECE enuy of quarrell and wars ſurceaſed,as their power diminiſhed. Neuertheleſſe, in the end of his yeares gouernment,the gods diuine (who iuſtly puniſh all inſolent words and deeds) threw him to the ground, as they ſuffer a rider vnfortunately to take a fall off his horſe, being come almoſt to the ende of his cariere. For they write, that he being in a place on a time amongſt good companie, where one was maruellouſly praiſed for a good Captaine, ſaid vnto them: why, maiſters,can yee commend him that was contented to be taken priſoner aliue of his enemies? Shortly after came newes that *Dinocrates* MESSINIAN (a priuate enemie of *Philopæmens* for certaine controuerſies paſt betweene them,and a man generally hated beſides of all honorable and vertuous men,for his licentious wicked life)had withdrawne the city of MESSINA from the deuotion of the ACHAIANS: and moreouer, that he came with an armie to take a towne called COLONIDE. *Philopæmen* was at that time in the citie of ARGOS,ſick of an ague, and yet hearing theſe newes, tooke his iorney towards MEGALOPOLIS,making all the haſt he could poſſible,for that he came aboue foure hundred furlongs that day. Straight he departed thence toward MESSINA, and taried not, but tooke with him a company of men at armes of the luſtieſt and wealthieſt MEGALOPOLITANS: who were all young noble men of the city,and willingly offered themſelues to go with him for the goodwill they bare him, and for the deſire they had to follow his valiantneſſe. Thus went they on their way towards the city of MESSINA,& marched ſo long,that they came neere to the hil of Euander,where they met with *Dinocrates* and his company, & gaue ſo fierce an onſet on them,that they made them all turne taile: howbeit in the meane while, there came a reliefe of 500 men to *Dinocrates*,

which

*Philopæmen choſen the eight time Generall of the Achaians being 70. yeare olde.*

*Philopæmens iourney againſt Dinocrates.*

*Mons Euander.*

which he had left to keepe the countrey of Messina. The flying men that were ſcattered here and there, ſeeing this ſupply, gathered them ſelues againe together, and ſhewed vpon the hils. *Philopœmen* fearing to be enuironed, and being deſirous to bring his men ſafe home againe, who moſt of loue had followed him: began to march away through narrow buſhy places, him ſelfe being in the rereward, and turned oftentimes vpon his enemies, and skirmiſhed with them, onely to driue them away from following of the reſt of his company, and not a man that durſt once ſet vpon him: for they did but cry out aloofe, and wheele as it were about him. Howbeit *Philopœmen* ſundry times venturing far from his company, to giue theſe young noble men leyſure to ſaue them ſelues one after an other: tooke no heede to him ſelfe that he was alone, enuironed on euery ſide with a great number of enemies. Notwithſtãding, of all his enemies there was not a man that durſt come to hand ſtrokes with him, but ſtil ſlinging and ſhooting at him a farre off, they draue him in the end amongſt ſtony places betweene hewen rockes, where he had much a doe to guide his horſe, although hee had ſpurred him that he was all of a gore bloud. And as for his age, that did not lette him but he might haue ſaued him ſelfe, for he was ſtrong and luſty by the continuall exerciſe he tooke: but by curſed happe his body being weake with ſickenes, and weary with the long iorney he had made that day, he found him ſelfe very heauy and ill diſpoſed, that his horſe ſtumbling with him, threw him to the ground. His fall was very great, and bruſed all his head, that he lay for dead in the place a great while, and neuer ſturred nor ſpake: ſo that his enemies thinking hee had beene dead, came to turne his body to ſtrippe him. But when they ſaw him lift vp his head and open his eyes, then many of them fell all at once vppon him, and tooke him, and bound both his hands behinde him, and did all the villany and miſchiefe they could vnto him, and ſuch, as one would litle haue thought *Dinocrates* would haue vſed in that ſort, or that hee could haue had ſuch an ill thought towardes him. So, they that taried behinde in the city of Messina, were maruellous glad when they heard theſe newes, and ranne all to the gates of the city to ſee him brought in. When they ſaw him thus ſhamefully bound, and pinnioned, againſt the dignity of ſo many honours as he had receiued, and of ſo many triumphes and victories as he had paſſed: the moſt part of them wept for pity, to conſider the miſhappe and ill fortune of mans nature, where there is ſo litle certainety, as in manner it is nothing. Then beganne there ſome curteous ſpeach to runne in the mouths of the people by litle and litle, that they ſhould remember the great good he hadde done vnto them in times paſt, and the liberty hee had reſtored them vnto, when he expulſed the tyrant *Nabis* out of Messina. But there were other againe (howbeit very few) that to pleaſe *Dinocrates*, ſayed they ſhould hang him on a gibbet, and put him to death as a daungerous enemy, and that would neuer forgiue man that had once offended him: and the rather, becauſe he would be more terrible to *Dinocrates*, then euer he was before, if he eſcaped his hands, receiuing ſuch open ſhame by him. Neuertheles, in the end they caried him into a certaine dungeon vnder the ground, called the treaſury, (which had neither light nor aire at all into it, nor dore, nor halfe dore, but a great ſtone rolled on the mouth of the dungeon) and ſo they did let him downe the ſame, and ſtopped the hole againe with the ſtone, and watched it with armed men for to keepe him. Now when theſe young noble Achaian horſemen had fled vpon the ſpurre a great way from the enemy, they remembred them ſelues, and looked round about for *Philopœmen*: and finding him not in ſight, they ſuppoſed ſtraight he had bene ſlaine. Thereupon they ſtayed a great while, and called for him by name, and perceiuing he aunſwered not, they beganne to ſay among them ſelues, they were beaſtes and cowardes to flie in that ſort: and how they were diſhonored for euer ſo to haue forſaken their Captaine, to ſaue them ſelues, who had not ſpared his owne life, to deliuer them from daunger. Hereupon riding on their way, and enquiring ſtill for him: they were in the end aduertiſed how he was taken. And then they went and caried thoſe newes through all the townes and cities of Achaia, which were very ſory for him, and tooke it as a ſigne of great ill fortune toward them. Whereupõ they agreed to ſend Ambaſſadors forthwith to the Messinians, to demaund him: and in the meane time euery man ſhould prepare to arme them ſelues, to goe thither, and get him either by force or loue. When the Achaians had thus ſent, *Dinocrates* feared nothing ſo much, as that delay of time might ſaue *Philopœmens* life: wherefore to pre-

*Philopœmens misfortune.*

*Philopœmen taken.*

uent it, as ſoone as night came, and that the people were at reſt, he ſtraight cauſed the ſtone to be rolled from the mouth of the dungeon, and willed the hangman to be let downe to *Philopæmen* with a cup of poyſon to offer him, who was commaunded alſo not to goe from him, vntill he had drunke it. When the hangman was come downe, he found *Philopæmen* laid on the ground vpon a litle cloke, hauing no liſt to ſleepe, he was ſo grieuouſly troubled in his minde. Who when he ſaw light, and the man ſtanding by him, holding a cuppe in his hand with this poyſon, he ſate vpright vpon his couch, howbeit with great paine he was ſo weake: and taking the cuppe in his hand, asked the hangman if he heard any newes of the horſemen that came with him, and ſpecially of *Lycortas*. The hangman made him anſwer, that the moſt of them were ſaued. Then he caſt his handes a litle ouer his head, and looking merrily on him he ſayd: it is well, ſeeing we are not all vnfortunate. Therewith ſpeaking no moe words, nor making other a doe, he drunke vp all the poiſon, and layed him downe as before. So nature ſtraue not much withall, his body being brought ſo low, and thereupon the poiſon wrought his effect, and rid him ſtraight out of his paine, The newes of his death ran preſently through all Achaia, which generally frō high to low was lamented. Whereupon all the Achaian youth and counſellors of their cities and townes, aſſembled them ſelues in the citie of Megalopolis, where they al agreed without delay to reuenge his death. They made *Lycortas* their Generall, vnder whoſe conduct they inuaded the Messenians, with force and violence, putting all to the fire and ſword: ſo as the Messenians were ſo feared with this mercileſſe fury, that they yeelded themſelues, and wholly conſented to receiue the Achaians into their city. But *Dinocrates* wold not giue them leyſure to execute him by iuſtice, for hee killed himſelfe: and ſo did all the reſt make themſelues away, who gaue aduiſe that *Philopæmen* ſhould be put to death. But thoſe that would haue had *Philopæmen* hanged on a gibbet, *Lycortas* cauſed them to be taken, which afterwardes were put to death with all kind of torments. That done, they burnt *Philopæmens* body, and did put his aſhes into a pot. Then they ſtraight departed from Messina, not in diſorder, one vpon anothers necke as euery man liſted: but in ſuch an order and ray, that in the middeſt of theſe funerals they did make a triumph of victory. For the ſouldiers were all crowned with garlands of laurell in token of victory, notwithſtanding, the teares ranne downe their cheekes in token of ſorrow, and they ledde their enemies priſoners, ſhackled and chained. The funerall pot in the which were *Philopæmens* aſhes, was ſo couered with garlandes of flowers, noſegaies, and laces, that it could ſcant be ſeene or diſcerned, and was caried by one *Polybius* a young man, the ſonne of *Lycortas*, that was Generall at that time to the Achaians: about whom there marched all the nobleſt & chiefeſt of the Achaians, and after them alſo followed all the ſouldiers armed, and their horſes very well furniſhed. The reſt, they were not ſo ſorrowfull in their countenance, as they are commonly which haue great cauſe of ſorrow: nor yet ſo ioyful, as thoſe that came conquerers from ſo great a victory. Thoſe of the cities, townes, and villages in their way as they paſt, came and preſented them ſelues vnto them, to touch the funerall potte of his aſhes, euen as they were wont to take him by the hand, and to make much of him when he was returned from the warres: and did accompany his conuoy vnto the city of Megalopolis. At the gates wherof, were old men, women, and children, which thruſting them ſelues amongeſt the ſouldiers, did renewe the teares, ſorowes, and lamentations of all the miſerable and vnfortunate city: who tooke it that they had loſt with their citizen, the firſt and chiefeſt place of honor among the Achaians. So he was buried very honorably as appertained vnto him: and the other priſoners of Messina, were all ſtoned to death, about his ſepulchre. All the other cities of Achaia, beſides many other honors they did vnto him, did ſet vp ſtatues, and as like to him, as could be counterfeated. Afterwards in the vnfortunate time of Greece, when the city of Corinthe was burnt and deſtroied by the Romains, there was a malicious Romaine that did what he could to haue the ſame pulled down again, by burdening & accuſing *Philopæmen* (as if he had bene aliue) that he was alwaies enemy to the Romaines, and enuied much their proſperity and victories. But after *Polybius* had aunſwered him: neither the Conſull *Mummius*, nor his counſellers, nor lieutenaunts, would ſuffer them to deface and take away the honors done in memory of ſo famous & worthy a mā, although he had many waies done much hurt vnto *T. Quintius Flaminius*, &

*Philopæmen pyſoned by Dinocrates.*

*Philopæmens laſt wordes.*

*Philopæmens death.*

*The Achaians did reuenge Philopæmens death.*

*Dinocrates ſlue him ſelfe.*

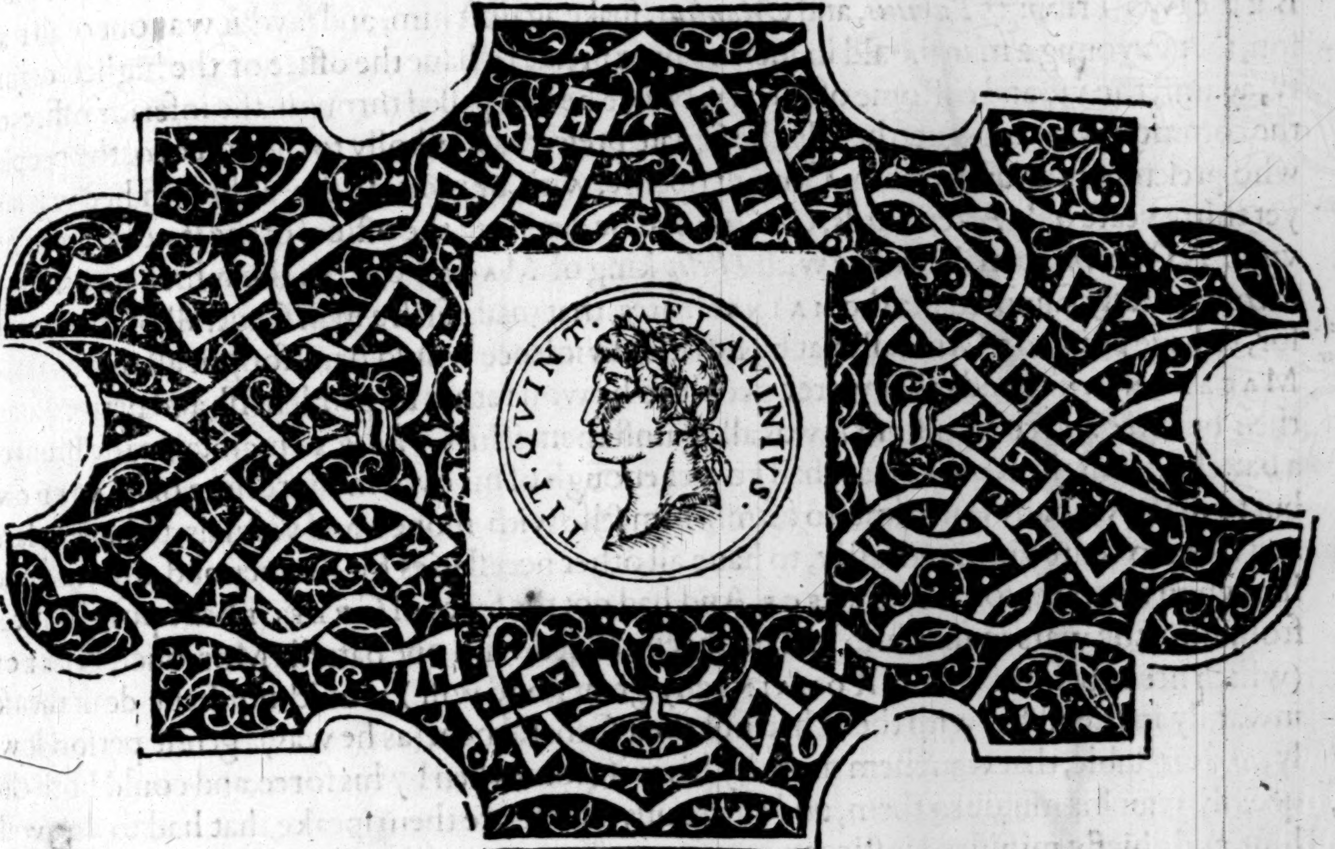
*Philopæmens funerall.*

*Note the humanity of the Romaines, keeping their enemies monuments from defacing.*

vnto *Manius*. So, theſe good men then made a difference betweene duty and profite: and did thinke honeſty and profit two diſtinct things, and ſo ſeperated one from the other, according to reaſon and iuſtice. Moreouer they were perſwaded, that like as men receiue curteſie and goodneſſe of any, ſo are they bound to requite them againe, with kindneſſe and duety. And as men vſe to acknowledge the ſame: euen ſo ought men to honor and reuerence vertue. And thus much for the life of *Philopœmen*.

*The end of Philopœmenes life.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Titus Quintius Flaminius.*



IT is eaſie to ſee *Titus Quintius Flaminius* forme, and ſtature, by *Philopœmenes* ſtatue of braſſe, to whom we compare him: the which is now ſet vp at ROME, neare to great *Apollo* that was brought from CARTHAGE, and is placed right againſt the comming into the ſhew place, vnder which there is an inſcription in Greeke letters. But for his nature and conditions, they ſay of him thus: he would quickly be angry, and yet very ready to pleaſure men again. For, if he did puniſh any man that had angered him, he would do it gently, but his anger did not long continue with him. He did good alſo to many, and euer loued them whom he had once pleaſured, as if they had done him ſome pleaſure: and was ready to do for them ſtill whom hee found thankfull, becauſe hee would euer make them beholding to him, and thought that as honorable a thing, as he could purchaſe to him ſelfe. Becauſe he greatly ſought honor aboue all things, when any notable ſeruice was to be done, he would do it him ſelfe, and no man ſhould take it out of his hand. He would euer be rather with them that needed his helpe, then with thoſe that could helpe him, or doe him good. For, the firſt he eſteemed as a meane to exerciſe his vertue with: the other, he tooke thē as his fellowes and followers of honour with him. He came to mans ſtate, when the city of ROME had greateſt warres and trouble. At that time all the youth of ROME, which were of age to cary weapon were ſent to the warre to learne to traile the pike, and how to become good Captaines. Thus was he entred into marſhall affaires, and the firſt charge he tooke, was in the warre againſt

*Titus Quintius firſt charge in warre.*

*Degrees of offices before one came to be Conſull.*

*T. Q. Flaminius Sextius AElius Conſuls.*

*T. Q. Flaminius maketh war with Philip king of Macedon.*

*Titus curteſie wan the Grecians more then his force.*

***Hanniball*** of CARTHAGE, where he was made Colonell of a thouſand footemen, vnder ***Marcellus*** the conſul: who being ſlaine by an ambuſh ***Hanniball*** had laied for him betweene the cities of BANCIA, and VENVSA, then they did chooſe ***Titus Quintius Flaminius*** gouernor of the prouince and city of TARENTVM, which was now taken againe the ſecond time. In this gouernment of his, he wan the reputation as much of a good and iuſt man, as hee did of an expert and skilfull Captaine. By reaſon whereof, when the ROMAINES were requeſted to ſend men to inhabite the cities of NARNIA and COSSA, he was appointed the chief leader of thē, which chiefly gaue him heart and corage to aſpire at the firſt to the Conſulſhip, paſſing ouer al other meane offices, as to be Ædile, Tribune, or Prætor, by which (as by decrees) other yong men were wont to attaine the Conſulſhip. Therefore when the time came that the Conſuls ſhould be elected, he did preſent him ſelfe among other, accompanied with a great number of thoſe he had brought with him, to inhabite the two new townes, who did make earneſt ſute for him. But the two Tribunes ***Fuluius***, and ***Manlius***, ſpake againſt him, and ſayd: it was out of all reaſon, that ſo young a man ſhould in ſuch manner preaſe to haue the office of the higheſt dignity, againſt the vſe and cuſtome of ROME, before he had paſſed through the inferior offices of the common wealth. Neuertheleſſe, the Senate preferred it wholly to the voices of the people: who preſently pronounced him Conſull openly, with ***Sextius AElius***, although hee was not yet thirty yeare old. Afterwards, ***AElius*** and he deuiding the offices of the ſtate by lot: it fell vpon ***T. Quintius*** to make warre with ***Philip*** king of MACEDON. In the which mee thinkes fortune greatly fauoured the ROMAINS affaires, that made ſuch a man Generall of theſe wars: for, to haue pointed a Generall that by force and violence would haue ſought all things at the MACEDONIANS hands, that were a people to be won rather by gentleneſſe and perſwaſions, then by force and compulſion: it was all againſt them ſelues. ***Philip***, to maintaine the brunt of a battell againſt the ROMAINES, had power enough of his own in his realme of MACEDON: but to make war any long time, to furniſh him ſelfe with money and victuals, to haue a place and cities to retire vnto, and laſtly, to haue all other neceſſaries for his men and army: it ſtood him vpon to get the force of GREECE. And had not the force of GREECE bene politickly cut from him, the wars againſt him had not beene ended with one battell. Moreouer, GREECE (which neuer before bare the ROMAINS any great good will) would not haue dealt then ſo inwardly in friendſhip with them, had not their General bene (as he was) a gentle perſon, lowly, and tractable, that wan them more by his wiſedome, then by his force, and could both eloquently vtter his minde to them, and curteouſly alſo heare them ſpeake, that had to doe with him, and chiefly miniſtred iuſtice and equity to euery man a like. For it is not to bee thought that GREECE would otherwiſe ſo ſoone haue withdrawen them ſelues from the rule of thoſe, with whom they were acquainted, and gouerned: and haue put them ſelues vnder the rule of ſtraungers, but that they ſaw great iuſtice and lenity in them. Howbeit that may more plainly appeare by declaring of his actes. ***Titus*** was informed, that the Generalles before him ſent to the warre in MACEDON (as ***Sulpitius***, and ***Publius Iulius***) vſed to come thither about the later end of the yeare, and made but could warres, and certaine light skirmiſhes, as ſomtime in one place, and ſometime in another againſt ***Philip***, and all to take ſome ſtraight, or to cut off vittels: which he thought was not his way to follow their example. For they tarying at home, conſumed the moſt of their Conſulſhippe at ROME, in matters of gouernment, and ſo enioyed the honour of their office. Afterwardes in the end of their yeare, they would ſet out to the wars, of intent to get an other yeare ouer their heades in their office, that ſpending on yeare in their Conſulſhip at home, they might employ the other in the warres abroad. But ***Titus*** not minding to trifle out the halfe of his Conſulſhippe at ROME, and the other abroade in the warres: did willingly leaue all his honors and dignities he might haue enioyed by his office at ROME, and beſought the Senate that they would appoint his brother ***Lucius Quintius*** Lieutenaunt of their army by ſea. Furthermore, he tooke with him ſelfe about three thouſand old ſouldiers of thoſe that had firſt ouerthrowen ***Aſdruball*** in SPAINE, & ***Hanniball*** afterwards in AFRIKE, vnder the conduct of ***Scipio***, which yet were able to ſerue, and were very willing to goe with him in his iourney, to be the ſtrength of his army. With this company hee paſſed the ſeas without daunger, and landed in EPIRVS, where he found ***Publius Iulius*** encamped with his army before king *Philip*, who of long time had lien in campe about the mouth of the riuer of Apſus, to keepe the ſtraight and paſſage which is the entry into EPIRVS. So that *Publius Iulius* had lien ſtill there, and done nothing, by reaſon of the naturall force and hardnes of the place. Then *Titus* tooke the army of him, and ſent him to ROME. Afterwards, him ſelfe went in perſon to view and conſider the nature of the countrey, which was in this ſort. It is a long valley walled on either ſide with great high mountaines, as thoſe which ſhut in the valley of Tempe in THESSALY. Howbeit it had no ſuch goodly woods, nor green forreſts, nor faire medowes, nor other like places of pleaſure, as the other ſide had: but it was a great deepe marriſhe or quauemyre, through the middeſt whereof the riuer called Apſus did runne, being in greatnes and ſwiftneſſe of ſtreame, very like to the riuer of Peneus. The riuer did occupy all the ground at the feete of the mountaines, ſauing a litle way that was cut out of the maine rocke by mans hand, and a narrow ſtraight path by the waters ſide, very vnhandſome for an army to paſſe that way, though they foūd not a man to keepe the paſſage. There were ſome in the army that counſelled *Titus* to fetch a great compaſſe about by the country of DASSARETIDE, & by the city of LYNCVS, where the country is very plaine, and the way maruellous eaſie. Howbeit he ſtood in great feare he ſhould lacke victuals, if he ſtayed farre from the ſea, and happely if hee fel into any barren or leane country, (*Philip* refuſing the battel, and purpoſing to flie) he ſhould be conſtrained in the end to returne againe towardes the ſea, without doing any thing, as his predeceſſor had done before. Wherefore he determined to croſſe the mountaines to ſet vpon his enemy, and to proue if he could winne the paſſage by force. Now *Philip* kept the top of the mountaines with his army, and when the ROMAINES forced to get vp the hils, they were receiued with dartes, ſlings, and ſhot, that lighted amongſt them here and there: inſomuch as the ſkirmiſh was very hot for the time it laſted, and many were ſlaine and hurt on either ſide. But this was not the end of the warre. For in the meane time there came certaine neatherds of the countrey vnto *Titus* (who did vſe to keepe beaſtes on theſe mountaines) and told him they could bring him a way which they knew the enemies kept not: by the which they promiſed to guide his army ſo, that in three daies at the furtheſt, they would bring them on the toppe of the mountaine. And becauſe they might be aſſured that their wordes were true, they ſaid they were ſent to him by *Charopus*, the ſonne of *Machatas*. This *Caropus* was the chiefeſt man of the EPIROTS, who loued the ROMAINS very well, yet he fauored them but vnder hand, for feare of *Philip*. *Titus* gaue credit vnto them, and ſo ſent one of his Captaines with them, with foure thouſand footmen, and three hundred horſemen. The heard men that were their guides, went before ſtill, faſt bound: and the ROMAINES followed after. All the day time the army reſted in thicke woddes, and marched all night by moone light, which was then by good happe at the full. *Titus* hauing ſent theſe men away, reſted all the reſt of his campe: ſauing that ſome daies he entertained them with ſome light ſkirmiſhes to occupy the enemy withall. But the ſame day, when his men that fetched a compaſſe about, ſhould come vnto the toppe of the mountaine aboue the campe of his enemies, he brought all his army out of the campe by breake of day, and deuided them into three troupes, with the one of them he him ſelfe went on that ſide of the riuer where the way is ſtraighteſt, making his bands to march directly againſt the ſide of the hil. The MACEDONIANS againe, they ſhot luſtely at them from the height of the hill, and in certaine places amongeſt the rockes they came to the ſword. At the ſelfe ſame time, the two other troupes on either hand of him did their endeuour likewiſe to get vp the hill, and as it were enuying one an other, they climed vp with great courage againſt the ſharpe and ſteepe hanging of the mountaine. When the ſunne was vp, they might ſee a far off as it were, a certain ſmoke, not very bright at the beginning, much like to the miſts we ſee cōmonly riſe from the tops of the mountaines. The enemies could ſee nothing, becauſe it was behinde them, and that the top of the mountain was poſſeſſed with the ſame. The ROMAINES, though they were not aſſured of it, did hope being in the middeſt of the fight, that it was their fellowes they looked for. But when they ſaw it increaſed ſtil more and more, and in ſuch ſort, that it darkned all the aire: then they did aſſure them ſelues it was certainely the token their men did giue them that they were come. Then they beganne to cry out, climing vp the hils with ſuch a luſty courage, that they draue their enemies vp the hill ſtill, euen vnto the very rough and hardeſt places of the moun-

*T. Q. landed in Epirus.*
*Apſus flu.*

*The deſcription of the countrey of Epirus.*

*Charopus (Machatas ſonne) the chiefe man of the Epirots.*

*T. Q. poſſeſſed the ſtraights of the mountaine.*

*The Macedonians flee.*

*Philips flying king of Macedon.*

*T. Q. Flaminius modeſty forbearing ſpoiles wan him many friends.*

*Pyrrus ſaying of the Romaines army.*

taine. Their fellowes alſo that were behinde the enemies, did aunſwere them with like loude cries from the top of the mountaine: wherewith the enemies were ſo aſtonied, that they fled preſently vpon it. Notwithſtanding, there were not ſlaine aboue two thouſand of them, becauſe the hardneſſe and ſtraightneſſe of the place did ſo gard them, that they could not be chaſed. But the ROMAINES ſpoiled their campe, tooke all that they found in their tents, tooke alſo their ſlaues, and wanne the paſſage into the mountains, by the which they entred the countrey of EPIRVS: and did paſſe through it ſo quietly, and with ſo great abſtinence, that though they were farre from their ſhips and the ſea, and lacked their ordinary portion of corne which they were wont to haue monthly, and that victuals were very ſcant with them at that time, yet they neuer tooke any thing of the country, though they found great ſtore and plenty of all riches in it. For *Titus* was aduertiſed, that *Philip* paſſing by THESSALY, and flying for feare, had cauſed the inhabitants of the cities to gette them to the mountaines, and then to ſet fire on their houſes, and to leaue thoſe goods they could not cary away, by reaſon of the weight and vnhandſome cariage therof, to the ſpoile of his ſouldiers: and ſo (as it ſeemed) he left the whole countrey to the conqueſt of the ROMAINES. Whereupon *Titus* looking conſideratly to his doings, gaue his men great charge to paſſe through the countrey without doing any hurt or miſchiefe, as the ſame which their enemies had now left to them as their owne. So they taried not long to enioy the benefit of their orderly and wiſe forbearing of the country. For, ſo ſoone as they were entred THESSALY, the cities willingly yeelded them ſelues vnto them: and the GRECIANS inhabiting beyong the countrey of THERMOPYLES, did maruellouſly deſire to ſee *Titus*, asking no other thing, but to put them ſelues into his hands. The ACHANIANS alſo on the other ſide, did renounce the league & alliance they had made with *Philip*: and furthermore did determine in their counſell, to make warre with him on the ROMAINS ſide. And although the ÆTOLIANS were at that time friends and confederats with the ROMAINS, and that they did ſhew them ſelues very louing to take their part in theſe wars: neuertheles when they deſired the OPVNTIANS that they would put their city into their hands, and were offered that it ſhould be kept and defended from *Philip*: they would not hearken thereto, but ſent for *Titus*, and put themſelues and their goods wholly into his protection. They ſay, that when king *Pyrrus* firſt ſaw the ROMAINES army range in order of battell from the top of a hill, hee ſaid: this order of the barbarous people, ſetting of their men in battell ray, was not done in a barbarous manner. And thoſe alſo that neuer had ſeene *Titus* before, and came for to ſpeake with him: were compelled in a manner to ſay as much. For where they had heard the MACEDONIANS ſay, that there came a Captaine of the barbarous people that deſtroyed all before him by force of armes, and ſubdued whole countries by violence: they ſayd to the cōtrary, that they found him a man in deede yong of yeares, howbeit gentle, and curteous to looke on, and that ſpake the Greeke tongue excellently well, and was a louer onely of true glory. By reaſon wherof they returned home maruellous glad, and filled al the cities and towns of GREECE with good will towards him, and ſayd: they had ſeene *Titus* the Captaine, that would reſtore them to their auncient liberty againe. Then it much more appeared, when *Philip* ſhewed himſelfe willing to haue peace, and that *Titus* alſo did offer it him, and the friendſhip of the people of ROME, with theſe conditions: that he would leaue the GRECIANS their whole liberties, & remoue his garriſons out of their cities and ſtrong holdes: which *Philip* refuſed to doe. And thereupon all GREECE, and euen thoſe which fauored *Philip*, ſayed with one voice: that the ROMAINES were not come to make warres with them, but rather with the MACEDONIANS in fauor of the GRECIANS. Whereupon all GREECE came in, and offered them ſelues vnto *Titus* without compulſion. And as he paſſed through the countrey of BOEOTIA, without any ſhew at all of wars, the chiefeſt men of the city of THEBES went to meet him: who though they tooke part with the king of MACEDON, becauſe of a priuate man called *Brachylelis*, yet they would honor *Titus*, as thoſe which were contented to keepe league and friendſhip with either ſide. *Titus* embraced them, and ſpake very curteouſly vnto them, going on his way ſtill faire and ſoftly, entertaining them ſomtime with one matter, and ſomtime with an other, and kept them talke of purpoſe, to the end his ſouldiers being wearied with iornying, might in the meane time take good breath: and ſo marching on by litle and litle, he entred into the city with them. Wherewith the Lordes of Thebes were not greatly pleaſed, but yet they durſt not refuſe him, though he had not at that time any number of ſouldiers about him. When he was within Thebes, he praied audience, and began to perſwade the people (as carefully as if he had not had the city already) that they would rather take part with the Romaines, then with the king of Macedon. And to further *Titus* purpoſe, king *Attalus* being by chaunce at that time in the aſſembly, did helpe to exhort the Thebans very earneſtly, that they would doe as *Titus* perſwaded them. But *Attalus* was more earneſt then became a man of his yeares, for the deſire he had (as was imagined) to ſhewe *Titus* his eloquence: who did ſo ſtraine and moue him ſelfe withall, that he ſounded ſodainely in the middeſt of his oration, whereby the rewme fell downe ſo faſt vpon him, that it tooke away his ſenſes, ſo as he fell in a traunce before them all, and few daies after was conueyed againe by ſea into Asia, where he liued not long after. In the meane time, the Boeotians came into the Romaines, and tooke their part. And Philip hauing ſent Ambaſſadors to Rome, *Titus* alſo ſent thither of his men to ſolicite for him, in two reſpects. The one, if the warres continued againſt *Philip*, that then they would prolong his time there. The other, if the Senate did graunt him peace: that they would do him the honour, as to make and conclude it with Philip. For *Titus* of his owne nature being very ambitious, did feare leaſt they would ſend a ſucceſſor to continue thoſe warres who ſhould take the glory from him, and make an end of them. But his friends made ſuch earneſt ſute for him, that neither king Philip attained that he praied: neither was there ſent any other generall in *Titus* place, but he ſtill continued his charge in theſe warres. Wherefore, ſo ſoone as he had receiued his commiſſion and authoritie from the Senate, he went ſtraight towards Thessaly, with great hope to ouercome Philip. For he had in his armie aboue ſixe and twentie thouſand fighting men, whereof the Ætolians made ſixe thouſand footmen, and three thouſand horſemen. King Philips armie on the other ſide was no leſſe in number, & they beganne to march one towards the other, vntill at the length they both drew neere the citie of Scotvsa, where they determined to try the battell. So, neither they nor their men were affraid to ſee themſelues one ſo neere an other: but rather to the contrarie, the Romaines on the one ſide tooke greater heart and courage vnto them, deſiring to fight, as thinking with themſelues what great honour they ſhould winne to ouercome the Macedonians, who were ſo highly eſteemed for their valiantnes, by reaſon of the famous acts that *Alexander* the great did by them. And the Macedonians on the other ſide alſo, taking the Romaines for other manner of ſouldiers then the Persians, beganne to haue good hope if they might winne the field, to make king Philip more famous in the world, then euer was *Alexander* his father. *Titus* then calling his men together, ſpake and exhorted them to ſtande to it like men, & to ſhew themſelues valiant ſouldiers in this battell, as thoſe which were to ſhew the proofe of their valiantneſſe in the heart of Grece: the goodlieſt Theater of the world, and againſt their enemies of moſt noble fame. Philip then by chance, or forced to it by the ſpeed he made, becauſe they were both readie to ioyne: did get vp vnwares vpon a charnell houſe, (where they had buried many bodies, being a litle hill raiſed vp aboue the reſt, and neere the trenches of his campe) and there began to encourage his ſouldiers, as all generals doe before they giue battell. Who when he ſaw them all diſcouraged, for they tooke it for an ill ſigne that he was gotten vp on the toppe of a graue to ſpeake vnto them: he of a conceit at the matter, did of him ſelfe deferre to giue battell that day. The next morning, becauſe the night was very wet by reaſon the South windes had blowen, the cloudes were turned to a myſt, and filled all the valley with a darke groſſe thicke aire comming from the mountaines there abouts, which couered the field betwene both campes with a miſt all the morning: by reaſon wherof the skoutes on both ſides that were ſent to diſcouer what the enemies did, in very ſhort time, met together, and one gaue charge vpon an other in a place they call the dogges heads, which are points of rockes placed vpon litle hils one before an other, and very neere one vnto an other, which haue bene called ſo, becauſe they haue had ſome likeneſſe of it. In this skirmiſh there were many chaunges, as commonly falleth out when they fight in ſuch ill fauoured ſtonie places. For ſometime the Romaines fled, & the Macedonians chaſed them: an other time the Macedonians that followed the chaſe, were glad to fly themſelues, and the Romaines who

*King Attalus death.*

*The Bœotians yeeld vnto the Romaines.*

*Quintius army*

*King Philip and Quintius met with their armies neere Scotuſa.*

fled before, now had them in chaſe. This change and alteration came by ſending new ſupplies ſtill from both campes, to relieue them that were diſtreſſed and driuen to flie. Now began the miſt to breake vp, & the aire to cleare, ſo that both generals might ſee about them what was done in either campe: by reaſon wherof both of thē drew on their army to the field & battell. So Philip had the vantage on the right wing of his armie, which was placed on the height of an hanging hill, from which they came ſo a maine to ſet vpon the ROMAINES, & with ſuch a furie, that the ſtrongeſt and valianteſt that could be, had neuer bene able to abide the front of their battell, ſo cloſely were they ioined together, and their wall of pikes was ſo ſtrong. But on his left wing it was not ſo, becauſe the rancks of his battell could not ioine ſo neere nor cloſe target to target, the place being betwixt the hils & the rockes where the battell was comming ſo as they were compelled by reaſon of the ſtraightnes and vneuennes of the ground, to leaue it open, and vnfurniſhed in many places. *Titus* finding that diſaduantage, went from the left wing of his battell which he ſaw ouerlaid by the right wing of his enemies, and going ſodainely toward the left wing of king *Philips* battell, he ſet vpon the MACEDONIANS on that ſide, where he ſaw they could not cloſe their rankes in the front, nor ioine them together in the middeſt of the battell (which is the whole ſtrength and order of the MACEDONIAN fight) becauſe the field was vp hill and downe hill: and to fight hand to hand they were ſo peſtered behind, that one thronged & ouerlaid an other. For the battell of the MACEDONIANS hath this property, that ſo long as the order is kept cloſe and ioined together, it ſeemeth as it were but the body of a beaſt of a force inuincible. But alſo after that it is once open, and that they are ſundered and not ioyned together, it doth not only looſe the force and power of the whole bodie, but alſo of euery priuate ſouldier that fighteth: partly by reaſon of the diuerſitie of the weapons wherewith they fight, and partly for that their whole ſtrength conſiſteth moſt, in the diſpoſing and ioyning together of their rankes and orders which doth ſtay vp one an other, more then doth euery priuate ſouldiers ſtrength. So when this left wing of the MACEDONIANS was broken, and that they ran their way: one part of the ROMAINES followed the chaſe, and the other ran to giue a charge vppon the flankes of the right wing which fought yet, and they made great ſlaughter of them. Whereupon they now which before had the vantage, beganne to ſtagger & breake, and in the end ranne away as faſt as the other did, throwing downe their weapons: inſomuch as there were ſlaine of them eight thouſand in the fielde, and fiue thouſande taken priſoners in the chaſe. And had not the fault beene in the ÆTOLIANS, Philip had not ſaued him ſelfe by flying as he did. For whileſt the ROMAINES had their enemies in chaſe, the ÆTOLIANS taried, and rifled all king *Philips* campe, ſo as they had left the ROMAINES nothing to ſpoyle at their returne. Whereupon there grew great quarrell and hot wordes betweene them, and one with an other. But afterwards they angered *Titus* worſe, chalenging the honour of this victorie to themſelues, becauſe they gaue it out through GRECE, that they alone had ouerthrowen king *Philip* in the battell. So that in the ſongs and ballets the Poets made in praiſe of this victorie, which euery countrie and townes man had in his mouth: they alwaies put the ÆTOLIANS before the ROMAINES, as in this that followeth, which was currantly ſong in euery place.

*Battell betwene Quintius and Philip king of Macedon.*

*The propertie of the Macedonian battell.*

*Quintius ouercame Philips armie.*

*Mutinie betwixt the Ætolians and the Romaines.*

*Oh friend, which paſſeſt by: here lie we wretched pheares,*
*VVithouten honour of the graue, without lamenting teares.*
*VVe thirtie thouſand were, which ended haue our daies:*
*In cruell coaſts of Theſſalie, which cauſed our decaies.*
*VVe haue bene ouerthrowen by th' Ætolians men of warre:*
*And by the Latine crewes likewiſe, whom Titus led from farre.*
*Euen out of Italie, to Macedonie land,*
*Vs to deſtroy, he (Captaine like) did come with mightie band.*
*And* Philip *ſtout, therewhiles for all his proud fierce face:*
*Is fled more ſwift then Harts doe runne, which are purſued in chace.*

*Alcæus verſes in diſgrace of king Philip.*

The Poet was *Alcæus* that made theſe verſes for to ſing, who did them in diſgrace of king Philip, falſely increaſing the number of his men which died in the battell, onely to ſhame and ſpight him the more: howbeit he ſpighted *Titus* therby, more thē Philip, becauſe it was ſong in euery place. For *Philip* laughed at it, and to encounter him againe with the like mocke, he made a ſong to counterfaite his, as followeth.

*This gibbet on this hill, which paſſers by may marke:*
*VVas ſet to hang Alcæus vp, withouten leaues or barke.*

*Philips verſes againſt Alcæus*

But *Titus* tooke it grieuouſly, who chiefly deſired to be honored amongſt the GRECIANS, by reaſon whereof from that time forwards he delt in the reſt of his matters alone, without making account of the ÆTOLIANS: wherewith they were maruellous angry, & ſpecially when he receiued an Ambaſſador from *Philip*, and gaue eare vnto a treatie of peace which he offred. For then they were ſo netled againſt him, that they gaue it out through all GRECE, that *Titus* had ſold peace vnto *Philip*, when he might altogether haue ended the warre, and vtterly haue deſtroyed *Philips* whole power and Empire, who had firſt brought GRECE into bondage. Theſe ſlanderous reports and falſe tales which the ÆTOLIANS ſpread thus abroad, did much trouble the ROMAINES friendes and confederates: but *Philip* ſelfe pulled this ſuſpition out of their heads, when he came in perſon to require peace, and did ſubmit himſelfe wholly to the diſcretion of *Titus* and the ROMAINES. *Titus* then graunted him peace, and deliuered to him his realme of MACEDON, and commaunded him he ſhould giue ouer all that he helde in GRECE, and beſides, that he ſhould pay one thouſande talentes for tribute, taking from him all his armie by ſea, ſauing onely tenne ſhippes: and for aſſurance of this peace, he tooke one of his ſonnes for hoſtage, whom he ſent to ROME. Wherein *Titus* certainly did very well, and wiſely did foreſee the time to come. For then *Hanniball* of CARTHAGE (the great enemy of the ROMAINES) was baniſhed out of his countrie, and came to king *Antiochus*, whom he put in the head, and earneſtly moued, to follow his good fortune, and the increaſe of his Empire. Whom *Hanniball* ſo followed with theſe perſwaſions, that king *Antiochus* at length was come to it. And truſting to his former good ſucceſſe, and notable actes, whereby in the warres before he had attained the ſurname of great: he began now to aſpire to the monarchy of the whole world, & ſought how to find occaſion to make warres with the ROMAINES. So that if *Titus* (foreſeeing that a far off) had not wiſely inclined to peace, but that the wars of *Antiochus* had fallen out together with the warres of king *Philip*, and that theſe two the mightieſt Princes of the world had ioyned together againſt the citie of ROME: then it had beene in as great trouble and daunger, as euer it was before, in the time of their warres againſt *Hanniball*. Howbeit *Titus* hauing happily thruſt in this peace betweene both warres, hee cut off the warre that was preſent, before the other that was comming: by which meanes he tooke from one of the kings his laſt, and from the other his firſt hope. In the meane time the tenne commiſſioners that were ſent by the Senate from ROME to *Titus*, to aide and aſſiſt him in the order of the affaires of GRECE: did counſell him to ſet all the reſt of GRECE at libertie, and onely to keepe in their hands with good garriſon, the cities of CHALCIDE, of CORINTH, and of DEMETRIADE, to make ſure that by practiſe they ſhould not enter into league and alliance with *Antiochus*. Then the ÆTOLIANS (that were the common ſlaunderers of *Titus* proceedings) beganne openly to make theſe cities to rebell, and did ſummone *Titus* to looſe the chaines of GRECE: for ſo did king *Philip* call theſe three cities. Then they asked the GRECIANS in mockery, whether they were willing now to haue heauier fetters on their legges then before, being ſomewhat brighter and fairer then thoſe they had bene ſhackled with: and alſo whether they were not greatly beholding to *Titus* for taking off the fetters from the GRECIANS legs, and tying them about their neckes. *Titus* being maruellouſly troubled and vexed with this, moued the tenne counſellers ſo earneſtly, that he made them graunt his requeſt in the ende, that thoſe three cities alſo ſhould be deliuered from garriſon: becauſe the GRECIANS thenceforth might no more complaine, that his grace and liberalitie was not throughly performed, and accompliſhed in euery reſpect on them all. Wherefore, when the feaſt called Iſthmia was come, there were gathered together an infinite multitude of people come to ſee the ſport of the games plaied there: for GRECE hauing bene long time troubled with warres, they ſeeing themſelues now in ſure peace, & in very good hope of full liberty, looked after no other thing, but delighted only to ſee games, and to make merry. Proclamation was then made by ſound of trumpet in the aſſembly, that euery man ſhould keepe ſilence. That done, the herauld went

*Priuy grudge betwixt Quintius and the AEtolians.*

*T. Quintius graunted Philip peace.*

*Hanniball was with king Antiochus.*

*Chalcide, Corinth, Demetriade, called by Philip of Macedon, the Chaines of Greece.*

*Iſthmia.*

forward, and thruſt into the middeſt of the multitude, and proclaimed out aloude: that the Senate of ROME, and *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, Conſull of the people of ROME (now that they had ouerthrowen king *Philip* and the MACEDONIANS in battell) did thenceforth diſcharge from all garriſons, and ſet at liberty from all taxes, ſubſidies, and impoſitions for euer, to liue after their old auncient lawes, and in full libertie: the CORINTHIANS, the LOCRIANS, thoſe of PHOCIDE, thoſe of the Ile of EVBOEA, the ACHAIANS, the PHTHIOTES, the MAGNESIANS, the THESSALIANS, and the PERRHOEBEIANS. At the firſt time of the proclamation, all the people could not heare the voice of the herauld, and the moſt part of thoſe that heard him, could not tell directly what hee ſaide: for there ranne vp and downe the ſhewe place where the games were plaide, a confuſed brute and tumult of the people that wondered, and asked what the matter ment, ſo as the herauld was driuen againe to make the proclamation. Whereupon after ſilence made, the heraulde putting out his voice farre louder then before, did proclaime it in ſuch audible wiſe, that the whole aſſembly heard him: and then roſe there ſuch a loud ſhoute and crie of ioy through the whole people, that the ſound of it was heard to the ſea. Then all the people that had taken their places, & were ſet to ſee the Swordplayers play, roſe vp all on their feete, letting the games alone, and went together with great ioy to ſalute, to embrace, and to thanke *Titus* the recouerer, protector, and patrone of all their liberties of GRECE. Then was ſeene (which is much ſpoken of) the power of mens voyces: for crowes fell downe at that preſent time among the people, which by chance flew ouer the ſhew place at that time that they made the ſame out ſhout. This came to paſſe, by reaſon the aire was broken and cut a ſunder with the vehemencie and ſtrength of the voices, ſo as it had not his naturall power in it, to keepe vp the flying of the birdes: which were driuen of neceſſitie to fall to the ground, as flying through a voide place where they lacked aire. Vnleſſe we will rather ſay, that it was the violence of the crie, which ſtrooke the birdes paſſing through the aire, as they had beene hit with arrowes, and ſo made them fall downe dead to the earth. It may be alſo, that there was ſome hurling winde in the aire, as we doe ſee ſometime in the ſea, when it riſeth high, and many times turneth about the waues, by violence of the ſtorme. So it is, that if *Titus* had not preuented the whole multitude of people which came to ſee him, and that he had not got him away betimes, before the games were ended: he had hardly ſcaped from being ſtifled amongeſt them, the people came ſo thicke about him from euery place. But after that they were wearie of crying and ſinging about his pauillion vntill night, in the end they went their way: and as they went, if they met any of their kinne, friendes or citizens, they did kiſſe and embrace one an other for ioy, and ſo ſupped and made merry together. In their more reioycing yet, as we may thinke full well, they had no other talke at the table, but of the warres of GRECE, diſcourſing amongeſt them what ſundry great warres they had made, what they had endured heretofore, and all to defend and recouer their libertie. And yet for all that, they could neuer ſo ioyfully nor more aſſuredly obtaine it, then they did euen at that preſent, receiuing the honorableſt reward, & that which deſerued greateſt fame through the worlde: that by the valiantneſſe of ſtraungers who fought for the ſame (without any ſpilt bloud of their owne in compariſon, or that they loſt the life of any one man, whoſe death they had cauſe to lament) they were ſo reſtored to their auncient freedome and libertie. It is a very rare thing amongeſt men, to finde a man very valiant, and wiſe withall: but yet of all ſortes of valiant men, it is harder to finde a iuſt man. For *Ageſilaus*, *Lyſander*, *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, and all other the famous Captaines of former times, had very good skill to lead an armie, and to winne the battell, as well by ſea as by land: but to turne their victories to any honourable benefit, or true honour among men, they could neuer skill of it. And if you do except the battell againſt the barbarous people, in the plaine of MARATHON, the battell of SALAMINA, the iorney of PLATEES, the battell of THERMOPYLES, the battell *Cimon* fought about CIPRVS and vpon the riuer of Eurymedon: all the other wars and battels of GRECE that were made, fell out againſt themſelues, and did euer bring them into bondage: and all the tokens of triumph which euer were ſet vp for the ſame, was to their ſhame and loſſe. So that in the ende, GRECE was vtterly deſtroyed and ouerthrowen, and that chiefly through the wickednes and ſelfe will of her gouernors and captaines of the cities, one enuying an others doing. Where a

*Crowes flying, fell downe by the ſound of mens voices.*

ſtraunge nation, the which (as it ſhould ſeeme) had very ſmall occaſion to moue them to do it (for that they haue had no great familiaritie with auncient GRECE, and through the counſell and good wiſedome of the which, it ſhould ſeeme very ſtraunge that GRECE could receiue any benefite) haue notwithſtanding with daungerous battels and infinite troubles, deliuered it from oppreſſion and ſeruitude of violent Lordes and tyrants. This and ſuch like talke, did at that time occupie the GRECIANS heads: and moreouer, the deeds following did anſwere and performe the wordes of the proclamation. For at one ſelfe time, *Titus* ſent *Lentulus* into ASIA, to ſet the BARGILIANS at libertie, and *Titillius* into THRACIA, to remoue the garriſons out of the Iles and cities which *Philip* had kept there: and *Publius Iulius* was ſent alſo into ASIA, vnto king *Antiochus*, to ſpeake vnto him to ſet the GRECIANS at libertie which he kept in ſubiection. And as for *Titus*, he went himſelfe vnto the citie of CHALCIDE, where he tooke ſea, and went into the prouince of MAGNESIA, out of the which he tooke all the garriſons of the cities, and redeliuered the gouernment of the common wealth vnto the citizens of the ſame. Afterwardes when time came that the feaſt of Nemea was celebrated in the citie of ARGOS in the honour of *Hercules*, *Titus* was choſen iudge and rector of the games that were plaid there: where, after he had ſet all thinges in very good order, pertaining vnto the ſolemnitie of the feaſt, he cauſed againe ſolemne proclamation to be made openly, for the generall libertie of all GRECE. Furthermore viſiting the cities, he did ſtabliſh very good lawes, reformed iuſtice, and did ſet the inhabitants and citizens of euery one of them in good peace, amity, and concord one with an other: and did call home alſo all thoſe that were outlawes and baniſhed men, and pacified al old quarels & diſſentions among them. The which did no leſſe pleaſe & content him, that by perſwaſions he could bring the GRECIANS to be reconciled one with the other: then if he had by force of armes ouercome the MACEDONIANS. Inſomuch, as the recouery of the libertie which *Titus* had reſtored vnto the GRECIANS, ſeemed vnto them the leaſt part of the goodneſſe they had receiued at his handes. They ſay, that *Lycurgus* the orator ſeeing the collectors of taxes, carie *Zenocrates* the Philoſopher one day to priſon, for lacke of payment of a certaine impoſition, which the ſtrangers inhabiting within the city of ATHENS were to pay: he reſcued him from them by force, and moreouer proſecuted lawe ſo hard againſt them, that he made them pay a fine for the iniurie they had done vnto ſo worthy a perſon. And they tell, how the ſame Philoſopher afterwards meeting *Lycurgus* children in the citie, ſaid vnto them. I doe well requite your fathers good turne he did mee: for I am the cauſe that he is praiſed and commended of euery man, for the kindneſſe he ſhewed on my behalfe. So the good deeds of the ROMAINES, and of *Titus Quintius Flaminius* vnto the GRECIANS, did not onely reape this benefite vnto them, in recompence that they were praiſed and honored of all the worlde: but they were cauſe alſo of increaſing their dominions and Empire ouer all nations, and that the world afterwardes had great affiance and truſt in them, and that moſt iuſtly. So that the people and cities did not only receiue the Captaines and gouernors the ROMAINES ſent them: but they alſo went to ROME vnto them, and procured them to come, and did put themſelues into their handes. And not only the cities and communalties, but kings and princes alſo (which were oppreſſed by other more mightie than themſelues) had no other refuge, but to put themſelues vnder their protection: by reaſon whereof in a very ſhort time (with the fauour and helpe of the goddes as I am perſwaded) all the world came to ſubmit themſelues to their obedience, and vnder the protection of their Empire. *Titus* alſo did glory more, that he had reſtored GRECE againe vnto libertie, then in any other ſeruice or exploite he had euer done. For when he offered vppe vnto the temple of *Apollo* in the citie of DELPHES, the targets of ſiluer with his owne ſhield, he made theſe verſes to be grauen vpon them, in effect as followeth.

*Quintius care to ſtabliſh the libertie of the Grecians.*

*The feaſt Nemea kept at Argos.*

*Lycurgus the orator, reſcued Zenocrates the Philoſopher, and ſaued him from priſon.*

*O noble twynnes Tyndarides, Dan Ioue his children deare:*
*Throw out loud ſhoutes of ioy and mirth, reioice and make good cheare.*
*O noble kings of Spartan ſoyle, which take delight to ride,*
*Your trampling ſteedes, with fomy bit, and trappings by their ſide:*
*Reioice you now, for Titus he, the valiant Romaine Knight,*
*Theſe giftes ſo great to you hath got, euen by his force and might.*

*That hauing taken cleane away, from off the Greekiſh neckes,*
*The heauie yoke of ſeruitude, which helde them thrall to checkes,*
*Vnto their former libertie, he hath reſtorde them free,*
*VVhich altogether periſht was, as men might plainely ſee.*

He gaue a crowne of maſſie gold vnto *Apollo*, vppon the which he made this inſcription to be written.

*A valiant Romaine Knight, euen Titus by his name,*
*A captaine worthy by deſert, of high renowne and fame:*
*To thee (Apollo god) this crowne of pure fine gold,*
*Hath giuen thy godhead to adorne, with iewels manifold,*
*Therefore let it thee pleaſe (Apollo god of grace)*
*VVith fauour to requite this loue, to him and to his race:*
*That his renowmed fame, and vertue may be ſpred,*
*And blaſed through the world ſo wide, to ſhew what life he led.*

So hath the citie of CORINTHE enioyed this good happe, that the GRECIANS haue bene twiſe proclaimed to be ſet at libertie: the firſt time by *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, and the ſecond time, by *Nero* in our time, and at the ſelfe ſame inſtant when they ſolemnly kept the feaſt called Iſthmia. Howbeit the firſt proclamation of their libertie (as we haue told you before) was done by the voice of an herauld: and the ſecond time it was done by *Nero* himſelfe, who proclaimed it in an oration he made vnto the people in open aſſembly, in the market place of the citie of CORINTHE. But it was a long time after. Furthermore, *Titus* beganne then a goodly and iuſt warre againſt *Nabis* the curſed and wicked tyrant of LACEDÆMON. Howbeit in the ende he deceiued the expectation of GRECE. For when he might haue taken him, he would not doe it, but made peace with him, forſaking poore SPARTA vnworthily oppreſſed vnder the yoke of bondage: either becauſe he was affraide that if the warre helde on, there ſhould come a ſucceſſor vnto him from ROME, that ſhould cary the glorie away to end the ſame, or elſe he ſtoode Iealous and enuious of the honour they did vnto P*hilopœmen*. Who hauing ſhewed himſelfe in euery place as excellent a Captaine as euer came in GRECE, and hauing done notable actes and famous ſeruice, both of great wiſedome, and alſo of valiantneſſe, and ſpecially in the ACHAIANS warre: he was as much honored & reuerenced of the ACHAIANS in the Theaters and common aſſemblies, euen as *Titus* was. Whereat *Titus* was maruellouſly offended, for he thought it vnreaſonable, that an ARCADIAN who had neuer bene generall of an armie, but in ſmall litle warres againſt his neighbours, ſhould be as much eſteemed and honored, as a Conſull of ROME, that was come to make warres for the recouery of the libertie of GRECE. But *Titus* alleaged reaſonable excuſe for his doings, ſaying that he ſaw very well he could not deſtroy this tyrant *Nabis*, without the great loſſe and miſerie of the other SPARTANS. Furthermore, of all the honors the ACHAIANS euer did him (which were very great) me thinkes there was none that came neere any recompence of his honorable and well deſeruing, but one onely preſent they offered him, and which he aboue all the reſt moſt eſteemed: and this it was. During the ſeconde warres of AFRICKE, which the ROMAINES had againſt *Hanniball*, many ROMAINES were taken priſoners in the ſundry battels they loſt, and being ſolde here and there, remained ſlaues in many countries: and amongeſt other, there were diſperſed in GRECE to the number of twelue hundred, which from time to time did moue men with pitie and compaſſion towards them, that ſaw them in ſo miſerable chaunge and ſtate of fortune. But then much more was their miſerie to be pitied, when theſe captiues found in the ROMAINES army, ſome of them their ſonnes, other their brethren, and the reſt their fellowes and friendes, free and conquerours, and themſelues ſlaues and bondmen. It grieued *Titus* much to ſee theſe poore men in ſuch miſerable captiuitie, notwithſtanding he would not take them by force from thoſe that had them. Whereupon the ACHAIANS redeemed and bought them for fiue hundred pence a man, and hauing gathered them together into a troupe, they preſented all the ROMAINE captiues vnto *Titus*, euen as he was readie to take ſhippe to returne into ITALIE: which preſent made him returne home with greater ioy and contentation, hauing receiued for his noble deedes ſo honorable a recompence, and worthy of himſelfe,

*Nero did ſet Greece at libertie.*

*VVhy Quintius made peace with Nabis the tyrant of Lacedæmon.*

*The honour of Philopœmen.*

*Twelue hundred Romaines ſold for ſlaues.*

*The Achaians redeemed the Romaines that were ſold for ſlaues in Greece.*

that was ſo louing a man to his citizens and country. And ſurely, that onely was the ornament (in my opinion) that did moſt beautifie his triumphe. For theſe poore redeemed captiues did that, which the ſlaues are wont to do on that day when they be ſet at libertie: to wit, they ſhaue their heades, and do weare litle hats vpon them. The ROMAINES that were thus redeemed, did in like manner: and ſo followed *Titus* charret, on the day of his triumphe and entrie made into ROME in the triumphing manner. It was a goodly ſight alſo, to ſee the ſpoyles of the enemies, which were caried in the ſhew of this triumphe: as, ſtore of helmets after the GRECIANS faſhion, heapes of targets, ſhieldes, and pykes after the MACEDONIAN manner, with a wonderfull ſumme of gold & ſiluer. For *Itanus* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that there was brought a maruellous great maſſe of treaſure in niggots of gold, of three thouſand ſeuen hundred and thirteen pound weight, and of ſiluer, of forty three thouſand, two hundred, three ſcore and ten pound weight, and of gold ready coyned in peeces called *Philips* foureten thouſand, fiue hundred, and fourteen, beſides the thouſand talents king *Philip* ſhould pay for a raunſome. The which ſumme, the ROMAINES afterwardes forgaue him, chiefly at *Titus* ſute and interceſſion, who procured that grace for him, and cauſed him to be called a friend and confederate of the people of ROME, & his ſonne *Demetrius* to be ſent vnto him againe, who remained before as an hoſtage at ROME. Shortly after, king *Antiochus* went out of ASIA into GRECE with a great fleete of ſhips, & a very puiſſant army, to ſtirre vp the cities to forſake their league and alliance with the ROMAINES, and make a diſſention amongeſt them. To further this his deſire and enterpriſe, the ÆTOLIANS did aide and backe him, which of long time had borne great and ſecret malice againſt the ROMAINES, and deſired much to haue had warres with them. So they taught king *Antiochus* to ſay, that the warre which he tooke in hand, was to ſet the GRECIANS at libertie, whereof they had no neede, becauſe they did already enioy their liberty: but for that they had no iuſt cauſe to make warre, they taught him to cloke it the honeſteſt way he could. Wherefore the ROMAINES fearing greatly the riſing of the people, and the rumour of the power of this great king, they ſent thither *Manius Acilius* their generall, & *Titus*, one of his Lieutenants for the GRECIANS ſakes. Which arriuall did more aſſure them that already bare good will to the ROMAINES, after they had once ſeene *Manius* and *Titus*: and the reſt that began to flie out, and to ſhrinke from them, thoſe *Titus* kept in obedience from ſtarting, remembring them of the friendſhip & good will they had borne him, euen like a good ſkilfull Phiſitian that could giue his patient Phiſicke to preſerue him from a contagious diſeaſe. Indeede there were ſome (but few of them) that left him, which were wonne and corrupted before by the ÆTOLIANS: and though he had iuſt cauſe of offence towardes them, yet he ſaued thẽ after the battell. For king *Antiochus* being ouercome in the country of THERMOPILES, fled his way, and in great haſt tooke the ſea to returne into ASIA. And the Conſull *Manius* following his victory, entred into the coũtry of the ÆTOLIANS, where he tooke certaine townes by force, and left the other for a prey vnto king *Philip*. So *Philip* king of MACEDON on the one ſide, ſpoyled & ſacked the DOLOPIANS, the MAGNESIANS, the ATHAMANIANS, & the APERANTINES: & the Conſull *Manius* on the other ſide, deſtroyed the citie of HERACLEA, and layd ſiege to the citie of NAVPACTVM, which the ÆTOLIANS kept. But *Titus* taking compaſſion of them, to ſee the poore people of GRECE thus ſpoyled and turned out of all: went out of PELOPONNESVS (where he was then) vnto *Manius Acilius* camp, and there reproued him for ſuffering king: *Philip* to vſurpe the benefit & reward of his honorable victory, ſtill cõquering many people, kings, and countries, whileſt he continued ſiege before a citie, and onely to wreake his anger vpon them. Afterwardes, when they that were beſieged ſaw *Titus* frõ their wals, they called him by his name, and held vp their hands vnto him, praying him he would take pitie vpon them: but he gaue them neuer a word at that time, and turning his backe vnto thẽ, he fell a weeping. Afterwards he ſpake with *Manius*, & appeaſing his anger, got him to grãt the ÆTOLIANS truce for certaine dayes, in which time they might ſend Ambaſſadours to ROME, to ſee if they could obtaine grace & pardõ of the Senate. But the moſt trouble & difficulty he had, was to intreat for the CHALCIDIANS, with whõ the Cõſull *Manius* was more grieuouſly offended, thẽ with all the reſt: becauſe that king *Antiochus* after the warres was begun, had maried his wife in their citie, when he was paſt yeares of mariage,

*The ceremonie of ſlaues manumiſſed.*

*T. Quintius triumph.*

*Manius Acilius Conſull, & T. Quintius Lieutenãt ſent into Grece.*

*Antiochus ouerthrowen in Thermopyles, by Manius the Conſull.*

*Quintius intreateth for the AEtolians.*

*King Antiochus maried Cleoptolemus daughter in the citie of Chalcide.*

and out of all due time. For he was now very old, and being in his extreme age, and in the middeſt of his warres, he fell in dotage with a young gentlewoman, the daughter of *Cleoptolemus*, the fayreſt woman that was at that time in all GRECE. Therefore the CHALCIDIANS were much affected vnto king *Antiochus*, and did put their citie into his handes, to ſerue him in this warre, for a ſtrong and ſafe retiring place. Whereupon, when *Antiochus* had loſt the battell, he came thither with all poſsible ſpeede, and taking from thence with him his paſſing fayre young Queene which he had maried, and his gold, his ſiluer and friendes, he tooke the ſeas incontinently, and returned into ASIA. For this cauſe the Conſull *Manius* hauing wonne the battell, did march ſtraight with his army towardes the citie of CHALCIDE in a great rage and fury. But *Titus* that followed him, did alwayes lye vpon him to pacifie his anger, and did ſo much intreate him, together with the other ROMAINES of ſtate and authoritie in coũſell: that in the end, he got him to pardon them of CHALCIDE alſo. Who, becauſe they were preſerued from perill by his meanes, they, to recompence this fact of his, did conſecrate vnto him, all their moſt ſtately and ſumptuous buildings and common workes in their citie, as appeareth yet by the ſuperſcriptions remaining to be ſeene at this day. As in the ſhew place of exerciſes: The people of CHALCIDE did dedicate this ſhew place of exerciſes, vnto *Titus* & *Hercules*. And in the temple called Delphinium: The people of CHALCIDE did conſecrate this temple, vnto *Titus*, and vnto *Apollo*. And furthermore, vnto this preſent time, there is a Prieſt choſen by the voyce of the people, purpoſely to do ſacrifice vnto *Titus:* in which ſacrifice, after that the thing ſacrificed is offered vp, & wine powred vpon it, the people ſtanding by, do ſing a ſong of triumph made in prayſe of him. But becauſe it were too lõg to write it all out, we haue onely drawen in briefe the latter end of the ſame: and this it is.

*Honours done vnto T. Quintius for ſauing the Chalcidiãs and the Grecians.*

*The cleare vnſpotted faith, of Romaines we adore,*
*And vow to be their faithfull friends, both now and euermore.*
*Sing out you Muſes nine, to Ioues eternall fame,*
*Sing out the honour due to Rome, and Titus worthy name.*
*Sing out (I ſay) the prayſe, of Titus and his faith:*
*By whom you haue preſerued bene, from ruine, dole, and death.*

*Quintius curteſie and good nature.*

*Emulation betwixt Titus Quintius and Philopœmen.*

*Titus Quintius ſayings.*

*Antiochus Ambaſſadours do boaſt of their kinges great armie.*

Now the CHALCIDIANS did not alone onely honour and reuerence *Titus*, but he was generally honoured alſo by the GRECIANS as he deſerued, and was maruellouſly beloued for his curteſie and good nature: which argueth plainly that they did not fainedly honour him, or through compulſion, but euen from the hart. For though there was ſome iarre betwixt him and *Philopœmen* at the firſt about ſeruice, for emulation of honour, and after betwixt him and *Diaphanes* alſo, both generals of the ACHAIANS: yet he neuer bare thẽ any malice in his hart, neither did his anger moue him at any time to hurt them any way, but he euer ended the heat of his wordes, in counſell and aſſemblies, where he vttered his minde franckely to them both. Therefore none thought him euer a cruell man, or eger of reuenge: but many haue thought him raſh, and haſty of nature. Otherwiſe, he was as good a companion in company as poſsibly could be, and would vſe as pleaſaunt wiſe mirth as any man. As when he ſayd to the ACHAIANS, on a time, who would needes vniuſtly vſurpe the Ile of the ZACYNTHIANS, to diſwade them from it: my Lordes of ACHAIA, if ye once go out of PELOPONNESVS, you put your ſelues in daunger, as the torteyſes do, when they thruſt their heades out of their ſhell. And the firſt time he parled with *Philip* to treate of peace: whẽ *Philip* ſaid vnto him, you haue brought many mẽ with you and I am come alone. Indeede it is true you are alone, ſayd he, becauſe you made all your friendes and kinne to be ſlaine. An other time, *Dinocrates* MESSINIAN being in ROME, after he had taken in his cuppes in a feaſt where he was, he diſguiſed himſelfe in womans apparell, and daunced in that manner: & the next day following he went vnto *Titus*, to pray him to helpe him through with his ſute, which was, to make the citie of MESSINA to rebell, and leaue the tribe of the ACHAIANS. *Titus* made him aunſwere, that he would thinke vpon it: but I can but wonder at you (ſayd he) how you can daunce in womans apparell, and ſing at a feaſt, hauing ſuch matters of weight in your head. In the counſell of the ACHAIANS, king *Antiochus* Ambaſſadours being come thither, to moue them to breake their league with the ROMAINES, & make alliance with the king their maiſter, they made a maruellous large diſcourſe of the great multitude of ſouldiers that were in their maiſters army, and did number them by many diuerſe names. Whereunto *Titus* aunſwered, and told how a friend of his hauing bidden him one night to ſupper, and hauing ſerued ſo many diſhes of meate to his bord, as he was angry with him for beſtowing ſo great coſt vpon him, as wondering how he could ſo ſodainly get ſo much ſtore of meate, and of ſo diuerſe kindes. My friend ſayd to me againe, that all was but porke dreſſed ſo many wayes, & with ſo ſundry ſawces. And euẽ ſo (quod *Titus*) my Lordes of ACHAIA, eſteeme not king *Antiochus* army the more, to heare of ſo many men of armes, numbred with their launces, & of ſuch a number of footemen with their pykes: for they are all but SYRIANS, diuerſly armed, onely with ill fauored litle weapons. Furthermore, after *Titus* had done theſe things, and that the warre with *Antiochus* was ended, he was choſen Cenſor at ROME, with the ſon of that ſame *Marcellus*, who had bene fiue times Cōſull. This office is of great dignitie, and as a man may ſay, the crowne of all the honours that a citizen of ROME can haue in their common wealth. They put off the Senate, foure men onely, but they were not famous. They did receiue all into the number of citizens of ROME, that would preſent themſelues to be enrolled in their cōmon regiſter: with a prouiſo, that they were borne free by father & mother. They were compelled to do it, by *Terẽtius Culeo*, Tribune of the people, who to deſpight the nobilitie, perſwaded the people of ROME to commaunde it ſo. Now at that time, two of the nobleſt & moſt famous men of ROME were great enemies one againſt an other: *Publius Scipio* AFRICAN, and *Marcus* P*orcius Cato*. Of theſe two, *Titus* named *Publius Scipio* AFRICAN, to be prince of the Senate, as the chiefeſt and worthieſt perſon in the citie: & got the diſpleaſure of the other, which was *Cato*, by this miſhap. *Titus* had a brother called *Lucius Quintius Flaminius*, nothing like vnto him in condition at all: for he was ſo diſſolutely & licentiouſly giuen ouer to his pleaſure, that he forgot all comlineſſe and honeſty. This *Lucius* loued well a young boy, and caried him alwayes with him whẽ he went to the warres, or to the charge and gouernement of any prouince. This boy flattering him, one day ſaid vnto *Lucius Quintius*, that he loued him ſo well, that he did leaue the ſight of the ſwordplayers at the ſharpe, which were making ready to the fight, although he had neuer ſene man killed before: to wait vpon him. *Lucius* being very glad of the boyes wordes, aunſwered him ſtraight, thou ſhalt looſe nothing for that my boy, for I will by & by pleaſe thee as well. So he cōmaunded a condemned man to be fetched out of priſon, and withall called for the hangman, whom he willed to ſtrike off his head in the middeſt of his ſupper, that the boy might ſee him killed. *Valerius Antias* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that it was not for the loue of the boy, but of a woman which he loued. But *Titus Liuius* declareth, that in an oration which *Cato* himſelfe made, it was writtẽ, that it was one of the GAVLES: who being a traitor to his coũtry mẽ, was come to *Flaminius* gate with his wife and children, and that *Flaminius* making him come into his hall, killed him with his owne handes, to pleaſe a boy he loued, that was deſirous to ſee a man killed. Howbeit it is very likely that *Cato* wrote in this ſort, to aggrauate the offence, and to make it more cruell. For, many haue written it that it is true, and that he was no traitor, but an offendour condemned to dye: and among other, *Cicero* the oratour doth recite it in a booke he made of age, where he made it to be told vnto *Catoes* own perſon. Howſoeuer it was, *Marcus Cato* being choſen Cenſor, and clenſing the Senate of all vnworthy perſons, he put off the ſame *Lucius Quintius Flaminius*, although he had bene Conſull: which diſgrace did ſeeme to redound to his brother *Titus Quintius Flaminius* alſo. Whereupō both the brethren came weeping with all humilitie before the people, and made a petition that ſeemed very reaſonable and ciuill: which was that they would commaunde *Cato* to come before them, to declare the cauſe openly why he had with ſuch open ſhame defaced ſo noble a houſe as theirs was. *Cato* then without delay, or ſhrinking backe, came with his companion into the market place, where he asked *Titus* out aloude, if he knew nothing of the ſupper where ſuch a fact was committed. *Titus* aunſwered, he knew not of it. Then *Cato* opened the whole matter as it was, and in the end of his tale, he bad *Lucius Quintius* ſweare openly, if he would deny that he had ſayd was true. *Lucius* aunſwered not a word. Whereupon the people judged the ſhame was iuſtly layd vpon him: and ſo to honour *Cato*, they did accompany him from the pulpit for orations, home vnto his owne houſe. But *Titus* being much offended at the diſgrace of his bro-

*Titus Quintius wittie anſwere to the Ambaſſadours bragges.*

*T. Quintius choſen Cenſor with Marcellus.*

*T. Scipio, and M. P. Cato great enemies. Secret grudge betwixt Titus and Cato.*

*A cruell deede of Lucius Quintius.*

*Cato being Cenſor did put Lucius Quintius Flaminius off the Senate.*

*T. Quintius vnworthy acts againſt Cato.*

*Lucius Quintius reſtored to his place by the people.*

*T. Quintius ambition.*

*T. Quintius cauſe of Hannibals death.*

*Titus ſent Ambaſſadour vnto Pruſias king of Bithynia.*

*Hannibal deceiued by an oracle co͂cerning his death.*

ther, became enemy to *Cato*, and fell in with thoſe that of long time had hated him. And ſo by practiſe he procured of the Senate, that all bargaines of leaſes, and all deedes of ſales made by *Cato* during his office, were called in, and made voyde: and cauſed many ſutes alſo to be commenced againſt him. Wherein, I can not ſay he did wiſely or ciuilly, to become mortall enemie to an honeſt man, a good citizen, and duetifull in his office, for his yeare, but vnworthy kinſeman, who had iuſtly deſerued the ſhame layed vpon him. Notwithſtanding, ſhortly after when the people were aſſembled in the Theater to ſee games played, and the Senatours were ſet according to their cuſtome, in the moſt honorable places: *Lucius Flaminius* came in alſo, who in lowly & humble manner went to ſit downe in the furtheſt ſeates of the Theater, without regard of his former honour: which whe͂ the people ſaw, they tooke pity of him, & could not abide to ſee him thus diſhonored. So they cried out to haue him come and ſit among the other Senatours the Conſuls, who made him place, and receiued him accordingly. But to returne againe to *Titus*. The naturall ambition and couetous greedy minde he had of honour, was very well taken and eſteemed, ſo long as he had any occaſion offered him to exerciſe it in the warres, which we haue ſpoken of before. For, after he had bene Conſull, of his owne ſeeking he became a Colonell of a thouſand footemen, not being called to it by any man. So whe͂ he began to ſtoupe for age, and that he had giuen ouer as a man at the laſt caſt, to beare office any longer in the ſtate: they ſaw plainly he was ambitious beyond meaſure, to ſuffer himſelfe in old age to be ouercome with ſuch youthfull violence, being farre vnmeete for any of his yeares. For me thinkes his ambition was the onely cauſe that moued him to procure *Hannibals* death, which bred him much diſliking and ill opinio͂ with many. For, after *Hanniball* had fled out of his own countrey, he went firſt vnto king *Antiochus*: who, after he loſt the battell in PHRYGIA, was glad the ROMAINES graunted him peace with ſuch conditions as themſelues would. Wherefore *Hanniball* fled againe from him, and after he had long wandered vp and down, at the length he came to the realme of BITHYNIA, and remained there about king *Pruſias*, the ROMAINES knowing it well enough: and becauſe *Hanniball* was then an old broken ma͂, of no force nor power, & one whom fortune had ſpurned at her feete, they made no more reckening of him. But *Titus* being ſent Ambaſſadour by the Senate, vnto P*ruſias* king of BITHYNIA, and finding *Hanniball* there, it grieued him to ſee him aliue. So that notwithſtanding P*ruſias* maruellouſly intreated him, to take pitie vpon *Hanniball* a poore old man, & his friend who came to him for ſuccour: yet he could not perſwade *Titus* to be content he ſhould liue. *Hanniball* long before had receiued aunſwere of his death from an oracle, to this effect.

*The land of Lybia, ſhall couer vnder mowld,*
*The valiant corps of Hanniball, when he is dead and cold.*

*Hannibal kept at Libyſſa in Bithynia.*

*Hannibals death.*

*Midas and Themiſtocles poyſoned themſelues.*

*Hannibals laſt wordes.*

So *Hanniball* vnderſtood that of LYBIA, as if he ſhould haue dyed in AFRICKE, and bene buried in CARTHAGE. There is a certaine ſandy country in BITHYNIA neare to the ſeas ſide, where there is a litle village called LIBYSSA, and where *Hanniball* remained continually. He miſtruſting king *Pruſias* faint hart, and fearing the ROMAINES malice alſo, had made ſeuen priuy caues and vaultes vnder ground long before, that he might ſecretly go out at either of them which way he would, and euery one of them came to the maine vault where himſelfe did lye, and could not be diſcerned outwardly. When it was told him that *Titus* had willed P*ruſias* to deliuer him into his hands, he ſought then to ſaue himſelfe by thoſe mynes: but he found that all the ventes out, had watch and ward vpon them by the kings commaundement. So then he determined to kill himſelfe. Now ſome ſay, that he wound a linnen towell hard about his necke, and commaunded one of his men he ſhould ſet his knee vpon his buttocke, & wayghing hard vpon him, holding the towell faſt, he ſhould pull his necke backward with all the power and ſtrength he could, and neuer linne preſsing on him, till he had ſtrangled him. Other ſay that he drancke bulles bloud, as *Midas* and *Themiſtocles* had done before him. But *Titus Liuius* writeth, that he had poyſon which he kept for ſuch a purpoſe, and tempered it in a cup he held in his handes, and before he dranke, he ſpake theſe wordes. Come on, let vs deliuer the ROMAINES of this great care, ſith my life is ſo grieuous to them, that they thinke it too long to tary the naturall death of a poore old man, whom they hate ſo much: and yet *Titus* by this ſhall winne no honorable victorie, nor worthie the memorie of the auncient RO-

MAINS, who aduertiſed king *Pyrrus* their enemy, euen when he made warres with them, and had wonne battels of them, that he ſhould beware of poyſoning which was intẽded towardes him. And this was *Hannibals* end, as we finde it written. The newes whereof being come to ROME vnto the Senate, many of them thought *Titus* too violẽt and cruell, to haue made *Hanniball* kill himſelfe in that ſort, when extremitie of age had ouercome him already, and was as a birde left naked, her feathers falling from her for age: & ſo much the more, becauſe there was no inſtant occaſion offered him to vrge him to do it, but a couetous minde of honour, for that he would be chronicled to be the cauſe and author of *Hannibals* death. And then in contrariwiſe they did much honour & commend the clemencie & noble minde of *Scipio* AFRICAN. Who hauing ouercome *Hanniball* in battell, in AFRICKE ſelfe, and being then indeed to be feared, and had bene neuer ouercome before: yet he did not cauſe him to be driuen out of his country, neither did aske him of the CARTHAGINIANS, but both then, and before the battell, whẽ he parled with him of peace, he tooke *Hanniball* curteouſly by the hand, and after the battell, in the cõditions of peace he gaue them, he neuer ſpake word of hurt to *Hannibals* perſon, neither did he ſhew any crueltie to him in his miſery. And they tell how afterwardes they met againe together in the citie of EPHESVS, and as they were walking, that *Hanniball* tooke the vpper hãd of *Scipio*: & that *Scipio* bare it patiẽtly, & left not off walking for that, neither ſhewed any countenaunce of miſliking. And in entring into diſcourſe of many matters, they deſcẽded in the end to talke of auntiẽt Captaines: & *Hanniball* gaue iudgemẽt, that *Alexander* the great was the famouſeſt Captaine, *Pyrrus* the ſecond, & himſelfe the third. Then *Scipio* ſmiling, gently asked him: what wouldeſt thou ſay then, if I had not ouercome thee? Truely, quod *Hanniball*, I would not then put my ſelfe the third man, but the firſt, and aboue all the Captaines that euer were. So diuers greatly commending the goodly ſayings and deedes of *Scipio*, did maruellouſly miſlike *Titus*, for that he had (as a man may ſay) layd his handes vpon the death of an other man. Other to the contrary againe ſayd, it was well done of him, ſaying, that *Hanniball* ſo long as he liued, was a fire to the Empire of the ROMAINES, which lacked but one to blow it: and that when he was in his beſt force and luſty age, it was not his hand nor body that troubled the ROMAINES, ſo much, but his great wiſedome and skill he had in the warres, and the mortall hate he bare in his hart towardes the ROMAINES, which neither yeares, neither age would diminiſh or take away. For mens naturall conditions do remaine ſtill, but fortune doth not alwayes keepe in a ſtate, but chaungeth ſtill, and then quickeneth vp our deſires to ſet willingly vpon thoſe that warre againſt vs, becauſe they hate vs in their harts. The things which fell out afterwardes, did greatly proue the reaſons brought out for this purpoſe, in diſcharge of *Titus*. For one *Ariſtonicus*, ſonne of a daughter of a player vpon the citherne, vnder the fame & glory of *Eumenes*, whoſe baſtard he was, filled all ASIA with warre & rebellion, by reaſon the people roſe in his fauour. Again *Mithridates*, after ſo many loſſes he had receiued againſt *Sylla* and *Fimbria*, and after ſo many armies ouerthrowne by battell & warres, and after ſo many famous Captaines loſt and killed: did yet recouer againe, and came to be of power both by ſea & land againſt *Lucullus*. Truly *Hanniball* was no lower brought then *Caius Marius* had bene. For he had a king to his friend, that gaue him entertainement for him and his familie, & made him Admirall of his ſhips, and generall of his horſemen and footemen in the field. *Marius* alſo went vp and downe AFRIKE a begging for his liuing, in ſomuch as his enemies at ROME mocked him to ſcorne: & ſoone after notwithſtanding they fell downe at his feete before him, when they ſaw they were whipped, murthered, & ſlaine within ROME by his cõmandement. Thus we ſee no man can ſay certainely he is meane or great, by reaſon of the vncertaintie of things to come: cõſidering there is but one death, & change of better life. Some ſay alſo, that *Titus* did not this act alone, & of his own authoritie: but that he was ſent Ambaſſadour with *Lucius Scipio* to no other end, but to put *Hanniball* to death, by what meanes ſoeuer they could. Furthermore after this Ambaſſade, we do not finde any notable thing written of *Titus* worthy of memorie, neither in peace, nor in warres. For he dyed quietly of a naturall death at home in his country.

*Looke in Pyrrus life for the ſtorie at large.*

*Scipio Africans clemencie commended.*

*Talke betwixt Scipio African & Hanniball.*

*Hannibals iudgement of Captaines.*

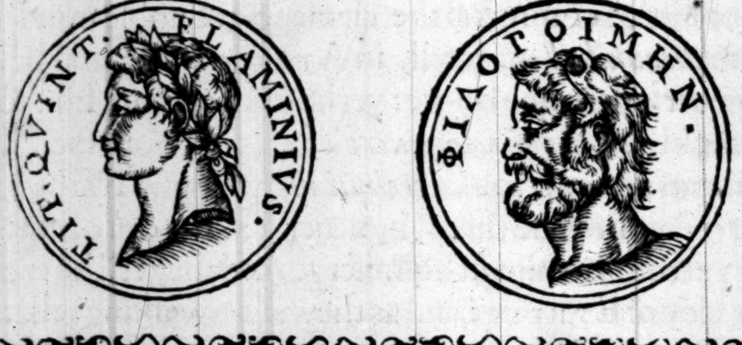
*Ariſtonicus.*

*Mithridates.*

*Marius.*

*To be meane or great in this life is nothing: but death bringeth the eſtimation.*

# THE COMPARISON OF
## *Titus Quintius Flaminius with Philopœmen.*



*T. Quintius benefites vnto Grece.*

*Philopœmens malice.*

*Titus Quintius wiſer then Philopœmen.*

*Quintius commaunded good ſouldiers: Philopœmen made good ſouldiers.*

IT is time now we come to compare them together. Therefore as touching the great benefites that came to the GRECIANS, neither Philopœmen, nor all the other former Captaines are to be compared with *Titus*. For all the aunciẽt Captaines almoſt being GRECIANS, made warres with other GRECIANS: but *Titus* being a ROMAINE, and no GRECIAN, made warres for the liberty of GRECE. When Philopœmen was not able to helpe his poore citizens diſtreſſed ſore, and vexed with warres, he ſayled away into CRETA. *Titus* hauing ouercome Philip king of MACEDON in battell, did reſtore againe to libertie all the people and cities of the ſame, which were kept before in bondage. And if any will narrowly examine the battels of either partie: they ſhall find, that Philopœmen being generall of the ACHAIANS, made more GRECIANS to be ſlaine, then *Titus* did of the MACEDONIANS, fighting with them for the libertie of the GRECIANS. And for their imperfections, the one of them was ambitious, the other was as obſtinate: the one was quicke and ſodainly angred, the other was very hard to be pacified. *Titus* left king Philip his realme and crowne after he had ouercome him, and vſed great clemency towardes the ÆTOLIANS: where Philopœmen for ſpite, and malice, tooke townes and villages from his owne natiue country, and citie, wherein he was borne, that had alwayes payed them tribute. Furthermore, *Titus* continued a ſound friend to them, to whom he had once profeſſed friendſhip, and done pleaſure vnto: and Philopœmen, in a geare and anger, was ready to take away that he had giuen, and to ouerthrow the pleaſure and good turne he had ſhewed. For Philopœmen when he had done the LACEDÆMONIANS great pleaſure, did afterwardes raſe the wals of their citie, and ſpoiled and deſtroyed all their country: and laſtly, ouerthrew their whole gouernement. It ſeemeth alſo by reaſon of his immoderate choller, he was himſelfe cauſe of his own death, for that he made more haſt then good ſpeede, to go out of time to ſet vpon thoſe of MESSINA: and not as *Titus*, who did all his affaires with wiſedome, and euer conſidered what was beſt to be done. But if we looke into the number of battels, and victories: the warre which *Titus* made againſt Philip was ended with two battels. Whereas Philopœmen in infinite battels in which he had the better, neuer left it doubtfull, but that his skill did euer helpe him the more to victory, then the good fortune he had. Moreouer, *Titus* wanne honour by meanes of the power of ROME, when it floriſhed moſt, and was in beſt proſperitie: Philopœmen made himſelfe famous by his deedes, when GRECE began to ſtoupe and fall all together. So that the deedes of the one, were cõmon to all the ROMAINES: & the deedes of the other, were priuate to himſelfe alone. For *Titus* was generall ouer good and valiant ſouldiers, that were already trained to his hand:

and *Philopœmen* being choſen Generall, did traine his men himſelfe, & made them afterwards very expert and valiant, that were but meane and greene ſouldiers before. And whereas *Philopœmen* had continuall wars with the GRECIANS, it was not for any good fortune he had, but that it made a certaine proofe of his valiantneſſe. For where all other things are anſwerable to his, there we muſt iudge that ſuch as ouercome, haue the moſt courage. Now *Philopœmen* making warres with the moſt warlike nations of all GRECE, (as the CRETANS, and the LACEDÆMONIANS) did ouercome the ſubtilleſt of them, by fineneſſe and policie: and the moſt valiant by proweſſe and hardineſſe. But *Titus* ouercame, by putting that only in practiſe, which was already found and ſtabliſhed: as the diſcipline of the warres, and order of battell, in the which his ſouldiers had long before bene trained. Whereas *Philopœmen* brought into his countrie, both the one and the other, and altered all the order which before they were accuſtomed vnto. So that the chiefeſt point how to winne a battell, was found out a new, and brought in by the one, into a place where it was neuer before: and onely employed by the other, which could very good skill to vſe it, and had found it out already before. Againe, touching the valiant actes done in the perſon of themſelues, many notable actes may be tolde of *Philopœmen*, but none of *Titus*: but rather to the contrarie. For there was one *Archedamus* an ÆTOLIAN, who flouting *Titus* one day, ſaid in his reproche: that at a day of battell, when *Philopœmen* ran with his ſworde in his hand, to that ſide where he ſaw the MACEDONIANS fighting, and making head againſt the enemie, *Titus* held vp his hands vnto heauen, and was buſie at his praiers to the gods, not ſtirring one foote, when it was more time to handle the ſword, and to fight of all hands. All the goodly deeds *Titus* euer did, were done alwaies as a Conſull, or lieutenant, or a magiſtrate: whereas *Philopœmen* ſhewed himſelf vnto the ACHAIANS, a man no leſſe valiant, and of execution, being out of office, then when he was a General. For when he was a Generall, he did driue *Nabis* the tyrant of the LACEDÆMONIANS out of MESSINA, and deliuered the MESSINIANS out of bondage: and being a priuate man, he ſhut the gates of the citie of SPARTA, in the face of *Diophanes* (Generall of the ACHAIANS) and of *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, and kept them both from comming in, and therby ſaued the city from ſacking. Thus being borne to command, he knew not onely how to command according to the law, but could commaund the law it ſelfe vpon neceſſity, and when the commonwealth required it. For at ſuch a time he would not tary, while the Magiſtrates which ſhould gouerne him, did giue him authority to commaund, but he tooke it of himſelfe, and vſed them when the time ſerued: eſteeming him indeed their Generall, that knew better then they what was to be done, then him whom they choſe of themſelues. And therefore they do well, that do commend *Titus* actes, for his clemencie, and curteſie, vſed to the GRECIANS: but much more the noble and valiant acts of *Philopœmen* vnto the ROMAINES. For it is much eaſier to pleaſure and gratifie the weake, then it is to hurt and reſiſt the ſtrong. Therefore, ſithence we haue throughly examined, and compared the one with the other: it is very harde to iudge altogether the difference that is betwene them. Peraduenture therefore the iudgement would not ſeeme very ill, if we doe giue the GRECIAN, for diſcipline of warre, the preheminence and praiſe of a good Captaine: and to the ROMAINE, for iuſtice and clemencie, the name and dignity of a moſt iuſt and courteous gentleman.

*A Generall muſt not be at his praiers, when he ſhould occupy his ſworde.*

*Quintius clemencie to the Grecians: Philopœmens loue to the Romaines.*

*The end of Titus Quintius Flaminius life.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Pyrtus.*

PYRHVS.R.EPI

*Pyrrus kinde-red, and beginning of the kingdome of Epirus.*

*Pyrrus, redde.*

*How Pyrrus being an infant was ſaued*

IT is written, that ſince *Noes* floud, the firſt king of the Thesprotians, and of the Molossians, was P*haëton*, one of thoſe who came with P*elaſgus*, into the realme of Epirvs. But ſome ſay otherwiſe, that *Deucalion*, and his wiſe P*yrra* remained there, after they had built and founded the temple of Dodone, in the country of the Molossians. But how ſoeuer it was, a great while after that, *Neoptolemus* the ſonne of *Achilles*, bringing thither a great nũber of people with him, conquered the country, and after him left a ſucceſſion of kings, which were called after his name, the P*yrrides*: becauſe that from his infancie he was ſurnamed *Pyrrus*, as much to ſay, as redde: and one of his legitimate ſonnes whom he had by *Lanaſſa*, the daughter of *Cleodes*, the ſonne of *Hillus*, was alſo named by him P*yrrus*. And this is the cauſe why *Achilles* is honored as a god in Epirvs, being called in their language, *Aſpetos*, that is to ſay, mighty, or very great. But from the firſt kings of that race vntill the time of *Tharrytas*, there is no memory nor mention made of them, nor of their power that raigned in the meane time, becauſe they all became very barbarous, and vtterly voide of ciuility. *Tharrytas* was indeed the firſt that beautified the cities of his country with the Grecian tongue, brought in ciuill lawes and cuſtomes, and made his name famous to the poſterity that followed. This *Tharrytas* left a ſonne called *Alcetas*, of *Alcetas* came *Arymbas*, of *Arymbas* and *Troiade* his wife, came *AEacides*, who maried P*hthia*, the daughter of *Menon* Thessalian: a famous man in the time of the warres ſurnamed *Lamiacus*, and one that had farre greater authority then any other of the cõfederats, after *Leoſthenes*. This *AEacides* had two daughters by his wife P*hthia*, to ſay, *Deidamia* and *Troiade*, and one ſonne called P*yrrus*. In his time the Molossians rebelled, draue him out of his kingdome, and put the crowne into the hands of the ſonnes of *Neoptolemus*. Wherupon all the friends of *AEacides* that could be taken, were generally murthered, & ſlaine outright. *Androclides* & *Angelus* in the meane time ſtole away P*yrrus*, being yet but a ſuckling babe (whome his enemies neuertheleſſe egerly ſought for to haue deſtroyed) and fled away with him as faſt as poſsibly they might, with few ſeruants, his nurſes and neceſſarie women only to looke to the childe, and giue it ſucke: by reaſon wherof their flight was much hindred, ſo as they could go no great iorneis, but that they might eaſily be ouertaken by them that followed. For which cauſe they put the childe into the handes of

*Androclion*, *Hippias*, and *Neander*, three luſty young men, whom they truſted with him, and commaunded them to runne for life to a certaine citie of MACEDON, called MEGARES: and they themſelues in the meane time, partly by intreaty, and partly by force, made ſtaye of thoſe that followed them till night. So as with much a do hauing driuen them back, they ran after them that caried the childe *Pyrrus*, whom they ouertooke at ſunne ſet. And now, weening they had bene ſafe, and out of all daunger: they found it cleane contrarie. For when they came to the riuer vnder the towne walles of MEGARES, they ſaw it ſo rough and ſwift, that it made them afraide to beholde it: and when they gaged the forde, they found it vnpoſſible to wade through, it was ſo ſore riſen and troubled with the fall of the raine, beſides that the darkneſſe of the night made euery thing ſeeme fearfull vnto them. So as they now that caried the childe, thought it not good to venter the paſſage ouer of themſelues alone, with the women that tended the childe: but hearing certajne countrimen on the other ſide, they prayed and beſought them in the name of the gods, that they would helpe them to paſſe ouer the childe, ſhewing *Pyrrus* vnto them a farre off. But the countrimen by reaſon of the roaring of the riuer vnderſtoode them not. Thus they continued a long ſpace, the one crying, the other liſtning, yet could they not vnderſtand one an other, till at the laſt one of the company bethought himſelfe to pill of a peece of the barke of an oke, and vpon that he wrote with the tongue of a buckle, the hard fortune and neceſſitie of the childe. Which he tied to a ſtone to giue it weight, and ſo threw it ouer to the other ſide of the riuer: other ſay that he did prick the barke through with the point of a dart which he caſt ouer. The countrimen on the other ſide of the riuer, hauing read what was written, and vnderſtanding thereby the preſent danger the childe was in: felled downe trees in all the haſt they could poſsibly, bound them together, and ſo paſſed ouer the riuer. And it fortuned that the firſt man of them that paſſed ouer, and tooke the childe, was called *Achilles*: the reſidue of the countrimen paſſed ouer alſo, and tooke the other that came with the childe, and conueyed them ouer as they came firſt to hand. And thus hauing eſcaped their hands, by eaſie iorneis they came at the length vnto *Glaucias* king of ILLYRIA, whom they found in his houſe ſitting by his wife: and laide downe the childe in the middeſt of the flower before him. The king hereupon ſtaied a long time without vttering any one word, waihging with himſelfe what was beſt to be done: becauſe of the feare he had of *Caſſander*, a mortall enemy of *AEacides*. In the meane time, the childe *Pyrrus* creeping of all foure, tooke holde of the kings gowne, and ſcrawled vp by that, and ſo got vp on his feete againſt the kings knees. At the firſt, the king laughed to ſee the childe: but after it pitied him againe, becauſe the childe ſeemed like an humble ſuter that came to ſeeke ſanctuarie in his armes. Other ſay that *Pyrrus* came not to *Glaucias*, but vnto the alter of the familiar gods, alongſt the which he got vp on his feete, and embraced it with both his hands. Which *Glaucias* imagining to be done by gods prouidence, preſently deliuered the childe to his wife, gaue her the charge of him, and willed her to ſee him brought vp with his owne. Shortly after, his enemies ſent to demaund the childe of him: and moreouer, *Caſſander* cauſed two hundred talents to be offered him, to deliuer the childe *Pyrrus* into his hands. Howbeit *Glaucias* would neuer graunt thereunto, but contrarily, when *Pyrrus* was come to twelue yeares olde, brought him into his country of EPIRVS with an army, and ſtabliſhed him king of the realme againe. *Pyrrus* had a great maieſty in his countenance, but yet indeed more fearefull then friendly. He had alſo no teeth in his vpper iawe that ſtood diſtinctly one from an other, but one whole bone throughout his gumme, marked a litle at the top onely, with certaine riftes in the place where the teeth ſhould be deuided. Men held opinion alſo, that he did heale them that were ſicke of the ſplene, by ſacrifieing a white cocke, and touching the place of the ſpleene on the left ſide of them that were ſicke, ſoftly with his right foote, they lying on their backes: and there was not ſo poore nor ſimple a man that craued this remedie of him, but he gaue it him, and tooke the cocke he ſacrificed, for reward of the remedy, which pleaſed him very well. They ſay alſo that the great toe of his right foote had ſome ſecret vertue in it. For when he was dead, and that they had burnt all parts of his body, and conſumed it to aſhes: his great toe was whole, and had no hurt at all. But of that, we will write more hereafter. Now, when he was ſeauenteene yeares of age, thinking himſelfe ſure enough of his kingdome, it chanced him to make a iorney into ILLY-

*Megares a citty of Macedon.*

*Glaucias king of Illyria.*

*Pyrrus countenance and teeth.*

*Pyrrus healed them that were ſicke of the ſplene.*

*The fire could not burne Pyrrus great toe.*

*Pyrrus realme taken from him in his abſence.*

*Pyrrus valiantneſſe at the battell of Hipſus.*

*Pyrrus behauiour.*

*Pyrrus maried to Antigona the daughter of Philip king of Macedon, and of his wiſe Berenice.*

*Pyrrus reſtored to his kingdome againe.*

*Pyrrus deuideth the realm of Epirus with Neoptolemus.*

RIA, where he maried one of *Glaucias* daughters, with whom he had bene brought vp. But his backe was no ſooner turned, but the MOLOSSIANS rebelled againe againſt him, & draue out his friends & ſeruants, and deſtroied all his goods, and yeelded themſelues vnto his aduerſarie *Neoptolemus*. King *Pyrrus* hauing thus loſt his kingdome, and ſeeing himſelſe forſaken on all ſides, went to *Demetrius* (*Antigonus* ſonne) that had maried his ſiſter ***Deidamia***, who in her young age was aſſured to ***Alexander***, the ſonne of ***Alexander*** the great, and of ***Roxane***, and was called his wife. But when all that race was brought to wicked end, ***Demetrius*** thē maried her, being come to full and able age. And in that great battell which was ſtriken neere to the citie of HIPSVS, where all the kings fought together, ***Pyrrus*** being then but a young man, & with ***Demetrius***, put them all to flight that fought with him, and was worthily reputed for the valianteſt prince amongſt them all. Furthermore, when ***Demetrius*** was ouercome, and had loſt the battell: *Pyrrus* neuer forſooke him, but faithfully did keepe for him the cities of GRECE, which he put into his hands. And afterwards when peace was concluded betwixt ***Demetrius*** and *Ptolomie*, ***Pyrrus*** was ſent an hoſtage for ***Demetrius*** into the realme of ÆGIPTE: where he made P*tolomie* know (both in hunting and in other exerciſes of his perſon) that he was very ſtrong, harde, and able to endure any labour. Furthermore perceiuing that ***Berenice*** amongſt all king P*tolomies* wiues, was beſt beloued and eſteemed of her husband, both for her vertue and wiſedome: he began to entertaine and honour her aboue all the reſt. For he was a man that could tell how to humble himſelfe towards the great (by whom he might winne benefit) and knew alſo how to creepe into their credit: and in like manner was he a great ſcorner and deſpiſer of ſuch as were his inferiours. Moreouer, for that he was found maruellous honorable and of faire condition, he was preferred before all other young princes, to be the husband of ***Antigona***, the daughter of Queene ***Berenice***, whom ſhe had by P*hillip*, before ſhe was maried vnto P*tolomie*. From thenceforth growing through the alliance of that mariage, more and more into eſtimation and fauour by meanes of his wife ***Antigona***, who ſhewed her ſelfe very vertuous and louing towards him: he found meanes in the end, to get both men & money to returne againe into the realme of EVIRVS, and to conquer it: ſo was he then very well receiued of the people, and the better, for the malice they bare to *Neoptolemus*, becauſe he dealt both hardly and cruelly with them. That notwithſtanding, ***Pyrrus*** fearing leaſt *Neoptolemus* would repaire vnto ſome of the other kings, to ſeeke aide againſt him, thought good to make peace with him. Wherupon it was agreed betweene them, that they ſhould both together be kings of EPIRVS. But in proceſſe of time, ſome of their men ſecretly made ſtrife againe betweene them, and ſet them at defiance one with an other: and the chiefeſt cauſe as it is ſaied, that angered *Pyrrus* moſt, grew vpon this. The kings of EPIRVS had an ancient cuſtome of great antiquity, after they had made ſolemne ſacrifice vnto ***Iupiter Martiall***, in a certaine place in the prouince of MOLOSSIDE, called PASSARON) to take their othe, & to be ſworne to the EPIROTES, that they would raigne well and iuſtly, according to the lawes and ordinances of the countrie: and to receiue the ſubiects othes interchangeably alſo, that they would defend and maintaine them in their kingdome, according to the lawes in like maner. This ceremony was done in the preſence of both the kings, and they with their friends did both giue and receiue preſents each of other. At this meeting and ſolemnitie, among other, one *Gelon* a moſt faithfull ſeruant and aſſured friend vnto ***Neoptolemus***, who beſides great ſhewes of friendſhip and honour he did vnto P*yrrus*, gaue him two paire of draught oxen, which one ***Myrtilus*** a cupbearer of P*yrrus* being preſent, and ſeeing, did craue of his maiſter. But P*yrrus* denyed to giue them vnto him, whereat ***Myrtilus*** was very angrie. *Gelon* perceiuing that ***Myrtilus*** was angrie, prayed him to ſup with him that night. Now ſome ſay, he ſought to abuſe *Myrtilus*, becauſe he was faire and young: and began to perſwade him after ſupper to take part with *Neoptolemus*, and to poiſon *Pyrrus*. ***Myrtilus*** made as though he was willing to giue eare to this perſwaſion, and to be well pleaſed withall. But in the meane time, he went and tolde his maiſter of it, by whoſe commaundement he made *Alexicrates*, P*yrrus* chiefe cupbearer, to talke with *Gelon* about this practiſe, as though he had alſo giuen his conſent to it, and was willing to be partaker of the enterpriſe. This did P*yrrus* to haue two witneſſes, to prooue the pretended poyſoning of him. Thus *Gelon* being finely deceiued, and

*Neoptolemus* alſo with him, both imagining they had cunningly ſpunne the thred of their treaſon: *Neoptolemus* was ſo glad of it, that he could not keepe it to himſelfe, but told it to certaine of his friends. And on a time going to be mery with his ſiſter, he could not keepe it in, but muſt be pratling of it to her, ſuppoſing no body had heard him but her ſelfe, becauſe there was no liuing creature neere them, ſauing P*hænareta Samons* wife, the kings chiefe heardman of all his beaſts, and yet ſhe was laide vpon a little bed by, and turned towards the wall: ſo that ſhe ſeemed as though ſhe had ſlept. But hauing heard all their talke, and no body miſtruſting her: the next morning ſhe went to *Antigona* king P*yrrus* wife, and told her euery word what ſhe had heard *Neoptolemus* ſay to his ſiſter. P*yrrus* hearing this, made no countenance of any thing at that time. But hauing made ſacrifice vnto the gods, he bad *Neoptolemus* to ſupper to his houſe, where he ſlue him, being well informed before of the goodwill the chiefeſt men of the realme did beare him, who wiſhed him to diſpatche *Neoptolemus*, and not to content himſelfe with a peece of EPIRVS only, but to follow his naturall inclination, being borne to great things: and for this cauſe therefore, this ſuſpition falling out in the meane while, he preuented *Neoptolemus*, and ſlue him firſt. And furthermore, remẽbring the pleaſures he had receiued of P*tolomie* and *Berenice*, he named his firſt ſonne by his wife *Antigona*, P*tolomie*, and hauing built a city in the PRESCQVE, an Ile of EPIRVS, did name it BERENICIDA. When he had done that, imagining great matters in his head, but more in his hope, he firſt determined with himſelfe how to winne that which lay neereſt vnto him: and ſo tooke occaſion by this meanes, firſt to ſet foote into the Empire of MACEDON. The eldeſt ſonne of *Caſſander*, called *Antipater*, put his owne mother *Theſſalonica* to death, and draue his brother *Alexander* out of his owne country, who ſent to *Demetrius* for helpe, and called in P*yrrus* alſo to his aide. *Demetrius* being troubled with other matters, could not ſo quickly go thither. And P*yrrus* being arriued there, demaunded for his charge ſuſteined, the citie of NYMPHÆA, with all the ſea coaſtes of MACEDON: and beſides all that, certaine landes alſo that were not belonging to the auncient crowne and reuenues of the kings of MACEDON, but were added vnto it by force of armes, as *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and *Amphilochia*. All theſe, the young king *Alexander* leauing vnto him, he tooke poſſeſſion thereof, and put good garriſons into the ſame in his owne name: and conquering the reſt of MACEDON in the name of *Alexander*, put his brother *Antipater* to great diſtreſſe. In the meane time king *Lyſimachus* lacked no good will to helpe *Antipater* with his force, but being buſied in other matters, had not the meane to do it. Howbeit knowing very well that *Pyrrus* in acknowledging the great pleaſures he had receiued of *Ptolomie*, would denie him nothing: he determined to write counterfeit letters to him in *Ptolomies* name, and thereby inſtantly to pray and require him to leaue off the warres begun againſt *Antipater*, and to take of him towards the defraying of his charges, the ſumme of three hundred talents. *Pyrrus* opening the letters, knew ſtraight that this was but a fetche and deuiſe of *Lyſimachus*. For king *Ptolomies* common manner of greeting of him, which he vſed at the beginning of his letters, was not in them obſerued: To my ſonne *Pyrrus*, health. But in thoſe counterfeit was, king *Ptolomie*, vnto king *Pyrrus*, health. Whereupon he preſently pronounced *Lyſimachus* for a naughty man: neuertheleſſe, afterwards he made peace with *Antipater*, and they met together at a day appointed, to be ſworne vpon the ſacrifices vnto the articles of peace. There were three beaſts brought to be ſacrificed, a goate, a bull, and a ramme: of the which, the ramme fell downe dead of himſelfe before he was touched, whereat all the ſtanders by fell a laughing. But there was a Soothſaier, one *Theodotus*, that perſwaded P*yrrus* not to ſweare: ſaying, that this ſigne and token of the gods did threaten one of the three kings with ſodaine death. For which cauſe P*yrrus* concluded no peace. Now *Alexanders* warres being ended, *Demetrius* notwithſtanding came to him, knowing well enough at his cõming that *Alexander* had no more neede of his aide, and that he did it onely but to feare him. They had not bene many dayes together, but the one began to miſtruſt the other, and to ſpie all the wayes they could to intrap each other: but *Demetrius* embracing the firſt occaſion offered, preuented *Alexander*, and ſlue him, being a young man, and proclaimed himſelfe king of MACEDON in his roome. Now *Demetrius* had certaine quarrels before againſt P*yrrus*, becauſe he had ouerrun the country of THESSALIE: and furthermore, greedy couetouſneſſe to haue the

*Pyrrus ſlue Neoptolemus.*

*Berenicida, a city of Epirus in the Ile of Preſcque.*

*Pyrrus firſt iourney into Macedon.*

*King Lyſimachus craft to deceiue Pyrrus.*

*Theodotus iudgement, a Soothſayer.*

*Pyrrus quarrell and warre with Demetrius.*

more(which is a common vice with princes and noble men)made,that being ſo neere neighbours,the one ſtoode in feare and miſtruſt of the other, and yet much more after the death of *Deidamia*. But now that they both occupied all MACEDON betwene them,and were to make diuiſion of one ſelfe kingdome. Now I ſay began the matter and occaſion of quarrell, to grow the greater betwene them. Wherupon *Demetrius* went with his armie to ſet vpon the ÆTOLIANS, and hauing conquered the country, left *Pantauchus* his Lieutenant there with a great armie: and himſelfe in perſon in the meane time, marched againſt *Pyrrus*, and *Pyrrus* on the other ſide againſt him. They both miſſed of meeting, and *Demetrius* going on further on the one ſide,entred into the realme of EPIRVS, and brought a great ſpoile away with him: *Pyrrus* on the other ſide marched on,till he came to the place where *Pantauchus* was. To whome he gaue battell,and it was valiantly fought out betweene the ſouldiers of either party, but ſpecially betweene the two Generals. For doubtleſſe, *Pantauchus* was the valianteſt Captaine,the ſtouteſt man,and of the greateſt experience in armes, of all the Captaines and ſouldiers *Demetrius* had. Whereupon, *Pantauchus* truſting in his ſtrength and courage, aduanced himſelfe forwards,and luſtely chalenged the combat of *Pyrrus*. *Pyrrus* on the other ſide being inferiour to no king in valianteſſe, nor in deſire to win honour, as he that would aſcribe vnto himſelfe the glory of *Achilles*,more for the imitation of his valiancie, then for that he was deſcended of his bloud: paſſed through the middeſt of the battell vnto the firſt rancke, to buckle with *Pantauchus*. Thus they began to charge one an other, firſt with their dartes, and then comming nearer,fought with their ſwords,not only artificially, but alſo with great force and furie: vntill ſuch time as *Pyrrus* was hurte in one place,and he hurt *Pantauchus* in two. The one neere vnto his throte and the other in his legge: ſo as in the ende *Pyrrus* made him turne his backe,and threw him to the ground, but neuertheleſſe killed him not. For,ſo ſoone as he was downe,his men tooke him,and caried him away. But the EPIROTES encoraged by the victorie of their king,and the admiration of his valiantneſſe, ſtuck too it ſo luſtily, that in the end they brake the battell of the MACEDONIAN footmen: & hauing put them to flight,followed them ſo liuely, that they ſlue a great number of them, and tooke fiue thouſand priſoners. This ouerthrowe did not ſo much fill the hearts of the MACEDONIANS with anger,for the loſſe they had receiued,nor with the hate conceiued againſt *Pyrrus*: as it wanne *Pyrrus* great fame and honour,making his courage and valiantneſſe to be wondred at of all ſuch as were preſent at the battell that ſaw him fight,and how he laide about him. For they thought that they ſaw in his face the very life and agilitie of *Alexander* the great, and the right ſhadowe as it were, ſhewing the force and fury of *Alexander* himſelfe in that fight. And where other kings did but onely counterfeit *Alexander* the great in his purple garments,and in numbers of ſouldiers and gardes about their perſons, and in a certaine faſhion and bowing of their necks a litle, and in vttering his ſpeech with an high voice: *Pyrrus* onely was like vnto him,and followed him in his marſhall deeds and valiant actes. Furthermore,for his experience and skill in warlike diſcipline,the bookes he wrote himſelfe thereof, doe amply prooue and make manifeſt. Furthermore, they reporte, that king *Antigonus* being asked, whome he thought to be the greateſt Captaine: made aunſwer, *Pyrrus*, ſo farre forth as he might liue to be olde,ſpeaking only of the captaines of his time. But *Hanniball* generally ſaid, *Pyrrus* was the greateſt Captaine of experience and skill in warres of all other, *Scipio* the ſecond, and himſelfe the third: as we haue written in the life of *Scipio*. So it ſeemeth that *Pyrrus* gaue his whole life and ſtudie to the diſcipline of warres,as that which indeed was princely and meete for a king,making no reckoning of all other knowledge. And furthermore touching this matter, they report that he being at a feaſt one day, a queſtion was asked him, whom he thought to be the beſt plaier of the flute, *Python* or *Cepheſias*: whereunto he aunſwered, that *Polyperchon* in his opinion was the beſt Captaine,as if he would haue ſaid, that was the onely thing a prince ſhould ſeeke for,and which he ought chiefly to learne and know. He was very gentle & familiar with his friends, eaſie to forgiue when any had offended him,and maruellous deſirous to requite and acknowledge any curteſie or pleaſure by him receiued. And that was the cauſe why he did very vnpaciently take the death of *AEropus*,not ſo much for his death (which he knew was a common thing to euery liuing creature)as for that he was angry with himſelfe he had deferred the time

ſo

*Pantauchus, Demetrius Lieutenant in AEtolia.*

*Pyrrus fight. with Pantauchus.*

*Pyrrus victorie of Pantauchus.*

*Pyrrus likened to Alexander the great.*

*Pyrrus skill in warlike diſcipline.*

*Hannibals iudgement of Captaines.*

*Pyrrus wiſe aunſwer.*

*Pyrrus goodneſſe and curteſie.*

ſo long, that time it ſelfe had cut him off from all occaſion and meanes to requite the curteſies he had receiued of him. True it is that money lent, may be repaied againe vnto the heires of the lender: but yet it grieueth an honeſt nature, when he can not recompence the good will of the lender, of whom he hath receiued the good turne. Another time *Pyrrus* being in the city of AMBRACIA, there were certain of his friends that gaue him counſel to put a naughty man out of the city that did nothing but ſpeake ill of him. But he aunſwered, it is better (quoth he) to keepe him here ſtill, ſpeaking ill of vs but to a few: then driuing him away, to make him ſpeake ill of vs euery where. Certaine youths were brought before him on a time, who making merry together, drinking freely, were bold with the king to ſpeake their pleaſure of him in very vnduetifull ſort. So, *Pyrrus* asking them whether it was true they ſayed or ſo no: it is true, and it pleaſe your grace, ſayed one of them, we ſayed it in deede, and had not our wine failed vs, we had ſpoken a great deale more. The king laughed at it, and pardoned them. After the death of *Antigona*, hee maried many wiues to encreaſe his power withall, and to get moe friendes. For hee maried the daughter of *Autoleon* king of PÆONIA, and *Bircenna* the daughter of *Bardillis*, king of ILLYRIA and *Lanaſſa*, the daughter of *Agathocles*, tyrant of SYRACVSA, that brought him for her dower the Ile of CORPHVE, which her father had taken. By *Antigona* his firſt wife, he had a ſonne called *Ptolomie*: By *Lanaſſa*, an other called *Alexander*: and by *Bircenna*, an other (the yongeſt of all) called *Hilenus*: all which though they were martiall men by race and naturall inclination, yet were they brought vp by him in wars, and therein trained as it were euen from their cradle. They write, that one of his ſonnes being but a boy, asked him one day to which of them he would leaue his kingdome: *Pyrrus* aunſwered the boy, to him that hath the ſharpeſt ſword. That was much like the tragicall curſe wherewith *Oedipus* curſed his children.

*Certaine witty ſayings of Pyrrus.*

*Pyrrus wiues and children.*

*Let them (for me) deuide, both goods, yea rents and land:*
*VVith trenchaunt ſword, and blouddy blowes, by force of mighty hand.*

So cruell, hatefull, and beaſtly is the nature of ambition and deſire of rule. But after this battell, *Pyrrus* returned home againe to his countrey, full of honour and glory, his heart highly exalted, and his mind throughly contented. And as at his returne the EPIROTES his ſubiects called him an Eagle, he aunſwered them: if I be an Eagle, it is through you that I am ſo, for your weapons are the winges that haue raiſed mee vp. Shortly after, being aduertiſed that *Demetrius* was fallen ſicke, and in great daunger of death, he ſodainely went into MACEDON, onely to inuade it, and to make prey thereof: howbeit he had in deede almoſt taken the whole realme, and made him ſelfe Lord of all without ſtroke ſtriken. For he came as farre as the city of EDESSA, and found no reſiſtance: but rather to the contrary, many of the country willingly came to his campe, and ſubmitted them ſelues. The daunger *Demetrius* was in to looſe his realme, did moue him more: then the diſeaſe and ſickenes of his body. And on the other ſide, his friends, ſeruaunts, and Captaines, hauing gathered a great number of men of warre together in a maruellous ſhort time, marched with great ſpeede towards *Pyrrus*, being earneſtly bent to do ſome exploite againſt him: who being come into MACEDON but to make a road only vpon them, would not tary them, but fled, and flying, loſt part of his men, becauſe the MACEDONIANS followed him hard, & ſet vpon him by the way. But now, though they had driuen *Pyrrus* thus eaſily out of MACEDON, *Demetrius* for al that did not make light accompt of him: but pretending greater thinges, (as to recouer the landes and dominions of his father, with an army of an hundred thouſand fighting men, and of fiue hundred ſaile which he put to the ſea) would not ſtand to make wars againſt *Pyrrus*, neither yet leaue the MACEDONIANS (whileſt he was abſent) ſo dangerous a neighbour, and ſo ill to deale withall. But lacking leyſure to make warres with *Pyrrus*, concluded a peace with him, to the end he might with the more liberty ſet vpon the other kings. Thus now, the peace concluded betwixt *Demetrius* and *Pyrrus*, the other kinges and princes beganne to finde out *Demetrius* intent, and why he had made ſo great preparation: and being afrayed thereof, wrote vnto *Pyrrus* by their Ambaſſadors, that they wondred how he could let go ſuch oportunity and occaſion, and to tary til *Demetrius* might with better leyſure make warres vpon him. And why he choſe rather to tary & fight with him for the aulters, temples, and ſepulchers of the MOLOSSIANS, when he ſhould be

*Pyrrus called an Eagle.*

*Pyrrus inuadeth Macedon.*

*Demetrius army both by land and ſea.*

of greater power, and haue no wars elſewhere to trouble him: then now that he might eaſily driue him out of MACEDON, hauing ſo many things in hand, and being troubled as he was in other places. And conſidering alſo that very lately he had taken one of his wiues from him, with the city of CORPHVE. For *Lanaſſa* miſliking, that *Pyrrus* loued his other wiues better then her, (they being of a barbarous natiõ) got her vnto CORPHVE. & deſiring to mary ſome other king, ſent for *Demetrius*, knowing that he of all other kings would ſooneſt bee wonne thereunto. Whereupon *Demetrius* went thither, and maried her, and left a garriſon in his city of CORPHVE. Now theſe other kings that did aduertiſe *Pyrrus* in this ſort, themſelues did trouble *Demetrius* in the meane while: who tracted time, and yet went on with his preparation notwithſtanding. For on the one ſide *Ptolomy* entred GREECE with a great army by ſea, where he cauſed the cities to reuolt againſt him. And *Lyſimachus* on the other ſide alſo, entring into high MACEDON by the countrey of THRACIA, burnt and ſpoiled all as he went. *Pyrrus* alſo arming him ſelfe with them, went vnto the city of BERROEA, imagining (as afterwards it fell out) that *Demetrius* going againſt *Lyſimachus*, would leaue all the low country of MACEDON naked, without garriſon or defence. And the ſelfe ſame night that *Pyrrus* departed, he imagined that king *Alexander* the great did cal him, and alſo that he went vnto him, and found him ſicke in his bed, of whom he had very good wordes and entertainement: inſomuch as he promiſed to helpe him throughly. And *Pyrrus* imagined alſo that he was ſo bold to demaund of him againe: how (my Lord) can you helpe me, that lie ſicke in your bed? and that *Alexander* made aunſwer: with my name onely. And that moreouer he ſodainely therewithall got vp on his horſe Niſea, & rode before *Pyrrus* to guide him the way. This viſion he had in his dreame, which made him bolde, and furthermore encouraged him to goe on with his enterpriſe. By which occaſion, marching forward with all ſpeede, in few daies he ended his entended iorney to the city of BERROEA, which ſodainely he tooke at his firſt comming to it: the moſt part of his army he layed in garriſon there, the reſidue hee ſent away vnder the conduct of his Captaines, here and there, to conquer the cities thereabouts. *Demetrius* hauing intelligence hereof, and hearing alſo an ill rumor that ranne in his campe amongſt the MACEDONIANS, durſt not lead them any further, for feare leaſt (when hee ſhould come neare to *Lyſimachus* being a MACEDONIAN king by nation, and a prince eſteemed for a famous captaine) they would ſhrinke from him, and take *Lyſimachus* part: for this cauſe therefore he turned againe vpon the ſodaine againſt *Pyrrus*, as againſt a ſtrange prince, and ill beloued of the MACEDONIANS. But when he came to encampe neare him, many comming from BERROEA into his campe, blew abroad the praiſes of *Pyrrus*, ſaying, that he was a noble prince, inuincible in wars, and one that curteouſly intreated all thoſe he tooke to his party: and amongeſt thoſe, there were other that were no natural MACEDONIANS born, but ſet on by *Pyrrus*, and fained themſelues to be MACEDONIANS, who gaue out, that now occaſion was offered to ſet them at liberty, from *Demetrius* proud and ſtately rule, and to take king *Pyrrus* part, that was a curteous prince, and one that loued ſouldiers and men of war. Theſe words made the moſt part of *Demetrius* army very doubtfull, inſomuch as the MACEDONIANS looked about, to ſee if they could finde out *Pyrrus* to yeeld themſelues vnto him. He had at that preſent left off his head peece: by mean whereof, perceiuing he was not knowen, he put it on againe, and then they knew him a far off, by the ſight of his goodly faire plume, and the goates hornes which he caried on the toppe of his creaſt. Whereupon there came a great number of MACEDONIANS to his part, as vnto their ſoueraigne Lord and king, and required the watch word of him. Other put garlandes of oken boughs about their heads, becauſe they ſaw his men crowned after that ſort. And ſome were ſo bold alſo, as to goe to *Demetrius* him ſelfe, and tell him, that in their opinions he ſhould do very well and wiſely to giue place to fortune, and referre all vnto *Pyrrus*. *Demetrius* hereupon, ſeeing his campe in ſuch vprore, was ſo amaſed, that he knew not what way to take, but ſtole away ſecretly, diſguiſed in a thred bare cloke, and a hoode on his head to keepe him frõ knowledge. *Pyrrus* forthwith ſeazed vppon his campe, tooke all that hee found, and was preſentlie proclaimed in the field, king of MACEDON. *Lyſimachus* on thother ſide, came ſtraight thither after him, and ſayed that hee had holpen to chaſe *Demetrius* out of his realme, and therefore claimed halfe the kingdome with him. Wherefore, *Pyrrus* not truſting the MACEDONIANS

*Demetrius maried Lanaſſa Pyrrus wife.*

*Pyrrus dream.*

*Pyrrus ſecond iourney into Macedon.*

*Pyrrus praiſes.*

*How Pyrrus ware his head peece.*

*Pyrrus proclaimed king of Macedon.*

Macedon deuided betweene Pyrrus and Lyſimachus.

Couetouſneſſe hath no end.

Peace, and warre, vſed like money.

Pyrrus aided the Grecians againſt Demetrius.

Lyſimachus maketh warre with Pyrrus.

too farre as yet, but rather ſtanding in doubt of their faith: graunted *Lyſimachus* his deſire, and thereupon deuided all the cities and prouinces of the realme of MACEDON betweene them. This partition was profitable for them both at that preſent, and ſtoode then to good purpoſe to pacifie the warre, that otherwiſe might ſodainly haue riſen betweene them. But ſhortly after, they found that this partition was no end of their enmity, but rather a beginning of quarrell and diſſention betweene them. For they whoſe auarice and inſatiable greedy appetite, neither the ſea, the mountaines, nor the vnhabitable deſertes could containe, nor yet the confines that ſeparate ASIA from EVROPE determine: how ſhould they bee content with their owne, without vſurping others, when their fronters ioyne ſo neare together, that nothing deuides them? Sure it is not poſſible. For to ſay truely, they are willingly together by the eares, hauing theſe two curſed things rooted in them: that they continually ſeeke occaſion how to ſurpriſe each other, and either of them enuies his neighbours well doing. Howbeit in apparaunce they vſe theſe two tearmes of peace and warres, as they doe money: vſing it as they thinke good, not according to right and iuſtice, but for their priuate profite. And truely they are men of farre greater honeſty, that make open warre, and auow it: then thoſe that diſguiſe and colour the delay of their wicked purpoſe, by the holy name of iuſtice or friendſhip. Which *Pyrrus* did truly then verefie. For deſiring to keepe *Demetrius* down from riſing another time, and that he ſhould not reuiue againe as eſcaped from a long daungerous diſeaſe: hee went to aide the GRECIANS againſt him, and was at ATHENS, where they ſuffered him to come into the caſtle, and doe ſacrifice there vnto the goddeſſe *Minerua*. But comming out of the caſtle againe the ſame day, hee told the ATHENIANS he was greatly beholding vnto them for their curteſie, and the great truſt they had repoſed in him: wherefore to requite them againe, he gaue them counſell, neuer to ſuffer prince nor king from thenceforth to enter into their city, if they were wiſe, nor once open their gates vnto thē. So, after that he had made peace with *Demetrius*, who within ſhort time being gone to make warres in ASIA, *Pyrrus* yet once againe (perſwaded thereunto by *Lyſimachus*) cauſed all THESSALY to riſe againſt him, & went him ſelfe to ſet vpon thoſe garriſons which *Demetrius* had left in the cities of GREECE, liking better to continue the MACEDONIANS in warre, then to leaue them in peace: beſides that, him ſelfe alſo was of ſuch a nature, as could not long continue in peace. *Demetrius* thus in the end being vtterly ouerthrowen in SYRIA, *Lyſimachus* ſeeing him ſelfe free from feare on that ſide, and being at good leyſure, as hauing nothing to trouble him otherwaies: went ſtraight to make war vpon *Pyrrus*, who then remained near vnto the city of EDESSA, and meeting by the way with the conuoy of victuals cōming towards him, ſet vpon the conducters, and rifled them wholy. By this means, firſt he diſtreſſed *Pyrrus* for want of victuals: then he corrupted the princes of MACEDON with letters and meſſengers, declaring vnto them, what ſhame they ſuſtained to haue made a ſtranger their king (whoſe anceſters had euer bene their vaſſals & ſubiects) and to haue turned all thoſe out of MACEDON, that had bene familiar friendes of king *Alexander* the great. Many of the MACEDONIANS were won by theſe perſwaſions, which fact ſo feared *Pyrrus*, that he departed out of MACEDON with his men of warre, the EPIROTES, and other his confederates: and ſo loſt MACEDON by the ſelfe ſame meanes hee wanne it. Kings and princes therefore muſt not blame priuate men, though they chaunge and alter ſometime for their profit: for therein they doe but follow the example of princes, who teach them all diſloyaltie, treaſon, and infidelity, iudging him moſt worthy of gaine, that leaſt obſerueth iuſtice and equity. So *Pyrrus* being come home againe to his kingdome of EPIRVS, forſaking MACEDON altogether, fortune made him happy enough, and in deede he had good meanes to liue peaceably at home, without any trouble, if hee could haue contented him ſelfe only with the ſoueraignty ouer his owne naturall ſubiects. But thinking, that if he did neither hurt other, nor that other did hurt him, hee could not tell how to ſpend his time, and by peace he ſhould pine away for ſorrow, as *Homer* ſayed of *Achilles*:

*He languiſhed and pinde by taking eaſe and reſt:*
*And in the warres where trauaile was, he liked euer beſt.*

And thus ſeeking matter of new trouble, fortune preſented him this occaſion. About this time, the ROMAINS by chaunce made war with the TARENTINES, who could neither beare

*The Tarentines hauing war with the Romaines, determine to make king Pyrrus their Generall.*

*Meton counterfeating the foole, wiſely perſwaded the Tarentines not to ſend for Pyrrus. Tarentum a city in Italy.*

*Metons counſell to the Tarentines.*

*The Tarentines ſend Ambaſſadors to Pyrrus.*

*Cineas the orator, a Theſſalian borne, and attending in Pyrrus court.*

their force, nor yet deuiſe how to pacifie the ſame, by reaſon of the raſhneſſe, folly, and wickedneſſe of their gouernours, who perſwaded them to make *Pyrrus* their Generall, and to ſend for him for to conduct theſe warres: becauſe he was leſſe troubled at that time, then any of the other kings about them, and was eſteemed of euery man alſo to bee a noble ſouldier, and famous Captaine. The elders and wiſe men of the city, vtterly miſliked that counſell: but ſome of them were put to ſilence, through the noiſe and fury of the people, who cried for warres. Some other ſeeing them checked, and taken vp by the multitude in this manner, would no more repaire to their common aſſemblies. Among the reſt, there was one *Meton*, an honeſt worſhipfull citizen, who when the day was come that the people ſhould conclude in counſell, the decree for the calling in of *Pyrrus*: all the people of TARENTVM being aſſembled, and ſet in the Theater, this *Meton* put an olde withered garlande of flowers vpon his head, and carying a torch in his hand as though he had bene drunke, and hauing a woman minſtrell before him playing on a pipe, went daunſing in this goodly aray through the middeſt of the whole aſſembly. And there, (as it happeneth commonly in euery hurly burly of people that will be maiſters them ſelues, and where no good order is kept) ſome of them clapped their hands, other burſt out in a laughter, and euery man ſuffered him to doe what he luſt: but they all cried out to the woman minſtrell, to play on and ſpare not, and to *Meton* him ſelfe, that he ſhould ſing, and come forward. So *Meton* made ſhew as though hee prepared him ſelfe vnto it: and when they had giuen ſilence to heare him ſing, he ſpake vnto them with a loude voice in this manner. My Lordes of TARENTVM, yee doe well ſure, not to forbid them to play and to be merry that are ſo diſpoſed, whileſt they may lawfully do it: and if ye be wiſe, euery of you alſo (as many as you be) will take your liberty whileſt you may enioy it. For when king *Pyrrus* ſhall be in this city, you ſhall liue I warrant you after an other ſort, and not as yee now doe. Theſe words of *Meton* moued many of the TARENTINES, and ſodainely there ran a rumor through all the aſſembly, that he had ſayd truely. But they that had offended the ROMAINES, fearing if peace were made, that they ſhould be deliuered into their handes, they checked the people, asking them if they were ſuch fooles, as would abide to be mocked and played withall to their teeth: and with thoſe words all ranne vpon *Meton*, and draue him out of the Theater. The decree thus confirmed by voices of the people, they ſent Ambaſſadours into EPIRVS, to cary preſents vnto king *Pyrrus*, not only from the TARENTINES, but from other GRECIANS alſo that dwelt in ITALIE, ſaying that they ſtood in neede of a wiſe and skilfull Captaine, that was reputed famous in martiall diſcipline. And as to the reſt, for numbers of good ſouldiers, they had men enough in ITALIE, and were able to bring an army into the field, of the LVCANIANS, the MESSAPIANS, the SANNITES, and TARENTINES, of twenty thouſand horſe, and three hundred thouſand footemen being all aſſembled together. Theſe words of the Ambaſſadors did not only lift vp *Pyrrus* heart, but made the EPIROTES alſo maruellous deſirous to go this iourney. There was in king *Pyrrus* court one *Cineas* THESSALIAN, a man of great vnderſtanding, and that had bene *Demoſthenes* the orators ſcholler, who ſeemed to be the only man of al other in his time in common reputation, to be moſt eloquent, following the liuelie image and ſhadow of *Demoſthenes* paſſing eloquence. This *Cineas*, *Pyrrus* euer entertained about him, and ſent him Ambaſſador to the people and cities thereabouts: where hee verefied *Euripides* wordes.

*As much as trenchant blades, in mighty handes may doe,*  
*So much can skill of eloquence, atchieue and conquer to.*

*Cineas graue talke with Pyrrus, to moderat his ambitious minde.*

And therefore *Pyrrus* would often ſay, that *Cineas* had wonne him moe townes with his eloquence, then he himſelfe had done by the ſword: for which he did greatly honor and imploy him in all his chiefe affaires. *Cineas* perceiuing that *Pyrrus* was maruellouſly bent to theſe wars of ITALIE, finding him one day at leyſure, diſcourſed with him in this ſort. It is reported, and it pleaſe your maieſty, that the ROMAINS are very good men of war, and that they command many valiant and warlike nations: if it pleaſe the goddes we doe ouercome them, what benefit ſhall we haue of that victory? *Pyrrus* aunſwered him againe, thou doeſt aske me a queſtion that is manifeſt of it ſelfe. For when we haue once ouercome the ROMAINES, there can neyther GRECIAN nor barbarous city in all the countrey withſtand vs, but we ſhall ſtraight conquer

quer all the reſt of ITALIE with eaſe: whoſe greatneſſe, wealth, and power, no man knoweth better then thy ſelfe. *Cineas* pawſing a while, replied: and when we haue taken ITALIE, what ſhal we do then? *Pyrrus* not finding his meaning yet, ſaid vnto him. SICILIA as thou knoweſt is hard adioyning to it, and doth as it were offer it ſelfe vnto vs, and is a maruellous populous and rich land, and eaſie to be taken: for all the cities within the Iland are one againſt another, hauing no head that gouerns them, ſince *Agathocles* died, more then oratours onely that are their counſellers, who will ſoone be wonne. In deede it is likely which your grace ſpeaketh, quoth *Cineas*: but when we haue won SICILIA, ſhall then our wars take end? If the goddes were pleaſed, ſayd *Pyrrus*, that victory were atchieued: the way were then broad open for vs to attain great conqueſts. For who would not afterwards go into AFRICKE, and ſo to CARTHAGE, which alſo will be an eaſie conqueſt, ſince *Agathocles* ſecretly flying from SYRACVSA, and hauing paſſed the ſeas with a few ſhips, had almoſt taken it? And that once conquered, it is moſt certaine there durſt not one of all our enemies that now do daily vexe and trouble vs, lift vp their heades or handes againſt vs. No ſurely, ſayed *Cineas*: for it is a cleare caſe, that with ſo great a power we may eaſily recouer the realme of MACEDON againe, and commaund all GREECE beſides, without let of any. But when we haue all in our handes: what ſhall we doe in the end? Then *Pyrrus* laughing, told him againe: we will then (good *Cineas*) be quiet, and take our eaſe, and make feaſts euery day, and be as merry one with an other as we can poſſible. *Cineas* hauing brought him to that point, ſayed againe to him: my Lord, what letteth vs now to be quiet, & merry together, ſith we enioy that preſently without further trauell and trouble, which we will now go ſeeke for abroad, with ſuch ſheading of bloud, and ſo manifeſt danger? and yet we know not whether euer we ſhall attain vnto it, after we haue both ſuffered, and cauſed other to ſuffer infinit ſorrows and troubles. Theſe laſt words of *Cineas*, did rather offend *Pyrrus*, then make him to alter his minde: for he was not ignoraunt of the happy ſtate he ſhould thereby forgoe, yet could he not leaue off the hope of that hee did ſo much deſire. So he ſent *Cineas* before vnto the TARENTINES, with three thouſand footemen: and afterwardes the TARENTINES hauing ſent him great ſtore of flatbottomes, gallies, and of all ſortes of paſſengers, he ſhipped into them twenty Elephantes, three thouſand horſemen, and two and twenty thouſand footemen, with fiue hundred bowmen and ſlings. All thinges thus ready, he wayed anckers, and hoyſed ſailes, and was no ſooner in the maine ſea, but the north winde blew very roughly, out of ſeaſon, and draue him to leeward. Notwithſtanding, the ſhip which he was in him ſelfe, by great toile of the pilots and mariners turning to windeward, and with much a do, and maruellous daunger recouered the coaſt of ITALIE. Howbeit the reſt of his fleete were violently diſperſed here and there, whereof ſome of them failing their courſe into ITALIE, were caſt into the ſeas of LIBYA, and SICILIA. The other not able to recouer the point of APVLIA, were benighted, and the ſea being high wrought, by violence caſt them vpon the ſhore, and againſt the rockes, and made ſhipwrackes of them, the Admirall onely reſerued, which through her ſtrength, and the greatneſſe of her burden, reſiſted the force of the ſea that moſt violently beat againſt her. But afterwards, the wind turning & comming from the land, the ſea cruelly raking ouer the height of her forecaſtell: in fine brought her in manifeſt perill of opening, and ſplitting, and in daunger to be driuen from the coaſt, putting her out againe to the mercy of the windes, which chaunged euery hower. Wherefore *Pyrrus* caſting the perill euery way, thought beſt to leape into the ſea. After him forthwith leapt his gard, his ſeruaunts, and other his familiar friends, venturing their liues to ſaue him. But the darkenes of the night, and rage of the waues (which the ſhore breaking, forced ſo to rebound backe vpon them) with the great noiſe alſo, did ſo hinder their ſwimming: that it was euen day before they could recouer any land, and yet was it by meanes that the winde fell. As for *Pyrrus*, he was ſo ſea beaten, and wearied with the waues, that he was able to do no more: though of him ſelfe he had ſo great a heart, and ſtout a courage, as was able to ouercome any perill. Moreouer, the MESSAPIANS (vpon whoſe coaſt the ſtorme had caſt him) ran out to helpe him, and diligently labored in all they could poſſible to ſaue him, and receiued alſo certaine of his ſhippes that had ſcaped, in which were a few horſemen, about two thouſand footemen, and two Elephants. With this ſmall force, *Pyrrus* marched on his iourney to go

*Pyrrus iudgement of orators corruption.*

*A dangerous thing to withſtand the Princes minde.*

*Pyrrus iorney into Italy.*

*Pyrrus danger by tempeſt on the ſea.*

*Pyrrus caſt on ſhoare vpon the countrey of the Meſſapiãs.*

by land vnto TARENTVM: and *Cineas* being aduertiſed of his comming, went with his men to meete him.

*Pyrrus being receiued of the Tarentines reformed their vaine voluptuous life.*

Now when he was come to TARENTVM, at the firſt he would do nothing by force, not againſt the good will of the inhabitantes: vntill ſuch time as his ſhippes that had eſcaped the daungers of the ſea, were all arriued, and the greateſt part of his army come together againe. But when he had all his army he looked for, ſeeing that the people of TARENTVM could neither ſaue them ſelues, nor be ſaued by any other, without ſtraight order and cōpulſion, becauſe they made their reckoning that *Pyrrus* ſhould fight for them, & in the meane time they would not ſtirre out of their houſes from bathing them ſelues, from banqueting, and making good chere: firſt of all he cauſed all the parkes and places of ſhew to be ſhut vp, where they were wont to walke and diſport them ſelues, in any kind of exerciſe, and as they walked to talke of wars as it were in paſtime, and to fight with words, but not to come to the blows. And further he forbad all feaſtings, mummeries, and ſuch other like pleaſures, as at that time were out of ſeaſon.

*Martiall diſcipline.*

He trained them out alſo to exerciſe their weapons, and ſhewed him ſelfe very ſeuere in muſters, not pardoning any whoſe names were billed to ſerue in the warres: inſomuch as there were many (which vnacquainted with ſuch rough handling & gouernment) forſooke the city altogether, calling it a bondage, not to haue liberty to liue at their pleaſure.

*Leuinus Conſul ſent againſt Pyrrus.*

Furthermore, *Pyrrus* hauing intelligence that *Leuinus* the ROMAINE Cōſull came againſt him with a great puiſant army, and that he was already entred into the land of LVCANIA, where he deſtroied and ſpoiled all the countrey before him: albeit the TARENTINES aide of their confederats, was not as yet come, hee thought it a great ſhame to ſuffer his enemies approch ſo neare him, and therefore taking that ſmall number he had, brought them into the field againſt *Leuinus*. Howbeit he ſent a herauld before to the ROMAINS, to vnderſtand of them, if (before they entred into this war) they could be content the controuerſies they had with all the GRECIANS dwelling in ITALY, might be decided by iuſtice, and therein to refer them ſelues to his arbiterment, who of himſelfe would vndertake the pacification of them. Wherunto the Conſull *Leuinus* made aunſwere, that the ROMAINES would neuer allow him for a iudge, neither did they feare him for an enemy.

*Pyrrus camped in the plaine, betweene Pandoſia and Heraclea.*
*Siris fl.*

Wherefore *Pyrrus* going on ſtill, came to lodge in the plaine which is betweene the cities of PANDOSIA, and of HERACLEA: and hauing newes brought him that the ROMAINS were encamped very neare vnto him on the other ſide of the riuer of Siris, he tooke his horſe, and rode to the riuers ſide to view their campe. So hauing throughly conſidered the forme, the ſituation, and the order of the ſame, the manner of charging their watch, and all their faſhions of doing: he wondered much thereat. And ſpeaking to *Megacles*, one of his familiars about him, he ſaid: this order *Megacles* (quoth he) though it be of barbarous people, yet is it not barbarouſly done, but we ſhall ſhortly proue their force. After he had thus taken his view, he beganne to be more carefull then he was before, and purpoſed to tarie till the whole aide of their confederates were come together, leauing men at the riuers ſide of Siris, to keepe the paſſage, if the enemies ventured to paſſe ouer as they did in deede. For they made haſt to preuent the aide that *Pyrrus* looked for, and paſſed their footemen ouer vppon a bridge, and their horſemen at diuerſe fordes of the riuer: inſomuch as the GRECIANS fearing leaſt they ſhould be compaſſed in behinde, drew backe.

*Pyrrus battell.*

*Pyrrus* aduertiſed thereof, and being a litle troubled therewithall, commaunded the Captaines of his footemen preſently to put their bandes in battell ray, and not to ſturre till they knew his pleaſure: and hee himſelfe in the meane time marched on with three thouſand horſe, in hope to finde the ROMAINES by the riuer ſide, as yet out of order, and vtterly vnprouided. But when he ſaw a far off a greater number of footemen with their targettes ranged in battell, on this ſide the riuer, and their horſemen marching towards him in very good order: he cauſed his men to ioyne cloſe together, and him ſelfe firſt beganne the charge, being eaſie to bee knowen from other, if it had bene no more but his paſſing rich gliſtering armour and furniture, and withall, for that his valiaunt deedes gaue manifeſt proofe of his well deſerued fame and renowne.

*Pyrrus firſt conflict with the Romaines.*

*Pyrrus wiſedom and foreſight in battell.*

For, though he valiantly beſturred his hands and body both, repulſing them he encountered withall in fight yet he forgate not himſelfe, nor neglected the iudgement and foreſight, which ſhould neuer be wanting in a Generall of an army: but as though hee had not fought at all, quietly and diſcreetly gaue order for euery thing, riding to and fro, to defend and encourage his men in thoſe places, where he ſaw them in moſt diſtreſſe. But euen in the hotteſt of the battell, *Leonatus* MACEDONIAN ſpyed an ITALIAN a man of armes, that followed *Pyrrus* vppe and downe where he went, and euer kept in manner of euen hand with him, to ſet vpon him. Wherefore he ſaid to *Pyrrus*: my Lord doe you not ſee that barbarous man there vpon a baye horſe with white feete? Sure he looketh as though he ment to doe ſome notable feate and miſchiefe with his own handes: for his eye is neuer off you, but waiteth only vpon you, being ſharpe ſet to deale with your ſelfe & none other, and therfore take heede of him. *Pyrrus* anſwered him, it is impoſſible *Leonatus*, for a man to auoide his deſtinie: but neither he, nor any other ITALIAN whatſoeuer, ſhall haue any ioy to deale with me. And as they were talking thus of the matter, the ITALIAN taking his ſpeare in the middeſt, and ſetting ſpurs to his horſe, charged vpon *Pyrrus*, and ranne his horſe through and through with the ſame. *Leonatus* at the ſelfe ſame inſtant ſerued the ITALIANS horſe in the like manner, ſo as both their horſes fell dead to the ground. Howbeit *Pyrrus* men that were about him, ſaued him preſently, and ſlew the ITALIAN in the field, although he fought it out right valiantly. The ITALIANS name was *Oplacus*, borne in the citie of FERENTVM, and was Captaine of a band of men of armes. This miſchance made king *Pyrrus* looke the better to himſelfe afterwardes, and ſeeing his horſemen giue backe, ſent preſently to haſten his footemen forwarde, whom he ſtraight ſet in order of battell: and deliuering his armour and cloke to one of his familiars called *Megacles*, and being hidden as it were in *Meglaces* armor, returned againe to the battell againſt the ROMAINES, who valiantly reſiſted him, ſo that the victorie depended long in doubt. For it is ſaid, that both the one ſide and the other did chaſe, and was chaſed, aboue ſeauen times in that conflict. The changing of the kings armour ſerued very well for the ſafetie of his owne perſon, howbeit it was like to haue marred all, and to haue made him looſe the field. For many of his enemies ſet vpon *Megacles*, that ware the kings armour: and the partie that ſlue him dead, and threw him ſtarke to the ground, was one *Dexias* by name, who quickly ſnatched off his head peece, tooke away his cloake, and ranne to *Leuinus* the Conſull, crying out alowde, that he had ſlaine *Pyrrus*, and withall ſhewed foorth the ſpoiles he ſuppoſed to haue taken from him. Which being caried about through all the bands, & openly ſhewed from hand to hand, made the ROMAINES maruellous ioyfull, and the GRECIANS to the contrary, both afeard and right ſorowfull: vntill ſuch time as *Pyrrus* hearing of it, went and paſſed alongſt all his bands bare headed, and bare faced, holding vp his hand to his ſouldiers, and giuing them to vnderſtande with his owne voice, that it was himſelfe. The elephants in the ende were they indeed that wanne the battell, and did moſt diſtreſſe the ROMAINES: for, their horſes ſeeing them a farre off, were ſore afraide, and durſt not abide them, but caried their maſters backe in deſpight of them. *Pyrrus* at the ſight thereof, made his THESSALIAN horſemen to giue a charge vpon them whileſt they were in this diſorder, and that ſo luſtily, as they made the ROMAINES flie, and ſuſtaine great ſlaughter. For *Dionyſius* writeth, that there died few leſſe, then fifteene thouſand ROMAINES at that battell. But *Hieronymus* ſpeaketh onely of ſeuen thouſand. And of *Pyrrus* ſide, *Dionyſius* writeth, there were ſlaine thirteene thouſand. But *Hieronymus* ſayth leſſe then foure thouſand: howbeit they were all of the beſt men of his army, and thoſe whom moſt he truſted. King *Pyrrus* preſently hereupon alſo tooke the ROMAINES campe, which they forſooke, and wan many of their cities from their alliance, ſpoiled, and ouercame much of their country. Inſomuch as he came within ſixe and thirty mile of ROME, whither came to his aid, as confederats of the TARENTINES, the LVCANIANS, & the SAMNITES, whom he rebuked becauſe they came too late to the battell. Howbeit a man might eaſily ſee in his face, that he was not a litle glad and proud to haue ouerthrowen ſo great an army of the ROMAINES with his own men, and the aide of the TARENTINES onely. On the other ſide, the ROMAINS harts were ſo great, that they would not depoſe *Leuinus* from his Conſulſhippe, notwithſtanding the loſſe he had receiued: and *Caius Fabricius* ſayed openly, that they were not the EPIROTES that had ouercome the ROMAINES, but *Pyrrus* had ouercome *Leuinus*: meaning thereby, that this ouerthrow chaunced vnto them, more through the ſubtilty and wiſe conduction of the Generall, then through the valiant feates and worthineſſe of his army. And hereuppon they ſpeedily ſupplied their legions againe that were diminiſhed, with other new ſouldiers

*Pyrrus changed his armor and cloake.*

*Megacles ſlaine taken for Pyrrus.*

*Pyrrus victory of Leuinus the Conſull.*

in the dead mens place, and leauied a freſh force beſides, ſpeaking brauely and fiercely of this warre, like men whoſe hearts were nothing appauled. Whereat *Pyrrus* maruelling much, thought good firſt to ſend to the ROMAINES, to proue if they would giue any eare to an offer of peace, knowing right well that the winning of the citie of ROME was no eaſie matter to cōpaſſe, or attaine, with that ſtrength he preſently had: and alſo that it would be greatly to his glory, if he could bring them to peace after this his valiant victory.

*Cineas ſent Ambaſſador to Rome.*
*The noble mind of the Romaines.*

And hereupon he ſent *Cineas* to ROME, who ſpake with the chiefeſt of the citie, and offered preſents to them and their wiues, in the behalfe of the king his maſter. Howbeit, neither man nor woman would receiue any at his handes, but anſwered all with one voice: that if the peace might be generall to all, they all priuately would be at the kings commaundement, and would be glad of his friendſhip. Moreouer, when *Cineas* had talked in open audience before the Senate, of many courteous offers, and had deliuered them profitable capitulations of peace: they accepted none, nor ſhewed any affection to giue eare vnto them, although he offered to deliuer them their priſoners home againe without ranſome, that had beene taken at the battell, and promiſed alſo to aide them in the conqueſt of ITALIE, requiring no other recompence at their handes, ſauing their goodwils only to his maſter, & aſſurance for the TARENTINES, that they ſhould not be annoyed for anie thing paſt, without demaund of other matter. Neuertheleſſe in the end, when they had heard theſe offers, many of the Senatours yeelded, and were willing to make peace: alledging that they had already loſt a great battell, and how they looked for a greater, when the force of the confederates of ITALIE ſhould ioyne together with king *Pyrrus* power.

*Appius Claudius diſſwaded the Romaines from making peace with Pyrrus.*

But *Appius Claudius*, a famous man, who came no more to the Senate, nor delt in matters of ſtate at all by reaſon of his age, and partly becauſe he was blinde: when he vnderſtood of king *Pyrrus* offers, and of the common brute that ranne through the city, how the Senate were in minde to agree to the capitulations of peace propounded by *Cineas*, he could not abide, but cauſed his ſeruants to cary him in his chaire vpon their armes vnto the Senate doore, his ſonnes, and ſonnes in lawe taking him in their armes, caried him ſo into the Senate houſe. The Senate made ſilence to honour the comming in of ſo notable and worthy a perſonage: and he ſo ſoone as they had ſet him in his ſeate, began to ſpeake in this ſorte.

*Appius Claudius oration to the Senate.*

Hithervnto with great impatience (my Lords of ROME) haue I borne the loſſe of my ſight, but now, I would I were alſo as deafe as I am blinde, that I might not (as I doe) heare the reporte of
» your diſhonourable conſultations determined vpon in Senate, which tende to ſubuert the
» glorious fame and reputation of ROME. What is now become of all your great and mighty
» bragges you blazed abroad through the whole worlde? That if *Alexander* the great himſelfe
» had come into ITALIE, in the time that our fathers had bin in the flower of their age, and we
» in the prime of our youth, they would not haue ſaide euery where that he was altogether inuincible,
» as now at this preſent they do: but either he ſhould haue left his body ſlaine here in
» battell, or at the leaſtwiſe haue bene driuen to flie, and by his death or flying ſhould greatly
» haue enlarged the renowme and glory of ROME. You plainely ſhew it nowe, that all theſe
» words ſpoken then, were but vaine & arrogant vaunts of fooliſh pride. Conſidering that you
» tremble for fear of the MOLOSSIANS & CHAONIANS, who were euer a prey to the MACEDONIANS:
» and that ye are afraid of *Pyrrus* alſo, who all his life time ſerued and followed one of
» the gard vnto *Alexander* the great, and now is come to make wars in theſe parts, not to aide the
» GRECIANS inhabiting in ITALY, but to flie from his enemies there about his own country,
» offering you to conquer all the reſt of ITALIE with an army, wherewith he was nothing able
» to keepe a ſmall part of MACEDON only for him ſelfe. And therefore you muſt not perſwade
» your ſelues, that in making peace with him, you ſhall thereby be rid of him: but rather ſhall
» you draw others to come & ſet vpon you beſides. For they will vtterly deſpiſe you, when they
» ſhall heare ye are ſo eaſily ouercome, and that you haue ſuffered *Pyrrus* to eſcape your handes,
» before you made him feele the iuſt reward of his bolde preſumptuous attempt vpon you: carying
» with him for a further hier, this aduantage ouer you, that he hath giuen a great occaſion
» both to the SAMNITES, and TARENTINES, hereafter to mocke and deride you.

After that *Appius* had tolde this tale vnto the Senate, euery one through the whole aſſembly, deſired rather warre then peace. They diſpatched *Cineas* away thereupon with this aunſwer, that if *Pyrrus* ſought the ROMAINES friendſhippe, he muſt firſt depart out of ITALIE, and then ſende vnto them to treate of peace: but ſo long as he remained there with his armie, the ROMAINES would make warres vpon him, with all the force and power they could make, yea although he had ouerthrowen and ſlaine tenne thouſand ſuch Captaines as *Leuinus* was. They ſay that *Cineas*, during the time of his abode at ROME, intreating for this peace, did curiouſly labour to conſider and vnderſtand the manners, order, and life of the ROMAINES, and their common weale, diſcourſing thereof with the chiefeſt men of the citie: and how afterwards he made ample report of the ſame vnto *Pyrrus*, and tolde him amongeſt other things, that the Senate appeared to him, a councell-houſe of many kings. And furthermore (for the number of people) that he feared greatly they ſhould fight againſt ſuch a ſerpent, as that which was in olde time in the mariſhes of LERNE, of which, when they had cut off one head ſeuen other came vp in the place: becauſe the Conſull *Leuinus* had now leauied an other armie, twiſe as great as the firſt was, and had left at ROME alſo, many times as many good able men to carie armor. After this, there were ſent Ambaſſadors from ROME vnto *Pyrrus*, and amongſt other, *Caius Fabricius* touching the ſtate of the priſoners. *Cineas* tolde the king his maſter, that this *Fabricius* was one of the greateſt men of account in all ROME, a right honeſt man, a good Captaine, and a very valiant man of his handes, yet poore in deede he was notwithſtanding. *Pyrrus* taking him ſecretly a ſide, made very much of him, and amongſt other things, offered him both golde and ſiluer, praying him to take it, not for any diſhoneſt reſpect he ment towards him, but onely for a pledge of the goodwill and friendſhip that ſhould be betweene them. *Fabricius* would none of his gift: ſo *Pyrrus* left him for that time. Notwithſtanding the next morning thinking to feare him, becauſe he had neuer ſeene elephant before, *Pyrrus* commaunded his men, that when they ſawe *Fabricius* and him talking together, they ſhould bring one of his greateſt elephants, and ſet him harde by them, behinde a hanging: which being done at a certaine ſigne by *Pyrrus* giuen, ſodainly the hanging was pulled backe, and the elephant with his truncke was ouer *Fabricius* head, and gaue a terrible and fearefull crie. *Fabricius* ſoftly giuing backe, nothing afraide, laughed and ſaid to *Pyrrus* ſmiling: neither did your golde (oh king) yeſterday moue me, nor your elephant to day feare me. Furthermore, whileſt they were at ſupper, falling in talke of diuerſe matters, ſpecially touching the ſtate of GRECE, and the Philoſophers there: *Cineas* by chance ſpake of EPICVRVS, and rehearſed the opinions of the EPICVRIANS touching the gods and gouernment of the commonwealth, how they placed mans chiefe felicity in pleaſure, how they fled from all office and publike charge, as from a thing that hindereth the fruition of true felicity: how they maintained that the gods were immortall, neither mooued with pitty nor anger, & led an idle life full of all pleaſures and delightes, without taking any regarde of mens doings. But as he ſtill continued this diſcourſe, *Fabricius* cried out aloude, and ſaid: the goddes grant that *Pyrrus* and the SAMNITES were of ſuch opinions, as long as they had warres againſt vs. *Pyrrus* maruelling much at the conſtancy and magnanimity of this man, was more deſirous a great deale to haue peace with the ROMAINES, then before. And priuately prayed *Fabricius* very earneſtly, that he would treate for peace, whereby he might afterwards come and remain with him, ſaying: that he would giue him the chiefe place of honor about him, amongſt all his friends. Wherunto *Fabricius* aunſwered him ſoftly. that were not good (oh king) for your ſelfe, quoth he: for your men that preſently doe honor and eſteeme you, by experience if they once knew me, would rather chooſe me for their king, then your ſelfe. Such was *Fabricius* talke, whoſe wordes *Pyrrus* tooke not in ill part, neither was offended with them at all, as a tyrant would haue bene: but did him ſelfe report to his friends and familiars the noble minde hee found in him, and deliuered him vppon his faith only, all the ROMAINE priſoners: to the end that if the Senate would not agree vnto peace, they might yet ſee their friendes, and keepe the feaſt of Saturne with them, and then to ſend them backe againe vnto him. Which the Senate eſtabliſhed by decree, vppon paine of death to all ſuch as ſhould not performe the ſame accordingly. Afterwardes *Fabricius* was choſen Conſull, and as he was in his campe, there came a man to him that brought him a letter from king *Pyrrus* Phiſitian, written with his owne handes: in which the Phiſitian offered to poiſon his maſter, ſo he would promiſe him a good reward, for

*The maieſtie of the Senate at Rome.*

*Caius Fabricius, Ambaſſador to Pyrrus.*

*Caius Fabricius a noble Captaine, but very poore.*

*Fabricius refuſed king Pyrrus gifts.*

*The opinion of the Epicurians touching felicitie.*

*King Pyrrus Phiſitian writeth to Fabricius, and offereth to poyſon his maiſter.*

ending the warres without further danger. *Fabricius* deteſting the wickedneſſe of the Phiſitian, and hauing made *Q. Æmylius* his colleague and fellowe Conſull alſo, to abhorre the ſame: wrote a letter vnto *Pyrrus*, and bad him take heede, for there were that ment to poyſon him. The contents of his letter were theſe: *Caius Fabricius*, and *Quintus Æmylius* Conſuls of ROME, vnto king *Pyrrus* greeting. You haue (oh king) made vnfortunate choiſe, both of your friends and of your enemies, as ſhall appeare vnto you by reading of this letter which one of yours hath written vnto vs: for you make warres with iuſt and honeſt men, and do your ſelfe truſt altogether the wicked and vnfaithfull. Hereof therefore we haue thought good to aduertiſe you, not in reſpect to pleaſure you, but for feare leaſt the misfortune of your death might make vs vniuſtly to be accuſed: imagining that by trecherie of treaſon, we haue ſought to end this warre, as though by valiantneſſe we could not otherwiſe atchieue it. *Pyrrus* hauing read this letter, and proued the contentes thereof true, executed the Phiſitian as he had deſerued: and to requite the aduertiſement of the Conſuls, he ſent *Fabricius* and the ROMAINES their priſoners, without paying of ranſome, and ſent *Cineas* againe vnto them, to proue if hee could obtaine peace. Howbeit, the ROMAINES, becauſe they would neither receiue pleaſure of their enemies, and leaſt of all reward, for that they conſented not vnto ſo wicked a deede: did not onely refuſe to take their priſoners of free gift, but they ſent him againe ſo many SAMNITES, and TARENTINES. And furthermore, for peace and his friendſhip, they would giue no eare to it, before the warres were ended, and that he had ſent away his armie againe by ſea, into his kingdome of EPIRVS. Wherefore *Pyrrus* ſeeing no remedie, but that he muſt needs fight an other battell, after he had ſomewhat refreſhed his armie, drewe towards the citie of ASCVLVM, where he fought the ſecond time with the ROMAINES: and was brought into a maruellous ill ground for horſemen, by a very ſwift running riuer, from whence came many brookes and deepe mariſhes, inſomuch as his elephants could haue no ſpace nor ground to ioine with the battell of the footmen, by reaſon wherof there was a great number of men hurt and ſlaine on both ſides. And in the end, the battell being fought out all day long, the darke night did ſeuere them: but the next morning, *Pyrrus* to winne the aduantage to fight in the plaine field, where he might preuaile with the force of his elephants, ſent firſt certaine of his bandes to ſeize vpon the naughty ground they had fought on the day before. And by this policy hauing brought the ROMAINES into the plaine field, he thruſt in amongſt his elephants, ſtore of ſhot, and ſlingmen, and then made his army marche (being very well ſet in order) with great furie againſt his enemies. They miſſing the other dayes turnings and places of retire, were now compelled to fight all on a front in the plaine field: and ſtriuing to breake into the battell of *Pyrrus* footemen before the elephants came, they deſperately preaſed in vpon their enemies pikes with their ſwordes, not caring for their owne perſons what became of them, but only looked to kill and deſtroy their enemies. In the end notwithſtanding, after the battell had holden out very long, the ROMAINES loſt it, and they firſt beganne to breake and flie on that ſide where *Pyrrus* was, by reaſon of the great force and fury of his charge, and much more through the violence of the Elephants: againſt which, the ROMAINES valiantneſſe nor courage could ought preuaile, but that they were driuen to giue them place (much like the rage of ſurging waues, or terrible trembling of the earth) rather then tary to bee troden vnder feete, and ouerthrowen by them, whom they were not able to hurt againe, but be by them moſt grieuouſly martyred, and their troubles thereby yet nothing eaſed. The chaſe was not long, becauſe they fled but into their campe: and *Hieronymus* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that there died ſixe thouſand men of the ROMAINES, and of *Pyrrus* part about three thouſand fiue hundred and fiue, as the kings owne Chronicles doe witneſſe. Neuertheleſſe, *Dionyſius* makes no mention of two battels giuen neare vnto the citty of ASCVLVM, nor that the ROMAINES were certainely ouerthrowen: howbeit he confirmeth that there was one battell only that continued vntil ſunne ſet, and that they ſcarcely ſeuered alſo when night was come on, *Pyrrus* being hurt on the arme with a ſpeare, and his cariage robbed and ſpoiled by the SAMNITES beſides. And further, that there died in this battell, aboue fifteene thouſand men, as well of *Pyrrus* ſide, as of the ROMAINES part: and that at the laſt, both the one and the other did retire. And ſome ſay, that it was at that time *Pyrrus* aunſwered one, who reioyced with

*Fabricius letter to Pyrrus, aduertiſing him of his Phiſitians treaſon.*

*Pyrrus ſendeth the Romaines their priſoners without ranſom.*

*Pyrrus ſecond battell with the Romaines, by the city of Aſculum.*

*Pyrrus victory of the Romains*

*The writers agree not about Pyrrus battell.*

him for the victorie they had wonne: if we win an other of the price, quoth he, we are vtterly vndone. For indeed then had he loſt the moſt part of his army he brought with him out of his realme, and all his friendes and Captaines in manner euery one, or at the leaſt there lacked litle of it: and beſides that, he had no meanes to ſupply them with other from thence, and perceiued alſo that the confederates he had in ITALIE, beganne to waxe colde. Where the ROMAINES to the contrary, did eaſily renew their army with freſh ſouldiers, which they cauſed to come from ROME as neede required (much like vnto a liuely ſpring, the head whereof they had at home in their country) and they fainted not at all for any loſſes they receiued, but rather were they ſo much the more hotly bent, ſtoutly determining to abide out the warres, what euer betide. And thus whileſt *Pyrrus* was troubled in this ſort, new hopes and new enterpriſes were offred vnto him, that made him doubtfull what to do. For euen at a clap came Ambaſſadors to him out of SICILIA, offering to put into his hands, the cities of SYRACVSA, of AGRIGENTVM, and of the LEONTINES, & beſeeching him to aide them to driue the CARTHAGINIANS out of the Ile, thereby to deliuer them from all the tyrants. And on the other ſide alſo, newes was brought him from GRECE, how *Ptolomie* ſurnamed the lightning, was ſlaine, and all his army ouerthrowen in battell againſt the GAVLES, and that now he ſhould come in good houre for the MACEDONIANS, who lacked but a king. Then he curſed his hard fortune that preſented him all at once, ſuch ſundry occaſions to doe great things: and as if both enterpriſes had bene already in his hande, he made his accompt that of neceſſitie he muſt looſe one of them. So, long debating the matter with him ſelfe, which of the two wayes he ſhould conclude vpon: in the ende he reſolued, that by the warres of SICILIA, there was good meane to attaine to the greater matters, conſidering that AFRICKE was not farre from them. Wherefore, diſpoſing himſelfe that way, he ſent *Cineas* thither immediatly to make his way, and to ſpeake to the townes and cities of the countrie as he was wont to do: & in the meane time left a ſtrong garriſon in the city of TARENTVM, to keepe it at his deuotion, wherwith the TARENTINES were very angry. For they made requeſt vnto him, either to remaine in their countrie to maintaine wars with them againſt the ROMAINS, (which was their meaning why they ſent for him) or elſe if he would needs go, at the leaſtwiſe to leaue their city in as good ſtate as he found it. But he aunſwered them againe very roughly, that they ſhould ſpeake no more to him in it, and that they ſhould not chooſe but tary his occaſion. And with this aunſwer tooke ſhip, and ſailed towardes SICILIA: where ſo ſoone as he was arriued, he found all that he hoped for, for the cities did willingly put themſelues into his hands. And where neceſſitie of battell was offered him to employ his armie, nothing at the beginning could ſtand before him. For, with thirtie thouſand footemen, two thouſand fiue hundred horſemen, and two hundred ſaile which he brought with him, he draue the CARTHAGINIANS before him, and conquered all the country vnder their obedience. Nowe at that time, the city of ERIX was the ſtrongeſt place they had: and there were a great number of good ſouldiers within to defend it. *Pyrrus* determined to proue the aſſault of it, and when his army was ready to giue the charge, he armed him ſelfe at all peeces from toppe to toe, and approching the walles, vowed vnto *Hercules* to giue him a ſolemne ſacrifice, with a feaſt of common playes, ſo that he would graunt him grace to ſhew him ſelfe vnto the GRECIANS inhabiting in SICILIA, worthy of the noble anceſters from whence he came, and of the great good fortune he had in his handes. This vow ended, he ſtraight made the trumpettes ſound to the aſſault, and cauſed the barbarous people that were on the wals, to retire with force of his ſhot. Then when the ſcaling ladders were ſet vp, him ſelfe was the firſt that mounted on the walle, where he found diuerſe of the barbarous people that reſiſted him. But ſome he threw ouer the wals on either ſide of him, and with his ſword ſlew many dead about him, him ſelfe not once hurt: for the barbarous people had not the heart to looke him in the face, his countenaunce was ſo terrible. And this doth proue that *Homer* ſpake wiſely, and like a man of experience, when he ſayed: that valiantneſſe onely amongeſt all other morall vertues is that, which hath ſomtimes certaine furious motions and diuine prouocations, which makes a man beſides him ſelfe. So the city being taken, he honorably performed his vowed ſacrifice to *Hercules*, & kept a feaſt of all kindes and ſorts of games and weapons. There dwelt a barbarous people at that

*Ambaſſadors out of Sicilia, to pray aide of Pyrrus.*

*Pyrrus iorney into Sicilia.*

*Pyrrus wanne the city of Erix in Sicilia.*

*Homer of valiantnes.*

time about MESSINA, called the MAMERTINES, who did much hurt to the GRECIANS thereabouts, making many of them pay taxe & tribute: for they were a great number of them, and all men of warre and good ſouldiers, and had their name alſo of *Mars*, becauſe they were martiall men, and giuen to armes. *Pyrrus* led his army againſt them, and ouerthrewe them in battell: and put their collectors to death, that did leauy and exact the taxe, and raſed many of their fortreſſes. And when the CARTHAGINIANS required peace and his friendſhip, offering him ſhippes and money, pretending greater matters: he made them a ſhort aunſwere, that there was but one way to make peace and loue betwene them, to forſake SICILIA altogether, and to be contented to make *Mare Libycum* the border betwixt GRECE and them. For his good fortune, and the force he had in his handes, did ſet him aloft, and further allured him to follow the hope that brought him into SICILIA, aſpiring firſt of all vnto the conqueſt of LIBYA. Now, to paſſe him ouer thither he had ſhips enough, but he lacked owers and mariners: wherefore when he would preſſe them, then he began to deale roughly with the cities of SICILIA, and in anger compelled, and ſeuerely puniſhed them, that would not obey his commaundement. This he did not at his firſt comming, but contrarily had wonne all their good wils, ſpeaking more courteouſly to them then any other did, & ſhewing that he truſted them altogether, and troubled them in nothing. But ſodainely being altered from a popular prince, vnto a violent tyrant, he was not only thought cruell and rigorous, but that worſt of al is, vnfaithfull and ingratefull: neuertheleſſe, though they receiued great hurt by him, yet they ſuffered it, and granted him any needfull thing he did demaund. But when they ſaw he began to miſtruſt *Thanon* and *Soſtratus*, the two chiefe Captaines of SYRACVSA, and they who firſt cauſed him to come into SICILIA, who alſo at his firſt arriuall deliuered the city of SYRACVSA into his hands, & had bin his chiefe aiders in helping him to compaſſe that he had done in SICILIA: when I ſay they ſaw he would no more cary him with them, nor leaue them behinde him for the miſtruſt he had of them, and that *Soſtratus* fled from him, and abſented himſelfe, fearing leaſt *Pyrrus* would do him ſome miſchiefe: and that *Pyrrus* moreouer, had put *Thanon* to death, miſtruſting that he would alſo haue done him ſome harme. Then all things fell out againſt *Pyrrus*, not one after an other, nor by litle and litle, but all together at one inſtant, and all the cities generally hated him to the death, and did againe ſome of them confederate with the CARTHAGINIANS, and others with the MAMERTINES, to ſet vpon him. But when all SICILIA was thus bent againſt him, he receiued letters from the SAMNITES & TARENTINES, by which they aduertiſed him, how they had much a doe to defende themſelues within their cities and ſtrong holdes, and that they were wholly driuen out of the field: wherefore they earneſtly beſought him ſpeedily to come to their aide. This newes came happely to him, to cloake his flying, that he might ſay it was not for deſpaire of good ſucceſſe in SICILIA that he went his way: but true it was indeed, that when he ſaw he could no longer keepe it, then a ſhippe could ſtand ſtill among the waues, hee ſought ſome honeſt ſhadow to colour his departing. And that ſurely was the cauſe why he returned againe into ITALIE. Neuertheleſſe, at his departure out of SICILE, they ſay that looking backe vpon the Ile, he ſaid to thoſe that were about him: O what a goodly field for a battell, my friends, doe we leaue to the ROMAINS and CARTHAGINIANS, to fight the one with the other. And verily ſo it fell out ſhortly after, as he had ſpoken. But the barbarous people conſpiring together againſt *Pyrrus*, the CARTHAGINIANS on the one ſide watching his paſſage, gaue him battell on the ſea, in the very ſtraight it ſelfe of MESSINA, where he loſt many of his ſhips, and fled with the reſt, & took the coaſt of ITALIE. And there the MAMERTINES on the other ſide, being gone thither before, to the number of eighteene thouſand fighting men: durſt not preſent him battell in open field, but taried for him in certaine ſtraights of the mountaines, and in very hard places, and ſo ſet vpon his rereward, and diſordered all his army. They ſlew two of his elephants, and cutte off a great number of his rereward, ſo as he was compelled him ſelfe in perſon to come from his vangard, to helpe them againſt the barbarous people, which were luſty valiant men, and old trained ſouldiers. And there *Pyrrus* caught a blow on his head with a ſword, and was in great danger: inſomuch as he was forced to retire out of the preaſe and fight, which did ſo much the more encorage his enemies. Among which there was one more aduenturous then

*The Mamertines why ſo called.*

*Pyrrus crueltie in Sicilia.*

*The Samnites and Tarentines ſent for Pyrrus to returne into Italie.*

*Pyrrus return into Italy out of Sicile.*

*Pyrrus hurt on his head with a ſword.*

the reſt, a goodly man of perſonage,fayre armed in white armour, who aduauncing himſelfe farre before his company, cried out to the king with a bold and fierce voice,and chalenged him to fight with him if he were aliue. *Pyrrus* being mad as it were with this brauery,turned againe with his gard, in ſpight of his men, hurte as he was. And beſides that, he was all on a fire with choller, and his face al bloody and terrible to behold,he went through his men,and came at the length to this barbarous villaine that had chalenged him: and gaue him ſuch a blow on his head with all his force & power,that what by the ſtrength of his arme,& through the goodnes of the temper and mettle of the ſword,the blow claue his head right in the middeſt, downe to the ſhoulders: ſo that his heade being thus deuided, the one parte fell on the one ſhoulder, & the other part on the other. This matter ſodainely ſtayed the barbarous people, and kept them from going any further, they were ſo afrayde and amaſed both to ſee ſo great a blow with ones hande,and it made them thinke indeede that *Pyrrus* was more then a man. After that,they let him go,and troubled him no more. *Pyrrus* holding on his iorney,arriued at the length in the city of TARENTVM,with twenty thouſand footmen,and three thouſand horſe. And with theſe (ioyning therto the choiceſt picked men of the TARENTINES) he went incontinently into the field to ſeeke out he ROMAINES,who had their camp within the territories of the SAMNITES,which were thẽ in very hard ſtate. For their hartes were killed,becauſe that in many battels & encounters with the ROMAINES,they were euer ouerthrowen. They were very angry beſides with *Pyrrus*,for that he had forſaken them,to go his voyage vnto SICILIA, by reaſon whereof there came no great number of ſouldiers into his campe. But notwithſtanding,he deuided all his ſtrength into two partes,whereof he ſent the one part into LVCANIA, to occupy one of the ROMAINE Conſulles that was there, to the end he ſhould not come to ayde his companion: and with the other part he went himſelfe againſt *Manius Curius*,who lay in a very ſtrange place of aduantage neere to the cittie of BENEVENTO, attending the aide that ſhould come to him out of LVCANIA,beſides alſo that the Soothſayers(by the ſignes and tokens of the birdes and ſacrifices) did counſell him not to ſtur from thence. *Pyrrus* to the contrary,deſiring to fight with *Manius* before his ayde came vnto him,which he looked for out of LVCANIA,took with him the beſt ſouldiers he had in al his army, and the warlikeſt elephants, and marched away in the night, ſuppoſing to ſteale vpon *Manius* on the ſodaine,and giue an aſſault vnto his campe. Now *Pyrrus* hauing a long way to go,and through a woddy country,his lights and torches failed him,by reaſon whereof many of his ſouldiers loſt their way,and they loſt a great deale of time alſo,before they could again be gathered together: ſo as in this ſpace the night was ſpent,and the day once broken,the enemies perceiued plainely how he came downe the hils. This at the firſt ſight made thẽ muſe a while, and put them in a litle feare: neuertheleſſe *Manius* hauing had the ſignes of the ſacrifices fauorable,and ſeing that occaſion did preſſe him to it, went out into the field, and ſet vpon the voward of his enemies,and made them turne their backes. The which feared all the reſt in ſuch wiſe, that there were ſlaine a great number of them in the field,and certaine elephantes alſo taken. This victory made *Manius Curius* leaue his ſtrength; and come into the plaine field,where he ſet his men in battel ray, and ouerthrew his enemies by plaine force on the one ſide: but on the other he was repulſed by violence of the elephants, and compelled to draw backe into his own campe, wherein he had left a great number of men to garde it. So when he ſaw them vpon the rampers of his campe al armed,ready to fight, he called them out,and they commig freſh out of places of aduantage, to charge vpon the elephantes, compelled them in a very ſhort time to turne their backes,& flie through their owne men, whom they put to great trouble,and diſorder: ſo as in the end, the whole victory fell vpon the ROMAINES ſide,and conſequently by meanes of that victory, followed the greatnes and power of their Empire. For the ROMAINES being growen more couragious by this battel and hauing increaſed their force,and wonne the reputation of men vnconquerable: immediatly after conquered all ITALIE beſides,and ſoone after that, all SICILIA. To this end as you ſee, came king *Pyrrus* vaine hope he had to conquer ITALIE & SICILIA,after he had ſpent ſixe yeres continually in warres,during which time his good fortune decayed, & his army conſumed. Notwithſtãding,his noble courage remained alwaies inuincible, what loſſes ſoeuer he

*Pyrrus with a blow of his ſword claue his enemies head in the middeſt, & layed it on his ſhoulders.*

*Manius Curius Conſull.*

*Pyrrus third battell with the Romaines.*

*Pyrrus ouerthrowen by Manius Curius in battell.*

had ſuſtained: and moreouer whileſt he liued, he was euer eſteemed the chiefeſt of all the kings & princes in his time, as well for his experience and ſufficiency in warres, as alſo for the valiantnes and hardines of his perſon. But what he wanne by famous deeds, he loſt by vaine hopes: deſiring ſo earneſtly that which he had not, as he forgot to keepe that which he had. Wherefore *Antigonus* compared him vnto a dice player that caſteth well but cannot vſe his lucke. Now hauing brought backe againe with him into EPIRVS, eight thouſand footemen, and fiue hundreth horſemen, and being without money to pay them, he deuiſed with himſelfe to ſeeke out ſome new warre to entertaine thoſe ſouldiers, and keepe them together. Wherefore vpon a new aide of certaine GAVLES being come vnto him, he entred into the realme of MACEDON (which *Antigonus*, *Demetrius* ſonne held at that time) with intent onely to make a forrey, and to get ſome ſpoile in the country. But when he ſawe that he had taken diuerſe holdes, and moreouer, that two thouſand men of warre of the country came and yeelded themſelues vnto him: he beganne to hope of better ſucceſſe, then at the firſt he looked for. For vpon that hope he marched againſt king *Antigonus* ſelfe, whom he met in a very ſtraight valley, and at his firſt cõming, gaue ſuch a luſty charge vpon his rereward, that he put all *Antigonus* army in great diſorder. For *Antigonus* had placed the GAVLES in the rereward of his army to cloſe it in, which were a conuenient number, and did valiantly defend the firſt charge: and the skirmiſh was ſo hotte, that the moſt of them were ſlaine. After them, the leaders of the elephants perceiuing they were enuironed on euery ſide, yeelded themſelues and their beaſtes. *Pyrrus* ſeing his power to be now increaſed, with ſuch a ſupply, truſting more to his good fortune, then any good reaſon might moue him: thruſt further into the battell of the MACEDONIANS, who were all afraide, and troubled for the ouerthrow of their rereward, ſo as they would not once baſe their pikes, nor fight againſt him. He for his part holding vp his hand, and calling the Captaines of the bands by their names, ſtraight wayes made all the footmen of *Antigonus* turne wholly to his ſide: who flying ſaued himſelfe with a fewe horſemen, and kept certaine of the citties in his realme vpon the ſea coaſt. But *Pyrrus* in all his proſperitie iudging nothing more to redound to his honour and glory, then the ouerthrow of the GAVLES, layed aſide their goodlieſt and richeſt ſpoyles, and offred vp the ſame in the temple of *Minerua Itonida*, with this inſcription.

*Pyrrus compared to a dyce player.*

*Pyrrus returne into Epirus out of Italie.*

*Pyrrus victory of Antigonus king of Macedon.*

*Antigonus flieth from king Pyrrus.*

*VVhen Pyrrus had ſubdude, the puiſant Gaules in fields,*
*He cauſed of their ſpoyles to make, theſe targets, armes and ſhields:*
*The which he hanged vp, in temple all on high,*
*Before Minerua (goddeſſe heere) in ſigne of victory.*
*VVhen he had ouercome, the whole and hugie hoaſt:*
*The which Antigonus did bring, into his countries coaſt.*
*Ne maruell ſhould it ſeeme, though victory be wonne,*
*Since valiantnes brings victory, and euermore hath done:*
*And valiantnes alwaies, hath conſtantly kept place,*
*From age to age, and time to time, in EAcus his race.*

Immediatly after this battell, all the cities of the realme of MACEDON yeelded vnto him: but when he had the citie of ÆGES in his power, he vſed the inhabitants thereof very hardly, & ſpecially becauſe he left a great garriſõ of the GAVLES there which he had in pay. This nation is extreame couetous, as then they ſhewed themſelues: for they ſpared not to breake vp the tombes wherein the kings of MACEDON lay buried there, tooke away all the gold & ſiluer they could finde, and afterwards with great inſolency caſt out their bones into the open winde. *Pyrrus* was tolde it, but he lightly paſſed it ouer, and made no reckoning of it: either becauſe he deferred it till another time, by reaſon of the warres he had then in hande: or elſe for that he durſt not medle with puniſhing of theſe barbarous people at that time. But whatſoeuer the matter was, the MACEDONIANS were very angry with *Pyrrus*, and blamed him greatly for it. Furthermore, hauing not yet made all things ſure in MACEDON, not being fully poſſeſt of the ſame: new toyes and hope came into his head, and mocking *Antigonus* ſayd, he was a mad man to go apparelled in purple like a king, when a poore cloke might become him like a priuate man. Now, *Cleonymus* king of SPARTA being come to procure him, to

*The couetouſnes of the Gaules.*

bring his army into the coũtry of LACEDÆMON, *Pyrrus* was very willing to it. This *Cleonymus* was of the blud royall of SPARTA, but becauſe he was a cruel man & would do al things by authority, they loued him not at SPARTA, nor truſted him at all: and therefore did they put him out, & made *Areus* king, a very quiet man And this was the oldeſt quarrell *Cleonymus* had againſt the cõmon wealth of SPARTA: but beſides that, he had another priuate quarrell, which grew vpon this cauſe. In his old yeares, *Cleonymus* had maried a faire yoũg lady called *Chelidonide*, which was alſo of the blood royall, & the daughter of *Leotychides*. This lady being fallen extreamely in loue with *Acrotatus*, king *Areus* ſonne, a goodly yong gentleman, and in his luſty youth, ſhe greatly vexed and diſhonored her husband *Cleonymus*, who was ouer heade and eares in loue and ielouſie with her: for there was not one in all SPARTA, but planely knew that his wife made none account of him. And thus his home ſorrowes, being ioyned with his outward common grieues, euen for ſpight, deſiring a reuenge, in choller he went to procure *Pyrrus* to come vnto SPARTA, to reſtore him againe to his kingdome. Hereupon he brought him into LACEDÆMONIA forthwith, with fiue & twenty thouſand footmen, two thouſand horſe, and foure and twenty elephantes: by which preparation, though by nothing elſe, the world might plainely ſee, that *Pyrrus* came with a minde not to reſtore *Cleonymus* againe vnto SPARTA, but of intẽt to conquer for himſelfe (if he could) all the coũtrie of PELOPONNESVS. For in words he denied it to the LACEÆDMONIANS themſelues, who ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him, when he was in the city of MEGALOPOLIS, where he told them that he was come into PEIOPONNESVS, to ſet the townes and cities at libertie which *Antigonus* kept in bondage: & that his true intent and meaning was to ſend his young ſonnes into SPARTA (ſo they would be contẽted) to the end they might be trained after the LACONIAN manner, and from their youth haue this aduantage aboue all other kings, to haue beene well brought vp. But fayning theſe things, and abuſing thoſe that came to meete him on his way, they tooke no heede of him, till he came within the coaſt of LACONIA, into the which he was no ſooner entred, but he began to ſpoyle and waſt the whole country. And when the Ambaſſadors of SPARTA reproued and found fault with him, for that he made warres vpon them in ſuch ſort, before he had openly proclaimed it: he made them anſwer: no more haue you your ſelues vſed to proclaime that, which you purpoſed to do to others. Then one of the Ambaſſadors called *Mandricidas*: replied again vnto him in the LACONIAN tongue. If thou be a god, thou wilt doe vs no hurte, becauſe we haue not offended thee: and if thou be a man, thou ſhalt meete with another that ſhalbe better then thy ſelfe. Then he marched directly to SPARTA, where *Cleonymus* gaue him counſell euen at the firſt, to aſſault it. But he would not ſo do fearing (as they ſayed) that if he did it by night, his ſouldiers would ſacke the city: and ſayed it ſhould be time enough to aſſault it the next day at broad day light, becauſe there were but few men within the town, and beſide they were very ill prouided. And furthermore, king *Areus* himſelfe was not there, but gone into CRETA to aide the GORTYNIANS, who had warres in his owne country. And doubtles, that only was the ſauing of SPARTA from taking, that they made no reckning to aſſault it hotly: becauſe they thought it was not able to make reſiſtance. For *Pyrrus* camped before the towne, throughly perſwaded with himſelfe, that he ſhould finde none to fight with him: and *Cleonymus* friends and ſeruantes alſo did prepare his lodging there, as if *Pyrrus* ſhould haue come to ſupper to him, and logded with him. When night was come the LACEDÆMONIANS counſelled together, & ſecretly determined to ſend away their wiues, and litle children into CRETA. But the women themſelues were againſt it, and there was one among them called *Archidamia*, who went into the Senate houſe with a ſword in her hand, to ſpeak vnto them in the name of all the reſt, and ſayd. That they did their wiues great wrong, if they thought them ſo fainte harted, as to liue after SPARTA were deſtroyed. Afterwards it was agreed in councell, that they ſhould caſt a trench before the enemies campe, and that at both the endes of the ſame they ſhould bury cartes in the ground vnto the middeſt of the wheeles, to the end that being faſt ſet in the ground, they ſhould ſtay the elephantes, and keepe them from paſſing further. And when they began to go in hand withall, there came wiues and maydes vnto them, ſome of them their clothes girt vp round about them, and others all in their ſmockes, to worke at this trench with the olde men, aduiſing the

*Areus made king of Sparta, and Cleonymus put downe*

*The cauſe of Pyrrus inuading Peloponneſus.*

*Pyrrus ſtratageme to the Spartans.*

*Mandricidas ſtout anſwer to King Pyrrus.*

*Pyrrus beſiegeth Lacedæmon.*

*The courage of the women of Sparta.*

*VVomen wrought in the trench.*

*VVomen encouraged their men to fight.*

*Pyrrus battell.*

*Acrotatus valiantnes.*

*Pyrrus dreame.*

young men that ſhould fight the next morning, to reſt themſelues in the meane while. So the women tooke the third parte of the trench to taske, which was ſixe cubites broade, foure cubits deepe, and eight hundreth foote long as *Philarchus* ſayeth or litle leſſe as *Hyeronimus* writeth. Then when the breake of day appeared, & the enemies remoued to come to the aſſault: the women themſelues fecthed the weapons which they put into the young mens hands, and deliuered them the taske of the trench ready made, which they before had vndertaken, praying them valiantly to keepe and defend it, telling them withall, how great a pleaſure it is to ouercome the enemies, fighting in view and ſight of their natiue country, & what great felicity and honor it is to die in the armes of his mother and wife, after he hath fought valiantly like an honeſt man, & worthy of the magnanimity of SPARTA. But *Chelidonida* being gone a ſide, had tyed a halter with a riding knot about her necke, ready to ſtrangle & hang herſelfe, rather thẽ to fall into the hands of *Cleonymus*, if by chance the city ſhould come to be taken. Now *Pyrrus* marched in perſon with his battell of footemen, againſt the front of the SPARTANS, who being a great number alſo, did tarry his comming on the other ſide of the trench: the which, beſides that it was very ill to paſſe ouer, did let the ſouldiers alſo to fight ſteadily in order of battell, becauſe the earth being newly caſt vp, did yeeld vnder their feet. Wherefore, *Ptolomie* king *Pyrrus* ſonne, paſſing all alongſt the trẽch ſide with two thouſand GAVLES, & all the choice men of the CHAONIANS, aſſayed if he could get ouer to the other ſide at one of the endes of the trench where the cartes were: which being ſet very deepe into the ground, and one ioyned vnto another, they did not only hinder the aſſaylants, but the defendants alſo. Howbeit in the end, the GAVLES began to plucke off the wheels of theſe cartes, and to draw them into the riuer. But *Acrotatus*, king *Areus* ſonne, a young man, ſeing the daunger, ranne through the city with a troupe of three hundreth luſty youths beſides, & went to incloſe *Ptolomie* behind, before he eſpied him, for that he paſſed a ſecret hollow way till he came euen to giue the charge vpon them: wherby they were enforced to turne their faces towardes him, one running in anothers necke, and ſo in great diſorder were thruſt into the trenches, and vnder the cartes: inſomuch as at the laſt, with much a do, and great bloodſhed, *Acrotatus* and his company draue them backe, and repulſed them. Now the women and old men, that were on the other ſide of the trench, ſaw plainly before their face, how valiantly *Acrotatus* had repulſed the GAVLES. Wherefore after *Acrotatus* had done this exployte, he returned againe through the city vnto the place from whence he came, all on a goare blood: couragious and liuely, for the victory he came newly from. The women of SPARTA thought *Acrotatus* farre more noble and fayrer to behold, then euer he was: ſo that the all thought *Chelidonida* happy to haue ſuch a friend and louer. And there were certaine olde men, that followed him crying after him, go thy way *Acrotatus*, and enioy thy loue *Chelidonida*: beget noble children of her vnto SPARTA. The fight was cruel on that ſide where *Pyrrus* was, and many of the SPARTANS fought very valiantly. Howbeit, amongſt other, there was one named *Phillius*, who after he had fought long, and ſlaine many of his enemies with his owne hands, that forced to paſſe ouer the trench: perceiuing that his hart fainted for the great number of woundes he had vpon him, called one of them that were in the rancke next behind him, and giuing him his place, fell downe dead in the armes of his friendes, becauſe his enemies ſhould not haue his bodie. In the ende, the battell hauing continued all the day long, the night did ſeparate them: and *Pyrrus*, being layd in his bed, had this viſion in his ſleepe. He thought he ſtroke the city of LACEDÆMON with lightning, that he vtterly conſumed it: whereat he was ſo paſſing glad, that euen with the very ioy he awaked. And thereuppon forthwith commaunded his Captaines to make their men ready to the aſſault: and told his dreame vnto his familiars, ſuppoſing that out of doubt it did betoken he ſhould in that approach take the cittie. All that heard it, beleeued it was ſo, ſauing one *Lyſimachus*: who to the contrary ſayed, that this viſion liked him not, becauſe the places ſmitten with lightning are holy, and it is not lawful to enter into them: by reaſon whereof he was alſo afraide, that the gods did ſignifie vnto him, that he ſhould not enter into the cittie of SPARTA. *Pyrrus* anſwered him: that ſayed he, is a matter diſputable to & fro in an open aſſembly of people, for there is no mãner of certainty in it. But furthermore, euery man muſt take his weapon in his hand, & ſet this ſentence before his eyes,

*A right good thing it is, that he would hazard life*
*In iuſt defence of maſters cauſe with ſpeare and bloodie knife.*

Alluding vnto *Homers* verſes, which he wrote for the defence of his country. And ſaying thus, he roſe, and at the breake of day led his army vnto the aſſault. On the other ſide alſo, the LACEDÆMONINS with a maruellous courage and magnanimity, far greater thē their force, beſtirred themſelues wonderfully to make reſiſtance, hauing their wiues by them that gaue them their weapons wherewith they fought, and were ready at hand to giue meate & drinke to them that needed, and did alſo withdrawe thoſe that were hurt to cure them. The MACEDONIANS likewiſe for their parte, indeuored themſelues with all their might to fill vp the trench with wood and other things, which they caſt vpon the dead bodies and armours lying in the bottome of the ditch: & the LACEDÆMONIANS again, labored all that they could poſſible to let them. But in this great broile, one perceiued *Pyrrus* on horſe backe to haue lept the trench, paſt ouer the ſtrength of the cartes, and make force to enter into the city. Wherefore thoſe that were appointed to defend that part of the trenche, cryed out ſtraight: and the women fell a ſhreekng, and running as if all had bene loſt. And as *Pyrrus* paſſed further, ſtriking down with his owne hands all that ſtood before him, a CRETAN ſhot at him, & ſtroke his horſe through both ſides: who leaping out of the preaſe for paine of his wound, dying, caried *Pyrrus* away, and threw him vpon the hanging of a ſteepe hill, where he was in great danger to fall from the toppe. This put all his ſeruantes and friendes about him in a maruellous feare, and therewithall the LACEDÆMONIANS ſeing them in this feare and trouble ran immediatly vnto that place, and with force of ſhotte draue them all out of the trench. After this retyre, *Pyrrus* cauſed all aſſault to ceaſe, hoping the LACEDÆMONIANS in the end would yeelde, conſidering there were many of them ſlaine in the two dayes paſt, and all the reſt in a manner hurt. Howbeit, the good fortune of the city (whether it were to proue the valiantnes of the inhabitants themſelues, or at the leaſt to ſhew what power they were of euen in their greateſt need and diſtreſſe, whē the LACEDÆMONIANS had ſmall hope left) brought one *Aminias Phocian* from CORINTH, one of king *Antigonus* Captains with a great band of men, and put them into the city to aide them: and ſtraight after him, as ſoone as he was entred, king *Areus* arriued alſo on the other ſide frō CRETA, & two thouſand ſouldiers with him. So the women went home to their houſes, making their reckening that they ſhould not neede any more to trouble themſelues with warres. They gaue the olde men liberty alſo to go and reſt themſelues, who being paſt all age to fight, for neceſſities ſake yet were driuen to arme themſelues, and take weapon in hand: and in order of battell placed the newe-come ſouldiers in their roomes. *Pyrrus* vnderſtanding that new ſupplies were come, grew to greater ſtomacke then before, and inforced all that he could to win the town by aſſault. But in the end, when to his coſt he found that he wanne nothing but blowes, he gaue ouer the ſiege, and went to ſpoyle all the country about, determining to lye there in garriſon all the winter. He could not for all this auoide his deſtinie. For there roſe a ſedition in the city of ARGOS betwene two of the chiefeſt citizens, *Ariſteas* and *Ariſtippus*: and becauſe *Ariſteas* thought that king *Antigonus* did fauor his enemie *Ariſtippus*, he made haſt to ſend firſt vnto *Pyrrus*, whoſe nature and diſpoſition was ſuch, that he did continually heape hope vpon hope, euer taking the preſent proſperity, for an occaſion to hope after greater to come. And if it fell out he was a loſer, then he ſought to recouer himſelfe, and to reſtore his loſſe by ſome other newe attemptes. So that neither for being conquerour, nor ouercome, he would euer be quiet, but alwayes troubled ſome, and himſelfe alſo: by reaſon whereof, he ſodainly departed towards ARGOS. But king *Areus* hauing layed ambuſhes for him in diuerſe places, and occupied alſo the ſtraighteſt and hardeſt paſſages, by the which he was to paſſe: gaue a charge vpon the GAVLES and MOLOSSIANS, which were in the tayle of his army. Now, the ſelfeſame day *Pyrrus* was warned by a ſoothſayer, who ſacrificing had found the liuer of the ſacrificed beaſt infected: that it betokned the loſſe of ſome moſt neere vnto him. But when he heard the noyſe of the charge giuen, he thought not on the warning of the Soothſayer, but commaunded his ſonne to take his houſeholde ſeruantes with him, and to go thither: as he himſelfe in the meane time with as great haſt as he coulde, made the reſt of his army march, to get them quickely out of

*Pyrrus in dāger of his life, at the ſiege of Sparta.*

*King Areus arriued in Sparta with newe aide.*

*Sedition in the city of Argos.*

*Pyrrus repulſed from Sparta goeth vnto Argos.*

this dangerous way. The fray was very hotte about *Ptolomie Pyrrus* ſonne, for they were all the chiefe men of the LACEDÆMONIANS with whom he had to doe, led by a valiant Captaine, called *Eualcus*. But as he fought valiantly againſt thoſe that ſtoode before him, there was a ſouldier of CRETA called *Oræſus*, borne in the city of APTERA, a mã very ready of his hand, and light of foote, who running alongſt by him, ſtroke him ſuch a blow on his ſide, that he fell downe dead in the place. This prince *Ftolomie* being ſlaine, his company began ſtraight to flye: and the LACEDÆMONIANS followed the chaſe ſo hotly, that they tooke no heede of themſelues, vntill they ſaw they were in the plaine field farre from their footmen. Wherfore, *Pyrrus* vnto whom the death of his ſonne was newly reported, being on fire with ſorrow & paſſion, turned ſodainly vpon them with the men of armes of the MOLCSSIANS, and being the firſt that came vnto them, made a maruellous ſlaughter among them. For, notwithſtanding that euery where before that time he was terrible and inuincible, hauing his ſworde in his hand: yet then he did ſhew more proofe of his valiantneſſe, ſtrength, and courage, then he had euer done before. And when he had ſette ſpurres to his horſe againſt *Eualcus* to cloſe with him: *Eualcus* turned on the one ſide, and gaue *Pyrrus* ſuch a blowe with his ſword, that he miſſed litle the cutting off his bridle hand: for he cut indeede all the raines of the bridle aſunder. But *Pyrrus* ſtraight ran him through the bodie with his ſpeare, and lighting off frõ his horſe, he put all the troupe of the LACEDÆMONIANS to the ſword that were about the body of *Eualcus*, being all choſen men. Thus the ambition of the Captaines was cauſe of that loſſe vnto their country for nothing, conſidering that the wars againſt thẽ were ended. But *Pyrrus* hauing now as it were made ſacrifice of theſe poore bodies of the LACEDÆMONIANS, for the ſoule of his dead ſonne, and ſought thus wonderfully alſo, to honor his funerals, conuerting a great part of his ſorrow for his death, into anger and wrath againſt the enemies: he afterwards held on his way directly towards ARGOS. And vnderſtanding that king *Antigonus* had already ſeazed the hils that were ouer the valley, he lodged neere vnto the city of NAVPLIA: and the next morning following ſent an herauld vnto *Antigonus*, & gaue him defiance, calling him wicked man, and chalenged him to come downe into the valley to fight with him, to trye which of them two ſhould be king. *Antigonus* made him anſewr, that he made warres as much with time as with weapon: & furthermore, that if *Pyrrus* were weary of his life, he had wayes open enough to put himſelfe to death. The cittizens of ARGOS alſo ſent Ambaſſadors vnto them both, to pray them to departe, ſith they knew that there was nothing for them to ſee in the city of ARGOS, and that they would let it be a neuter, & friend vnto them both. King *Antigonus* agreed vnto it, and gaue them his ſonne for hoſtage. *Pyrrus* alſo made them faire promiſe ſo to do to, but becauſe he gaue no caution nor ſufficient pledge to perform it, they miſtruſted him the more. Then there fell out many great & wonderful tokens, as well vnto *Pyrrus*, as vnto the ARGIVES. For *Fyrrus* hauing ſacrificed oxen, their heads being ſtricken off from their bodies, they thruſt out their tongues, and licked vp their owne blood. And within the city of ARGOS, a ſiſter of the temple of *Apollo Lyſias*, called *Apollonide*, ranne through the ſtreetes, crying out that ſhe ſaw the city full of murther, and blood running all about, and an Eagle that came vnto the fray, howbeit ſhe vanquiſhed away ſodainly and no body knew what became of her. *Pyrrus* then comming hard to the walles of ARGOS in the night & finding one of the gates called Diãperes, opened by *Ariſteas*, he put in his GAVLES: who poſſeſſed the market place, before the citizens knew any thing of it. But becauſe the gate was too low to paſſe the elephantes through with their towers vpon their backes, they were driuen to take them off, & afterwards when they were within, to put them on in the dark, and in tumult: by reaſon whereof they loſt much time, ſo that the citizens in the end perceiued it, and ran incontinently vnto the caſtell of Aſpides, & into other ſtrong places of the city. And therewithall, they ſent with preſent ſpeede vnto *Antigonus*, to pray him to come and helpe them, and ſo he did: and after he was come hard to the wals, he remained without with the skowtes, and in the meane time ſent his ſon with his chiefeſt Captaines into the towne, who brought a great nũber of good ſouldiers, and men of warres with them. At the ſame time alſo arriued *Areus* king of SPARTA, with a thouſand of the CRETANS, & moſt luſty SPARTANS: all which ioyning together, came to giue a charge vpõ the GAVLES that were in the market place,

*Ptolomy king Pyrrus ſonne ſlaine by Oræſus Cretan.*

*Pyrrus ſlewe Eualcus.*

*Antigonus anſwer to Pyrrus challenge.*

*Tokens of Pyrrus death.*

*Pyrrus fight in the city of Argos.*

*Aſpides, the caſtell in Argos*

place, who put them in a maruellous feare and hazard. *Pyrrus* entring on that ſide alſo of the citie called Cylarabis, with terrible noiſe and cries: when he vnderſtoode that the GAVLES anſwered him not luſtily and couragiouſly, he doubted ſtraight that it was the voice of men diſtreſſed, and that had their hands full. Wherefore, he came on with ſpeede to relieue them, thruſting the horſemen forwardes that marched before him, with great danger and paine, by reaſon of holes, and ſinckes, and water conduites, whereof the citie was full. By this meane there was a wonderfull confuſion amongſt them, as may be thought fighting by night, where no man ſaw what he had to doe, nor could heare what was commaunded, by reaſon of the great noiſe they made, ſtraying here and there vp and downe the ſtreetes, the one ſcattered from the other: neither could the Captaines ſet their men in order, as well for the darkeneſſe of the night, as alſo for the confuſed tumult that was all the citie ouer, and for that the ſtreetes alſo were very narrow. And therefore they remained on both ſides without doing any thing, looking for day light: at the dawning whereof, *Pyrrus* perceiued the caſtle of Aſpides, full of his armed enemies. And furthermore, ſodainly as he was come into the market place, amongſt many other goodly common works ſet out to beautifie the ſame, he ſpied the images of a bull and a wolfe in copper, the which fought one with an other. This ſight made him affraide, becauſe at that preſent he remembred a prophecie that had bene told him, that his end and death ſhould be when he ſaw a wolfe and a bull fight together. The ARGIVES report, that theſe images were ſet vp in the market place, for the remembrance of a certaine chance that had happened in their countrie. For when *Danaus* came thither firſt, by the way called *Pyramia* (as one would ſay, land ſowen with corne) in the country of THYREATIDE, he ſaw as he went, a wolfe fight with a bull: whereupon he ſtaied to ſee what the ende of their fight would come to, ſuppoſing the caſe in himſelfe, that the wolfe was of his ſide, becauſe that being a ſtranger as he was, he came to ſet vpon the naturall inhabitants of the countrie. The wolfe in the end obtained the victorie: wherefore *Danaus* making his prayer vnto *Apollo Lycias*, followed on his enterpriſe, and had ſo good ſucceſſe, that he draue *Gelanor* out of ARGOS, who at that time was king of the ARGIVES. And thus you heare the cauſe why they ſay theſe images of the wolfe & bull were ſet vp in the market place of ARGOS. *Pyrrus* being halfe diſcouraged with the ſight of them, and alſo becauſe nothing fell out well according to his expectation, thought beſt to retire: but fearing the ſtraightneſſe of the gates of the citie, he ſent vnto his ſonne *Helenus*, whom he had left without the citie with the greateſt part of his force and armie, commaunding him to ouerthrow a peece of the wall that his men might the more readily get out, and that he might receiue them, if their enemies by chance did hinder their comming out. But the meſſenger whom he ſent, was ſo haſtie and fearefull, with the tumult that troubled him in going out, that he did not well vnderſtand what *Pyrrus* ſaid vnto him, but reported his meſſage quite contrarie. Whereupon the young prince *Helenus* taking the beſt ſouldiers he had with him, and the reſt of his Elephants, entered into the citie to helpe his father, who was now giuing backe: and ſo long as he had roome to fight at eaſe, retyring ſtill, he valiantly repulſed thoſe that ſet vppon him, turning his face oft vnto them. But when hee was driuen vnto the ſtreete that went from the market place to the gate of the citie, he was kept in with his owne men that entered at the ſame gate to helpe him. But they could not heare when *Pyrrus* cried out, and bad them go backe, the noiſe was ſo great: and though the firſt had heard him, and would haue gone backe, yet they that were behind, and did ſtill thruſt forward into the preaſe, did not permit them. Beſides this moreouer, the biggeſt of all the Elephantes by misfortune fell downe ouerthwart the gate, where he grinding his teeth did hinder thoſe alſo, that would haue come out and giuen backe. Furthermore, another of the Elephants that were entred before into the citie, called Nicon (as much to ſay, as conquering) ſeeking his gouernour that was ſtriken downe to the ground from his backe with terrible blowes: ranne vpon them that came backe vpon him, ouerthrowing friends and foes one in an others necke, till at the length hauing found the bodie of his maſter ſlaine, he lift him vp from the ground with his troncke, and carying him vpon his two tuſhes, returned backe with great furie, treading all vnder feete he founde in his way. Thus euery man being thronged and crowded vp together in this ſort, there was not one that could helpe himſelfe: for it ſeemed to be a maſſe & heape of a multitude,

*A bull and wolfe in copper, ſet vp in the citie of Argos fighting together.*

*Danaus wanne the citie of Argos from king Gelanor.*

*Apollo Lycias.*

*Gelanor king of the Argiues.*

*Helenus Pyrrus ſonne.*

*The ſtrange loue of an Elephant to his keeper.*

and one whole bodie ſhut together, which ſometime thruſt forwarde, and ſometime gaue backe, as the ſway went. They fought not ſo much againſt their enemies, who ſet vpon them behinde: but they did themſelues more hurt then their enemies did. For if any drewe out his ſworde, or baſed his pike, he could neither ſcabarde the one againe, nor lift vp the other, but thruſt it full vpon his owne fellowes that came in to helpe them, and ſo killed themſelues one thruſting vpon an other. Wherefore *Pyrrus* ſeeing his people thus troubled and harried to and fro, tooke his crowne from his head which he ware vpon his helmet, that made him knowen of his men a farre off, & gaue it vnto one of his familiars that was next vnto him: and truſting then to the goodneſſe of his horſe, flew vpon his enemies that followed him. It fortuned that one hurt him with a pike, but the wound was neither dangerous nor great: wherefore *Pyrrus* ſet vpon him that had hurt him, who was an ARGIAN borne, a man of meane condition, and a poore old womans ſonne, whoſe mother at that preſent time was gotten vp to the toppe of the tyles of a houſe, as all other women of the citie were, to ſee the fight. And ſhe perceiuing that it was her ſonne whom *Pyrrus* came vpon, was ſo afrighted to ſee him in that danger, that ſhe tooke a tyle, and with both her handes caſt it vpon *Pyrrus*. The tyle falling off from his head by reaſon of his head peece, lighted full in the nape of his necke, and brake his neck bone a ſunder: wherewith he was ſodainely ſo benummed, that he loſt his ſight with the blow, the raines of his bridle fell out of his hande, and himſelfe fell from his horſe to the ground, by *Licymnias* tombe, before any man knew what he was, at the leaſt the common people. Vntill at the laſt there came one *Zopyrus* that was in pay with *Antigonus*, and two or three other ſouldiers alſo that ran ſtraight to the place, and knowing him, dragged his body into a gate, euen as he was comming againe to himſelfe out of this traunſe. This *Zopyrus* drew out a SLAVON ſword he wore by his ſide, to ſtrike off his head. But *Pyrrus* caſt ſuch a grimme countenance on him betwene his eyes that made him ſo afraid, and his hand ſo to ſhake therewith: that being thus amazed, he did not ſtrike him right in the place where he ſhould haue cut off his head, but killed him vnder his mouth about his chinne, ſo that he was a great while ere he could ſtrike off his head. The matter was ſtraight blowen abroad amongſt diuerſe: whereupon *Alcyoneus* running thither, asked for the head that he might know it againe. But when he had it, he ran preſently vnto his father withall, and found him talking with his familiar friendes, and caſt *Pyrrus* head before him. *Antigonus* looking vpon it, when he knew it, laide vpon his ſonne with his ſtaffe, and called him cruell murderer, and vnnaturall barbarous beaſt: and ſo hiding his eyes with his cloke, wept for pitie (remembring the fortune of his grandfather *Antigonus*, and of his father *Demetrius*) and then cauſed *Pyrrus* head and bodie to be honorably burnt and buried. Afterwards *Alcyoneus* meeting *Helenus* (king *Pyrrus* ſonne) in very poore ſtate, mufled vp with a poore ſhort cloke: vſed him very courteouſly with gentle words, and brought him to his father. *Antigonus* ſeeing his ſonne bringing of him, ſaide vnto him: this part now (my ſonne) is better then the firſt, and pleaſeth me a great deale more. But yet thou haſt not done all thou ſhouldeſt: for thou ſhouldeſt haue taken from him his beggerly cloke he weareth which doth more ſhame vs that are the gainers, then him that is the looſer. After he had ſpoken theſe wordes, *Antigonus* embraced *Helenus*, and hauing apparelled him in good ſort, ſent him home with honourable conuoy into his Realme of EPYRVS. Furthermore, ceazing all *Pyrrus* campe and army, he courteouſly receiued all his friendes and ſeruantes.

*King Pyrrus ſlaine with a tyle throwen by a woman.*

*Alcyoneus king Antigonus ſon.*

*Antigonus curteſie towards Pyrrus bodie and friends.*

*The end of Pyrrus life.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Caius Marius.*

C.MARIVS
COS.

IT is not knowen what was the third name of *Caius Marius*, no more then of *Quintius Sertorius*, who had all SPAYNE in his hands at one time: nor of *Lucius Mummius*, he that deſtroyed the citie of CORINTHE. For this name of *Achaicus* that was giuen vnto *Mummius*, of *Africanus* vnto *Scipio*: and of *Numidicus* vnto *Metellus*: were all ſurnames giuen them, by reaſon of the conqueſts they wan. By this reaſon *Poſidonius* thinketh to ouercome them that ſay, that the third name the ROMAINES haue, is their proper name: as *Camillus*, *Marcellus*, *Cato*. For if it fell out ſo, ſaid he, then it muſt needes follow that they which haue two names, ſhould haue no proper name. But on the other ſide alſo, he doth not conſider that by the like reaſon he ſhould ſay, that women haue no names: for there is not a woman in ROME that is called by her firſt name, which *Poſidonius* iudgeth to be the proper name of the ROMAINES. And that of the other two, the one is the common name of all the houſe or family, as of the POMPEIANS, of the MANLIANS, and of the CORNELIANS, like as the HERACLIDES and the PELOPIDES are amongſt the GRECIANS: and the other is a ſurname taken of the deedes, or of the nature, forme, or ſhape of the bodie, or of ſome other like accident, as are theſe ſurnames, *Macrinus*, *Torquatus*, and *Sylla*. Euen as amongeſt the GRECIANS likewiſe, *Mnemon*, which ſignifieth hauing good memory: *Grypos*, hauing a crooked noſe: *Callinicos*, conquering. But as for that, the diuerſitie of cuſtome would deliuer obiection ſufficient to the contrarie, to him that liſted. And furthermore, as touching the fauour of *Marius* face, we haue ſeene an image of his in marble at RAVENNA, a citie of the GAVLES, which doth liuely repreſent that rough ſeueritie of nature and maner which they ſay was in him. For being borne a rough man by nature and giuen to the warres, and hauing followed the ſame altogether from his youth, more then the ciuill life: when he came to authoritie, he could not bridle his anger and cholericke nature. And they ſay furthermore, that he neuer learned the Greeke tongue, nor vſed it in any matters of weight: as though it had bene a mockery to ſtudie to learne the tongue, the maſters whereof liued in bondage vnder others. After his ſecond triumph, in the dedication of a certaine temple, hee made Greeke plaies to ſhewe the ROMAINES paſtime: and came into the Theater, howbeit he did but ſit downe only, and went his way ſtraight. Wherefore me thinkes, that as *Plato* was wont to ſay oft vnto *Xenocrates* the

*Of the names of the Romaines.*

*Marius fauor.*

*Marius could no skill of the Greeke tongue.*

*Platoes ſaying to Xenocrates.*

Philoſopher, who was of a curriſh nature, had his head euer occupied, & too ſeuere: *Xenocrates*, my friend, I pray thee do ſacrifice to the *Graces*. So if any man could haue perſwaded *Marius* to haue ſacrificed to the *Muſes*, and to the GRECIAN *Graces*: (that is to ſay, that he had knowen the Greeke tongue) to ſo many famous and glorious deedes as he did, both in peace and warres, he had not ioyned ſo vnfortunate and miſerable an end as he made, through his choller and extreame ambition, at ſuch yeares, and through an vnſatiable couetouſnes, which like boyſterous windes made him to make ſhipwracke of all, in a moſt cruell, bloudy, and vnnaturall age. The which is eaſily knowen in reading the diſcourſe of his doings.

*Marius parents, maners, and countrie.*

Firſt of all he was of a meane houſe, borne of poore parents by father and mother, that got their liuings by ſweate of their browes. His father as himſelfe, was called *Caius*: *Fulcinia* was his mother. And this was the cauſe why he beganne ſo late to haunt the citie, and to learne the ciuilitie and manners of ROME, hauing bene brought vp alwaies before in a litle poore village called CIRROBATON, within the territory of the citie of ARPOS: where he led a hard country life, in reſpect of thoſe that liued pleaſantly and finely in the cities, but otherwiſe well reformed, and neareſt vnto the maners of the ancient ROMAINES.

*Marius firſt iourney vnto the warres.*

The firſt iourney he made vnto the warres, was againſt the CELTIBERIANS in SPAYNE, vnder *Scipio* AFRICAN, when he went to beſiege the citie of NVMANTIA: where his captaines in ſhort time found that he was a better ſouldier then any other of his companions. For he did maruellous eaſily receiue the reformation of manners, and the diſcipline of warres, which *Scipio* aduaunced amongeſt his ſouldiers that were ill trained before, and giuen ouer to all pleaſure. And they ſay, that in the ſight of his Generall he fought hand to hand with one of his enemies, and ſlew him: vpon which occaſion, *Scipio* to make him loue him, did offer him many courteſies and pleaſures. But ſpecially one day aboue the reſt, hauing made him ſuppe with him at his table, ſome one after ſupper falling in talke of Captaines that were in ROME at that time: one that ſtood by *Scipio*, asked him (either becauſe in deede he ſtoode in doubt, or elſe for that he would curry fauour with *Scipio*) what other Captaine the ROMAINES ſhould haue after his death, like vnto him.

*Scipio Africans iudgement of Marius.*

*Scipio* hauing *Marius* by him, gentlely clapped him vpon his ſhoulder, and ſaid: peraduenture this ſhal be he. Thus happily were they both borne, the one to ſhew from his youth that one day he ſhould come to be a great man, and the other alſo for wiſely coniecturing the end, by ſeeing of the beginning. Well, it fortuned ſo, that theſe wordes of *Scipio* (by report) aboue all things elſ put *Marius* in a good hope, as if they had bene ſpoken by the oracle of ſome god, and made him bold to deale in matters of ſtate and common wealth: where by meanes of the fauor & countenance *Cæcilius Metellus* gaue him (whoſe houſe his father and he had alwaies followed and honoured) he obtained the office of Tribuneſhip.

*Marius Tribune of the people.*
*Cotta Conſull.*

In this office he preferred a law touching the manner how to giue the voices in election of the Magiſtrates, which did ſeeme to take from the nobilitie the authority they had in iudgement. And therefore the Conſull *Cotta* ſtepped vp againſt it, and perſwaded the Senate to reſiſt that lawe, and not ſuffer it to be authoriſed, and therewithall preſently to call *Marius* before them to yeeld a reaſon of his doing. So was it agreed vpon in the Senate. Now *Marius* comming into the Senate, was not abaſhed at any thing, as ſome other young man would haue bene, that had but newly begunne to enter into the world as he did, & hauing no other notable calling or qualitie in him, ſauing his vertue only to commend him: but taking boldneſſe of himſelfe (as the noble actes he afterwardes did, gaue ſhew of his valure) he openly threatned the Conſull *Cotta* to ſende him to priſon, if he did not preſently withdrawe the concluſion he had cauſed to be reſolued vpon. The Conſull then turning himſelfe vnto *Cæcilius Metellus*, asked him how he liked it? *Metellus* ſtanding vp, ſpake in the behalfe of the Conſull: and then *Marius* calling a ſergeant out, commaunded him to take *Metellus* ſelfe, and to carrie him to priſon. *Metellus* appealed to the other Tribunes, but neuer a one would take his matter in hand: ſo that the Senate when all was done, were compelled to call backe the concluſion that before was taken. Then *Marius* returning with great honour into the market place among the aſſembly of the people, cauſed this law to paſſe and be authoriſed: and euery man held opinion of him that he would proue a ſtout man, and ſuch a one, as would not ſtoupe for any feare, nor ſhrinke for baſhfulnes, but would beard the Senate in fauour of the people. Notwithſtanding, hee ſhortly after changed opinion, and altered the firſt, by an other act he made. For when an other went about to haue a law made, to diſtribute corne vnto euery citizen without payment of any penny, he was vehemently againſt it, and ouerthrew it: ſo that thereby he came to be a like honored and eſteemed of either partie, as he that would neither pleaſure the one, nor the other, to the preiudice of the common wealth. After he had bene Tribune, he ſued for the chiefeſt office of Ædilis. Of the Ædiles there are two ſortes: the firſt is called *Ædilitas Curulis*, ſo named becauſe of certaine chaires that haue crooked feete, vpon which they ſit when they giue audience. The other is of leſſe dignitie, and that is called *Ædilitas popularis*: and when they had choſen the firſt and greater Ædilis at Rome, they preſently proceede the ſame day alſo in the market place vnto election of the leſſer. *Marius* ſeeing plainely that he was put by the chiefeſt of the Ædiles, turned againe ſtraight yet to demaund the ſecond: but this was miſliked in him, and they tooke him for too bold, too ſhameleſſe, and too preſumptuous a man. So that in one ſelfe day he had two denials and repulſes, which neuer man but him ſelfe before had. And neuertheleſſe, all this could not cut his combe, but ſhortly after he ſued alſo for the Prætorſhippe, and hee lacked but litle of the deniall of that: yet in the ende, being laſt of all choſen, he was accuſed to haue bribed the people, and bought their voices for money. And ſurely amongeſt many other, this preſumption was very great: that they ſaw a man of Cassius Sabacon within the barres where the election is made, running to and fro among them that gaue their voices, becauſe this *Sabacon* was *Marius* very great friend. The matter came before the iudges, and *Sabacon* was examined vpon it. Whereunto he aunſwered, that for the great extreame heate he felt, he was very dry, and asked for colde water to drinke, and that this man had brought him ſome in a potte where he was, howbeit that he went his way as ſoone as euer he had drunke. This *Sabacon* was afterwardes put out of the Senate by the next Cenſors, and many iudge that he was worthy of this infamie, for that he was periured in iudgement, or becauſe he was ſo ſubiect and giuen to his pleaſure. *Caius Herennius* was alſo called for a witneſſe againſt *Marius*: but he did alleage for his excuſe, that the law and cuſtome did diſpence with the Patrone, to be a witnes againſt his follower & client, and he was quit by the iudges. For the Romaines alwaies call thoſe Patrons, who take the protection of meaner then them ſelues into their handes: ſaying, that *Marius* predeceſſors, and *Marius* himſelfe, had euer bene followers of the houſe of the Herennians. The iudges receiued his aunſwere, and allowed thereof. But *Marius* ſpake againſt it, alleaging, that ſince he had receiued this honor to beare office in the common wealth, he was now growen from this baſe condition, to be any more a follower of any man: the which was not true in all. For euery office of a Magiſtrate doth not exempt him that hath the office, nor yet his poſteritie to be vnder the patronage of another, nor doth diſcharge him from the dutie of honoring them: but of neceſſity he muſt be a Magiſtrate, which the lawe doth permit to ſit in the crooked chaire called *Curulis*, that is to ſay, caried vppon a charet through the citie. But notwithſtanding that at the firſt hearing of this cauſe, *Marius* had but ill ſucceſſe, and that the iudges were againſt him all they could: yet in the end for all that, at the laſt hearing of his matter, *Marius*, contrarie to all mens opinions, was diſcharged, becauſe the iudges opinions with and againſt him fell to be of like number. He vſed himſelfe very orderly in his office of Prætorſhippe, and after his yeare was out, when it came to deuide the prouinces by lot, Spaine fell vnto him, which is beyond the riuer of Bætis: where it is reported that he skowred all the country thereabouts of theeues and robbers, which notwithſtanding was yet very cruell and ſauage, for the rude, barbarous, and vnciuill manner and faſhion of life of the inhabitantes there. For the Spanyards were of opinion euen at that time, that it was a goodly thing to liue vpon theft and robberie. At his returne to Rome out of Spayne, deſiring to deale in matters of the common wealth, he ſaw that he had neither eloquence nor riches, which were the two meanes, by the which thoſe that were at that time in credite and authoritie, did carie the people euen as they would. Notwithſtanding, they made great account of his conſtancie and noble minde they found in him, of his great paines and trauell he tooke continually, and of the ſimplicitie of his life: which were cauſes to bring him to honour and preferment, inſomuch as he maried very highly. For he maried *Iulia*, that was of the noble houſe of the *Cæſars*, and aunt vnto *Iulius Cæſar*: who afterwardes came to be the

*Two ſortes of Ædiles.*

*Ædilitas Curulis.*

*Ædilitas popularis.*

*Marius denied to be Ædilis.*

*Marius choſen Prætor.*

*Sabacon put off the Senate.*

*Caius Herennius pleaded in Marius behalfe touching the patron and client.*

*Marius actes in Spaine.*

*The opinion of Spaniards in old time.*

*Eloquence and riches raiſed men to authoritie.*

*How Marius credit and eſtimation grew.*

*Iulia, Marius wife.*

chiefeſt man of all the ROMAINES, and who by reaſon of that alliance betwene them, ſeemed in ſome things to follow *Marius*, as we haue written in his life.

*Marius temperance and patience.*

*Marius* was a man of great temperance and patience, as may be iudged by an acte he did, putting him ſelfe into the handes of ſurgeons. For his ſhankes and legges were full of great ſwollen veines, and being angrie becauſe it was no pleaſant thing to beholde: hee determined to put him ſelfe into the handes of ſurgeons to be cured. And firſt, laying out one of his legges to the ſurgeon to worke vpon, he would not be bound as others are in the like caſe: but patiently abode all the extreame paines a man muſt of neceſſitie feele being cut, without ſturring, groning or ſighing, ſtill keeping his countenance, and ſaid neuer a word. But when the ſurgeon had done with his firſt legge, and would haue gone to the other, he would not giue it him: nay ſaid he, I ſee the cure is not worth the paine I muſt abide.

*Cæcilius Metellus conſull.*

*Marius, Metellus Lieutenant in the warre againſt Iugurthe.*

Afterwardes, *Cæcilius Metellus* the Conſull, being appointed to go into AFRICKE to make warre with king *Iugurthe*, tooke *Marius* with him for one of his Lieutenants. *Marius* being there, ſeeing notable good ſeruice to be done, and good occaſion to ſhew his manhood, was not of mind in this voyage to increaſe *Metellus* honour and reputation, as other Lieutenantes did: and thought that it was not *Metellus* that called him forth for his Lieutenant, but fortune her ſelfe that preſented him a fit occaſion to raiſe him to greatneſſe, and (as it were) did leade him by the hand into a goodly field, to put him to the proofe of that he could doe. And for this cauſe therefore, he endeuoured himſelfe to ſhew all the poſſible proofes of valiantneſſe and honour he could. For, the warres being great continually there, he neuer for feare refuſed any attempt or ſeruice, how dangerous or painefull ſoeuer it were, neither diſdained to take any ſeruice in hand, were it neuer ſo litle: but exceeding all other his fellowes and companions in wiſedome and foreſight, in that which was to be done, and ſtriuing with the meaneſt ſouldiers in liuing hardly and painefully, wanne the goodwill and fauour of euery man. For to ſay truly, it is a great comfort and refreſhing to ſouldiers that labour, to haue companions that labour willingly with them. For they thinke, that their cōpany labouring with them, doth in maner take away the compulſion and neceſſitie.

*The labour & preſence of the Generall maketh the ſouldiers worke willingly.*

Furthermore, it pleaſeth the ROMAINE ſouldier maruellouſly to ſee the Generall eate openly of the ſame bread he eateth, or that he lyeth on a hard bed as he doth, or that himſelfe is the firſt man to ſet his hande to any worke when a trench is to be caſt, or their campe to be fortified. For they doe not ſo much eſteeme the Captaines, that honour and reward them: as they doe thoſe that in dangerous attempts labour, and venture their liues with them. And further, they doe farre better loue them that take paines with them, then thoſe that ſuffer them to liue idlely by them. *Marius* performing all this, and winning thereby the loue & goodwils of his ſouldiers: he ſtraight filled all LIBYA and the citie of ROME with his glory, ſo that he was in euery mans mouth. For they that were in the campe in AFRICKE, wrote vnto them that were at ROME, that they ſhould neuer ſee the end of theſe warres againſt this barbarous king, if they gaue not the charge vnto *Marius*, and choſe him Conſull.

*Marius the author of Turpilius falſe accuſation and death.*

*Vacca, a great citie.*

*The cauſe of the ſuppoſed treaſon againſt Turpilius.*

Theſe things miſliked *Metellus* very much, but ſpecially the misfortune that came vpon *Turpilius* did maruellouſly trouble him: which fell out in this ſort. *Turpilius* was *Metellus* friend, yea he and all his parentes had followed *Metellus* in this warre, being maſter of the workes in his campe. *Metellus* made him gouernour ouer the citie of VACCA, a goodly great citie: and he vſing the inhabitants of the ſame very gentlely & courteouſly, miſtruſting nothing till he was fallen into the hands of his enemies through their treaſon. For they had brought king *Iugurthe* into their city vnknowing to him, howbeit they did him no hurt, but onely begged him of the king, and let him goe his way ſafe. And this was the cauſe why they accuſed *Turpilius* of treaſon. *Marius* being one of his iudges in the councell, was not contented to be bitter to him himſelfe, but moued manie of the Councell beſides to be againſt him. So that *Metellus* by the voices of the people, was driuen againſt his will to condemne him to ſuffer as a traitor: and ſhortly after, it was found and proued, that *Turpilius* was wrongfully condemned & put to death.

*Turpilius wrongfully put to death.*

*Diſpleaſure betwixt Metellus and Marius.*

To ſay truly, there was not one of the Councell but were very ſory with *Metellus*, who maruelous impatiently tooke the death of the poore innocent. But *Marius* contrarily reioyced, and tooke it vpon him that he purſued his death, and was not aſhamed to make open vaunts, that he had hanged a furie about *Metellus* necke, to reuenge his friends bloud, whom he guiltleſſe had cauſed to be put to death. After that time they became mortall enemies. And they ſay, that one day *Metellus* to mocke him withall, ſayd vnto him: O good man, thou wilt leaue vs then, & returne to ROME to ſue for the Conſulſhip, and canſt thou not be contented to tary to be Conſull with my ſonne? Now his ſonne at that time was but a boy. But whatſoeuer the matter ment, *Marius* left him not ſo, but laboured for leaue all he could poſsible. And *Metellus* after he had vſed many delayes and excuſes, at the length gaue him leaue, twelue dayes onely before the day of election of the Conſuls. Wherefore *Marius* made haſt, and in two dayes and a night came from the camp to VTICA vpon the ſea ſide, which is a maruellous way from it: and there before he tooke ſhip, did ſacrifices vnto the goddes, and the Soothſayer told him, that the goddes by the ſignes of his ſacrifices, did promiſe him vncredible proſperitie, and ſo great, as he himſelfe durſt not hope after. Theſe wordes made *Marius* hart greater. Whereupon he hoyſed ſayle, and hauing a paſsing good gale of winde in the poope of the ſhip, paſſed the ſaes in foure dayes, and being landed, rode poſt to ROME. When he was arriued, he went to ſhew himſelfe vnto the people: who were maruellous deſirous to ſee him. And being brought by one of the Tribunes of the people vnto the pulpit for orations, after many accuſations which he obiected againſt *Metellus*, in the end he beſought the people to chooſe him Conſull, promiſing that within few dayes he would either kill, or take king *Iugurthe* priſoner. Whereupō he was choſen Conſull without any contradiction. And ſo ſoone as he was proclaimed, he began immediatly to leauie men of warre, cauſing many poore men that had nothing, and many ſlaues alſo, to be enrolled againſt the order of auncient cuſtome: where other Captaines before him did receiue no ſuch manner of men, and did no more ſuffer vnworthy men to be ſouldiers, thē they did allow of vnworthy officers in the common wealth: in doing the which euery one of them that were enrolled, left their goods behind them, as a pledge of their good ſeruice abroad in the warres. Yet this was not the matter that made *Marius* to be moſt hated, but they were his ſtout proude wordes, full of contempt of others, that did chiefly offende the noble men in the citie. For he proclaimed it euery where abroad as it were, that his Conſulſhip was a ſpoyle he had gotten of the effeminate rich noble men through his valiantneſſe, and that the wounds which he had vpon his body for ſeruice of the common wealth, and not the monuments of the dead, nor the images and ſtatues of others, were thoſe that recommended him to the people, nor were his ſtrength. And oft times naming *Albinus*, and otherwhile *Beſtia*, both noble men, and of great houſes, who hauing bene generals of the ROMAINE army, had very ill fortune in the country of LIBYA: he called them cowardes, and ſimple ſouldiers, asking them that were about him, if they did not thinke that their aunceſters would rather haue wiſhed to haue left their children that came of them like vnto himſelfe, then ſuch as they had bene: conſidering that they themſelues had wonne honour and glory, not for that they were deſcended of noble bloud, but through their deſerued vertue and valiant deedes. Now *Marius* ſpake not theſe wordes in a fooliſh brauery, and for vaine glory onely, to purchaſe the ill will of the nobilitie for nothing: but the common people being very glad to ſee him ſhame and deſpight the Senate, and meaſuring alwayes the greatneſſe of his courage with his haughty fierce words, they egged him forward ſtill not to ſpare the nobility, & to reproue the great men, ſo that he euer held with the communalty. And furthermore, when he was paſſed ouer again into AFRICKE, it ſpighted *Metellus* to the hart, becauſe that he hauing ended all the warre, that there remained almoſt no more to take or winne, *Marius* ſhould come in that ſort to take away the glory and triumph out of his hands, hauing ſought to riſe & increaſe by vnthankefulneſſe towardes him. He would not come to him therefore, but went an other way, & left the army with *Rutilius* one of his Lieutenants, to deliuer the ſame vnto him. Howbeit the reuenge of this ingratitude, lighted in the end vpon *Marius* owne necke. For *Sylla* tooke out of *Marius* hands, the honour of ending this warre: euen as *Marius* had taken it from *Metellus*. But how, and after what ſort, I will repeat it in few wordes, becauſe we haue written the particularities more at large in the life of *Sylla*. *Bocchus* king of high NVMIDIA, was father in law vnto king *Iugurthe*, vnto whom he gaue great aide, whileſt he made warres with the ROMAINES, becauſe he hated his vnfaithfulneſſe, & feared leaſt he would make himſelf greater then he was: but in the end, after *Iugurthe* had fled, and wandered vp and down in euery

*Marius firſt time of being Conſull.*

*Marius offended the nobilitie.*

*Marius depriued Metellus of the honour of conquering of king Iugurthe.*

*Bocchus king of Numidia, deliuereth Iugurthe vnto Sylla.*

place, he was conſtrained of very neceſsitie to caſt his laſt hope and ancker vpon him, as his finall refuge, and ſo repayre vnto him. King *Bocchus* receiued him rather for ſhame, becauſe he durſt not puniſh him, then for any loue or good will he bare him: & hauing him in his hands, ſeemed openly to intreate *Marius* for him, and ſecretly to write the contrary vnto him. But in the meane time, he practiſed treaſon vnder hand, and ſent priuely for *Lucius Sylla*, who then was Quæſtor (to ſay, high treaſurer) vnder *Marius*, and of whom he had receiued certaine pleaſures in thoſe warres. *Sylla* truſting to this barbarous king, went at his ſending for to him. But when he was come, king *Bocchus* repented him of his promiſe, and altered his minde, ſtanding many dayes in doubt with himſelfe how to reſolue, whether he ſhould deliuer king *Iugurthe*, or keepe *Sylla* himſelfe: yet at the laſt he went on with his purpoſe and intended treaſon, and deliuered king *Iugurthe* aliue into *Syllaes* handes. And this was the firſt originall cauſe of the peſtilent and mortall enmitie that grew afterwardes betwixt *Marius* and *Sylla*, and was like to haue vtterly ouerthrowen the citie of ROME, and to haue raſed the foundation of the empire vnto the ground. For many enuying the glorie of *Marius*, gaue it out euery where, that this acte of the taking of king *Iugurthe*, appertained onely vnto *Sylla*: & *Sylla* himſelfe cauſed a ring to be made, which he ware commonly, and had grauen vpon the ſtone of the ſame, how *Bocchus* deliuered *Iugurthe* into his handes. And afterwardes he made it alwayes his ſeale to deſpite *Marius* withall, who was an ambitious and proude man, and could abide no companion to be partaker of the glorie of his doings: and *Sylla* did it eſpecially at the procurement of enemies and ill willers, who gaue the glorie of the beginning and chiefe exploites of this warre, vnto *Metellus*, and the laſt and finall concluſion vnto *Sylla*, to the end that the people ſhould not haue *Marius* in ſo great eſtimation and good opinion, as they had before. But all this enuie, detraction, and hatred againſt *Marius*, was ſoone after extinguiſhed and troden vnder foote, by reaſon of the great daunger that fell vpon all ITALIE out of the Weſt: and they neuer ſpake of it afterwardes, knowing that the common wealth ſtoode in neede of a good Captaine, and that they began to looke about, and conſider who ſhould be that great wiſe Pylot, that might ſaue and preſerue it, from ſo exceeding daungerous ſtorme of warres. For there was not a noble man of all the auntient houſes of ROME, that durſt vndertake to offer himſelfe to demaunde the Conſulſhip: but *Marius* being abſent, was choſen Conſull the ſecond time. For *Iugurthe* was no ſooner taken, but newes came to ROME of the cōming down of the TEVTONS, and of the CIMBRES, the which would not be beleeued at the firſt, by reaſon of the infinite number of the fighting men which was ſaid to be in their company, and for the vncredible force and power of armies which was iuſtified to come alſo: but afterwardes they knew plainly, that the rumour that ranne abroad was leſſe, then the truth fell out indeed. For they were three hundred thouſand fighting men all armed, who brought with them alſo an other multitude as great (or more) of women and children: which wandered vp and down ſeeking countrys and townes to dwell and liue in, as they heard ſay the GAVLES had done in old time, who leauing their owne country, came, and had poſſeſſed the beſt part of ITALIE, which they had taken away from the THVSCANS. Now to ſay truely, no man knew of what nation they were, nor from whence they came: as well for that they had no friendſhip with any other people, as alſo becauſe they came out of a farre country, as a cloud of people that was ſpread all ouer GAVLE & ITALIE. It was doubted much that they came out of GERMANIE, dwelling about the North ſea: and this they coniectured by view of the greatneſſe of their bodies, and alſo for that they had darke blew eyes and red, beſides that the GRECIANS in their toungs do call theeues and robbers, Cimbri. Other ſay that Celtica, for the great length and largeneſſe of the country, ſtretching it ſelfe from the coaſt of the great Ocean ſea and from the North parts, drawing towards the mariſſes Mœotides, and the Eaſt runneth into SCYTHIA, or TARTARIA PONTICA: and that for neighbourhood theſe two nations ioyned together, and went out of their country, not that they made this great voyage all at one time, but at many ſundry times, marching yearely in the ſpring further and further into the country. And thus by continuance of time, they paſſed by force of armes through all the firme land of EVROPE: and that for this cauſe, although they had many particular names according to the diuerſitie of their nations, yet all this maſſe and multitude of people gathered together, were called

notwith-

*Lucius Sylla Quæſtor vnder Marius.*

*The originall cauſe of the ciuill warres betwixt Marius and Sylla.*

*The comming into Italie of the Teutons & Cimbres.*

*The armie of the Teutons and Cimbres* 300000.*men.*

*Cimbri.*

notwithſtanding, the army of the CELTOSCYTHES, as who would ſay, the CELTOTARTARES. Other hold opiniō that the natiō of the CIMMERIANS, who were knowen in old time for auncient GRECIANS, the one part of them were not very great in reſpect of the whole, the which being fled (or driuē out of their country for ſome ciuill diſſention) were compelled by the TARTARES to paſſe beyond the mariſſes Mœotides, into the countrys of ASIA, vnder the conduction of a Captaine called *Ligdamis*. But the reſidue of them which were a farre greater number, and more warlike men, they dwelt in the furtheſt partes of the earth, adioyning vnto the great Ocean ſea, in a darke ſhadowed country, couered with wonderfull forreſtes, of ſuch length, and ſo great and thicke, and the trees ſo high, that the ſunne can haue no power vpon the ground, and they ioyne hard vpon the great forreſt of Hercynia. And furthermore, they are vnder ſuch a climate, where the pole is of ſuch a height by the inclination of the circles equidiſtant, which they call Parallelles, that it is not farre from the point that aunſwereth directly to the plummet vpon the head of the inhabitants: and where the dayes are equinoctiall. They do deuide all their time in two partes, the which giueth *Homer* occaſion to fayne, that when *Vlyſſes* would call vpon the dead, he went into the country of the CIMMERIANS, as into the country of hell. And this is the cauſe why they ſay theſe barbarous people left their owne countrys to come into ITALIE, which from the beginning were called CIMMERIANS, and afterwardes they ſay (and not without great likelyhood) that they were ſurnamed CIMBRES: howbeit that is ſpoken rather by a likely coniecture, then by any aſſured troth of hiſtory. And as for the multitude of men, the moſt part of hiſtoriographers do write, that they were rather mo, then leſſe then we haue ſpoken of: and that they were ſo hardy and valiant, that nothing could ſtand before them, they did ſo great things by the ſtrength of their handes where they fought with any, ſo violently, and ſo ſodainly, that they ſeemed to be like a lightening fire all about where they came. By meanes whereof, they met with no man that durſt reſiſt them, but ſcraped together and caried away, all that they found, hand ouer head: and there were many ROMAINE Captaines appointed gouernours to keepe that which the ROMAINES held in GAVLE beyond the mountaines, who with great armies were ſhamefully ouerthrown by them. The cowardlyneſſe of thoſe, whō they had ouercome, was the chiefeſt cauſe that moued them to direct their iourney to ROME. For when they had vanquiſhed the firſt the fought withall, and gotten great richeſſe alſo: they were ſo fleſhed by this, that they determined to ſtay no where before they had deſtroyed ROME, and ſacked all ITALIE. The ROMAINES hearing of this out of all parts, ſent for *Marius* to giue him the conduction and leading of theſe warres, and choſe him Conſull the ſecond time: notwithſtanding that it was directly againſt the law, that did expreſly forbid any man to be choſen being abſent, and vntill alſo a certaine time appointed had paſt betweene the vacation and election, before they could chooſe him officer twiſe in one office. Some alledged this law, of intent to hinder the election. But the people repulſed them, obiecting to the contrary: that this was not the firſt time the law had giuen place to the benefit of the common wealth, and that the occaſion offered to abrogate the law at that preſent was no leſſe, then former occaſions by the which they choſe *Scipio* Conſull, againſt the courſe and time appointed by the law, not for any feare they ſtood in to loſe their owne country, but for the deſire they had to deſtroy the country of the CARTHAGINIANS, by reaſon whereof the people proceeded to election. And *Marius* bringing home his armie againe out of LIBYA into ITALIE, tooke poſſeſsion of his Conſulſhip the firſt day of Ianuary (on which day the ROMAINES begin their yeare) and therewithall made his triūph into the city of ROME, ſhewing that to the ROMAINES, which they thought neuer to haue ſeene: and that was, king *Iugurthe* priſoner, who was ſo ſubtill a man, and could ſo well frame himſelfe vnto his fortune, and with his craft and ſubtiltie was of ſo great courage beſides, that none of his enemies euer hoped to haue had him aliue. But it is ſayd, that after he was led in this triumph, he fell mad ſtraight vpon it. And the pompe of triumphe being ended, he was caried into priſon, where the ſergeants for haſt to haue the ſpoyle of him, tare his apparell by force from off his backe: and becauſe they would take away his rich gold eare rings that hung at his eares, they pulled away with them the typpe of his eare, and then caſt him naked to the bottome of a deepe dungeon, his wits being altogether

*Cimmerij.*

*Marius choſen Conſull the ſecond time againſt the law.*

*Law muſt giue place for common benefit.*

*Marius triumphe into Rome, for king Iugurthe.*

troubled. Yet when they did throw him downe, laughing he ſayd: O *Hercules*, how cold are your ſtoues He liued there yet ſix dayes, fighting with hunger, and deſiring alwayes to prolong his miſerable life vnto the laſt houre: the which was a iuſt deſerued puniſhment for his wicked life. In this triumphe were caried (as they ſay) three thouſand and ſeuen hundred pound weight in gold, & of ſiluer nigots, fiue thouſand ſeuen hũdred & lxxv. pound weight: and more in gold and ready coyne, eight and twentie thouſand and ſeuen hundred crownes. After this triumphe *Marius* cauſed the Senate to aſſemble within the Capitoll, where he entred into the companie with his triumphing robe, either becauſe he forgot it, or elſe of too groſſe and vnciuill arrogancie: but perceiuing that all the aſſemblie miſliked of it, he roſe ſodainly, and tooke his long Conſuls gowne, and then returned quickly againe into his place.

*How Marius trained his ſouldiers.*

Furthermore *Marius* departing to go to the warres, thought to traine his army by the way, and to harden his ſouldiers vnto labour, cauſing them to runne euery way, making great long iourneys, compelling ech ſouldier to cary his own furniture, and to prepare him neceſſary victuals to finde himſelfe withall: ſo that euer after they made a prouerbe of it, and called ſuch as were painfull and willing to do that which they were commaunded without grudging, *Marius* moyles.

*Marius moyles.*

Other notwithſtanding, do ſhew an other cauſe and beginning of this prouerbe. For they ſay, that *Scipio* lying at the ſiege of the city of NVMANTIA, would not only take view of the armour and horſes of ſeruice that were in his armie, but alſo of the moyles and other beaſtes of burden, becauſe he would ſee how they were kept & furniſhed. So *Marius* brought his horſe and moyle to the muſter which he kept himſelfe, fatte, fayre, and very well dreſt, and his moyles haire ſo ſlike and ſmooth, and there withall ſo luſty and trimme, as none of the reſt were like vnto them. *Scipio* tooke great pleaſure to ſee theſe beaſtes ſo well kept, and in ſo good plighte: in ſomuch as he ſpake of it afterwards many a time and oft. And vpon his words, this manner of talke was taken vp euer after, and became a common prouerbe: when they meane to mocke any man that is painfull, and giuen to ſore labour, making as though they would praiſe him, they call him *Marius* moyle. Furthermore, it was a happy turne for *Marius* (in mine opinion) that theſe barbarous people (like in force to the beating backe of the raging ſeas) turned their firſt fury towardes SPAYNE: and that he in the meane ſpace had time and leaſure to traine and exerciſe his ſouldiers, to make them bold, and withall, himſelfe to be throughly knowen amongeſt them. For when by litle and litle they had learned not to offend, nor diſobey: then they found his rough commaunding, and ſharpe ſeueritie in puniſhing ſuch as ſlacke their duetie, both profitable and very neceſſarie, beſides that it was alſo iuſt and reaſonable. Againe, his great fury, his ſharpe wordes, and his fierce lookes, after they had a while bene vſed to them, by litle and litle they ſeemed nothing ſo fearefull to them, as to their enemies.

*Marius commended for his iuſtice.*

But the thing that pleaſed the ſouldiers more then all the reſt, was his iuſtice and vpright dealing: whereof they report ſuch an example: *Marius* had a nephew of his in his camp called *Caius Luſius*, who had charge of mẽ in the army. This *Luſius* was taken for a maruellous honeſt man, ſauing that he had this fowle vice in him, that he would be ſodainly in loue with fayre young boyes: and as at that time he fell in loue with a trimme young ſtripling, called *Trebonius*, that ſerued vnder him, and hauing many times lewdly entiſed him, and neuer could obtaine his purpoſe, at the laſt ſent for him one night by his ſeruaunt. The young man might not diſobey his Captaine being ſent for, but preſently went vnto him. When he was come into his tent, and that his Captaine did ſtriue with all his force to do him villanny: he drew out his ſword, and killed him in the place. And this was done when *Marius* was out of his camp: who ſo ſoone as he returned, cauſed the martiall to bring the young man before him. Many ſtepped forth ſtraight to accuſe him, but no man to defend him. Wherefore he boldly began to tell his tale himſelf, & to name many witneſſes, who had both ſeene & knowen how his dead Captaine had oftentimes offered him diſhonour, and how that he had continually reſiſted his abhominable motion, and would neuer yeeld himſelfe vnto him, for any gift or preſent he could offer him. Wherefore *Marius* commending him greatly, and being very glad of it, cauſed preſently one of thoſe crownes to be brought vnto him, which are vſed to be giuen to them that in a day of battell haue done ſome valiant deede, and he himſelfe did crowne *Trebonius* withall, as one that had done a noble act, and at ſuch a time, as good and honeſt examples were requiſite. This iudgement of *Marius* being caried to ROME, ſtood him to great good purpoſe towardes the obtaining of his third Conſulſhip: beſides alſo that they looked for the comming backe of theſe barbarous people about the ſpring, with whom the ROMAINE ſouldiers would not fight vnder any other Captaine, then *Marius*. Howbeit they came not ſo ſoone againe as they looked for them, but *Marius* paſſed ouer alſo the yeare of his third Conſulſhip. So time comming about againe for the election of new Conſuls, and his companion alſo being dead: he was driuen to go himſelfe vnto ROME, leauing the charge of his camp in his abſence, vnto *Manius Acilius*. At that time there were many noble men that ſued for the Conſulſhip: but *Lucius Saturninus* one of the Tribunes, who had the communalty vnder his girdle as he would himſelfe, more then any of the other Tribunes, and being wonne vnder hand by *Marius*, made many orations, in the which he perſwaded the people to chooſe *Marius* Conſull the fourth time. *Marius* to the contrary, ſeemed to refuſe it, ſaying that he would none of it, though the people choſe him. Whereupon *Saturninus* called him traytor, crying out, that his refuſall in ſuch a danger and time of neceſsity, was an apparant part to betray the common wealth. It was found ſtraight that this was a groſſe packe betwixt *Saturninus* and *Marius*, by ſuch as could ſee day at a litle hole. Neuertheleſſe, the people conſidering that their preſent troubles required *Marius* skill & good fortune in the warres, they made him Conſull the fourth time, and ioyned *Catulus Luctatius* Conſull with him, a mã that was greatly honored of the nobility, and not miſliked alſo of the common people. *Marius* hauing newes of the approching of the barbarous people, paſſed ouer the Alpes with great ſpeed, and fortifying his camp by the riuer of Rhone, he brought great prouiſion of all kindes of victuals thither with him, leaſt being ſtraighted by lacke threof, he ſhould be forced to come to battell at any other time, but euen as he would himſelfe, and as it ſhould ſeeme good vnto him. And where before that time the tranſporting of victuals vnto his camp by ſea was very long, and dangerous, and a maruellous great charge beſides: he made it very ſhort and eaſie by this meanes. The mouth of the riuer of Rhone had gathered together ſo much mudde, and ſuch ſtore of ſand, which the waues of the ſea had caſt on heapes together, that the ſame was become very high and deepe: ſo as the banckes made the entry into it very narrow, hard, and dangerous for great ſhippes of burden that came from the ſea. *Marius* conſidering this matter, ſet his men a worke while they had nothing to do, & made them digge a large trench and deepe channell, into the which he turned a great part of the riuer, and caried it to a conuenient place of the coaſt, where the water fell into the ſea by an open gulfe, whereby he made it able to cary the greateſt ſhippes that were: and beſides that, it was in a very ſtill quiet place, not being troubled with windes nor waues. The channell carieth yet his name, and is called *Marius* channell or trench. Theſe barbarous people diuided themſelues into two armies to paſſe into ITALIE, ſo that it fell out to the one part which were the CIMBRES, to go through high GERMANIE, and to force that paſſage which *Catulus* kept: and vnto the other part, which were the TEVTONS and AMBRONS, to paſſe through the country of the GENOVESIANS by the ſea ſide againſt *Marius*. Now the CIMBRES hauing the greater compaſſe to fetch about, ſtayed longer, and remained behind: but the TEVTONS and the AMBRONS going their way firſt, had in few dayes diſpatched their iourney they had to go, to bring them to the camp where the ROMAINES lay, vnto whom they preſented themſelues by infinite numbers, with terrible faces to behold, and their cryes and voyces farre contrary vnto other mens. They tooke in a maruellours deale of ground in length to camp vpon, and ſo came forth to defie *Marius*, and prouoke him to battell in open field. *Marius* made no reckoning of all their bragging deficiãces, but kept his men together within his camp, taking on terribly with them that would raſhly take vpon them to moue ought to the contrary, and which through impatience of choller would needs go forth to fight, calling them traytors to their coũtry. For ſayd he, we are not come to fight for our priuate glory, neither to winne two triumphes nor victories for our ſelues: but we muſt ſeeke by all meanes to diuert and put by this great ſhower of warres from vs, & this lightning and tempeſt, that it ouercome not all ITALIE. Theſe wordes he ſpake vnto the priuate Captaines which were vnder him, as vnto men of hauiour and qualitie. But as for the common ſouldiers, he made them ſtand vpon the trenches of his camp,

*Marius third Conſulſhip.*

*Manius Acilius Lieuterãt of the armie, vnder Marius.*

*Lucius Saturninus Tribune.*

*Marius fourth Conſulſhip with Catulus Luctatius.*

*Rhodanus fl.*

*Marius channell.*

*The Cimbres went through Germanie into Italie.*

*The Teutons and Ambrons fall vpon Marius to paſſe into Italie, through the territorie of Genua.*

one after an other to behold the enemies, and to acquaint themſelues with ſight of their faces, their countenaunce, and marching, and not to be afrayed of their voyces to heare them ſpeake, which were wonderfull, both ſtraunge and beaſtly: and alſo that they might know the faſhion of their weapons, and how they handled them. And by this order & ordinary viewing of thẽ, in time he made the things that ſeemed fearefull vnto his mẽ at the firſt ſight, to be afterwardes very familiar: ſo that they made no more wondring at them. For he iudged, the thing which indeede is true, that a rare and new matter neuer ſeene before, for lacke of iudgement and vnderſtanding, maketh things vnknowen to vs, more horrible & fearefull then they are: & to the contrary, that cuſtome taketh away a great deale of feare, & terrour of thoſe things, which by nature are indeede fearefull. The which was ſeene then by experience. For they being daily acquainted to looke vpon theſe barbarous people, it did not onely diminiſh ſome part of the former feare of the ROMAINE ſouldiers: but furthermore they whetting their choller with the fierce vntollerable threates and bragges of theſe barbarous brutiſh people, did ſet their harts a fire to fight with them, becauſe they did not only waſt & deſtroy all the country about them, but beſides that, came to giue aſſault euen vnto their camp with ſuch a boldneſſe, that the ROMAAINE ſouldiers could no longer ſuffer them, and they letted not to ſpeake wordes that came to *Marius* eares himſelfe. What cowarlineſſe hath *Marius* euer knowen in vs, that he keepes vs thus frõ fighting, & vnder locke & key as it were, in the gard of porters, as if we were women? Let vs therefore ſhew our ſelues like men, and go aske him if he looke for any other ſouldiers beſides our ſelues to defend ITALIE: and if he haue determined to employ vs as pioners onely, when he would caſt a trench to rid away the mudde, or to turne a riuer contrary. For therein hath he onely hitherunto employed vs in great labour, & they are the notable workes he hath done in his two Conſulſhips, whereof he maketh his boaſt vnto them at ROME. Is he afrayed they ſhould take him, as they did *Carbo* & *Capio*, whom the enemies haue ouerthrowen? He muſt not be afrayed of that: for he is a Captaine of an other manner of valour and reputation then they were, and his army much better then theirs was. But howſoeuer it be, yet were it much better in prouing to looſe ſomething, then to be idle, & to ſuffer our friends and confederates to be deſtroyed and ſacked before our eyes. *Marius* was maruellous glad to heare his men complaine thus, and did comfort them, & told them that he did nothing miſtruſt their courage & valiantneſſe: howbeit that through the counſell of certaine prophecies and oracles of the gods, he did expect time and place fit for victory. For he euer caried a SYRIAN woman in a litter about with him called *Martha*, with great reuerence, whom they ſayd had the ſpirit of prophecie in her: and that he did euer ſacrifice vnto the gods by her order, & at ſuch time as ſhe willed him to do it. This SYRIAN woman went firſt to ſpeake with the Senate about theſe matters, & did foretell and prognoſticate what ſhould follow. But the Senate would not heare her, and made her to be driuen away. Whereupon ſhe went vnto the women, and made them ſee proofe of ſome things ſhe vaunted of, & ſpecially *Marius* wife, at whoſe feete ſhe was ſet one day in aſſembly of the common playes, to ſee the ſwordplayers fight for life and death: for ſhe told her certainly which of them ſhould ouercome. Whereupõ this Lady ſent her vnto her husband *Marius*, who made great reckning of her, and caried her euen in a litter with him whereſoeuer he went. She was alwayes at *Marius* ſacrifices, apparelled in a gowne of purple in graine, claſped to her with claſpes, and held a ſpeare in her hand wound all about with noſegayes, and garlands of flowers tyed on with laces. This manner of geſt made many doubt whether *Marius* ſhewed this woman openly, beleeuing indeede that ſhe had the gift of prophecy: or elſe that knowing the contrary, he made as though he did beleeue it, to helpe her fayning. But that which *Alexander* the MYNDIAN wrote touching Vultures, is a thing greatly to be wondred at. For he ſayd there were two of them followed *Marius* in his warres, and that they euer ſhewed themſelues & miſſed not, whẽ he ſhould winne any great battell, & that they did know them by latin collers they ware about their neckes, which the ſouldiers had tyed about them, and afterwardes let them go where they would: by reaſon whereof, they did know the ſouldiers againe, and it ſeemed alſo that they ſaluted them, and were very glad when they ſaw them, & perſwaded themſelues, that it was a ſigne & token of good lucke to follow. Many ſignes & tokens were ſeene before the battell: howbeit all the reſt were ordinary ſights, ſauing

*Martha, a wiſe woman or prophetеſſe.*

*The attire of Martha in time of ſacriſice.*

*A wonder of the Vultures ſhewed to Marius.*

ſauing that which was reported to be ſeene at TVDERTVM, and AMERIA, two cities of ITALIE. For they ſay there were ſeene ſpeares and targets in the night, burning like fire in the element, which firſt were caried vp and downe here and there, & then met together euen as men moue and ſtur that fight one with an other: vntill at the length, the one giuing back, and the other following after, they all vaniſhed away, and conſumed towards the Weſt. About the ſelf ſame time alſo, there came from the citie of PESSINVNTA, *Batabaces*, the chiefe prieſt of the great mother of the gods, who brought newes, that the goddeſſe had ſpoken to him within her ſanctuarie, and told him that the victory of this warre ſhould fall out on the ROMAINES ſide. The Senate beleeued it, and ordained that they ſhould builde a temple vnto that goddeſſe, to giue her thankes for the victorie which ſhe did promiſe them. *Batabaces* alſo would haue preſented himſelfe vnto the people in open aſſemblie, to tell them as much. But there was one *Aulus Pompeius* a Tribune that would not ſuffer him to do it, calling him tumbler, or iugler, and violently thruſt him behinde the pulpit for orations: but the miſchance that fell vpon *Pompeius* afterwards, made them the more to beleeue *Batabaces* words. For *Pompeius* the Tribune no ſooner came home vnto his houſe, but a great vehement ague tooke him, wherof he died the ſeuenth day after, as all the world could witneſſe. Now the TEVTONS perceiuing that *Marius* ſtirred not at all out of his campe, they proued to aſſault him: howbeit they were ſo well receiued with ſhot and ſlings, that after they had loſt certaine of their men, they gaue it ouer, and determined to go further, perſwading themſelues that they might eaſily paſſe the Alpes without danger. Wherfore truſſing vp all their baggage, they paſſed by *Marius* campe: at which time it appeared more certainly then before, that they were a maruellous great multitude of people, by the length of time which they tooke to paſſe their way. For it is ſaid they were paſſing by his campe, ſixe dayes continually together. And as they came raking by the ROMAINS campe, they asked them in mockery, if they would write or ſend home any thing to their wiues, for they would be with them ere it were long. When they were all paſſed and gone, and that they continued on their iorney ſtill, *Marius* alſo raiſed his campe, and went and followed them faire and ſoftly foote by foote, and euer kept hard at their taile as neere as he could, alwaies fortifying his campe very well, and euer chooſing ſtrong places of ſituation & aduantage to lodge in, that they might be ſafe in the night time. Thus they marched on in this ſorte, vntill they came vnto the city of AIX, from whence they had not farre to go, but they entred ſtraight into the mountaines of the Alpes. Wherefore *Marius* prepared now to fight with them: and choſe out a place that was very ſtrong of ſituation to lodge his campe in, howbeit there lacked water. And they ſay he did it of purpoſe, to the ende to quicken his mens courage the more thereby. Many repined at it, and tolde him that they ſhould ſtand in great danger to abide maruellous thirſt if they lodged there. Whereunto he made anſwer: ſhewing them the riuer that ran hard by the enemies campe, ſaying withall, that they muſt go thither and buie drinke with their bloud. The ſouldiers replied againe: and why then doe yee not lead vs thither, whileſt our bloud is yet moiſte? he gently anſwered them againe: becauſe the firſt thing we do, we muſt fortifie our campe. The ſouldiers, though they were angrie with him, yet they obeyed him: but the ſlaues hauing neither drinke for themſelues, nor for their cattell, gathered together a great troope of them, and went towards the riuer: ſome of them carying axes, other hatchets, other ſwords and ſpeares, with their pots to cary water, determining to fight with the barbarous people, if otherwiſe they could not come by it. A few of the barbarous people at the firſt fought with them, becauſe the moſt part of their company were at dinner, after they had bathed, and others were ſtill in the bathe waſhing themſelues, finding in that place many ſprings of hot naturall bathes. Thus the ROMAINES found many of the barbarous people making merry, & taking their pleaſure about theſe bathes, for the great delight they tooke to conſider the pleaſantneſſe of the place: but when they heard the noiſe of them that fought, they began to runne one after an other vnto the place from whence the noiſe came. Wherfore it was a hard thing for *Marius* any longer to keep the ROMAINE ſouldiers in from going to their helpe, for that they feared their ſlaues ſhould haue bin ſlaine of the barbarous people: and moreouer, becauſe the valianteſt ſouldiers of their enemies called the AMERONS (who before had ouercome *Manlius* and *Cæpio*, two ROMAINE

*Wonders ſeene.*

*Batabaces the prieſt of the mother of the gods.*

*Aulus Pompeius Tribune.*

*The enemies campe were remouing ſixe daies together.*

*Marius bolde words to his ſouldiers, and their aunſwer.*

Captaines with their armies,and that made of themſelues thirty thouſand fighting men) ranne to armes,being very heauy of their bodies, as hauing filled their bellies well, but otherwiſe valiant and couragious fellowes,and more liuely then they were wont to be,by reaſon of the wine they had drunke. They ran not furiouſly to fight out of order, neither did they crie out confuſedly, but marching all together in good array, making a noiſe with their harneſſe all after one ſorte, they oft rehearſed their owne name AMBRONS, AMBRONS, AMBRONS: which was,either to call one an other of them,or elſe to feare the ROMAINS with their name only. The ITALIANS alſo on the other ſide,being the firſt that came downe to fight with thē, were the LIGVRIANS,dwelling vpon the coaſt of Genuoa, who hearing this noiſe and crie of theirs,plainly vnderſtanding them: anſwered them againe with the like noiſe and crie, LIGVRIANS, LIGVRIANS, LIGVRIANS, ſaying that it was the true ſurname of all their nation. And ſo before they ioyned together, this crie was redoubled many a time on either ſide: and the Captaines of both parts made their ſouldiers crie out all together, contending for enuie one againſt an other, who ſhould crie it out lowdeſt. This contention of crying, inflamed the ſouldiers courages the more.

*Battell betwixt the Ambrons and Marius.*

Now the AMBRONS hauing the riuer to paſſe, were by this meanes put out of order, and before they could put themſelues in battell ray againe, after they had paſſed the riuer,the LIGVRIANS ran with great furie to ſet vpon the formoſt: and after them,(to aide the LIGVRIANS that had begun the charge) the ROMAINES themſelues fell alſo vpon the AMERONS, comming downe from the places of aduantage vpon theſe barbarous people,and compelled them by this meanes to turne their backes,and flie.

*Marius ouercame the Ambrons.*

So the greateſt ſlaughter they made, fortuned vpon the bancke of the riuer, whereinto they thruſt one an other in ſuch ſorte, that all the riuer ran bloud, being filled with dead bodies. And they that could get ouer the riuer againe,and were on the other ſide,durſt not gather together any more to ſtand to defence: ſo as the ROMAINES ſlew them, and draue them into their campe, euen vnto their cariage.

*The manniſhnes of the women.*

Then their women came out againſt them with ſwordes and axes in their hands, grinding their teeth: and crying out for ſorrow and anger, they charged aſwell vpon their owne people that fled, as vpon them that chaſed them: the one as traitors, and the other as enemies. Furthermore, they thruſt themſelues amongeſt them that fought, and ſtroue by force to plucke the ROMAINES targets out of their hands, and tooke holde of their naked ſwords bare handed,abiding with an inuincible courage to be hacked & mangled with their ſwords. And thus was the firſt battell giuen (as they ſay) by the riuers ſide, rather by chance vnlooked for,then by any ſet purpoſe,or through the generals counſel. Now the ROMAINES, after they had ouercome the moſt parte of the AMBRONS, retiring back by reaſon the night had ouertaken them,did not (as they were wont after they had giuen ſuch an ouerthrow) ſing ſongs of victory and triumphe, nor make good cheere in their tents one with an other, and leaſt of all ſleepe: (which is the beſt and ſweeteſt refreſhing for men that haue fought happely) but contrarily,they watched all that night with great feare and trouble, becauſe their campe was not trenched and fortified, and becauſe they knew alſo that there remained almoſt innumerable thouſands of barbarous people, that had not yet fought: beſides alſo, that the AMBRONS that had fled and ſcaped from the ouerthrow,did howle out all night with lowd cries, which were nothing like mens lamentations and ſighes, but rather like wilde beaſts bellowing and roaring. So that the bellowing of ſuch a great multitude of beaſtly people, mingled together with threats and wailings, made the mountaines thereabouts and the running riuer to rebounde againe of the ſound and eccho of their cryes maruellouſlie: by reaſon whereof, all the valley that lay betweene both,thundered to heare the horrible and fearefull trembling. This made the ROMAINE ſouldiers afeard,and *Marius* himſelfe in ſome doubt: becauſe they looked to haue bene fought withall the ſame night, being altogether troubled and out of order. Notwithſtanding, the barbarous people did not aſſault them that night, nor the next day following,but only prepared themſelues vnto battell. And in the meane time *Marius* knowing that there was aboue the place where they were camped,certaine caues and little valleyes couered with wood: he ſecretly ſent *Claudius Marcellus* thither with three thouſand footmen well armed,and commanded him to keepe cloſe in ambuſh, vntill he ſawe that the barbarous people were fighting with him, and that then he ſhould come and ſet vpon their rerewarde.

The reſidue of his armie, they ſupped when time came, and after ſupper repoſed themſelues. The next morning at the breake of day, *Marius* brought his men into the fielde out of his forte: where he put them in order of battell, ſending his horſmen before to draw the enemies out to ſkirmiſh. The TEVTONS ſeeing them come, had not the patience to tary till the ROMAINES were come downe into the plaine field to fight without aduantage, but arming themſelues in haſt, and in a rage, ran vp the hill to the ROMAINES, where they ſtood in battell ray. *Marius* taking good regard to that they did, ſent here and there vnto the priuate Captaines, charging them they ſhould not ſtirre, and onely to temporiſe and forbeare, vntill the enemies came within a ſtones caſt of them: and that they ſhould then throw their dartes at them, and afterwards draw their ſwords, and repulſe the barbarous people with their ſhields. For he did foreſee before, that when they ſhould clime vp againſt the hill (vpon the hanging whereof the ROMAINES had ſet their battell) that their blowes would not be of great force, nor their order and ranckes could ſtand cloſe together to any effect or purpoſe: becauſe they could not haue ſure footing, nor marche aſſuredly, but would eaſily be throwne backward if they were neuer ſo litle repulſed, by reaſon of the hanging of the hill. *Marius* gaue this order vnto his folke, and therewithall was himſelfe the firſt man that put it in execution: for he was as trim a warriour, and as valiant a ſouldier, as any man in all his armie: beſides, not one amongſt them all would venture further, & be more bolde then himſelfe. So when the ROMAINES had reſiſted them, and ſtaied them ſodainly, going with fury to haue wonne the hill, perceiuing themſelues to be repulſed, they gaue back by litle and litle, vntill they came into the field: and then began the formoſt of them to gather together, and to put themſelues in battell raye vpon the plaine, when ſodainly they heard the noiſe and charging of them that were in the taile of their armie. For *Claudius Marcellus* failed not to take the occaſion when it was offred him, becauſe that the noiſe of the firſt charge comming vp againſt the hils thereabouts, vnder the which he lay in ambuſh, gaue him aduertiſement therof: wherupon he cauſed his men preſently to ſhew, and running with great cries, came to giue a charge vpon thoſe which were in the taile of the barbarous people, putting the hindmoſt to the ſword. They made their fellowes whoſe backs were next vnto them, to turne their faces, & ſo from man to man, till at the length in ſhort time all their battell began to wauer in diſorder: and they made no great reſiſtance, when they ſaw they were ſo charged before and behinde, but began ſtraight to flie for life. The ROMAINES following them hard at the heeles, killed and tooke priſoners aboue a hundred thouſand of them, and tooke moreouer their carts, their tents and all their cariage. Which the whole army by conſent agreed to preſent vnto *Marius*, excepting nothing, ſauing that which was imbeaceled and conueied away vnder hand. Now, though this was a maruellous honorable & right noble preſent, yet they thought it not a recompence ſufficient for that he had deſerued, for the valure he had ſhewed of a famous Captaine in leading of his armie, and for the good order he kept in this warre: ſo happy thought they themſelues to haue eſcaped ſo great a danger. Notwithſtanding, ſome writers do not agree, that the ſpoile of the barbarous people was giuen vnto *Marius*: nor that there were alſo ſo great a number of men ſlaine as we haue ſpoken of. But they ſay, that after this battell, the MARSILLIANS did incloſe their vines, with hedges made of dead mens bones: and that the bodies being rotten and conſumed vpon the fieldes through the great raine that fell vpon them the winter following, the ground waxed ſo fat, & did ſoke the greaſe ſo deepe in the ſame, that the ſummer following they did beare an vncredible quantitie of all ſorts of frutes. And by this meanes were *Archilocus* words proued true, that the arable land doth waxe fat with ſuch rottenneſſe or putrification. And it is ſaid alſo, that of ordinary after great battels, there falleth great ſtore of raine. Either it is by meane of ſome god that powring downe pure raine water doth purifie, waſh, and clenſe the ground, defiled & poluted with mans bloud: or elſe it happeneth by naturall cauſe. For that the ouerthrow of ſo many dead bodies, and of the bloud ſpilt, engendreth a moiſt, groſſe, and heauy vapoure, which doth thicken the aire (that by nature is changeable, and eaſie to alter) from a very ſmall or litle beginning, vnto an exceeding great change. After this battell, *Marius* cauſed the harneſſe and ſpoiles of the barbarous people to be laid aſide, that were left whole and faire to ſight, to beautifie and enrich the pompe of his triumph. Then he cauſed the reſt to be gathered together on

*Marius ſecond battell with the Teutons.*

*Marius victory of the Teutons and Ambrons.*

*Much raine followeth after great battels.*

a great heape, and laide vpon a ſtake of wood, to make a noble ſacrifice vnto the gods, all his armie being armed about him, crowned with garlands of triumphe, and himſelfe apparelled in a long gowne of purple, according to the cuſtome of the ROMAINES in ſuch a caſe, & holding a torche burning in both his hands, which he firſt lifted vp vnto heauen. And as he was turning downe the torch to put fire to the ſtake of wood, they ſaw ſome of his friends a good way off a horſeback, comming poſt vnto him: then ſodainly there was a great ſilence made of all the aſſembly, euery man deſirous to heare what good newes they had brought. When they were come & lighted off their horſes, they ran ſtraight to embrace *Marius*, and brought him newes that he was choſen Conſull the fifth time: and preſented him the letters ſent him from ROME confirming the ſame. And thus, this new ioy falling out beſides the victorie, the priuate ſouldiers did ſhew the great ioy and pleaſure they tooke in both, with great ſhoutes and beating vpon their harneſſe: and the Captaines alſo, they crowned *Marius* againe with new garlands of laurell which they put about his head, and that done, he put fire vnder the ſtake of wood, and ended his ſacrifice. But that which neuer ſuffereth men quietly to enioy the good hap of any victorie clearely, but in this mortall life doth euer mingle the ill with the good, be it either fortune or ſpight of fatall deſtenie, or elſe the neceſſitie of the naturall cauſes of earthly things: did ſhortly after this great ioy bring newes vnto *Marius*, of his companion *Catulus Luctatius* the other Conſull, who was like a cloude in a faire bright day, and brought the city of ROME againe into a new feare and trouble. For *Catulus* that went againſt the CIMBRES, thought it was not for him to keepe the ſtraights of the mountaines, in hope to let the barbarous people for paſſing: becauſe that in ſo doing, he had bene compelled to deuide his armie into many partes, and had weakened himſelfe very much if he had taken that courſe. Wherefore comming a litle on this ſide the Alpes towards ITALIE, he planted himſelfe vpon the riuer of Atheſis, and built a bridge vpon it to paſſe and repaſſe ouer his men when he would, and ſet vp at either end of the bridge two ſtrong fortes well fortified, that he might more commodiouſly helpe the places on the other ſide of the riuer, if the barbarous people by chance would offer to force them, after they had gotten out of the ſtraights of the mountaines. Now, theſe barbarous people had ſuch a glory in themſelues, and diſdained their enemies ſo much, that more to ſhew their force and boldneſſe, then of any neceſſity that compelled them, or for any benefit they got by it: they ſuffred it to ſnow vpon them being ſtarke naked, and did climbe vp to the top of the mountaines, through great heapes of Iſe and ſnow. And when they were at the very top of all, they laide their long broade targets vnder their bodies, and laye all along vpon them, ſliding downe the ſteepe high rockes, that had certaine hangings ouer of an infinite height. In the ende, they came to campe neere vnto the ROMAINES by the riuer ſide, and conſidered how they might paſſe it ouer: and began to fill it vp, tearing downe (like giants) great hilles of earth which they found thereabouts, brought thither great trees which they pulled vp whole by the roots, threw in great peeces of rockes which they brake, and whole towers of earth after them, to ſtop and breake the courſe of the riuer. But beſides all this, they threw great timber into the riuer, which being caried downe the ſtreame, came with ſuch a force, & hit againſt the poſtes of the bridge ſo violently, that they ſhaked the ROMAINES bridge maruellouſlie. Whereupon many of the ſouldiers of the great campe were afraide, and forſaking it, began to retire. But then did *Catulus*, like a perfit good Captaine ſhewe, that he made leſſe account of his owne priuate honour and eſtimation, then he did of the generall honor of all his ſouldiers. For, ſeeing that he could not perſwade his men by any reaſon to tary, and that in this feare they diſlodged in diſorder againſt his will: he himſelfe commanded the ſtanderd bearer of the Eagle to marche on, and ran to the formoſt that went their way, and marched himſelfe before them all, to the intent that the ſhame of this retire ſhould altogether light vpon him, and not vpon his countrie, and that it might appeare the ROMAINES did follow their captaine, & not flie away. The barbarous people therfore aſſaulting the forte at the end of the bridge of the riuer of Atheſis, tooke it, and all the men that were in it. And becauſe the ROMAINES defended it like valiant men, and had luſtily ventured their liues to the death for defence of their country: the barbarous people let them go vpon compoſition, which they ſware to keepe faithfully, by their bull of copper. This bull afterwards

*Marius the fifth time Conſull.*

*Atheſis flu.*

*Catulus Luctatius the Conſull, flieth from the Cimbres.*

was taken when they loſt the battell,and caried(as they ſay)into *Catulus Luctatius* houſe,as the chiefeſt thing of the victory. Furthermore, the barbarous people finding the country open without any defence,ſcattered here and there,and deſtroyed all where they came. Wherupon the ROMAINES ſent for *Marius* to ROME to go againſt them: and after he was arriued,euerie man thought he ſhould haue entred in triumphe, becauſe alſo the Senate did graunt it him very willingly. But he would not do it,either becauſe he would not depriue his ſouldiers and the Captaines that had fought vnder him, of any part of the honour that was due vnto them, they being abſent: or becauſe that he would warrant the people from the preſent danger they were in,by laying aſide the glory of his former victories, into the handes of the good fortune of ROME,in certaine hope to take it againe afterwards,by a more honorable and perfit confirmation of the ſecond. Wherfore,after he had made an oration to the people,and Senate according to the time,he went his way immediatly towards *Catulus Luctatius*, whoſe comming did comfort him much: and ſent alſo for his armie that was yet in GAVLE beyond the mountaines. And after his army was come,he paſſed the riuer of PO, to keepe the barbarous people from hurting ITALIE on this ſide the PO. Now,the CIMBRES ſtill deferred to giue battell becauſe they looked for the TEVTONS, and ſaid: that they maruelled much what they ment to tary ſo long: either becauſe they knew not indeed of their ouerthrow, or elſe for that they would not ſeeme to know it, becauſe they handled them cruelly that brought the newes of their deaths. At the length,they ſent vnto *Marius* to aske him lands and townes ſufficient to keepe them and their brethren. *Marius* asked their Ambaſſadors what brethren they ment. They anſwered, that they were the TEVTONS. Whereat the ſtanders by began to laugh: and *Marius* finely mocked them,ſaying. Care not for thoſe brethren ſaid he, for we haue giuen them ground enough,which they will keep for euer. Theſe Ambaſſadors found his mock ſtraight, and began to reuile and threaten him,that the CIMBRES ſhould preſently make him repent it,and the TEVTONS ſo ſoone as they arriued. Why,ſaid *Marius* vnto them againe, they are come already: and there were no honeſty in you, if you could go your way and not ſalute them, ſince they are your brethren. And as he ſpake theſe wordes, he commanded his men to bring him the kings of the TEVTONS bound and chained,that had bene taken within the mountaines of the Alpes by the SEQVANI. The CIMBRES vnderſtanding this by reporte of their Ambaſſadors, preſently marched towards *Marius*, who ſtirred not at all, but only fortified and kept his campe. They ſay that it was for this battell that *Marius* firſt inuented the new deuiſe he brought in for the darte which the ROMAINES were wonte alwaies to throwe againſt the enemies at the firſt charge. For before, the ſtaffe of the darte was faſtened vnto the iron,and the iron vnto the ſtaffe, with two litle iron pinnes that paſſed through the wood: and then *Marius* left one of the iron pins as it was before, and taking away the other, put a little thin pinne of wood,eaſie to be broken,in place of the ſame,making it craftely,to the end that when the dart was throwne,and ſtuck in the enemies target, it ſhould not ſtand right forward, but bowe downwards towards the iron, that the wooden pinne being broken, the ſtaffe of the darte ſhould hang downewards, holding yet by the iron pinne running quite through at the point. So *Bæorix* king of the CIMBRES, comming neere to *Marius* campe with a ſmall number of horſemen,ſent him defiance,and willed him to appoint a day & place for battell,that they might trie it out,who ſhould be owners of the country. Whereunto *Marius* made aunſwer,that it was not the manner of the ROMAINES to counſell with their enemies, of the time and place when they ſhould giue battell: but neuertheleſſe, he would not ſtick to pleaſure the CIMBRES ſo much. And thus they agreed betweene them,that it ſhould be the third day following, in the plaine of Verſelles, which was very commodious for the horſemen of the ROMAINES: and alſo for the barbarous people to put out at will their great number of fighting men. So both armies failed not to meete according to appointment, but appeared ranged in battell,the one before the other. *Catulus Luctatius* the other Conſull, had in his campe twenty thouſand,and three hundred ſouldiers: and *Marius* had in his campe two and thirty thouſand fighting men,which he placed in the two wings of the battell,ſhutting in *Catulus* with his men in the middeſt. As *Sylla* writeth it,who was preſent at the ſame: ſaying, that *Marius* did it of malice, for the hope he had to ouerthrow his enemies with the two

*Marius refuſed to enter in triumphe.*

*Marius goeth towards Catulus Luctatius to helpe him.*

*Po flu.*

*Marius mocke to the Cimbres.*

*The Cimbres march againſt Marius.*

*Marius deuiſe for altering the darte in fight.*

*Bæorix king of the Cimbres.*

*Two and fiftie thouſand and three hundred men betweene Marius and Catulus.*

*The Romaines battell.*

wings of the battell, to the end that the whole victory ſhould light vpon his two wings, and that *Catulus* and his men in the middeſt ſhould haue no part therof. For he could not ſo much as fronte the enemy, becauſe that commonly when the fronte of a battell is of ſuch a breadth, the two wings that euer ſtretched out before, and is made like the creſſant of a moone, where the middeſt is thickeſt and fartheſt in. And it is written alſo in other ſtories, that *Catulus* himſelfe accuſing the malice of *Marius*, becauſe he did ſo: ſpake it to excuſe his owne diſhonour.

*The battell of the Cimbres.*

As for the CIMBRES, the troupes of their footemen comming out of their fortes leaſurely, did put themſelues into a ſquadron, as broad as long, for in euery ſide they occupied almoſt thirty furlong: but their horſemen which were fifteene thouſand, marched before in ſumptuous furniture. For they had helmets on their heads faſhioned like wilde beaſts necks, and ſtrange beuers or buffes to the ſame, and ware on their helmets great high plumes of feathers, as they had bene wings: which to ſight made them appeare taller and bigger men then they were. Furthermore, they had good curaſes on their backes, and caried great white targets before them: and for weapons offenſiue, euery man had two dartes in his hand to beſtow a farre off, & when they came to hād ſtrokes, they had great heauy ſwords, which they fought withall neere hand. But at that time they did not marche directly in rancke againſt the army of the ROMAINES, but turned a litle on the right hand, meaning to incloſe the ROMAINES betwene them and their footmen that were on the left hand. The ROMAINE Captaines found their policie ſtraight, but they could not keepe their ſouldiers backe: for there was one that cried, the enemies fled, and immediatly all the reſt began to runne after. In the meane time, the footmen of the barbarous people that were like to a ſea before them, came forwards ſtill: and then *Marius* hauing waſhed his hands, and lifting them vp to heauen, promiſed, and vowed a ſolemne ſacrifice vnto the gods of a hundred oxen. *Catulus* alſo made a vowe, lifting vp his hands to heauen in like maner, that he would build a temple vnto fortune for that day: and it is reported, that *Marius* hauing ſacrificed, when they ſhewed him the intrailes of the beaſtes ſacrificed: he cried out aloude, the victorie is mine.

*A duſt raiſed that neither army could ſee one an other.*

But when they came to giue the charge, *Marius* had a great miſfortune happened him, powred vpon him by gods iuſtice, who turned his craft againſt himſelfe, as *Sylla* writeth: for there roſe very credibly ſo great a duſt, that both armies loſt the ſight one of another. And hereupon *Marius* being the firſt that ranne to begin the charge, and hauing placed his men about him, miſſed to meete with his enemies: and being paſſed beyonde their battell, wandred a great while vp and downe the field, whileſt the barbarous people fought againſt *Catulus*.

*The ſunne full in the Cimbres faces.*

So that the greateſt fury of the battel was againſt *Catulus* and his army: in the which, *Sylla* writeth he was himſelfe, and ſaieth, that the heate and the ſun which was full in the CIMBRES faces, did the ROMAINES maruellous pleaſure at that time.

*The field fought the 27. of Iuly.*

For the barbarous people being very hard, brought vp to away with colde (becauſe they were borne and bred in a cold country, ſhadowed altogether with woods and trees as we haue ſaid) were to the contrary very tender againſt the heate, and did melt with ſweating againſt the ſunne, and gaped ſtraight for breath, putting their targets before their faces: for it was alſo in the hart of ſummer, about the ſeauen and twentith day of the moneth of Iuly, that this battell was giuen, and this duſt alſo made the ROMAINES the bolder, and kept them that they could not ſee the innumerable multitude of their enemies farre from them. And euery man running to ſet vpon them that came againſt them, they were ioyned together in fight, before that the ſight of their enemies could make them afraide. And furthermore, they were ſo good ſouldiers, and ſo able to take paines, that how extreame ſoeuer the heate was, no man was ſene ſweate nor blow, though they ran at the firſt to ſet vpon them: and this hath *Catulus Luctatius* himſelfe left in writing vnto the praiſe of his ſouldiers. So were the moſt part of the barbarous people, & ſpecially of the beſt ſouldiers, ſlaine in the field. And becauſe they ſhould not open nor breake their rancks, the formoſt rancks were all tied and bound together with girdles, leather thongs, and long chaines of iron: and they that fled, were chaſed and followed into their campe by the ROMAINES, where they met with horrible and fearefull things to beholde.

*Horrible cruelty of women.*

For, their wiues being vpon the toppe of their cartes, apparelled all in blacke, ſlue all thoſe that fled, without regarde of perſons: ſome their fathers, other their husbands or their brethren, and ſtrangling the litle young babes with their owne hands, they caſt them vnder the cart wheeles, and betweene the horſe legges, and afterwards ſlue them ſelues. And they ſay, that there was a woman hanged at the end of a cart ladder, hauing hanged vp two of her children by the necks at her heeles. And that the men alſo, for lacke of a tree to hang them ſelues on, tied ſlipping halters about their neckes, vnto the horns and feete of the oxen, and that they did pricke them afterwardes with goades to make them fling and leape ſo long, that dragging them all about, and treading them vnder feete, at the length they killed them. Now, though numbers were ſlaine by this meanes, yet were there three ſcore thouſand of the taken priſoners, and the number of them that were ſlaine, came to twiſe as many moe. In this manner *Marius* ſouldiers ſpoiled the campe of the CIMBRES: but the ſpoiles of dead men that were ſlaine in the field, with their enſignes and trumpettes, were all brought (as it is ſaid) vnto *Catulus* campe, which was a plaine teſtimony to ſhew that *Catulus* and his ſouldiers had wonne the field. Strife riſing thus between the ſouldiers of both campes about it, that the matter might be tried friendly betweene them: they made the Ambaſſadors of PARMA their arbitrators, who were by chãce at that time in the army. *Catulus Luctatius* ſouldiers led the Ambaſſadors to the place where the ouerthrow was giuen, ſhewing them the enemies bodies pearſed through with their pikes, which were eaſie to be knowen, becauſe *Catulus* had made them graue his name vpon their pikes. For all this, *Marius* went away with the honor of this great victory, as well for the firſt battell he wanne alone, when he ouerthrew the TEVTONS and the AMBRONS: as for his great calling, hauing beene Conſull fiue times. And furthermore, the common people at ROME, called him the third founder of the city of ROME, thinking them ſelues now deliuered from as great a danger, as before time they had bene in from the ancient GAVLES. And euery man feaſting at home with his wife and children, offered the beſt diſhes of meat they had to ſupper, vnto the gods, and vnto *Marius*: and would needs haue him alone to triumphe for both victories. But he would not in any caſe, but triumphed into the city with *Catulus Luctatius*, meaning to ſhew him ſelfe curteous and moderate in ſo great proſperity: and peraduenture alſo fearing *Catulus* ſouldiers, who were in readineſſe and prepared (if *Marius* would haue depriued their Captaine of that honor) to let him alſo of his triumph. And thus you ſee how he paſſed his fifth Conſulſhippe. After that, he made more earneſt ſute for the ſixth Conſulſhip, then euer any other did for his firſt: ſeeking the peoples good willes by all the faire meanes he could to pleaſe them, humbling himſelfe vnto them, not onely more then became his eſtate and calling, but directly alſo againſt his owne nature, counterfeating a curteous populer manner, being cleane contrary to his diſpoſition. His ambition made him timerous to deale in matters of the ſtate concerning the city. For that courage and boldneſſe which he had in battell againſt the enemy, he loſt it quite when he was in an aſſembly of people in the city: and was eaſily put out of his biaſe, with the firſt blame or praiſe he heard giuen him. And though they report, that on a time when he mad a thouſand CAMERINES free of the city of ROME, becauſe they had done valiant ſeruice in the warres, that there were ſome that did accuſe him, ſaying, that it was a thing done againſt all law: he anſwered them, that for the noiſe of the armor, he could not heare the law. Notwithſtanding, it ſeemeth that in deede he was greatly afeard of the fury of the people in an aſſembly of the city. For in time of warres, he euer ſtood vpon his reputation and authority, knowing that they had neede of him: but in peace and ciuill gouernment, becauſe he would rather be the chiefeſt man then the honeſteſt man, he would creepe into the peoples boſomes to get their fauor and goodwil. And thus through his euil behauiour, he brought all the nobility generally to be his enemies. But he feared nor miſtruſted none ſo much, as hee did *Metellus*, for the great vnthankfull part he remembred he had playd him: and the rather alſo, becauſe he knew him to be a iuſt and true dealing man, and one that was euer againſt theſe people-pleaſers and flatterers. *Marius* therefore practiſed all the waies he could, to get *Metellus* to be baniſhed ROME. Wherefore, to cõpaſſe his intent, he fell in friendſhip with *Glaucia* and one *Saturninus*, two of the moſt boldeſt, moſt deſperate, and moſt harebraind young men that were in all ROME: who had all the rablement of rogues and beggers, and ſuch tumultuous people at their commaundement, by whoſe meanes he made new popular lawes, and cauſed the ſouldiers to be called home out of the wars, and mingled them with the people of the city in common aſſemblies, to trouble and

*Priſoners 60. thouſand.*

*Men ſlaine ſixe ſcore thouſand.*

*Might euer commeth right.*

*Metellus againſt people pleaſers.*

vexe *Metellus*. Moreouer *Rutilius*, an honeſt and true writer, (howbeit an enemy vnto *Marius*) writeth, that he obtained his ſixth Conſulſhip by corruption of money, which he cauſed to be diſtributed amongſt the tribes of the people: and that he bought it for ready money to put by *Metellus*, and to haue *Valerius Flaccus* not for his fellow and companion in the Conſulſhippe, but rather for a miniſter of his will. There was neuer ROMAINE to whom the people graunted the Conſulſhippe ſixe times, except it were vnto *Valerius Coruinus* only. But for him, they ſay that there was fiue and forty yeares between his firſt Conſulſhip and the laſt. Where *Marius* ſince the firſt yeare of his Conſulſhippe, continued fiue yeares together by good fortune one after an other. But in his laſt Conſulſhip, he wanne him ſelfe great hate and malice, becauſe he did many foule faults to pleaſe *Saturninus* withall: as amongeſt others, when he bare with *Saturninus*, who murdered *Nonius* his competitor in the Tribuneſhip. Afterwardes when *Saturninus* was choſen Tribune of the people, he preferred a law for diſtribution of the landes among the common people, and vnto that law he had ſpecially added one article: that all the Lords of the Senate ſhould come openly to ſweare, that they ſhould keepe and obſerue from point to point that which the people by their voices ſhould decree, and ſhould not deny it in any iotte. But *Marius* in open Senate, made as though hee would withſtand this article, ſaying, that neither he nor any other wiſe man of iudgement would take this oth: for ſaid he, if the law be euill, then they ſhould doe the Senate open wrong to compell them by force to graunt it, and not of their owne good wils. But he ſpake not that, meaning to do as he ſaid: for it was but a baite he had layed for *Metellus* only, which he could hardly eſcape. For, imagining that to tel a fine lie, was a peece of vertue, and of a good wit: he was throughly reſolued with him ſelfe, not to paſſe for any thing he had ſpoken in the Senate. And to the contrary alſo, knowing well enough that *Metellus* was a graue wiſe man, who eſteemed that to be iuſt and true (as *Pindarus* ſaid) is the beginning and foundation of great vertue: he thought he would outreach him, making him affirme before the Senat that he would not ſweare, knowing alſo that the people would hate him deadly, if hee would refuſe afterwardes to ſweare. And ſo in deed it happened. For *Metellus* hauing aſſured them then that he would not ſweare, the Senate brake vp vppon it. And ſhortly after, *Saturninus* the Tribune calling the Senators vnto the pulpit for orations, to compell them to ſweare before the people: *Marius* went thither to offer him ſelfe to ſweare. Whereupon the people making ſilence, liſtned attentiuely to heare what he would ſay. But *Marius* not regarding his large promiſe and brags made before the Senate, ſayed then, his necke was not ſo long that he would preiudice the common wealth in a matter of ſo great importance: but that he would ſweare, and obey the law, if it were a law. This ſhifting ſubtilty he added to it, to cloke and couer his ſhame: and when hee had ſayd ſo, he tooke his oth. The people ſeeing him ſweare, were maruellous glad, and praiſed him with clapping of their handes: but the nobility hanging downe their heads were aſhamed of him, and were maruellous angry in their hearts with him, that he had ſo cowardly and ſhamefully gone from his word. Thereupon all the Senate tooke their othes, one after an other againſt their wils, becauſe they were afrayed of the people. Sauing *Metellus*, whom, neither parents nor friendes perſwaſion and intreaty could once moue to ſweare, for any puniſhment that *Saturninus* had impoſed vpon them, which refuſed to take the othe, but continued one man ſtill according to his nature, and would neuer yeelde vnto it, offering to abide any paine, rather then to be brought to conſent to a diſhoneſt matter vnbeſeeming his eſtate. And thereupon went out of the aſſembly, and talking with them that did accompany him, told them, that to do euill it was too eaſie a thing: and to doe good without daunger, it was alſo a common matter: but to do well with danger, that was the part of an honeſt and vertuous man. *Saturninus* then commaunded the Conſuls by edict of the people, that they ſhould baniſhe *Metellus* by ſound of trumpet, with ſpeciall commaundement, that no man ſhould let him haue fire nor water, nor lodge him priuatly nor openly. The common people, they were ready to haue fallen vpon him, and to haue killed him: but the noble men being offended for the iniury they had offred him, gathered together about him to ſaue him, if any would offer him violence. *Metellus* him ſelfe was ſo good a man, that he would not any ciuill diſſention ſhould riſe for his ſake: and therefore he abſented him ſelfe from ROME, wherein he did like a wiſe man.

*Valerius Flaccus Conſull with Marius the ſixth time.*

*Valerius Coruinus ſixe times Conſull.*

*The law Agraria.*

*An article for the othes of the Senate to confirme what the people ſhould paſſe by voice.*

*Marius double dealing.*

*To lie cunningly, Marius taketh for a vertue.*

*Timorous policy cauſeth periury.*

*Metellus conſtant in vertue*

*Metellus wiſe ſaying touching well doing.*

*Metellus baniſhment.*

man. For ſayd he, either things will amend, and the people then repenting them ſelues of the wrong they haue done me, will call me home againe: or elſe things ſtanding as they do now, it ſhall be beſt for me to be furtheſt off. But for his trauaile in his exile, how much he was beloued and honoured, and how ſweetely he paſſed his time ſtudying philoſophy in the city of RHODES, ſhall be declared more at large in his life. Now on the other ſide, *Marius* to recompence the pleaſure *Saturninus* had done him, being driuen to let him haue his will in all things: did not foreſee what an intollerable plague he brought vnto the common wealth, giuing the bridle to a deſperate man, who euery way, by force, by ſword and murder, plainely ſought to vſurpe tyrannicall power, with the vtter deſtruction and ſubuerſion of the whole common wealth. And ſo bearing reuerence on the one ſide vnto the nobility, and deſiring on the other ſide to gratifie the common people: he plaied a ſhamefull part, and ſhewed him ſelfe a double dealing man. For one night the nobility and chiefeſt citizens comming to his houſe, to perſwade him to bridle *Saturninus* inſolency and boldnes: at the ſelfe ſame time alſo *Saturninus* going thither to ſpeake with him, he cauſed him to be let in at a backe dore, the noble men not being priuy to his comming. And ſo *Marius* telling the nobility, and then *Saturninus*, that he was troubled with a loſenes of his body, vnder this pretence whipped vp & down, now to the one, then to the other, and did nothing elſe but ſet them further out one againſt an other, then they were before. Neuertheles, the Senat being maruellous angry with his naughty double dealing, and the order of knightes taking part with the Senate, *Marius* in the end was compelled to arme the people in the market place, to ſuppreſſe them that were vppe, and draue them into the Capitoll: where for lacke of water, they were compelled to yeelde them ſelues at the length, becauſe he had cut off the pipes and conduits by the which the water ranne vnto the Capitol. By reaſon whereof, they being vnable to continue any longer, called *Marius* vnto them, and yeelded them ſelues to him, vnder the aſſuraunce of the faith of the common people. But although *Marius* did what he could poſsible to his vttermoſt power to ſaue them, he could not preuaile, nor doe them pleaſure: for they were no ſooner come downe into the market place, but they were all put to death. Whereupon he hauing now purchaſed him ſelfe the ill will of the people and nobility both, when time came about that new Cenſors ſhould be choſen, euery man looked that he would haue bene one of the ſuters: howbeit he ſued not for it, for feare of repulſe, but ſuffered others to be choſen of farre leſſe dignity and calling then him ſelfe. Wherein notwithſtanding he gloried, ſaying that he would not ſue to be Cenſor, becauſe he would not haue the ill will of many, for examining too ſtraightly their liues and manners. Againe, a decree being preferred to repeale *Metellus* baniſhment, *Marius* did what he could poſsible by word and deed to hinder it: howbeit, ſeeing in the end he could not haue his will, he let it alone. The people hauing thus willingly reuoked *Metellus* baniſhment, *Marius* heart would not ſerue him to ſee *Metellus* returne againe, for the malice he bare him: wherefore he tooke the ſeas to goe into CAPPADOCIA and GALATIA, vnder colour to pay certaine ſacrifices to the mother of the gods, which he had vowed vnto her. But this was not the very cauſe that made him to vndertake this iourney, for he had an other ſecret meaning in it. For his nature not being framed to liue in peace, and to gouerne ciuil matters, and hauing attained to his greatnes by armes, and ſuppoſing that his glory and authority conſumed and decreaſed altogether liuing idlely in peace: he ſought to deuiſe new occaſion of warres, hoping if he could ſtirre vp the kinges of ASIA, and ſpecially *Mithridates* (who without his procurement was feared much, that one day he would make warres againſt the ROMAINES) that he ſhould then vndoubtedly without let of any man be choſen Generall to make wars with him, and withall alſo, that by that meanes he ſhould haue occaſion to fill the city of ROME with new triumphs, and his houſe with the ſpoiles of the great kingdome of PONTE, and with the riches of the king. Now *Mithridates* diſpoſing him ſelfe to entertaine *Marius*, with all the honor & curteſies he could poſsibly ſhew him: *Marius* in the end notwithſtãding would not once giue him a good looke, nor a curteous word again, but churliſhly ſayd vnto *Mithridates* at his departure from him. Thou muſt determi[illegible] one of theſe two, king *Mithridates*: either to make thy ſelfe ſtronger then the ROMAINES, [illegible] elſe to looke to doe what they commaund thee, without reſiſtance. Theſe wordes amaſe[illegible] *Mithridates*, who had heard ſay be-

*Marius double dealing betweene the nobility and people.*

*Marius procureth ſedition at Rome.*

*No truſt to the faith of the common people.*

*Metellus returne from baniſhment.*

*Marius iorney into Cappadocia and Galatia.*

*Marius proud wordes to Mithridates.*

fore that the ROMAINES would ſpeake their minds freely: howbeit he neuer ſaw nor proued it before, vntill that time. After *Marius* was returned vnto ROME, he built a houſe neare vnto the market place, becauſe he would not (as he ſaid him ſelf) that ſuch as came vnto him ſhould trouble them ſelues in going farre to bring him home to his houſe: or elſe for that he thought this would be an occaſion that diuerſe would come to ſalute him, as they did other Senators. Howbeit that was not the cauſe in deede, but the only cauſe was, for that hee had no naturall grace nor ciuility to entertaine men curteouſly that came vnto him, and that he lacked behauiour beſides to rule in a common wealth: and therefore in time of peace they made no more reckoning of him, then they did of an old ruſty harneſſe or implement that was good for nothing, but for the warres only. And for all other that profeſſed armes as him ſelfe did, no man grieued him ſo much to be called forward to office and ſtate before him ſelfe, as *Sylla* did. For he was ready to burſt for ſpite, to ſee that the noble men did all what they could to preferre *Sylla*, for the malice and ill will they bare him: and that *Syllaes* firſt riſing and preferment grew, by the quarrels and contentions he had with him. And ſpecially when *Bocchus* king of NVMIDIA was proclaimed by the Senate, a friend and confederate of the ROMAINE people: he offred vp ſtatues of victories, carying tokens of triumph, into the temple of the Capitoll: and placed neare vnto them alſo, an image of gold of king *Iugurthe*, which he deliuered by his own hands vnto *Sylla*.

*The cauſe of the diſſention betwixt Marius and Sylla.*

And this made *Marius* ſtarke madde for ſpite and iealouſie, and could not abide that an other ſhould take vppon him the glory of his doings: inſomuch as he determined to plucke thoſe images downe, and to cary them away by force. *Sylla* on the other ſide ſtomached *Marius*, and would not ſuffer him to take thẽ out of the place where they were: ſo that this ciuill ſedition had taken preſent effect, had not the warres of their confederates fallen out betweene, and reſtrained them for a time. For the beſt ſouldiers and moſt warlike people of all ITALIE, and of greateſt power, they all together roſe againſt the ROMAINES, and had wellneare ouerthrowen their whole Empire.

*The war of the confederates.*

For they were not onely of great force, and power, and well armed: but their Captaines alſo, for valiantnes and ſkill, did in manner equall the worthines of the ROMAINES. For this war fell out wonderfully, by reaſon of the calamity and miſfortune that happened in it: but it wanne *Sylla* as much fame and reputation, as it did *Marius* ſhame and diſhonor. For he ſhewed him ſelfe very could and ſlow in all his enterpriſes, ſtill delaying time, eyther becauſe age had mortified his actiue heate, and killed that quick ready diſpoſition of body that was wont to be in him, being then aboue three ſcore and fiue yeare olde: or elſe as he ſayd him ſelfe, becauſe he was waxen gouty, and had ache in his vaines and ſinewes, that he could not well ſtir his body, and that for ſhame, becauſe he would not tary behinde in this warre, he did more then his yeares could away withall. Notwithſtanding, as he was, yet he wanne a great battell, wherein were ſlaine ſixe thouſand of their enemies: and ſo long as the warres endured, he neuer gaue them aduantage of him, but patiently ſuffered them ſometime to intrench him, and to mocke him, and giue him vile wordes, chalenging him out to fight, and yet all this would not prouoke him. It is ſaid alſo, that *Pompedius Silo*, who was the chiefeſt Captaine of reputation & authority the enemies had, ſaid vnto *Marius* on a time: if thou be *Marius*, ſo great a Captaine as they ſay thou art, leaue thy campe, and come out to battell. Nay, ſaid *Marius* to him againe: if thou be a great Captaine, plucke mee out by the eares, and compell mee to come to battell.

*Siloes ſtout challenge and Marius aunſwere.*

An other time when the enemies gaue them occaſion to giue a great charge vpon them with aduantage: the ROMAINES were faynt hearted and durſt not ſet vpon them. Wherefore, after both the one and the other were retired, *Marius* cauſed his men to aſſemble, and ſpake vnto them in this ſort. I cannot tell which of the two I ſhould recken moſt cowards: you your ſelues, or your enemies: for they durſt not once ſee your backes, nor you them in the faces. In the end notwithſtanding, he was compelled to reſigne his charge, being able to ſerue no longer for the weakeneſſe and debilitie of his body. Now, all the rebels of ITALY being put downe, many at ROME (by the orators means) did ſue to haue the charge of the warres againſt *Mithridates*: and among them, a Tribune of the people called *Sulpitius*, (a very bold and raſh man) beyond all mens hope and opinion preferred *Marius*, and perſwaded them to giue him the charge of theſe wars, with title and authority of vice Conſull. The people thereupon were deuided in two partes: for the one ſide ſtoode for *Marius*, and the other would haue *Sylla* take the charge, ſaying, that *Marius* was to thinke now vppon the hotte bathes at Baies, to looke to cure his old body, brought lowe with rewme and age, as him ſelfe ſayd. For *Marius* had a goodly ſtately houſe in thoſe partes neare vnto the mount of Miſene, which was farre more fine and curiouſly furniſhed, then became a Captaine that had beene in ſo many foughten battels and dangers. They ſay that *Cornelia* afterwardes bought that fine houſe for the ſumme of ſeuen thouſand fiue hundred crownes, and ſhortly after alſo, *Lucullus* bought it againe for two hundred and fifty thouſand crownes: to ſo great exceſſe was vanity and curioſity growen in very ſhort time at ROME. Notwithſtanding all this, *Marius* too ambitiouſly ſtriuing like a paſſioned yong man againſt the weakenes and debility of his age, neuer miſſed day but he would be in the field of *Mars* to exerciſe him ſelfe among the young men, ſhewing his body diſpoſed and ready to handle all kinde of weapons, and to ride horſes: albeit that in his later time, he had no great health of body, becauſe he was very heauy and ſad. There were that liked that paſſing well in him, and went of purpoſe into the field to ſee what paines he tooke, ſtriuing to excell the reſt. Howbeit thoſe of the better ſort were very ſory to ſee his auarice and ambition, conſidering ſpecially, that being of a poore man become very rich, and of a right meane perſon a great eſtate, that he could not now containe his proſperity within reaſonable boundes, nor content him ſelfe to be eſteemed and honoured, quietly enioying all he had wonne, and which at that preſent he did poſſeſſe: but as if he had beene very poore and needy, after he had receiued ſuch great honor and triumphes, would yet cary out his age ſo ſtoutly, euen into CAPPADOCIA, and vnto the realme of PONT, to goe fight there againſt *Archelaus*, and *Neoptolemus*, Lieutenants of king *Mithridates*. In deede he alleaged ſome reaſons to excuſe him ſelfe, but they were altogether vaine: for he ſayd that he deſired in perſon to bring vp his ſonne in exerciſe of armes, and to teach him the diſcipline of warres. That diſcouered the ſecret hidden plague, which of long time hath lurked in ROME, *Marius* ſpecially hauing now met with a fit inſtrument, and miniſter to deſtroy the common wealth, which was, the inſolent and raſh *Sulpitius*: who altogether followed *Saturninus* doings, ſauing that he was found too cowardly and faint hearted in all his enterpriſes, and for that did *Marius* iuſtly reproue him. But *Sulpitius*, becauſe he would not dally nor delay time, had euer ſixe hundred young gentlemen of the order of knights, whom he vſed as his gard about him, and called them the gard againſt the Senate. And one day as the Conſuls kept their common aſſembly in the market place, *Sulpitius* comming in armed vpon them, made them both take their heeles, and get them packing: and as they fled, one of the Conſuls ſonnes being taken tardy, was ſlaine. *Sylla* being the other Conſull, and perceiuing that he was followed hard at hand vnto *Marius* houſe, ranne into the ſame againſt the opinion of all the world: whereof they that ranne after him not being aware, paſſed by the houſe. And it is reported that *Marius* him ſelfe conuayed *Sylla* ſafely out at a backe dore, and that he being ſcaped thus, went vnto his campe. Notwithſtanding, *Sylla* himſelfe in his commentaries doth not ſay, that he was ſaued in *Marius* houſe when he fled: but that he was brought thither to giue his conſent vnto a matter which *Sulpitius* would haue forced him vnto againſt his will, preſenting him naked ſwordes on euery ſide. And he writeth alſo, that being thus forcibly brought vnto *Marius* houſe, he was kept there in this feare, vntill ſuch time as returning into the market place, he was compelled to reuoke againe the adiornement of iuſtice, which he and his companion by edict had commaunded. This done, *Sulpitius* then being the ſtronger, cauſed the commiſſion and charge of this war againſt *Mithridates* to be aſſigned vnto *Marius* by the voice of the people. Therfore *Marius* giuing order for his departure, ſent two of his Colonels before to take the army of *Sylla*: who hauing won his ſouldiers hearts before, and ſtirred them vp againſt *Marius*, brought them on with him directly towardes ROME, being no leſſe then fiue and thirty thouſand fighting men: who ſetting vpon the Captaines *Marius* had ſent vnto them, ſlew them in the field. In reuenge whereof, *Marius* againe in ROME put many of *Syllaes* friends and followers to death, and proclamed open liberty by ſound of trumpet, to all ſlaues and bondmen that would take armes for him: but there were neuer but three only that offered them ſelues. Whereupon, hauing made a litle reſiſtaunce vnto *Sylla* when he came into ROME, he was ſoone after compelled to

*Mons Miſenum.*

*Marius ambition.*

*Sulpitius gard of ſixe hundred knights.*

*Sulpitius boldneſſe.*

*Marius ſedition.*

*Marius flieth from Rome.*

*Marius the ſonne flieth into Africke.*

*Marius found an ayrie of Eagles.*

runne his way. *Marius* was no ſooner out of the city, but they that were in his company forſaking him, diſperſed them ſelues here and there being darke night: and *Marius* him ſelfe got to a houſe of his in the countrey, called Salonium, and ſent his ſonne to one of his father in law *Mutius* farmes not farre from thence, to make ſome prouiſion for victuals. But *Marius* in the meane time, went before to Ostia, where one of his friends *Numerius* had prepared him a ſhippe, in the which he imbarked immediatly, not tarying for his ſonne, and hoyſed ſaile, hauing onely *Granius* his wiues ſonne with him. In the meane time the yonger *Marius* being at his father in law *Mutius* farme, ſtaied ſo long in getting of prouiſion, in truſſing of it vp, and carying it away, that broad day light had like to haue diſcouered him: for the enemies had aduertiſement whither he was gone, whereupon certaine horſemen were ſent thither ſuppoſing to haue found him. But the keeper of the houſe hauing an inckling of their comming, and preuenting them alſo before they came, ſodainely yoked his oxen to the cart which hee loded with beanes, and hidde this younger *Marius* vnder the ſame. And pricking the oxen forward with his goade, ſet out, and met them as he went towards the city, and deliuered *Marius* in this ſort into his wiues houſe: and there taking ſuch thinges as hee needed, when the night following came, went towardes the ſea, and tooke ſhip, finding one croſſe ſailed, bound towards Africke. *Marius* the father ſayling on ſtill, had a very good winde to point alongeſt the coaſt of Italy: notwithſtanding, being afrayed of one *Geminius*, a chiefe man of Terracine, who hated him to the death, he gaue the mariners warning thereof betimes, and willed them to take heede of landing at Terracine. The mariners were very willing to obey him, but the winde ſtoode full againſt them comming from the maine, which raiſed a great ſtorme, and they feared much that their veſſell which was but a bote, would not brooke the ſeas, beſides that he him ſelfe was very ſicke in his ſtomacke, and ſore ſea beaten: notwithſtanding, at the lēgth with the greateſt difficulty that might be, they recouered the coaſt ouer againſt the city of Circees. In the meane time, the ſtorme increaſed ſtill, and their victuals failed them: whereupon they were compelled to land, and went wandring vp and downe not knowing what to doe, nor what way to take. But as it falleth out commonly in ſuch like caſes of extremity, they thought it alwaies the beſt ſafety for them, to flie from the place where they were, and to hope of that which they ſaw not: for if the ſea were their enemy, the land was ſo likewiſe. To meete with men, they were afrayed: and not to mette with them on the other ſide lacking victuals, was in deede the greater danger. Neuertheleſſe, in the end they met with heard men that could giue them nothing to eate, but knowing *Marius*, warned him to get him out of the way as ſoone as hee could poſſible, becauſe it was not long ſince that there paſſed by a great troupe of horſemen that ſought him al about. And thus being brought vnto ſuch perplexity, that he knew not where to beſtow him ſelfe, and ſpecially for that the poor men he had in his company were almoſt ſtarued for hunger: he got out of the high way notwithſtanding, and ſought out a very thicke wodde where he paſſed all that night in great ſorrow, and the next morning being compelled by neceſſity, determined yet to employ his body before all his ſtrength failed. Thus he wandered on alongeſt the ſea coaſt, ſtill comforting them that followed him the beſt he could, and praying them not to deſpaire, but to refer them ſelues to him, euen vntill the laſt hope, truſting in certaine prophecies which the Soothſayers had told him of long time before. For when hee was but very young, and dwelling in the countrey, he gathered vp in the lap of his gowne, the ayrie of an Eagle, in the which were ſeuen young Eagles: whereat his father and mother much wondering, asked the Soothſayers what that ment. They anſwered, that their ſonne one day ſhould be one of the greateſt men in the world, and that out of doubt hee ſhould obtaine ſeuen times in his life the chiefeſt office of dignity in his country. And for that matter, it is ſayed that ſo in deede it came to paſſe. Other holde opinion, that ſuch as were about *Marius* at that time, in that preſent place, and elſe where, during the time of his flying: they hearing him tell this tale, beleeued it, and afterwards put it downe in writing, as a true thing, although of troth it is both falſe and fayned. For, they ſay, that the Eagle neuer getteth but two young ones: by reaſon whereof it is maintayned alſo, that the Poet *Muſæus* hath lyed: in that which hee hath written in theſe verſes.

*The Eagle layes three egges, and two ſhe hatcheth forth:*
*But yet ſhe bringeth vp but one, that any thing is worth.*

*How many egs the Eagle laieth.*

Howſoeuer it was, it is certaine that *Marius* many times during the time of his flying ſaid, that he was aſſured he ſhould come vnto the ſeuenth Conſulſhip. When they were come nere now to the citie of MINTVRNES, about a two mile and a halfe from it, they might perceiue a troupe of horſemen comming by the ſea ſide, and two ſhippes on the ſea that fell vppon the coaſt by good happe. Wherefore they all beganne to runne (ſo long as they had breath and ſtrength) towardes the ſea, into the which they threwe themſelues, and got by ſwimming vnto one of the ſhippes where *Granius* was: and they croſſed ouer vnto the Ile that is right againſt it called ENARIA. Now for *Marius*, who was heauie and ſicke of bodie, two of his ſeruants holpe to holde him vp alwaies aboue water, with the greateſt paine and difficultie in the worlde: and at the laſt they laboured ſo throughly, that they put him into the other ſhippe at the ſelfe ſame preſent, when the horſemen came vnto the ſea ſide, who cried out aloude to the mariners to land againe, or elſe throwe *Marius* ouer borde, and then to goe where they would. *Marius* on the other ſide humbly beſought them with teares, not ſo to doe: whereby the maſters of the ſhip in a ſhort ſpace were in many mindes whether to doe it, or not to doe it. In the ende notwithſtanding, they anſwered the horſemen they would not throwe him ouer borde: ſo the horſemen went their way in a great rage. But as ſoone as they were gone, the maſters of the ſhippe changing minde, drewe towardes lande, and caſt ancker about the mouth of the riuer of Liris, where it leaueth her banckes, and maketh great mariſſes: & there they tolde *Marius* he ſhould do well to goe a land to eate ſomewhat, and refreſh his ſea ſicke bodie, till the winde ſerued them to make ſaile, which doubtleſſe ſaide they, will be at a certaine houre when the ſea winde falles and becomes calme, and that there riſeth a litle winde from the lande, ingendred by the vapours of the mariſſes, which will ſerue the turne very well to take ſeas againe. *Marius* following their counſell, and thinking they had ment good faith, was ſet a lande vpon the riuers bancke: and there laide him downe vpon the graſſe, nothing ſuſpecting that which happened after to him. For the mariners preſently taking their ſhippe againe, and hoyſing vp their anckers ſailed ſtraight away, and fled: iudging it no honeſtie for them to haue deliuered *Marius* into the handes of his enemies, nor ſafetie for themſelues to haue ſaued him. *Marius* finding himſelfe all alone, & forſaken of euery man, lay on the ground a great while, and ſaid neuer a word: yet at the length taking heart a litle to him, got vp once againe on his feete, and painefully wandred vp and downe, where was neither way nor path at all, ouerthwart deepe mariſſes and great ditches full of water and mudde, till he came at the length to a poore olde mans cotage, dwelling there in theſe mariſſes, and falling at his feete, beſought him to helpe to ſaue and ſuccour a poore afflicted man, with promiſe that one day he would giue him a better recompence then he looked for, if he might eſcape this preſent danger wherein he was. The olde man whether for that he had knowen *Marius* aforetime, or that ſeeing him (by coniecture only) iudged him to be ſome great perſonage, told him that if he ment but to lie downe and reſt himſelfe a litle, his poore cabine would ſerue that turne reaſonably well but if he ment to wander thus, to fly his enemies that followed him, he would then bring him into a more ſecret place, and farther off from noiſe. *Marius* praied him that he would do ſo much for him: and the good man brought him into the mariſh, vnto a lowe place by the riuers ſide, where he made him lie downe, and then couered him with a great deale of reede and bent, and other ſuch light things as could not hurt him. He had not long bene there, but he heard a great noyſe comming towardes the cabin of the poore old man: for *Geminius* of TERRACINE had ſent men all about to ſeeke for him, whereof ſome by chance came that way, and put the poore man in a feare, and threatned him that he had receiued and hidden an enemie of the ROMAINES. *Marius* hearing that, roſe out of the place where the old man had laide him, and ſtripping him ſelfe ſtarke naked, went into a part of the mariſh where the water was full of myre and mudde, and there was founde of thoſe that ſearched for him: who taking him out of the ſlime all naked as he was, caried him into the citie of MINTVRNES, and deliuered him there into the gouernours hands. Open proclamation was made by the Senate through all ITALIE, that they ſhould apprehend *Marius*, and kill him where-

*Liris fl.*

*Marius ſet a land, and forſaken of the mariners.*

*Marius hidden in the mariſſes.*

*Marius taken.*

ſoeuer they found him. Notwithſtanding, the gouernours and magiſtrates of MINTVRNES thought good firſt to conſult thereupon amongeſt themſelues, & in the meane time they deliuered him into the ſafe cuſtody of a woman called *Fannia*, whom they thought to haue bene a bitter enemie of his, for an old grudge ſhe had to him, which was this. *Fannia* ſometime had a husband called *Tinnius*, whom ſhe was willing to leaue for that they could not agree, and required her dower of him againe, which was very great. Her husband againe ſaide, ſhe had plaide the whore. The matter was brought before *Marius* in his ſixth Conſulſhip, who had giuen iudgement vpon it. Both parties being heard, and the law proſecuted on either ſide, it was found that this *Fannia* was a naughtie woman of her bodie, & that her husband knowing it well enough before he maried her, yet tooke her with her faultes, and long time liued with her. Wherefore *Marius* being angry with them both, gaue ſentence that the husband ſhould repay backe her dower, and that for her naughtie life, ſhe ſhould pay foure farthings. This notwithſtanding, when *Fannia* ſaw *Marius*, ſhe grudged him not for that, and leaſt of all had any reuenging minde in her towardes him, but contrarily did comfort and helpe him what ſhe could with that ſhe had. *Marius* thanked her maruelouſly for it, & bad her hope well: becauſe he met with good lucke as he was comming to her houſe, and in this manner. As they were leading of him, when he came neere to *Fanniaes* houſe, her dore being open, there came an aſſe running out to go drinke at a conduit not farre from thence: and meeting *Marius* by the way, looked vpon him with a liuely ioyfull countenance, firſt of all ſtopping ſodainly before him, and then beginning to bray out aloud, and to leape and skippe by him. Whereuppon *Marius* ſtraight coniecturing with himſelfe, ſaid, that the goddes did ſignifie vnto him, that he ſhould ſaue himſelfe ſooner by water then by lande: becauſe that the aſſe leauing him, ranne to drinke and cared not to eate. So when he had tolde *Fannia* this tale, he deſired to reſt, and praied them to let him alone, and to ſhut the chamber dore to him. But the magiſtrates of the citie hauing conſulted together about him, in the ende reſolued they muſt deferre no longer time, but diſpatch him out of the way preſently. Now when they were agreed vpon it, they could not finde a man in the citie that durſt take vpon him to kill him: but a man of armes of the GAVLES, or one of the CIMBRES (for we finde both the one and the other in writing) that went thither with his ſword drawen in his hand. Now, that place of the chamber wherein *Marius* lay was very darke, and as it is reported, the man of armes thought he ſaw two burning flames come out of *Marius* eyes, and heard a voice out of that darke corner, ſaying vnto him: O fellowe, thou, dareſt thou come to kill *Caius Marius*? The barbarous GAVLE hearing theſe wordes, ranne out of the chamber preſently, caſting his ſword in the middeſt of the flower, and crying out theſe wordes onely: I can not kill *Caius Marius*. This made the MINTVRNIANS afraide in the citie at the firſt, but afterwards it moued them to cōpaſſion. So they were angry with themſelues, and did repent them that they conuerted their counſell to ſo cruell and vnkinde a deede, againſt one that had preſerued all ITALIE: and to denie him aide in ſo extreame neceſſitie, it was too great a ſinne. Therefore let vs let him goe, ſaide they to themſelues, where he will, and ſuffer him take his fortune appointed him elſe where: and let vs pray to the goddes to pardon this offence of ours, to haue thruſt *Marius* naked & beggerly out of our citie. For theſe conſiderations, the MINTVRNIANS went all together to *Marius* where he was, and ſtoode about him, determining to ſee him ſafely conducted vnto the ſea ſide. Now though euery man was readie and willing to pleaſure him, ſome with one thing, ſome with an other, and that they did haſten him all they could poſſible, yet they were a good while a going thither: becauſe there was a wodde called Marica, that lay right in their way betwene their city & the ſea coaſt which they greatly reuerence, and thinke it a ſcriledge to carie any thing out of that wodde, that was once brought into it. On the other ſide, to leaue to goe through this wodde, and to compaſſe it rounde about, it would aske a maruellous long time. So they ſtanding all in doubt what they ſhould doe, one of the aunncienteſt men of the citie ſpake a loud vnto them, and ſaid: that there was no way forbidden them, that went about to ſaue *Marius* life. Then *Marius* himſelfe being the formoſt man, taking vp ſome of the fardels which they caried with him, to pleaſure him in the ſhip, went through the wodde. All other things neceſſary being thus readily prepared for him with like goodwil,

*Fanniaes curteſie vnto Marius.*

*One hiered to kill Marius.*

*The Minturnians ſuffered Marius to goe his way with ſafetie.*

*Marica Sylua.*

and ſpecially the ſhippe which one *Bellæus* had ordained for him: he cauſed all this ſtorie to be painted in a table at large, which he gaue vnto the temple, out of the which he departed when he tooke ſhippe. After he was departed thence, the winde by good fortune caried him into the Ile of ENARIA, where he found *Granius* and ſome other of his friendes, with whom he tooke ſea againe, and pointed towardes AFRICKE. But lacking water, they were compelled to land in SICILIA, in the territorie of the citie of ERIX: where by chance there lay a ROMAINE Quæſtor, who kept that coaſt. *Marius* being landed there, ſcaped very narrowly that he was not taken of him: for he ſlew ſixteene of his men that came out with him to take water. So *Marius* getting him thence with all ſpeede, croſſed the ſeas, vntill he arriued in the Ile of MENYNGE, where he firſt vnderſtood that his ſonne was ſaued with *Cethegus*, and that they were both together gone to *Hiempſall* king of the NVMIDIANS to beſeech him of aide. This gaue him a litle courage, & made him bold to paſſe out of that Ile, into the coaſt of CARTHAGE. Now at that time, *Sextilius* a ROMAINE Prætor was gouernour of AFRICKE, vnto whom *Marius* had neuer done good nor hurt, and therefore he hoped, that for pity onely he might perhaps haue helpe at his hand. Howbeit he was no ſooner landed with a fewe of his men, but a ſergeant came ſtraight and ſaid vnto him: *Sextilius*, Prætor and gouernour of LIBYA, doth forbid thee to land in all this prouince: otherwiſe he telleth thee, that he will obey the Senates commandement, and purſue thee as an enemie of the ROMAINES. *Marius* hearing this commaundement, was ſo angrie and ſorie both, that he could not readily tell what anſwere to make him, and pauſed a good while, and ſaid neuer a word, ſtill eying the ſergeant with a grimme looke: vntill he asked him what anſwere he would make to the Prætors commandement. *Marius* then fetching a deepe ſigh from his heart, gaue him this anſwere. Thou ſhalt tell *Sextilius*, that thou haſt ſeene *Caius Marius* baniſhed out of his country, ſitting amongeſt the ruines of the citie of CARTHAGE. By this anſwere, he wiſely laide the example of the ruine and deſtruction of that great citie of CARTHAGE, before *Sextilius* eyes, and the change of his fortune: to warne *Sextilius* that the like might fall vppon him. In the meane time, *Hiempſall* king of the NVMIDIANS, not knowing how to reſolue, did honorably intreat young *Marius* and his companie. But when they were willing to goe their way, he alwaies found new occaſion to ſtay them, and was very glad to ſee that he ſtarted not for any oportunitie or good occaſion that was offered: notwithſtanding, there fortuned a happie meane vnto them, whereby they ſaued themſelues. And this it was. This *Marius* the younger being a faire complexioned young man, it pitied one of the kings concubines to ſee him ſo hardly dealt withal. This pitie of hers was a ſhadow to cloke the loue ſhe bare him: but *Marius* would not hearken at the firſt to her intiſementes, and refuſed her. Yet in the ende, perceiuing that there was no other way for him to eſcape thence, and conſidering that ſhe did all things for their auaile, more diligently and louingly then ſhe would haue done, if ſhe had not ment further matter vnto him, then onely to enioy the pleaſure of him: he then accepted her loue and kindneſſe, ſo as at the length ſhee taught him a way howe to flie, and ſaue himſelfe and his friendes. Hereupon he went to his father, and after they had imbraced and ſaluted ech other, going alongſt the ſea ſide, they found two ſcorpions fighting together. *Marius* tooke this for an ill ſigne: whereupon they quickly tooke a fiſher boat, & went into the Ile of CERCINA, which is no great diſtance off from firme lande. They had no ſooner hoiſed vp anker, but they ſaw the horſemen which king *Hiempſall* had ſent vnto the place from whence they were departed: and that was one of the greateſt dangers that *Marius* euer eſcaped. In the meane time there was newes at ROME, that *Sylla* made warre againſt king *Mithridates* Lieutenants: and furthermore, that the Conſuls being vp in armes the one againſt the other, *Octauius* wanne the battell, and being the ſtronger, had driuen out *Cinna* who ſought to haue vſurped tyrannicall power, and had made *Cornelius Merula* Conſull in his place: and that *Cinna* on the other ſide leauied men out of other partes of ITALIE, and made warres vpon them that were in ROME. *Marius* hearing of this diſſention, thought good to returne as ſoone as he could poſſible into ITALIE. And aſſembling certaine horſemen of the nation of the MAVRVSIANS in AFRICKE, and certaine ITALIANS that had ſaued themſelues there, vnto the number of a thouſand men in all: he tooke ſea, and landed in a hauen of THVSCANE called TELAMON,

*Marius the elder flieth into Africke.*

*Marius wiſe anſwere of fortunes inconſtancie.*

*Marius the younger eſcapeth Hiempſals handes.*

*Cinna driuen out of Rome by Octauius.*

and being landed, proclaimed by ſound of trompet, libertie to all ſlaues and bondmen that would come to him. So the labourers, heardmen and neateheardes of all that march, for the onely name and reputation of *Marius*, ranne to the ſea ſide from all partes: of the which he hauing choſen out the ſtouteſt and luſtieſt of them, wanne them ſo by faire wordes, that hauing gathered a great companie together in fewe daies, he made fortie ſaile of them. Furthermore, knowing that *Octauius* was a maruellous honeſt man, that would haue no authoritie otherwiſe then law and reaſon would: and that *Cinna* to the contrarie was ſuſpected of *Sylla*, & that he ſought to bring in change and innouation to the common wealth, he determined to ioyne his force with *Cinna*. So *Marius* ſent firſt vnto *Cinna*, to let him vnderſtande that he would obey him as Conſull, and be readie to doe all that he ſhould commaund him.

*Marius ioyneth force with Cinna.*

*Cinna* receiued him, and gaue him the title and authoritie of Viceconſull, and ſent him ſergeants to carie axes and roddes before him, with all other ſignes of publicke authoritie. But *Marius* refuſed them, and ſaide, that pompe became not his miſerable fortune: for hee euer went in a poore threede-bare gowne, and had let his haire grow ſtill after he was baniſhed, being aboue threeſcore and tenne yeares olde, and had a ſober gate with him, to make men pitie him the more that ſaw him. But vnder all this counterfaite pitie of his, he neuer changed his naturall looke, which was euer more fearefull and terrible then otherwiſe. And where he ſpake but litle, and went very demurely and ſoberly, that ſhewed rather a cankered courage within him, then a mind humbled by his baniſhment. Thus when he had ſaluted *Cinna*, and ſpoken to the ſouldiers: he then beganne to ſet things abroach, and made a wonderfull change in fewe daies. For firſt of all, with his ſhips he cut off all the victuals by ſea, and robbed the marchants that caried corne and other victuals to ROME: ſo that in a ſhort ſpace he was maſter purueyer for all neceſſarie prouiſion and victuals. After this he went alongſt the coaſt, and tooke all the cities vpon the ſea ſide, and at the length wanne OSTIA alſo by treaſon, put the moſt part of them in the towne to the ſword, and ſpoyled all their goods: and afterwards making a bridge vpon the riuer of Tiber, tooke from his enemies all hope to haue any manner of prouiſion by ſea.

*Octauius negligence in defence of the citie of Rome, againſt Cinna and Marius.*

That done, he went directly towards ROME with his armie, where firſt he wanne the hill called Ianiculum through *Octauius* fault: who ouerthrewe himſelfe in his doinges, not ſo much for lacke of reaſonable skill of warres, as through his vnprofitable curioſitie and ſtrictnes in obſeruing the law. For when diuerſe did perſwade him to ſet the bondmen at liberty to take armes for defence of the common wealth: he anſwered, that he would neuer giue bondmen the law and priuiledge of a ROMAINE citizen, hauing driuen *Caius Marius* out of ROME, to maintaine the authoritie of the law. But when *Cæcilius Metellus* was come to ROME, the ſonne of that *Metellus Numidicus*, that hauing begunne the warres in LIBYA againſt King *Iugurthe*, was put out by *Marius*: the ſouldiers forſooke *Octauius* immediatly, and came vnto him, becauſe they tooke him to be a better Captaine, and deſired alſo to haue a leader that could tell how to commaund them to ſaue the citie, and the common wealth. For they promiſed to fight valiantly, and perſwaded themſelues that they ſhould ouercome their enemies, ſo that they had a ſkilfull and valiant Captaine that could order them. *Metellus* miſliking their offer, commanded them in anger to returne againe vnto the Conſull: but they for ſpight went vnto their enemies. *Metellus* on the other ſide, ſeeing no good order taken in the citie to reſiſt the enemies, got him out of ROME.

*Octauius too much giuen to Soothſaiers.*
*Octauius vertue and imperfection.*

But *Octauius* being perſwaded by certaine Soothſaiers and CHALDEAN ſacrificers, who promiſed him all ſhould goe well with him, taried ſtill in ROME. For that man being otherwiſe, as wiſe as any ROMAINE of his time, and one that dealt as vprightly in his Conſulſhippe, not caried away with flattering tales, and one alſo that followed the auncient orders and cuſtomes as infallible rules and examples, neither breaking nor omitting any part therof: me thinkes yet had this imperfection, that he frequented the Soothſaiers, wiſemen, and aſtronomers, more then men ſkilfull in armes and gouernment.

*Octauius ſlaine by Marius ſouldiers.*
*A great contrarietie in aſtronomie.*

Wherfore, before that *Marius* himſelfe came into the citie, *Octauius* was by force pluckt out of the pulpit for orations, and ſlaine preſently by *Marius* ſouldiers, whom he had ſent before into the citie. And it is ſaid alſo, that when he was ſlaine, they found a figure of a CHALDEAN prophecie in his boſome: and here is to be noted a great contrarietie in theſe two notable men, *Octauius* and *Marius*. The firſt loſt his life by truſting to ſoothſaying, and the ſecond proſpered, & roſe againe, becauſe he did not deſpiſe the arte of diuination. The ſtate of ROME ſtanding then in this manner, the Senate conſulting together, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Cinna* and *Marius*, to pray them to come peaceably into ROME, and not to embrue their hands with the bloud of their citizens. *Cinna* ſitting in his chaire as Conſull, gaue them audience, & made them a very reaſonable and courteous anſwere. *Marius* ſtanding by him ſpake neuer a word: but ſhewed by his ſower looke that he would ſtaight fill ROME with murder and bloud. So when the Ambaſſadors were gone, *Cinna* came into ROME enuironned with a great number of ſouldiers: but *Marius* ſtaied ſodainely at the gate, ſpeaking partly in anger, and partly in mockerie, that he was a baniſhed man, and driuen out of his country by law. And therefore if they would haue him come into ROME againe, they ſhould firſt by a contrary decree aboliſh and reuoke that of his baniſhment, as if he had bene a religious obſeruer of the lawes, and as though ROME had at that preſent enioyed their freedome and libertie. Thus he made the people aſſemble in the market place to proceede to the confirmation of his calling home againe. But before three or foure tribes had time to giue their voices, diſguiſing the matter no longer, and ſhewing plainely that he ment not to be lawfully called home againe from exile: he came into ROME with a guard about him, of the verieſt raſcals, & moſt ſhameleſſe ſlaues, called the BARDIOEIANS, who came to him from all parts: and they for the leaſt word he ſpake, or at the twinckling of his eye, or at a nodde of his head made to them, ſlew many men through his commaundement, and at the length ſlew *Ancharius* a Senator (that had bene Prætor) at *Marius* feete with their ſwordes, becauſe only that *Marius* did not ſalute him when he came one day to ſpeake with him. After this murther, they continued killing all them that *Marius* did not ſalute, and ſpeake vnto: for that was the verie ſigne he had giuen them, to kill them openly in the ſtreetes before euery man, ſo that his very friendes were afeard of being murthered, when they came to ſalute him. Thus being a great number of men ſlaine, *Cinna* in the end beganne to be ſatisfied, and to appeaſe his anger. But *Marius* anger and vnſatiable deſire of reuenge increaſed more and more, ſo that he ſpared not one if he ſuſpected him neuer ſo litle: and there was neither towne nor high way, that was not full of ſkoutes & ſpies to hunt them out that hid themſelues and fled. Then experience taught them, that no friende is faithfull, and to be truſted, if fortune eſpecially frowne neuer ſo litle: for there were very fewe that did not betray their friendes that fled to them for ſuccour. And therefore doe *Cornutus* ſeruants ſo much the more deſerue praiſe, who hauing ſecretly hidden their maſter in his houſe, did hang the dead body of ſome common perſon by the necke, and hauing put a golde ring on his finger, they ſhewed him to the BARDIOEIANS, *Marius* guard, and buried him in ſteede of their owne maſter, without ſuſpition of any man that it was a fained thing: and ſo *Cornutus* being hidden by his ſeruants, was ſafely conueyed into the country of GAVLE. *Marke Anthony* the Orator had alſo found out a faithfull friende, yet was he vnfortunate. This faithfull friend of his, was a poore ſimple man, who hauing receiued one of the chiefeſt men of ROME into his houſe to keepe him cloſe there: he being deſirous to make him the beſt chere he could with that litle he had, ſent one of his men to the next tauerne to fetch wine, and taſting the wine more curiouſly then he was wont to do, he called for better. The drawer aſked him why the new ordinarie wine would not ſerue him, but he muſt needes haue of the beſt and deareſt: the fooliſh fellow ſimply anſwered him (telling him as his familiar friend) that his maſter did feaſt *Marke Anthony*, who was hidden very ſecretly in his houſe. He was no ſooner gone with his wine, & his backe turned, but the vile traiterous drawer ranne vnto *Marius*, who was ſet at ſupper whē he came. The drawer being brought vnto him, promiſed him to deliuer *Marke Anthonie* into his handes. *Marius* hearing that, was ſo iocond, that he cried out and clapt his handes together for ioy: and would haue riſen from the borde, and gone thither himſelfe in perſon, had not his friendes kept him backe. But he ſent *Annius* one of his Captaines thither with a certaine number of ſouldiers, and commaunded them to bring him his heade quickely. So they went thither, and when they were come to the houſe which the drawer had brought them to, *Annius* taried beneath at the dore, and the ſouldiers went vp the ſtaiers into the chamber, and finding *Anthony* there, they beganne to encourage one an other to kill him, not one of them hauing the heart to lay handes vppon him. For *Anthonies* tongue was as

*Cinna and Marius entry into Rome.*

*Bardiæi.*

*Marius cauſed great murther in Rome.*

*Marius crueltie.*

*Small truſt of friendes in aduerſitie.*

*The faithfulnes of Cornutus ſeruants to their maſter.*

*M. Antonius the Orator, betrayed by a tauerner.*

*The force of eloquence.*

*Catulus Luctatius killed himſelfe.*

*The Bardiæians ſlaine of their Captaines for their crueltie.*

*Marius ſeuenth Conſulſhip.*

*Marius thoughts and feare.*

ſweete as a Syrene, and had ſuch an excellent grace in ſpeaking, that when he began to ſpeake vnto the ſouldiers, and to pray them to ſaue his life: there was not one of them ſo hard harted, as once to touch him, no not onely to looke him in the face, but looking downewards, fell a weeping. *Annius* perceiuing they taried long, and came not downe, went himſelfe vp into the chamber, and found *Anthonie* talking to his ſouldiers, and them weeping, his ſweete eloquent tongue had ſo melted their heartes: but rating them, ranne furiouſly vpon him, and ſtrake off his head with his owne handes. And *Catulus Luctatius* alſo, that had bene Conſull with *Marius*, and had triumphed ouer the CIMBRES with him, ſeeing himſelfe in this perill, ſet men to intreat *Marius* for him: but his anſwere was euer, he muſt needes die. So *Catulus* locked himſelfe into a litle chamber, and made a great fire of charcole to be kindled, and with the ſmoke thereof choked himſelfe. Now after their heads were cut off, they threw out the naked bodies into the ſtreetes, and trodde them vnder their feete: the which was not onely a pitifull, but a fearefull ſight to all that ſawe them. But after all this yet, there was nothing that grieued the people ſo much, as the horrible leachery and abhominable crueltie of this guard of the BARDIÆIANS, who comming into mens houſes by force, after they had ſlaine the maſters, defiled their young children, and rauiſhed their wiues and maides, and no man would once reproue their crueltie, leacherie, and vnſatiable auarice: vntill *Cinna* and *Sertorius* in the end ſet vpon them as they ſlept in their campe, and ſlew them euery one. But in this extremitie, as if all things had bene reſtored vnto their firſt eſtate, newes came againe from all parts to ROME, that *Sylla* hauing ended his warre againſt king *Mithridates*, and recouered the prouinces which he had vſurped: returned into ITALY with a great power. This cauſed theſe euils and vnſpeakeable miſeries to ceaſe a litle, becauſe the wicked doers of the ſame, looked they ſhould haue warres on their backes ere it were long. Whereupon *Marius* was choſen Conſull the ſeuenth time. He going out of his houſe openly the firſt day of Ianuarie, being the beginning of the yeare, to take poſſeſſion of his Conſulſhippe: cauſed one *Sextus Lucinus* to be throwen downe headlong from the rock Tarpeian, which ſeemed to be a great ſigne and certaine token of the euils and miſeries, that fell out afterwardes the ſelfe ſame yeare vpon them of their faction, and vnto all the citie beſide. But *Marius* being ſore broken with his former troubles, and his minde oppreſſed with extreame ſorow and griefe, could not now at this laſt time of neede plucke vp his heart to him againe, when he came to thinke of this new toward warre that threatned him, and of the dangers, griefes, and troubles he ſhould enter into, more great and perilous then any he had paſſed before. For through the great experience he had in warres, he trembled for feare when he beganne to thinke of it, conſidering that he had to fight, not with *Octauius*, nor with *Merula*, Captaines of a companie of rebels gathered together: but with a noble *Sylla*, that had driuen him out of ROME before, and that came now from driuing the puiſant king *Mithridates*, vnto the furtheſt part of the realme of PONT, and of the ſea Euxinum. Thus, deepely waighing and conſidering the ſame, and ſpecially when he looked backe vpon his long time of baniſhment, how vacabondlike he wandered vp and downe in other countries, and remembred the great misfortunes he had paſſed, and the ſundry dangers he fell ſo often into, being purſued ſtill by ſea and by lande: it grieued him to the heart, and made him ſo vnquiet, that hee could not ſleepe in the night, or if he ſlept, had fearefull dreames that troubled him, and ſtill he thought he heard a voice buzzing in his eares,

*A Lyons very denne, is dreadfull to behold,*
*Though he himſelfe be gone abroad, and be not there in hold.*

*Deuiſe to win ſleepe.*

But fearing moſt of all that he ſhould no more ſleepe and take his reſt, he gaue himſelfe to make vnreaſonable banquets, and to drinke more then his yeares could beare, ſeeking to win ſleepe by this meanes, to auoide care the better. But at the length there came one from the ſea, that gaue him certaine intelligence of all: and that was an increaſe of a new feare vnto him. And thus he being now extreamely troubled, partly for feare of the thing to come, and partly alſo for the ouer heauie burden of his preſent ill, there needed but litle more aggrauation, to fall into the diſeaſe whereof he died, which was a pleuriſie: as *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher writeth, who ſaith plainely that he went into his chamber when he was ſicke, and ſpake vnto him about matters of his Ambaſſade, for the which he came to ROME. Yet an other hiſtoriographer *Caius Piſo* writeth, that *Marius* walking one day after ſupper with his friendes, fell in talke of his fortune from the beginning of his life, telling them at large how often fortune had turned with and againſt him: concluding, that it is no wiſe mans part to truſt her any more. So when he had done, he tooke his leaue of them, and layed him downe vpon his bed, where he lay ſicke ſeuen dayes together, and on the ſeuenth day dyed. Some write that his ambition appeared plainly, by a ſtrange rauing that tooke him in his head during his ſickeneſſe. For he thought that he made warres with *Mithridates*, & ſhewed in his bed all his geſtures and mouings of his body, as if he had bene in a battell, crying the ſelfe ſame cryes out aloud, which he was wont to crie whẽ he was in the extremeſt fight. The deſire he had to haue takẽ this charge in hand againſt *Mithridates*, was ſo deepely ſetled in his minde through extreme ambition & ielouſie that poſſeſt him: that being then three ſcore and ten yeare old, after he had bene the firſt man that euer was choſen ſeuen times Conſull in ROME, and alſo after that he had gotten a world of goods and richeſſe together that might haue ſufficed many kings: yet for all this he dyed for ſorrow, lamenting his hard fortune, as if he had dyed before his time, and before that he had done and ended that which he had deſired. But this was cleane contrary vnto that the wiſe *Plato* did, when he drew neare to his death. For he gaue God thankes for his fatall end & good fortune. Firſt, for that he had made him a reaſonable man, and no brute beaſt: ſecondly, a Greeke and no barbarous man: and furthermore, for that he was borne in *Socrates* time. It is reported alſo, that one *Antipater* of THARSIS, calling to minde a litle before his death the good fortune he had in his life time, did not forget among other things, to tell of the happy nauigation he made, comming from his country vnto ATHENS: which did witneſſe that he put vpon the fyle of his good accounts for a ſingular great grace, all fauour fortune had ſhewed him, and that he kept it in perpetuall memorie, being the only and moſt aſſured treaſure a man can haue, to keepe thoſe giftes that nature or fortune do beſtow vpon him. But contrariwiſe vnthankfull fooles vnto God and nature both, do forget with time the memory of their former benefites, and laying vp nothing, nor keeping it in perpetuall memory, are alwayes voyde of goodes and full of hope, gaping ſtill for things to come and leauing in the meane time the things preſent, though reaſon perſwades them the contrary. For fortune may eaſily let them of the thing to come, but ſhe can not take that from them which is already paſt: and yet they vtterly forget the certaine benefit of fortune, as a thing nothing belonging vnto them, and dreame alwayes of that which is vncertaine. And ſure it chaunceth to them by great reaſon. For, hauing gathered outward goods together, and locking them vp before they haue built & layd a ſure grounded foundation of reaſon through good learning: they can not afterwards fill nor quench their vnſatiable greedy couetous minde. Thus ended *Marius* his life, the ſeuenteenth day of his ſeuenth Conſulſhip, whereof all the citie of ROME was not a litle glad, and tooke hart againe vnto them, ſuppoſing they had then bene deliuered from a bloudy cruell tyranny. But within few dayes after they knew it to their coſt, that they had changed an old maiſter taken out of the world, for a younger that came but newly to them: ſuch extreme vnnaturall cruelties, & murthers did *Marius* the younger cõmit, after the death of his father *Marius*, murthering in manner all the chiefeſt noble men of ROME. At the firſt, they tooke him for a valiant and hardy young man, whereupon they named him the ſonne of *Mars*: but ſhortly after his deedes did ſhew the contrary, and then they called him the ſonne of *Venus*. In the end he was ſhut in, and beſieged by *Sylla* in the citie of PERVSIA, where he did what he could poſſible to ſaue his life, but all was in vaine: and laſtly, ſeeing no way to eſcape, the citie being taken, he ſlue himſelfe with his owne handes.

*Marius the fathers death.*

*Marius mad ambition.*

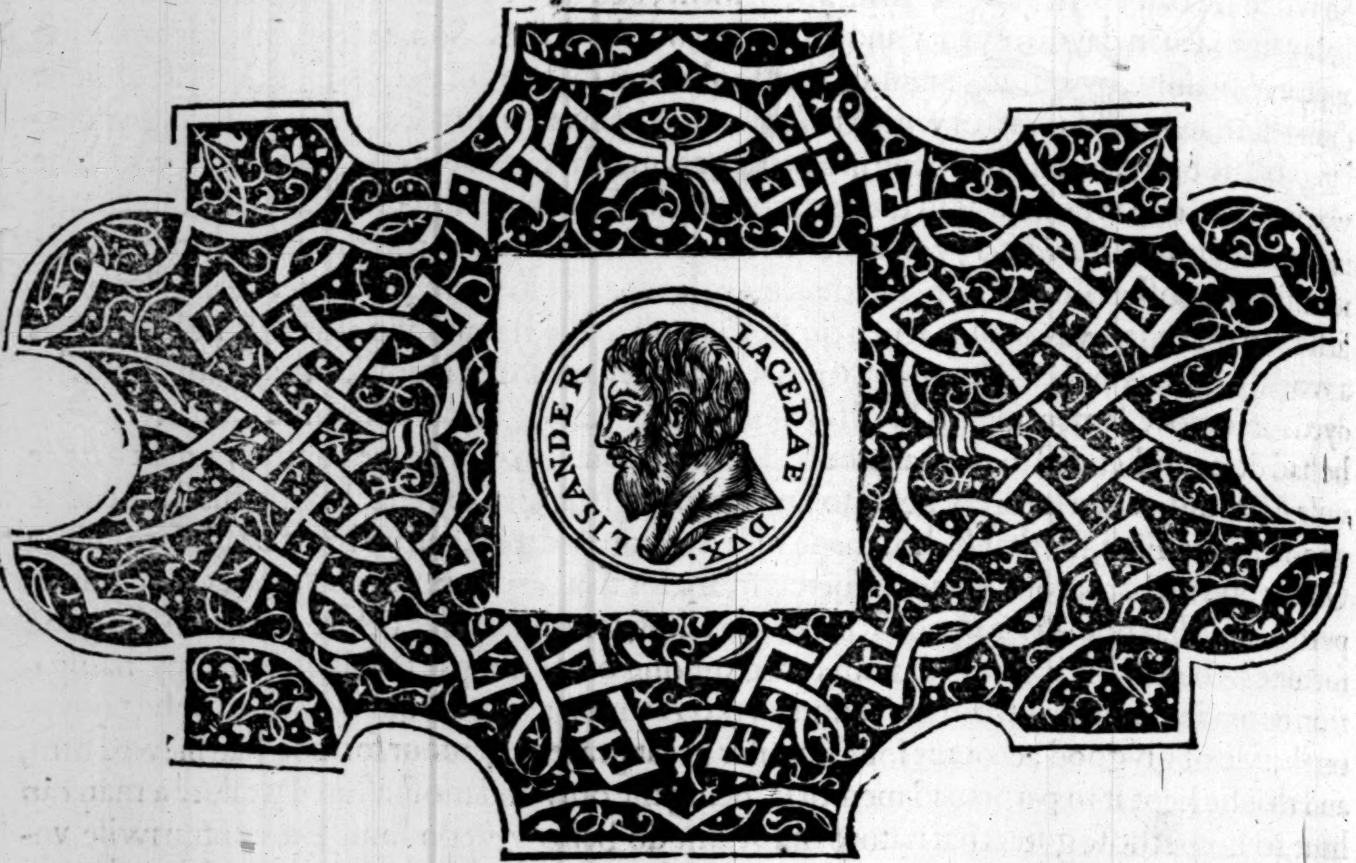
*A note againſt the ambitious.*

*Platoes words at his death.*

*Note that in Syllaes life following it appeareth that Marius the younger was beſieged in the citie of Præneſte, and not in Peruſia as ye read here. Soas the citie ſeemeth to be miſtaken in one of the lines.*

*The end of Caius Marius life.*

# THE LIFE OF *Lyſander.*



*Lyſanders Image.*

*Lycurgus the author of wearing lōg haire.*

*The commoditie of wearing long haire.*

*Lyſanders kinred.*

*The education of the Laconiā children.*

IN the treaſurie of the ACANTHIANS, which is in the temple of *Apollo* at DELPHES, there is this inſcription: ***Braſidas***, and the ACANTHIANS, with the ſpoyle of the ATHENIANS. That inſcription maketh many men thinke, that the image of ſtone that ſtandeth within the chamber by the doore thereof, is the image of ***Braſidas*** : howbeit in truth it is the liuely image of ***Lyſander*** himſelf, made with a great buſh of haire, & a thicke long beard after the old ancient faſhion. And where ſome ſay that the ARGIVES, after they were ouercome and had loſt a great battell, did all of them ſhaue themſelues in token and ſigne of common ſorrow : and that the LACEDÆMONIANS on the other ſide to ſhew the ioy of their victory, did let all their haires grow, that is not true. No more then this is true which other do report of the BACCHIADES: who being fled frō CORINTHE vnto LACEDÆMON, the LACEDÆMONIANS found thē ſo illfauoredly diſguiſed & deformed, becauſe their heads were all ſhauen, that thereupon they had a deſire to let their haire and beardes grow. For that was one of the ordinaunces of ***Lycurgus***, who ſayd that the long buſh of haire, maketh them that are naturally fayre, the pleaſanter to looke vpon: and thoſe that are ill fauored, more ougly and fearefull to ſee to. And furthermore, it is ſayd that ***Ariſtoclitus***, the father of ***Lyſander***, was not of the royall bloud of the kings of SPARTA, though he came of the race of the ***Heraclides:*** and that his ſonne ***Lyſander*** was very meanely and poorely brought vp, being as obedient to the lawes and ſtatutes of his country, as any other man was, ſhewing himſelfe alwayes very ſtrong and conſtant againſt all vanitie and pleaſure, ſauing onely in matters of honour and curteſie, which they offer vnto thoſe that deſerue well. For they thinke it no ſhame nor diſhoneſty in SPARTA, that the young men do ſuffer themſelues to be ouercome with that delight and pleaſure : but do bring vp their children, that from their youth they would haue them to haue ſome taſt and feeling of honour, delighting to be praiſed, and ſory to be diſcommēded. For they make no account of him that is not moued with the one nor the other, but take him to be of a baſe cowardly nature, that hath no manner of minde to do good. And therefore it is to be thought, that the ambition and ſtoutneſſe that was bred in ***Lyſander***, proceeded of the LACONICALL diſcipline and education he had, and not ſo much of his owne nature. But indeede of his owne nature he was a right courtier, & could tell how to entertaine and flatter great ſtates & nobility, farre better then the common manner of the naturall SPARTIANS: & moreouer for his priuate benefit, he could eaſily beare with the ſtoutneſſe of greater men of authority then himſelfe, which ſome iudge to be a great point of wiſedome, to know how to deale in matters of ſtate. *Ariſtotle* in a place where he ſayth, that the greateſt wits commonly are ſubiect vnto melancholie, (as *Socrates*, *Plato*, and *Hercules* were) writeth, that *Lyſander* in his later age fell into the melancholie diſeaſe, but not in his youth. He had alſo this ſingular gift aboue all other, that in his pouerty he alwayes kept that honeſt modeſty with him, as he would neuer be ouercome nor corrupted with gold nor ſiluer: and yet he filled his country with riches and couetouſneſſe, which loſt him the reputation he had wonne, becauſe himſelfe made none account of riches nor getting. For bringing ſtore of gold & ſiluer into his country after he had ouercome the ATHENIANS, he reſerued not vnto himſelfe one Drachma onely. And furthermore, whē *Dyoniſius* the tyrāt of SYRACVSA had on a time ſent goodly rich gownes out of SICILIA to his daughters: he refuſed them, ſaying, that he was afrayed ſuch gownes would make them fowler. Neuertheleſſe, ſhortly after being ſent Ambaſſadour out of his country vnto the ſame tyrant, *Dionyſius* ſending him two gownes, praying him to chooſe which of the two he would cary to his daughter: he anſwered, that ſhe her ſelfe could beſt chooſe which was the fitter, and ſo caried both with him. But now to come to his doings in warlike cauſes: the warres of PELOPONNESVS fell out maruellous lōg. For after the ouerthrow of the army which the ATHENIANS had ſent into SICILIA, whē euery man thought they had vtterly loſt all their force by ſea, and that by all coniecture they ſhould ſoone after looſe all by land alſo: *Alcibiades* returning from his exile to deale againe in matters of the ſtate, made an exceeding great change and alteration. For he ſet the ATHENIANS a flote againe, and made them as ſtrong by ſea as the LACEDÆMONIANS: who thereupon began to quake for feare, and to looke eftſoones for a freſh warre, perceiuing that they ſtood in neede of a greater power, and of a better Captaine then euer they had before. Whereupon they made *Lyſander* their Admirall, who arriuing in the citie of EPHESVS, found them very well affected towardes him, & maruellous willing and ready to take the LACEDÆMONIANS part: howbeit otherwiſe in very poore ſtate, and ready almoſt to take vp all the barbarous maners and faſhions of the PERSIANS, becauſe they did continually frequent them, being enuironned round about with the coūtry of LYDIA, where the king of PERSIAES captaines were euer reſident. Wherefore, hauing planted his camp there, he brought thither marchants ſhippes out of all parts, and ſet vp an arſenall or ſtore houſe to build gallies in: ſo that in ſhort ſpace, by oft recourſe of marchants that began to trade thither, he quickened their hauens, and ſet vp their ſtaple againe for the trafficke of marchandiſe, and filled euery priuate artificers houſe with an honeſt trade to make them rich by, ſo that euer after it grew in continuall hope to come vnto that floriſhing ſtate and greatneſſe, in the which we ſee it at this preſent. Furthermore, *Lyſander* being aduertiſed that *Cyrus*, one of the great king of PERSIAES ſonnes, was come vnto the citie of SARDIS, he went thither to ſpeake with him, and to complaine of *Tiſaphernes*: who hauing commandement giuen him from the king to aide the LACEDÆMONIANS, and to helpe to expulſe the ATHENIANS, and to driue them from the ſea, ſeemed to deale but coldly and faintly againſt them, for the fauour he bare to *Alcibiades*. For, furniſhing the LACEDÆMONIANS very ſcantly with money, was an occaſiō that all their army by ſea went to wracke. *Cyrus* for his owne part was very glad that he heard complaints of *Tiſaphernes*, and that they ſpake againſt him: becauſe he was an ill man, and the rather for that he had himſelfe a litle odde grudge to him. Wherfore he loued *Lyſander* maruellous well, as well for the complaints he made of *Tiſaphernes*, as alſo for the pleaſure he tooke in his companie, becauſe he was a man that could wonderfully pleaſe and delight noble men: by which meanes hauing wonne the fauour of this yoūg Prince, he did perſwade, & alſo incourage him to follow this warre. And when *Lyſander* was vpon his departure to take his leaue of him, *Cyrus* feaſted him, and afterwardes prayed him not to refuſe the offer of his liberalitie, and that was: that he would freely aske him what he would, aſſuring him he ſhould not be denied any

*Lyſanders manners.*

*Wiſe men be euer melancholie.*

*Lyſander a deſpiſer of riches.*

*Lyſanders wordes of Dionyſius liberalitie.*

*Lyſander admirall for the Lacedæmonians by ſea.*

*Lyſander enlargeth the citie of Epheſus.*

*Sardis a citie in Lydia.*

thing. Whereunto *Lyſander* anſwered him. Sithence I ſee (*Cyrus*) you are ſo willing to pleaſure vs, I beſeech you and do alſo counſell you then to encreaſe the ordinary pay of our mariners, one halfe penny a day: to the end that where now they haue but three halfe pence, they may thenceforth receaue two pence a day. *Cyrus* was glad to heare *Lyſanders* bounty, and the increaſe that he would make, and cauſed ten thouſand Darickes to be deliuered him: by meane whereof he added to the ordinary pay of the mariners, the increaſe of a halfe penny a day. This liberalitie, within few dayes after, emptied all their enemies gallies of their men. For, the moſt part of their mariners and gallie men went where they might haue the beſt pay: and ſuch as remained behind, became very dull, laſie, and ſeditious, daily troubling their Captaines & gouernours. Now though *Lyſander* had drawen his enemies men from them by this policie, and had done this great hurt, yet he durſt not fight it out by ſea, fearing the worthineſſe of *Alcibiades*: who was a valiant man, and had greater ſtore of ſhippes then he had, and beſides that, was neuer ouercome by land nor by ſea, in any battell where he was generall. So it chaunced, that *Alcibiades* went out of the Ile of SAMOS, vnto the citie of PHOCEA, which ſtandeth vpon firme land directly ouer againſt SAMOS, and leauing the whole charge of his fleete in his abſence, with *Antiochus* his pylot: he being more hardie then wiſe, in ſcorne and deriſion of *Lyſander*, went with two gallies only into the hauen of EPHESVS, and went by the arſenall (where all their ſhippes lay in docke) with great noyſe & laughing. This put *Lyſander* in ſuch a heate and chaſe, that firſt of all he put a few gallies to the ſea, and had him in chaſe with them. But afterwardes, perceiuing that the other Captaines of the ATHENIANS came out one after an other to the reſcue, he armed other gallies alſo: ſo that ſupplying ſtill with a few on either ſide, at length they came to a maine battell, which *Lyſander* wanne, and hauing taken fifteen of their gallies, he ſet vp a token of triumphe and victory. When the people at ATHENS heard the newes of this ouerthrow, they were ſo angry with *Alcibiades*, that they diſcharged him preſently of his charge: and the ſouldiers alſo that lay in camp in the Ile of SAMOS, began to miſlike him, and to ſpeake ill of him. Whereupon he preſently left his camp, and went into the country of CHERRONESSVS in THRACIA. This battell was more ſpoken of then there was cauſe, by reaſon of *Alcibiades* reputation. Furthermore, *Lyſander* cauſing the ſtouteſt and boldeſt men of euery citie, aboue the common ſort, to come to EPHESVS vnto him: layed there ſecret foundations of great change and alteration, which he ſtabliſhed afterwardes in the gouernementes of cities. For he perſwaded his priuate friendes to make tribes amongeſt themſelues to winne them friendes, and to practiſe to get the rule of their cities into their handes: promiſing them, that ſo ſoone as the ATHENIANS were ouerthrowen, they themſelues alſo ſhould be deliuered from ſubiection of their people, and euery one of them ſhould beare chiefe rule in their country. And thus he performed to them all, and made euery one of them proue his wordes true. For he preferred all them that had bene his old friendes, vnto the beſt offices and charges: not ſparing to do againſt all right and reaſon, ſo that they were aduaunced by it. And this by this meanes, euery man came to take his part, and they all ſought and deſired to gratifie and pleaſe him: hoping, that what great matter ſoeuer fell out, they aſſured themſelues in maner that they ſhould obtaine it of him, when he came to haue the gouernement in his own hands. And therefore they nothing reioyced at *Callicratidas* comming, who came to ſucceede him in the office of the Admirall: neither afterwardes alſo, when they ſaw by experience that he was as honeſt and iuſt a man as could be. Neither did they like his manner of gouerning which was plaine, and without any art or cunning. But they commended the perfection of his vertue, as they would haue done the image of ſome demy god made after the old faſhion, which had bene of ſingular beauty. But in the meane time, they wiſhed for *Lyſander*, as well for the tender loue and good will he bare to his friends and them, as alſo for the profit and commoditie they got by him. So when *Lyſander* tooke the ſeas to returne home againe, all they that were in the camp, were as ſory as could be poſsible, in ſomuch as the teares ſtood in their eyes: & he on the other ſide, ſtudied to make them worſe affected vnto *Callicratidas*. For amongeſt many other things, he ſent the reſt of the money backe againe to SARDIS, which *Cyrus* had giuen him to pay the mariners: ſaying, that *Callicratidas* ſhould go himſelfe to aske it, if he would haue it, and finde the meanes to entertaine

his

*Lyſander tooke money for pay of his ſouldiers.*

*Lyſanders victorie of the Athenians by ſea.*

*Cherroneſus a country in Thracia.*

*Callicratidas Lyſanders ſucceſſour in his office of admiraltie.*

*Playneneſſe commẽded for a vertue, but liked as an old image of a god that had bene excellent faire.*

*The ſpight of Lyſander to Collicratidas.*

his men. And laſtly, when he was ready to imbarke, he proteſted before all them that were preſent, that he did deliuer, leaue, and aſsigne ouer the armie into his handes, commanding all the ſea. But *Callicratidas*, to ouercome his falſe ambition, and fowle boaſting lye, aunſwered him againe, and ſayd. If that be true thou ſayeſt, come then and deliuer me the gallies in the citie of MILETVM, as thou goeſt by, before the Ile of SAMOS: for ſith thou commandeſt all the ſea, we ſhall not neede to feare our enemies that are in SAMOS. *Lyſander* thereto replied, that the armie was no more at his commandement, and that he had the charge ouer them: & ſo departed thence, taking his courſe directly vnto PELOPONNESVS, and left *Callicratidas* in great perplexitie. For he had brought no money out of his coũtry with him, neither would he compell the cities to furniſh him with any, ſeeing that they were at that time too much troubled already. Then had he no other way but to go to the Lieutenants of the king of PERSIA, to aske them money as *Lyſander* had done. But he was the vnmeeteſt man for it that could be poſsible: for he was of a noble and liberall nature, and thought it leſſe diſhonour and reproch vnto the GRECIANS, to be ouercome by other GRECIANS, then to go flatter the barbarous people, and ſeeke to them that had gold and ſiluer enough, but otherwiſe, no goodneſſe nor honeſty. In the end notwithſtãding, making vertue of neceſsity, he tooke his iourney towardes LYDIA, & went directly to *Cyrus* court: where at his firſt comming he willed them to let him vnderſtãd, that *Callicratidas* the Admirall of the LACEDÆMONIANS would ſpeake with him. One of the ſouldiers that warded at the gate, told him: my friend, ſir ſtranger, *Cyrus* is not at leaſure now, for he is ſet at dinner. *Callicratidas* aunſwered plainly againe: no force, I will tary here till he haue dined. The barbarous PERSIANS hearing this, tooke him for ſome plaine lout, and ſo he went his way the firſt time with a mocke at their handes. But the ſecond time when they would not let him come in at the gate, he fell in a rage, and returned backe (as he came) to the citie of EPHESVS, curſing & banning them that at the firſt had ſo much imbaſed themſelues, as to go ſue to the barbarous people, teaching them to be proude and ſtately for their goodes and riches: ſwearing before them all that were preſent, that ſo ſoone as he came to SPARTA againe, he would do all that he could poſsible to pacifie the GRECIANS, and ſet them at peace one with an other, to the end they might be fearefull to the barbarous people, and alſo that they ſhould medle with them no more, nor need their aide to deſtroy one an other. But *Callicratidas* hauing the noble hart of a SPARTAN, and being to be compared in iuſtice, valiancy, and greatneſſe of courage, with the moſt excellenteſt GRECIANS in his time, dyed ſhortly after in a battell by ſea, which he loſt vpon the Iles ARGINVSES. Wherefore, the confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS ſeeing that their ſtate was in declining, they altogether ſent an Ambaſſade vnto SPARTA, by whom they made requeſt to the councell, that they would ſend *Lyſander* againe for their Admirall: promiſing that they would do all things with better courage and good will vnder his conduction, then they would vnder any other Captaine they could ſend thẽ. So much did *Cyrus* alſo write vnto them. But becauſe there was an expreſſe law forbidding that one man ſhould be twiſe Admirall, and beſides, they being willing to grant the requeſt of their confederates, made one *Aracus* their Admirall, but in effect gaue *Lyſander* the whole authoritie of all things. Who was maruellous welcome vnto them, and ſpecially vnto the heades and rulers of cities, which long before had wiſhed for his comming: becauſe that by his meanes they hoped to make their authority greater, and altogether to take away the authoritie from the people. But they that loued plaine dealing, and open magnanimitie in the manners of a gouernour and generall, when they came to compare *Lyſander* with *Callicratidas*, they found that *Lyſander* had a fine ſubtill head, and did more in warres with his policie and ſubtiltie, then by any other meanes. And moreouer, that he eſteemed iuſtice, when it fell out profitable: and tooke profit, for iuſtice and honeſtie, not thinking that plaine dealing was of better force then craft, but meaſuring the value of the one and the other, by the profit that came out of them, and mocking of them that ſayd that the race of *Hercules* ſhould not make warres with craft and ſubtiltie. For ſayd he, when the lyons skinne wil not ſerue, we muſt helpe it with the caſe of a foxe. And hereunto agreeth that, which they write he did in the citie of MILETVM. For his friends and familiars to whom he had promiſed aide for deſtruction of the peoples authoritie, and to driue their enemies out of the city:

*Nothing eſteemed with the Barbarians but money.*

*Callicratidas patience.*

*The death of Callicratidas.*

*Lyſander craftie and deceitfull.*

*A wiſe ſaying of Lyſander.*

*The wicked diſſembling & double dealing of Lyſander.*

*Lyſander regarded no periurie, following the exãple of Polycrates the tyrant of Samos.*

*Cyrus liberalitie to Lyſander.*

*Lyſanders acts by ſea.*

*Philocles cruell aduiſe vnto the Athenians.*

they hauing changed their mindes, and being reconciled vnto their aduerſaries, he openly made great ſhew of gladneſſe, and ſeemed as though he would helpe to agree them together: but ſecretly being alone, he tooke them vp ſharply, and told them that they were cowardes to do it, and did procure them to the contrary, to ſet vpon the people. And then when he vnderſtood that there was commotion among them in the citie, he ranne thither ſodainly as it were to appeaſe it. But when he was alſo come into the citie, the firſt he met with of them that would alter the ſtate of gouernement, and take the authoritie from the people: he fell out withall, aud gaue them rough wordes, commanding with extremitie that they ſhould follow him, as though he would haue done ſome great puniſhment. And againe, meeting with them on the contrary part, he willed them alſo that they ſhould not be afrayed, nor doubt that any man ſhould do them hurt where he was. This was a wicked and malitious practiſe of him, to ſtay the chiefeſt of them that were moſt affected to the popular faction, to the end that afterwardes he might put them all to death, as he did. For they that truſting to his wordes remained quiet in the citie were all put to death. Moreouer, *Androclidas* touching this matter, hath left in writing that which *Lyſander* was wont to ſay: by the which it appeareth, that he made very litle reckening to be periured. For he ſayd, that children ſhould be deceiued with the play of kayles, and men with othes of men, following therein *Polycrates*, the tyrant of SAMOS, but without reaſon: for he was a lawfull Captaine, and the other a violent vſurper of tyrannicall power. Furthermore, it was not done like a true LACONIAN, to behaue himſelfe towardes the gods none otherwiſe, then towardes men, but rather worſe, and more iniuriouſly. For he that deceiueth his enemy, and breaketh his oth to him: ſheweth plainly that he feareth him, but that he careth not for God. *Cyrus* therefore hauing ſent for *Lyſander* to come to SARDIS to him, gaue him money largely, and promiſed him more: and becauſe he would more honorably ſhew the good will he had to gratifie him, told him, that if the king his father would giue him nothing, yet he would giue him of his own. And furthermore, whẽ all other meanes fayled to helpe him with money, that rather then he ſhould lacke, he would melt his owne chaire to make money of (which he ſate in when he gaue audience in matters of iuſtice) being altogether of gold and ſiluer. And to be ſhort, when he was going into MEDIA to the king his father, he gaue *Lyſander* power to receiue the taxes and ordinary tributes of the cities vnder his gouernement, and made him Lieutenant of all his country. And laſtly, bidding him farewell, prayed him that he would not giue battell by ſea vnto the ATHENIANS, vntill he returned from the court: and that before his comming againe he would haue authoritie to leauie a great number of ſhippes, aſwell out of PHOENICIA, as out of CILICIA. Wherefore whileſt *Cyrus* was in his iourney, *Lyſander* not being able to fight with his enemies with like number of ſhippes, nor alſo to lye ſtill and do nothing with ſo good a number of gallies, went and ſcoured the ſeas, where he tooke certaine Ilandes, and robbed alſo ÆGINA and SALAMINA. From thence he went and landed on the firme land in the countrey of ATTICA, and did his duetie there vnto *Agis* king of LACEDÆMONIA, who came purpoſly from the fort of Decelea to the ſea ſide to ſee him, becauſe their army by land alſo ſhould ſee what power they had by ſea, and how it ruled more by ſea then they would. Neuertheleſſe, being aduertiſed that the fleete of the ATHENIANS followed hard after him, he tooke an other courſe to flye backe againe into ASIA by the Iles: and returning againe, found all the country of HELLESPONT without men of warre. So he layd ſiege before the citie of LAMPSACVS, and did aſſault it with his gallies by ſea: and *Thorax* being come thither alſo at the ſelfe ſame time in great haſt with his army by land, gaue the aſſault on his ſide. Thus was the citie taken by force, which *Lyſander* left to the ſpoyle of the ſouldiers. Now in the meane time the fleete of the ATHENIANS (which was a hundred and foure ſcore ſaile) came to an ancker before the citie of ELEVNTE, in the country of CHERRONESVS: and newes being brought them that the city of LAMPSACVS was takẽ, they came with all ſpeed poſſible vnto the city of SESTOS, where getting freſh cates and victuals, they coaſted all alongeſt the coaſt vnto a certaine place called the goates riuer, directly ouer againſt the fleete of their enemies, which lay yet at ancker before the citie of LAMPSACVS. Now there was a captaine of the ATHENIANS amongeſt other called *Philocles*, he that perſwaded the ATHENIANS to cut off the priſoners thumbes of their right hands that were taken in the warres, to the end they ſhould no more handle the pike, but only ſerue to pull the ower. Both the one and the other reſted that day, hoping to haue battell without faile the next morning. But *Lyſander* hauing an other meaning with him, commaunded the maiſters and mariners notwithſtanding, that they ſhould haue their galleyes ready to giue battell the next morning by breake of day, becauſe euery man ſhould get a borde betimes, and ſhould keepe themſelues in order of battell, making no noiſe at all, attending what he would command them: and further, made the armie by lande alſo to be ranged in battell ray, by the ſea ſide. The next morning at ſunne riſing, the Athenians began to row with all their gallies ſet in order of battell in a fronte. But *Lyſander*, though he had his ſhips in order to fight, the prores lying towards the enemies before day, rowed not for all that againſt them, but ſending out pinnaſies vnto the firſt galleys, commaunded them ſtraightly that they ſhould not ſtirre at all, but keepe themſelues in order, making no noiſe, nor rowing againſt the enemie. Though the Athenians alſo were retired in the night, he would not giue the ſouldiers leaue to come to lande out of the galleys, before he had ſent firſt two or three gallies to diſcrie the fleete of his enemies: who brought him word that they had ſeene the Athenians take lande. The next morning they did the like, the third day, and the fourth alſo all in one ſorte: ſo that the Athenians began to be bolde of themſelues, and to deſpiſe their enemies, imagining they lay thus cloſe for feare of them, and durſt not come forward. In the meane time, *Alcibiades* (who lay at that time in the country of Cherronesvs, in certaine places which he had conquered) came riding to the campe of the Athenians, to tell the Captaines and generals of the armie, the great faultes they committed. Firſt, for that they had caſt ancker, and kept their ſhips in an open place, where there was no manner of ſuccour, nor harbor to retire vnto vpon any ſtorme: and worſt of all, becauſe that they were to fetche their victuals farre off, at the citie of Sestos, vnto which hauen they ſhould rather draw themſelues vnto, conſidering that they had but a litle way to go, & alſo that they ſhould haue the citie to backe them, which would furniſh them with all things neceſſarie: and beſide that, they ſhould be further off from their enemies, which were gouerned by one generall onely that did commaund them all, and were ſo well trained, that at a whiſtle they were ready ſtraight to execute his commaundement. *Alcibiades* perſwaſions to theſe Captaines of the Athenians were not only miſliked, but furthermore there was one called *Tydeus*, that anſwered him very lewdly: that he had nothing to do to commaunde the armie, but other that had the charge of them. *Alcibiades* miſtruſting thereby ſome treaſon, quietly went his way. The fifth day, the Athenians hauing made the ſame countenance to preſent battell vnto their enemies, and retyring the ſame night as of cuſtome very negligently, and in ill order, as men that made no reckoning of their enemies: *Lyſander* ſent againe certaine galliots to diſcrie them, commanding the Captaines of the ſame, that when they perceiued the Athenians had left their galleys and taken land, they ſhould then returne backe with all poſſible ſpeede they could, and being mid way ouer the ſtraights, that they ſhould lift vp a copper target into the aire, vpon the top of a pike in the foredecke, for a ſigne to make all the whole fleete to row in battell. Now *Lyſander* himſelfe in the meane time went in perſon from galley to galley, perſwading and exhorting euery Captaine that they ſhould put their galliots, mariners, & ſouldiers in good readineſſe, to the end that when the ſigne ſhould be lifted vp, they ſhould row with all their might in battell againſt the enemies. Wherfore, ſo ſoone as the copper target was ſet vp in the aire, and that *Lyſander* had made his trumpet ſound out of the Admirall, for a token to hale out into the ſea: the galleys immediatly began to row for life in enuie one of an other, and the footemen that were vpon the land, ran with ſpeede alſo to the toppe of a high cliffe neere vnto the ſea, to ſee what would be the end of his fight, becauſe the diſtance from one ſide to the other in that place was not fully two miles, which they had ſoone cut ouer, and in a litle ſpace, through the great diligence and force of rowing with their owers. So *Conon* the chiefe Captaine of the Athenians perceiuing from the ſhore this great fleete comming with a full force to aſſault them: he then cried out to the ſouldiers that they ſhould runne to their ſhippes, and being in a rage to ſee things in this danger, called ſome by their names, others he intreated, and the reſt he compelled to take their galleys. But all his diligence

*Lyſanders craft in marine fight.*

*Alcibiades gaue good aduiſe to the Captaines of the Athenians.*

*A copper target lift vp, the ſigne of battell by ſea.*

*Conon, Admirall of the Athenians.*

was to no purpoſe, becauſe the ſouldiers were wholly ſcattered here and there. For ſo ſoone as they were ſet a lande out of their galleys at their returne, ſome went to buy prouiſion, other went a walking in the fieldes, ſome were ſet at ſupper in their cabines, and other were laide downe to ſleepe, nothing miſtruſting that which happened to them, through their Captaines ignorance and lack of experience. But when the enemies were ready to ioyne and fall vpon them with great cries and noiſe of owers, *Conon* hauing eight galleys, ſtale ſecretly out of the fleete, and flying vnto *Euagoras*, ſaued himſelfe in the Ile of CIPRVS. In the meane time, the PELOPONNESIANS falling vpon the other gallies, tooke ſome of them emptie, and brake the others as the ſouldiers began to come aboard vpon them. And as for the men, ſome were ſlaine by their ſhips as they ranne vnto them like naked men without weapon, and out of order, thinking to haue ſaued themſelues: other were killed in flying, becauſe the enemies landed and had them in chaſe. And there were taken aliue of them, three thouſand priſoners with the Captaines. *Lyſander*. moreouer tooke all the whole fleete of their ſhippes, the holy galley excepted called Paralos, and the eight that fled with *Conon*: and after he had deſtroyed all the campe of the ATHENIANS, he faſtned the galleys that were taken, vnto the keele of his galleys, and returned with ſongs of triumphe, with the ſound of flutes and hoboyes, towards the citie of LAMPSACVS, hauing wonne a great victory with little labour, and had cut off in a ſmall time, the long continuing and moſt diuerſe warre that euer was, and had brought forth ſo many ſundrie ſtrange euents of fortune, as are vncredible. For there had bene infinite battels fought both by ſea and land, and had altered many ſundry times, and there was ſlaine at that time moe Captaines, than in all the other warres of GRECE together: all which were at the length brought to end and determined, by the good wiſedome and conduction of one onely man. And therefore ſome thought, that this great ouerthrow was giuen by the gods, and ſaid: that at the departure of *Lyſanders* fleete out of the hauen of LAMPSACVS, to goe ſet vpon the fleete of the enemies, they perceiued ouer *Lyſanders* galley the two fires, which they call the ſtarres of Caſtor and Pollux: the one on the one ſide of the galley, and the other on the other ſide. They ſay alſo, that the fall of the ſtone was a token, that did ſignifie this great ouerthrow. For about that time, (as many hold opinion) there fell out of the aire a maruellous great ſtone, in the place they call the goates riuer, which ſtone is ſeene yet vnto this day, holden in great reuerence by the inhabitants of the citie of CHERRONESVS. It is ſaid alſo, that *Anaxagoras* did prognoſticate, that one of the bodies tyed vnto the vaulte of the heauen, ſhould be pluckt away, and ſhould fall to the ground by a ſliding and ſhaking that ſhould happen. For he ſaid, that the ſtarres were not in their proper place where they were firſt created, conſidering that they were heauy bodies, and of the nature of ſtone: howbeit that they did ſhine by reflection of the fire elementary, and had bin drawne vp thither by force, where they were kept by the great violence of the circular motion of the elemēt, euen as at the beginning of the world they had bin ſtaied and let from falling downe beneath, at that time when the ſeparation was made of the colde and heauy bodies, from the other ſubſtance of the vniuerſall world. There is an other opinion of certaine Philoſophers, where there is more likelyhood then in that. For they ſay, that thoſe which we call falling ſtarres, be no fluxions nor deriuations of the fire elementarie, which are put out in the aire, in a manner ſo ſoone as they be lighted: nor alſo an inflammation or combuſtion of any part of the aire, which by her too ouermuch quantity doth ſpread vpwards: but they are celeſtiall bodies, which by ſome ſlackneſſe of ſtrength, or falling from the ordinary courſe of heauen, are throwne and caſt downe here beneath, not alwaies in any part of the earth inhabited, but more often abroade in the great Ocean ſea, which is the cauſe that we do not ſee them. Notwithſtanding, *Anaxagoras* words are confirmed by *Damachus*, who writeth in his boke of religion, that the ſpace of three ſcore and fifteene yeares together, before that this ſtone did fall, they ſaw a great lumpe of fire continually in the aire like a clowd inflamed, the which taried not in any one place, but went and came with diuerſe broken remouings, by the driuing whereof there came out lightnings of fire that fell in many places, and gaue light in falling, as the ſtarres do that fall. In the end, when this great body of fire fell in that part of the earth, the inhabitants of the countrie, after that they were a litle boldened from their feare and wonder, came to the place to ſee what it

was:

*Lyſanders victorie of the Athenians.*

*Paralos, the holy galley of Athens.*

*The ſtarres of Caſtor and Pollux.*

*A ſtone fell out of the element.*

*AEgos ſl.*

*Anaxagoras opinion of the ſtarres.*

*What falling ſtarres be.*

*Damachus teſtimonie of the fiery ſtone ſeene in the element.*

was: and they found no manner of ſhew or apparance of fire; but onely a very great ſtone lying vpon the ground, but nothing in compariſon of the leaſt part of that which the compaſſe of this bodie of fire did ſhew, if we may ſo name it. Sure herein y *Damachus* words had neede of fauourable hearers. But againe if they be true, then he vtterly confuteth their arguments, that maintaine that it was a peece of a rocke, which the force of a boiſterous winde did teare from the toppe of a mountaine, and caried in the aire, ſo long as this hurle winde continued: but ſo ſoone as that was downe, and calme againe, the ſtone fell immediatly. Neither doe we ſay that this lightning bodie, which appeared ſo many daies in the element, was very fire indeed, which comming to diſſolue and to be put out, did beget this violent ſtorme and boyſterous winde in the element, that had the force to teare the ſtone in ſunder, and to caſt it downe. Neuertheleſſe, this matter requireth better diſcourſe in ſome other booke then this. But now to our ſtory. When the three thouſand ATHENIANS that were taken priſoners at that ouerthrow, were condemned by the counſell to be put to death: *Lyſander* calling *Philocles*, one of the Captaines of the ATHENIANS, asked him what paine he would iudge him worthy of, that gaue the citizens ſo cruell and wicked counſell. *Philocles* being nothing abaſhed to ſee himſelfe in that miſerie, aunſwered him. Accuſe not them that haue no iudge to heare their cauſe: but ſince the gods haue giuen thee grace to be conqueror, do with vs, as we would haue done with thee, if we had ouercome thee. When he had ſaid ſo, he went to waſh himſelfe, and then put on a faire cloake vpon him, as if he ſhould haue gone to ſome feaſt: and went luſtily the formoſt man to execution, leading his countrimẽ the way, as *Theophraſtus* writeth. After this done, *Lyſander* with all his fleete went by all the cities of the ſea coaſt, where he commanded ſo many ATHENIANS as he found, that they ſhould get them to ATHENS, letting them vnderſtand that he would not pardon a man of them, but put them all to death as many as he found out of their city. And this he did of policie to bring them all within the precinct of the walles of ATHENS, becauſe he might ſo much the ſooner famiſh them for lack of victuals: for otherwiſe they would haue troubled him ſore, if they had had wherewithall to haue maintained a long ſiege. But in all the cities as he paſſed by, if they were gouerned by the authoritie of the people, or if that there were any other kinde of gouernment, he left in euery one of them a LACEDÆMONIAN Captaine or gouernor, with a counſell of ten officers, of them that had bene before in league and amity with him: the which he did as well in the cities that had euer bene confederates and friends vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, as in them that not long before had bene their enemies. So he went ſayling all alongſt the coaſtes, faire and ſoftly making no haſt, ſtabliſhing in manner a generall principallity ouer all GRECE. For he did not make them officers that were the richeſt, the nobleſt, or honeſteſt men, but ſuch as were his friends, out of thoſe tribes which he had placed in euery city: & to them he gaue authority to puniſh, and rewarde ſuch as they liked of; and would be preſent himſelfe in perſon to helpe them to put thoſe to death, whom they would execute, or otherwiſe expulſe or baniſh their countrie. But this gaue the GRECIANS ſmall hope of good or gratious gouernment vnder the rule of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Wherefore, me thinkes that *Theopompus* the comicall Poet doted, when he compared the LACEDÆMONIANS, vnto tauerners wiues, ſaying: that they had giuen the GRECIANS a taſte of the ſweete drinke of libertie, and that afterwards they had mingled it with vineger. For, the taſte they gaue the GRECIANS of their gouernment from the beginning, was very ſharpe vnto them: becauſe *Lyſander* tooke the rule and authoritie of gouernment out of the peoples hands, and gaue it vnto a fewe of the boldeſt, and moſt ſeditious men in euery citie. Thus hauing ſpent a great time in this voyage; to make theſe alterations: he ſent newes before to LACEDÆMON, that he was comming with two hundred ſaile. He ſpake alſo with the kings *Agis* and *Pauſanias*, in the countrie of ATTICA, perſwading him ſelfe that he ſhould win the city of ATHENS at the firſt aſſault. But when he ſawe his expectation failed, and that the ATHENIANS did valiantly reſiſt him: he returned once againe with his fleete into ASIA, where he made an end of changing and altering the manner of gouernment through euery city in equall maner, ſtabliſhing a counſell of ten officers onely in euery one of them, and putting euery where many citizens to death, & baniſhing many alſo. Among others, he draue all the SAMIANS out of their country, and reſtored againe all them that had

*An other opinion of the ſtone that fell.*

*Philocles conſtancie, Captaine of the Athenians.*

*Lyſanders cruelty.*

*Theopompus the Comicall Poets ſaying of the Lacedæmonians.*

bene baniſhed before: and the city of SESTOS alſo, being yet in the ATHENIANS hands, he tooke it from them. And furthermore, he would not ſuffer the naturall SESTIANS to dwell there, but draue them away, and gaue their citie, their houſes, and lands, vnto ſhip maiſters, officers of gallies, and galley ſlaues, that had bene in the warres with him. But therein the LACEDÆMONIANS were againſt him, and this was the firſt thing that they did forbid him: for they reſtored the SESTIANS, againſt his will, vnto their lands and goods againe. But as the GRECIANS were very much offended, to ſee the parts *Lyſander* plaied: ſo were they all very glad gaine, to ſee theſe others which he afterwards did. For he reſtored the ÆGINETES againe to their lands and houſes, who had bin put from them a long time. He reſtored alſo the MELIANS, and the SCIONÆIANS to their lands againe, which the ATHENIANS had gotten from them, and draue out the ATHENIANS. Furthermore, *Lyſander* being aduertiſed, that the citizens and inhabitants of ATHENS were pinched ſore for lacke of victuals, he returned againe, and came into the hauen of PIRÆA: by meanes whereof he kept the citie ſo ſtraight, that he made them yeelde vpon ſuch conditions as he himſelfe would. Howbeit there are certain LACEDÆMONIANS that ſay, *Lyſander* wrote vnto the EPHORES: the city of ATHENS is taken. And that the *Ephori* wrote againe vnto him: it is well that it is taken. But this is but a tale deuiſed to make the matter ſeeme better: for indeed the capitulations which the *Ephori* ſent vnto him, were theſe. The Lords of the councell of LACEDÆMON haue thus decreed: that ye do raſe the fortification of the hauen of PIRÆA. That ye doe ouerthrow alſo the long wall that ioyneth the hauen to the citie. That ye yeeld vp and redeliuer all the cities which ye do holde, and content your ſelues with your liues and country only. This doing, ye ſhall haue peace, ſo that yee performe our demaunds. That ye ſhall receiue thoſe which are baniſhed: and for the number of ſhips, yee ſhall diſpoſe of them as we ſhall will you. The ATHENIANS agreed vnto the articles contained in that bill, following the counſell of *Theramenes*, the ſonne of *Agnon*. Who when a young orator called *Cleomenes*, did openly aſke him in anger, if he were ſo bold to dare to do, or ſay, any thing contrary vnto that, which *Themiſtocles* had done before time, to aſſent vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, that the wall which he built in deſpight of them, ſhould by their commandement now be raſed: he anſwered him openly againe, young man, my friend, I do nothing contrary to *Themiſtocles* doings. For like as he heretofore did build the wall, for the ſafety and benefit of all the citizens and people that were in ATHENS at that time: euen ſo doe we that are here now, for the ſelfe ſame cauſe plucke it downe and raſe it. And if it be true that walles doe make cities happy, then it muſt needs follow that the city of SPARTA which neuer had any walles, ſhould be the vnfortunateſt of all other. So *Lyſander* hauing receiued all the ATHENIANS ſhips but twelue, and the wals of the city alſo to vſe them at his pleaſure: on the ſixteenth day of march (on which day in old time the ATHENIANS had wonne the battell by ſea, within the ſtraight of SALAMINA, againſt the king of PERSIA) he counſelled them ſtraight to change the forme of their gouernement. The people could not brooke that motion, and were maruellouſly offended withall. Whereupon *Lyſander* ſent to declare vnto them, that they had broken the articles of the peace made betweene them, for that their walles were yet ſtanding, the ten dayes being expired in which they had promiſed to ouerthrow them: and therefore that he would once againe referre it to the determination of the councell, how they ſhould be vſed, that had broken the articles and couenants of the firſt peace. Other ſay, that immediatly he referred it vnto the deliberation of the councell of their confederates, that is to ſay: whether they ſhould altogether deſtroy the city, and make the inhabitants thereof, ſlaues, and bondmen or no. In this councell, it is reported that there was a THEBAN called *Erianthus*, whoſe opinion was, that they ſhould vtterly raſe the city, and make the country a deſert: ſo that it ſhould neuer after ſerue for other thing, but for paſturage of beaſts. But during this diet and councell, there was a banket made, whereunto all the Captaines and chiefe officers of the army being bidden, there was a PHOCIAN, a ſinger of ſongs, that ſang the entry of the *Chorus* to the tragedy of *Electra*, made by the Poet *Euripides*, which began in this ſort.

*The Athenians yeeld vp Athens to Lyſander.*

*The manner of peace offered by the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians.*

*A notable ſaying for the walles of cities.*

*Erianthus cruell aduiſe againſt the Athenians.*

*Electra noble Dame, and daughter to a king:*
*Euen Agamemnon, king of Greece, whoſe fame ſo wide did ring.*

*I come now to your courtes, which lie both wide and waſt,*
*By ſpoile of warres depopulate, deſtroyed, and diſgraſt.*

Theſe words moued all the hearers with compaſſion, ſo that the moſt part of them thought it were too great a ſinne to deſtroy ſo noble a city, which brought forth ſo many famous wiſe men, and great perſons. Wherefore *Lyſander*, when the ATHENIANS had ſubmitted themſelues altogether to his wil, cauſed all the womē-plaiers of pipes or ſhalmes to come out of the city, and gathered all thoſe together which he had in his owne campe alſo, & with the ſound of their inſtruments he made the walles and fortifications of the city of ATHENS to be pulled downe to the very ground, and ſet all their gallies on fire, & burnt them in the preſence of the confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS, who daunced and plaied in the meane ſeaſon with garlands of flowers on their heads, in token that that day was a beginning of their full and perfect liberty. Immediatly after he changed alſo the ſtate of the gouernment, eſtabliſhing a counſell of thirty Magiſtrates in the city, and other ten alſo in the hauen of PIRÆA, hauing all equall and like authoritie: and therewithall made *Callibius* a gentleman of SPARTA Captaine of the caſtell there, and left a good garriſon of the LACEDÆMONIANS with him. This *Callibius* one day lift vp his ſtaffe he had in his hand to ſtrike *Autolycus* withall, a ſtrong made man to wreſtle: whereupon *Xenophon* the Philoſopher made his booke in olde time, called *Conuiuium*. But *Autolycus* that was a cunning wreſtler, hauing all the ſleights of wreſtling, ſodainly tripped *Callibius* with his legge, and lifting him vp at the armes end, caſt him to the ground. Howbeit *Lyſander* was not angry with *Autolycus* for it, but reproued *Callibius*, telling him that he ſhould haue remembred (if he had bene wiſe) that he had the gouernment ouer free men, and not of bonde men. Notwithſtanding, ſhortly after the thirty gouernours of the city, to ſatisfie *Callibius*, put this *Autolycus* to death. When *Lyſander* had done all theſe things, he tooke ſea againe, and went into the country of THRACIA, and ſent by *Gylippus* before vnto SPARTA (who had bin Captaine and generall of the SYRACVSANS in SICILIA) all the gold and ſiluer that was left in his hands, with all the preſents beſides which had bene priuately giuen him, and with the crownes alſo that had bin preſented him: which were maruellous in number as it is to be thought, for that many came to preſent him, conſidering the great power he had, and that in manner he was chiefe and ſole prince of all GRECE. This *Gylippus* did rippe the ſeames of euery bagge in the bottome where the money was, and tooke a good ſumme out of euery of them: and afterwards ſowed them vp againe, not thinking that there had bin a border vpon euery bagge, vpon the which was declared, the number and kindes of gold and ſiluer that were therein. Now when he was come to SPARTA, he hid the money he had ſtolne vnder the houſe eauings, and went and deliuered the bags he had brought into the hands of the *Ephori*, ſhewing them *Lyſanders* ſeale, which he had ſet to euery one of them. The *Ephori* hauing opened the bags, and tolde the money, found that the ſumme agreed not with the borders of the contents: and yet could not tell where the faulte was. But a ſeruant of *Gylippus* told them in darke words, ſaying: that vnder the tiles of his maiſters houſe there lay a great number of owles. Now the greateſt part of the coine of golde and ſiluer which was currant through GRECE, was ſtamped with the marke of an owle, by reaſon of the ATHENIANS. Thus *Gylippus* after ſo many noble exploites done in warres, committing ſo ſhamefull and vile a deede, was baniſhed out of his countrie of LACEDÆMONIA. But the wiſeſt men of SPARTA, and of deepeſt iudgement, fearing the power of golde and ſiluer, and ſeeing by proofe of *Gylippus* doings, that it had ſuch power to make one of their chiefeſt men to fall through couetouſneſſe: they greatly blamed *Lyſander* for bringing of it into LACEDÆMON, beſeeching the *Ephori* that they would ſend all this golde & ſiluer out of SPARTA, as a plague, prouocation, and wicked baite, to make them do euill: declaring vnto them, that they ſhould vſe no other money, but their owne onely. Whereupon they referred all to the wiſedom and determination of the councell. *Theopompus* writeth, that *Sciraphidas* was he that did moue the coūcell of the *Ephori* in it. Howbeit *Ephorus* calleth him *Phlogidas*, who was the firſt that ſpake againſt it in the councell, that they ſhould not admit, nor receiue into the city of SPARTA, any money of golde or ſiluer: but ſhould onely content themſelues with their owne countrie iron coine, the which firſt of all, comming from the fire redde hotte, was quenched with vineger,

*The ſweet muſicke ſoftened their cruell hearts, and moued them to pity.*

*Lyſander ouerthrew the wals of the city of Athens.*

*Callibius Captaine of the Caſtell of Athens.*

*Autolycus a cunning wreſtler.*

*Autolycus put to death.*

*Lyſander ſent money to Sparta by Gylippus.*

*Gylippus robbed part of the money he caried to Sparta.*

*The Greekiſh coine was marked with an owle.*

*Gylippus baniſhment.*

*Couetouſneſſe of money corrupted Gylippus, one of the chiefeſt men of Lacedæmon.*

*The iron money of Lacedæmonia.*

*At what time the Lacedæmonians receiued gold and ſiluer againe.*

*The ill life of the Magiſtrats, the cauſe of diſorder in a commonweale.*

*A galley of gold and Iuorie.*

*Lyſanders honors and pride.*

to the end they ſhould be forged no more, nor emploied vnto any other vſe. For it was ſo eager and brittle by meanes of this temper, that they could no more conuert it to any other purpoſe: and beſide, it was very heauie and vnhandſome to remoue, conſidering that a great heape and quantitie of it, was but of ſmall value. And it ſeemeth they did vſe of olde time, certaine litle iron money, and in ſome places copper money, called Obeliſci, from whence the ſmall peeces of money now extant are called Oboli, whereof ſix make a Drachma, ſo termed, for that it was as much as the hand could gripe. Neuertheleſſe, at the earneſt ſute of *Lyſanders* friends that ſtood againſt it, and held hard with him: it was decreed in the councell, that the money ſhould remaine in the city, and ordained that it ſhould be currant onely but for the affaires of the commonwealth. And if it were found, that any priuate man did either locke vp, or keepe any money, that he ſhould ſuffer death for it: as if *Lycurgus* when he made his lawes, feared gold and ſiluer, and not the couetouſneſſe and auarice which the gold and ſiluer bringeth with it. The which was not taken away ſo much, prohibiting priuate men to haue it: as it was ingendred only by a common tolleration of getting it. For, the profit which they ſawe it brought withall, made it to be eſteemed and deſired. For it was vnpoſſible they ſhould deſpiſe a thing priuately for vnprofitable, which they ſaw reckoned of commonly, as a thing very neceſſary: & that they ſhould thinke it would not ſerue their turne priuately, ſeeing it ſo commonly eſteemed and deſired. But we are rather to thinke, that priuate mens manners are conformed according to the common vſes and cuſtomes of cities: then that the faults and vices of priuate men do fill cities and commonweales with ill qualities. And it is more likely, that the parts are marred and corrupted with an infection of the whole, when it falleth out ill: then that the parts corrupted ſhould drawe the whole vnto corruption. For to the contrary, the faults of a part deſtroied, which might be preiudiciall vnto the whole, are oftentimes redreſſed and corrected by the other parts, whole and entire. But they that tooke this reſolution in their councell at that time, to haue money in the commonwealth: made feare of puniſhment, and of the lawe, to be the outward watchmen of citizens houſes, to keepe that no money ſhould come into them. But all this while they made no inward prouiſion, to keepe the entry of their ſoules from all paſſion and greedy deſires of money: but to the contrary, they made them all to haue a couetous deſire to be rich, as if it were a great and honorable thing. But for that we haue heretofore in other places reproued the LACEDÆMONIANS. And moreouer *Lyſander* cauſed a ſtatue of braſſe to be made like himſelf of the ſpoile he had gotten of the enemies, to ſet it vp in the citie of DELPHES, and for euery priuate Captaine of the gallies in like caſe: and the two ſtars of Caſtor and Pollux in gold beſides, which vaniſhed away a litle before the battell of LEVCTRES, and no man knew what became of them. Againe, in the chamber of the treaſury of *Braſidas*, and of the ACANTHIANS, there was alſo a galley made of golde and iuory, of two cubits long, which *Cyrus* ſent vnto him after the victory he had wonne by ſea, of the ATHENIANS. And furthermore, *Alexandrides* the hiſtoriographer borne at DELPHES, writeth, that the ſelfe ſame *Lyſander* had left there to be kept ſafe, a tallent of ſiluer, two and fifty Minas, and eleuen peeces of gold called Stateres. But all this accordeth not with that which all the other hiſtoriographers write, agreeing of his pouerty. But *Lyſander* being aloft then, and of greater power then euer any GRECIAN was before him: caried a greater porte and countenance then became his hability. For, as *Duris* writeth, he was the firſt of the GRECIANS vnto whom they did euer erect any aulters, and offer ſacrifice vnto as a god, and in honour of whom they did firſt ſing any hymnes: and at this day there is yet good memory of one which began in this manner.

*The noble Captaines praiſe, we meane to celebrate*
*Of Greece: that land which is deuine in euery kinde of ſtate.*
*Euen he, which was both borne, and brought to high renowne,*
*VVithin the noble wealthie walles of* Sparta *ſtately towne.*

The SAMIANS by publicke decree ordained, that the feaſts of *Iuno*, which were called in their city Herœa, ſhould be called *Lyſandria*. *Lyſander* had euer one *Chærilus* a SPARTAN Poet about him, to write and ſet forth all his doings in verſe. An other Poet called *Antilocus*, one day made certaine verſes in his praiſe; which pleaſed him ſo well, that he gaue him his hatte full of ſiluer. There were two other Poets, ***Antimachus*** COLOPHORIAN, and ***Niceratus*** born at HERACLEA, which did both write verſes to honour him, ſtriuing whether of them ſhould do beſt. ***Lyſander*** iudged the crowne and victory vnto ***Niceratus***: wherewith ***Antimachus*** was ſo angry, that he raſed out all that he had written of him. But ***Plato*** who at that time was yong, and loued ***Antimachus*** becauſe he was an excellent Poet, did comfort him, and told him that ignoraunce did blinde the vnderſtanding of the igorant, as blindneſſe doth the ſight of the blinde. ***Ariſtonus*** an excellent plaier of the citerne, and one that had ſixe times won the priſes of the Pythian games: to winne ***Lyſanders*** fauor, promiſed him, that if euer he wanne the priſe of his art againe, he would cauſe him ſelfe to be proclaimed ***Lyſanders*** ſlaue. This ambition of ***Lyſander*** was very odious and grieuous, onely vnto great perſons, and men of his eſtate: but beſides his ambition, in the end he became very proud and cruell, through the flatteries of his followers, and them that courted him: ſo that he exceeded in recompencing his friendes, as alſo in puniſhing of his enemies. For, to gratifie his friendes and familiars, he gaue them abſolute power and authority of life and death in their townes and cities: and to pacifie and appeaſe his anger where he once hated, there was no other way but death, without all poſſibility of pardon. And that he plainly ſhewed afterwards in the city of MILETVM, where, fearing leaſt they would flie that tooke part with the people, & becauſe he would haue them appeare that hid them ſelues: he gaue his word, and ſware that he would doe them no hurt at all. The poore men gaue credit to his word. But ſo ſoone as they came out, and did appeare, hee deliuered them all into the handes of their aduerſaries, (which were the chiefeſt of the nobility) to put them all to death: and they were no leſſe then eight hundred men one with an other. He cauſed great murders of people alſo to bee done in other cities: for he did not onely put them to death that had priuatly offended him, but numbers beſides, onely to ſatisfie and reuenge the priuate quarrels, enmities and couetouſnes of his friends, whom he had in euery place. And therefore was ***Eteocles*** LACEDÆMONIAN greatly commended for his ſaying: That GREECE could not abide two ***Lyſanders***. ***Theophraſtus*** writeth alſo, that the very like was ſpoken of ***Alcibiades*** by ***Archeſtratus***. Howbeit in ***Alcibiades*** there was nothing, but his inſolency, and vaine glory that men miſliked: but in ***Lyſander***, a ſeuere nature, & ſharpe conditions, that made his power fearfull & intollerable. Neuertheleſſe, the LACEDÆMONIANS paſſed ouer all other complaintes exhibited againſt him: ſauing when they heard the complaints of ***Pharnabazus***, who purpoſely ſent Ambaſſadors vnto them, to complaine of the wrongs and iniuries ***Lyſander*** had done him, ſpoiling and deſtroying the country vnder his gouernment. Then the ***Ephori*** being offended with him, clapped vp ***Thorax*** in priſon, one of his friendes and Captaines that had ſerued vnder him: and finding that he had both gold and ſiluer in his houſe contrary to the law, put him to death. And to him ſelfe they ſent immediatly that which they call Scytala, (as who would ſay, the ſcrolle written vppon a round ſtaffe) commaunding him that he ſhould returne immediatly vpon receite thereof. The Scytala is in this ſort. When the ***Ephori*** doe ſend a Generall, or an Admirall to the warres, they cauſe two litle round ſtaues to bee made of the like bigneſſe and length, of which the ***Ephori*** do keepe the one, and the other they giue to him whom they ſend to the warres. Theſe two litle ſtaues they call Scytales. Now when they will aduertiſe their Generall ſecretly of matters of importaunce, they take a ſcrolle of parchement, long and narrowe like a leather thong, and wreath it about the round ſtaffe, leauing no voide ſpace betweene the knottes of the ſcrowle. Afterwardes when they haue bound them faſt together, then they write vppon the parchement thus rolled what they will, and when they haue done writing, vnfolde it, and ſend it to their Generall, who can not elſe poſſibly read it to know what is written, (becauſe the letters are not ioyned together, nor follow in order, but are ſcattered here and there) vntill he take his litle rowle of wod which was giuen him at his departure. And then wreathing the ſcrowle of parchment about it which he receiueth, the folding and wreaths of the parchement falling iuſt into the ſelfe ſame place as they were firſt folded, the letters alſo come to ioyne one with an other, as they ought to doe. This litle ſcrowle of parchement alſo is called as the rowle of wodde, Scytala euen as we commonly ſee in many places that the thing meaſured, is alſo called by the name of the meaſure. When this parchement ſcrowle was brought vnto ***Lyſander***, who was then in the country of

*Platoes ſaying of the ignorant. Ignorance compared with blindneſſe.*

*Lyſanders ambition, pride and cruelty.*

*Lyſander brake his word and oth, and procured the death of eight hundred people*

*Eteocles words of Lyſander.*

*Thorax put to death for offending the law.*

*The Laconian Scytala what maner thing it is & how vſed.*

HELLESPONT, he was maruellouſly troubled withall, fearing aboue all other things the accuſations of *Pharnabazus*: ſo he ſought meanes to ſpeake with him before he departed, hoping thereby to make his peace with him. When they were together, *Lyſander* prayed him he would write an other letter vnto the Lords of SPARTA, contrary to his firſt, how that he had done him no hurt at all, and that he had no cauſe to complaine of him: but he did not remember that he was a CRETAN, (as the common prouerbe ſayeth) that could deceiue an other CRETAN. For *Pharnabazus* hauing promiſed him that he would performe his deſire, wrote a letter openly, purporting the effect of *Lyſanders* requeſt: but behinde he had an other of contrary effect, ſo like on the out ſide vnto the other, that by ſight no man could diſcerne the one from the other. And when he came to put his ſeale, he changed the firſt with the laſt that was hidden, & gaue it him. When *Lyſander* came vnto SPARTA, he went as the maner is, ſtraight to the pallace where the Senate kept, and gaue his letters vnto the Ephores, thinking that by them he ſhould haue beene cleared from all daunger of the greateſt accuſations they could haue burdened him withall: becauſe that *Pharnabazus* was very well thought on of the Lords of LACEDÆMONIA, for that he did euer ſhew him ſelfe willing and ready to helpe them in all their warres, more then any other of the kings Lieutenants of PERSIA. The *Ephori* hauing red this letter, they ſhewed it vnto him. Then did *Lyſander* plainly ſee, that the common prouerbe was true.

*Lyſander carieth letters againſt him ſelfe.*

*That Vlyſſes was not ſubtill alone.*

Thereupon he went home to his houſe maruellouſly troubled. But within few dayes after returning to the pallace againe to ſpeake with the Lords of the councell, he told them that he muſt needes make a voyage vnto the temple of *Iupiter Ammon*, to diſcharge certaine ſacrifices which he had vowed and promiſed to him before he had wonne the battels. Some ſay, that in deede *Iupiter Ammon* appeared to him in a dreame as he did beſiege the city of the APHYGÆIANS, in the countrey of THRACIA, and that by his commaundement he raiſed the ſiege, and charged them of the city, that they ſhould thanke *Iupiter Ammon*, and do ſacrifice vnto him: by reaſon whereof, they thinke that he ment good faith, when he ſued for licence to make this voyage into LIBYA, to performe the vowes which he had made. But the moſt part did certainely beleeue that he made ſute to go this iourney, for a cloke and colour only to abſent him ſelfe, becauſe he feared the Ephores, and that he could not endure the yoke and ſubiection which he muſt abide remaining at home, neither could like to be commanded. And this was the true cauſe of his ſute to go this voyage; much like vnto a horſe taken out of a freſh paſture and goodly medowes, to bring him into a ſtable, and make him to be iorneyed as he was before. Neuertheleſſe, *Ephorus* writeth an other cauſe, the which I will recite hereafter. In the end, *Lyſander* hauing hardly obtained licence, tooke ſhippe, and croſſed ſaile. But during his abſence, the kings of LACEDÆMON remembring that he kept all the cities at his commaundement, by meanes of the friends he had in euery city, whom he had made chiefe gouernours of the ſame, and that by their meanes he came in maner to be abſolute prince ouer all GREECE: they tooke vppon them to redeliuer the gouernment of the townes and cities againe into the handes of the people, and alſo to put downe his friendes whom he had ſtabliſhed there. And hereupon fell out great inſurrection againe. For firſt of all, they that were baniſhed from ATHENS, hauing ſurpriſed and taken the caſtell of Phyla, vpon the ſodaine did ſet vpon the thirty gouernors tyrants (whom *Lyſander* had placed there) and ouercame them in battell. Wherupon *Lyſander* ſtraight returned to SPARTA, and perſwaded the LACEDÆMONIANS to refer the gouernment to the number of a few, and to puniſh the inſolency of the people. So by his procurement, they ſent firſt a hundred talents vnto the thirty tyrants for an aide to maintaine this warre, and appointed *Lyſander* him ſelfe generall. But the two kings of SPARTA enuying him, and fearing leaſt he ſhould take the city of ATHENS againe: they determined that one of them would go. Whereupon *Pauſanias* went thither immediatly, who in apparance ſeemed to maintaine the tyrants againſt the people: but in effect, he did his indeuour to appeaſe this warre, for feare leaſt *Lyſander* by means of his friends and followers ſhould once againe come to haue the city of ATHENS in his power, the which he might eaſily doe. And thus hauing agreed the ATHENIANS againe one with an other, and pacified all faction and commotion a-

*Lyſander goeth to Iupiter Ammon.*

*King Pauſanias reconciled the Athenians with the Spartans.*

mong them, he pluckt vp the roote of *Lyſanders* ambition. But ſhortly after, the Athenians rebelling againe againſt the Lacedæmonians, *Pauſanias* him ſelf was reproued, becauſe he yeelded ſo much to the boldnes and inſolency of the people, which were bridled and reſtrained before, by the authority of the ſmall number of gouernours: and to the contrary, they gaue *Lyſander* the honor to be generall, who ruled not in this rebellion to pleaſe mens minds and to content them, neither with fond oſtentation of glory, but ſeuerely, for the profit and commodity of Sparta. It is true he would giue great words, and was terrible to them that reſiſted him. As he aunſwered the Argiues one day, who contended for their confines with the Lacedæmonians, and ſeemed to alledge the beſt reaſons. Euen they (ſayd he) that ſhall proue the ſtronger hereby (ſhewing them his ſword) ſhall bee they that ſhall plead their cauſe beſt for their confines. An other time, when a Megarian had told his mind boldly enough in open councell, he aunſwered him: thy wordes (good friend) had neede of a city, meaning thereby that he was of too meane a towne to vſe ſo great words. And to the Bœotians alſo, who were in doubt to profeſſe them ſelues friends or enemies: he ſent vnto them, to know if he ſhould paſſe through the countrey with his pikes vpwardes or downwardes. And when the Corinthians alſo were reuolted from their alliance, he brought his army hard vnto their walles: but when hee ſaw his men were afraide, and made curſey whether they ſhould go to the aſſault or not: by chaunce ſpying a hare comming out of the towne ditches, he ſayed vnto them: Are ye not aſhamed to be afraied to go & aſſault your enemies that are ſo cowardly and ſlothfull, as hares do keepe their formes at eaſe within the circuite of their walles? Now king *Agis* being deceaſed, he left behinde him his brother *Ageſilaus*, and his ſuppoſed ſon *Leotychides*. Wherefore, *Lyſander* that had loued *Ageſilaus* afore time, gaue him counſell to ſtand for the right of the crowne, as lawfull heire and next of the bloud, deſcending of the race of *Hercules*: becauſe it was ſuſpected that *Leotychides* was *Alcibiades* ſonne, who ſecretly had kept *Timæa Agis* wife, at what time he was baniſhed out of his countrey, and came then to remaine in Sparta. And *Agis* ſelfe alſo, concluding by reckoning of the time of his abſence, that his wife could not be with childe by him: made reckoning of *Leotichides*, (and had openly ſhewed it all the reſt of his life time) that he did not acknowledge him for his ſonne, vntill ſuch time as falling ſicke of that diſeaſe whereof he died, he was caried to the city of Heræa. And there lying in his death bedde, at the humble ſute of *Leotychides* him ſelfe, and partly at the inſtant requeſt of his friends who were importunate with him: he did acknowledge *Leotychides* for his ſonne in the preſence of diuerſe, whom he prayed to be witneſſes vnto the Lords of Lacedæmon, of his acceptation and acknowledging of him to be his ſon. Which they all did in fauour of *Leotychides*. For all that, *Ageſilaus* tooke it vpon him, by the ſupport & maintenance of *Lyſanders* fauour. Howbeit, *Diopithes* a wiſe man, and knowen to be skilfull in ancient prophecies, did great hurt to *Ageſilaus* ſide, by an auncient oracle which he alledged againſt a defect *Ageſilaus* had, which was his lameneſſe.

*Lyſanders terrible words.*

*The death of king Agis. Lyſander depriueth Leotychides of his kingdome.*

*O Spartan people you, which beare high haughty hearts,*
*And looke a loft: take heede I ſay, looke well vnto your martes:*
*Leaſt whiles you ſtand vpright, and guide your ſtate by grace,*
*Some halting kingdome priuily, come creeping in apace.*
*By that meanes might you moue, great troubles, carke and care,*
*And miſchiefes heape vpon your head, before you be aware.*
*And plunged should you be, euen ouer head and eares,*
*VVith waſt of warres, which here on earth doth perish many peeres.*

Many by occaſion of this oracle, fell to take *Leotychides* part: but *Lyſander* declared vnto them, that *Diopithes* did not conſtue the meaning of the oracle well. For God, ſayed he, cared not whether he halted of one legge or no, that ſhould come to be king of Lacedæmon: but in deede, the crowne and kingdome ſhould halt and be lame, if baſtardes not lawfully begotten, ſhould come to raigne ouer the true naturall iſſue and right line of *Hercules*. By theſe perſwaſions, *Lyſander* with his great countenaunce and authority beſides, wanne all men to his opinion: ſo that *Ageſilaus* by this meanes, was praclaimed king of Lacedæmon. This done, *Lyſander* beganne ſtraight to counſell him to make warres in Asia, putting him in hope that

*Through Lyſanders working, Ageſilaus was made king* he ſhould deſtroy the kingdome of PERSIA, and ſhould come to be the greateſt man of the world. Moreouer, he wrote vnto his friends in the cities of ASIA, that they ſhould ſend vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS to require king *Ageſilaus* for their general, to make wars againſt the barbarous people. Which they did, and ſent Ambaſſadors purpoſely vnto SPARTA to ſue that they might haue him: the which was no leſſe honor procured vnto *Ageſilaus* by *Lyſanders* meanes, then that he did, in making him to be choſen king. But men ambitious by nature, being otherwiſe not vnapt nor vnfit to commaund, haue this imperfection: that through the iealouſie of glory, they doe commonly enuy their equalles, the which doth greatly hinder them for doing any notable things. For they take them for their enemies, enuying their vertue, whoſe ſeruice and meanes might helpe them to doe great matters. Thus *Ageſilaus* being choſen generall of this enterpriſe, tooke *Lyſander* with him in this iourney, amongſt the thirty counſellers which were giuen vnto him to aſſiſt him: and made ſpeciall choiſe of him, as by whoſe counſell he hoped moſt to be gouerned, and to haue him neareſt about him, as his chiefeſt friend. But when they were arriued in ASIA, they of the countrey hauing no acquaintaunce with *Ageſilaus*, ſeldome ſpake with him, or but litle: and to the contrary, hauing knowen *Lyſander* of long time, they followed him, and waited vppon him to his tent or lodging, ſome to honor him, becauſe they were his friends, others for feare, becauſe they did miſtruſt him. Euen much like as it falleth out oftentimes in the Theaters, when they play tragedies there: that he that ſhall play the perſon of ſome meſſenger or ſeruaunt, ſhall be the beſt player, and ſhall haue the beſt voice to be heard aboue all others: and to the contrary, that he which hath the royall band about his head, and the ſcepter in his hand, a man doth ſcant heare him ſpeake. Euen ſo it fell out then: for all the dignity due vnto him that commaundeth all, was ſhewed only vnto the counſeller: and there remained to the king no more, but the royall name only of a king, without any power. Therefore me thinkes that this vndiſcreete and importunate ambition of *Lyſander*, did well deſerue reproofe perhappes, to make him only to be contented with the ſecond place of honor next vnto the king. But for *Ageſilaus* again, through extreame couetouſnes and iealouſie of glory, to caſt *Lyſander* altogether off, and to ſet ſo light by his friend and benefactor, that ſurely became not him neither. For firſt of all, *Ageſileus* neuer gaue *Lyſander* occaſion to doe any thing, neither did commit any matter of weight vnto him, that might be honorable for him: but which is worſt of all, if he perceiued that he had taken any mens cauſes in hand, and that he did fauour them, he did alwaies ſend them backe againe into their countrey, denying their ſute, without that they could obtaine any thing they ſued for, leſſe then the meaneſt perſons that could haue come, extinguiſhing *Lyſanders* credit by litle and litle, and taking from him all authority by this meanes. Wherefore, *Lyſander* perceiuing how he was thus refuſed and reiected in all things, ſeeing that the countenaunce and fauor which he thought to ſhew vnto his friends, fell out hurtful vnto them: left off to ſolicite their matters any more, and prayed them to forbeare to come vnto him, or to follow him, but to go to the king, and vnto thoſe that could doe them better pleaſure then him ſelfe, and ſpecially thoſe that honored him. When they heard that, many deſiſted to trouble him any more in matters of importaunce, but not to doe him all the honor they could, and continued ſtill to accompany him, when he went out to walke, or otherwiſe to exerciſe him ſelfe: the which did aggrauate and increaſe *Ageſilaus* anger more againſt him, for the enuy he bare vnto his glory. And where he gaue very honorable charge and commiſſion in the wars, oftentimes vnto very meane ſouldiers to execute, or cities to gouerne: he appointed *Lyſander* ſurueyor generall of all the ordinary prouiſion of victuals, and diſtributer of fleſh. And then mocking the IONIANS that did honor him ſo much· let them go now, ſayd he, and honor my fleſh diſtributer. Wherefore, *Lyſander* ſeeing it high time to ſpeake. went vnto *Ageſilaus*, and told him in few wordes after the LACONIAN manner: Truely *Ageſilaus*, thou haſt learned well to abaſe thy friends. In deede ſayed he againe, ſo haue I, when they will be greater then my ſelfe: and to the contrary, they that maintaine and increaſe my honor and authority, it is reaſon that I eſteeme of them. Yea mary, ſayd *Lyſander*, but perhappes I haue not done as thou ſayeſt. Yet I pray thee giue me ſuch an office, as I may be leaſt hated, and moſt profitable for thee: though it be but in reſpect of ſtrangers eyes that looke vpon vs both. After this talke betweene them,

*Ambition abideth no equals.*

*Ageſilaus priuy grudge to Lyſander.*

*Lyſanders wiſedome.*

*Lyſander ſurueiour of the victuals.*

*Lyſanders talke with king Ageſilaus after the Laconian maner of ſpeaking.*

*Ageſilaus* ſent him his Lieutenaunt into the countrey of Hellespont, where *Lyſander* ſtill kept this anger ſecret in his heart againſt him, but for all that, did not leaue to doe all that hee could for the benefit of his maſters affairs. As amongſt many other things, he cauſed a Persian Captain called *Spithridates*, to rebel againſt his maſter, who was a valiant man of his hãds, and a great enemy of *Pharnabazus*, and had an army alſo which he brought with him vnto *Ageſilaus*. Now concerning this warre, this was all that he did in that iourney. Wherefore, he returned againe to Sparta not long after, with litle honor, being maruellouſly grieued & offended with *Ageſilaus*, and hating more then before, all the ſtate and gouernment of the city of Sparta: by reaſon whereof, he determined to put that in practiſe, which he had long time thought vppon, concerning the alteration of gouernment, and his enterpriſe was this. Amongſt the offpring and iſſue of *Hercules*, who were mingled with the Dorians, and returned againe into the country of Peloponnesus, the greateſt number and chiefeſt of them, dwelled in the city of Sparta: howbeit, all they that came of that race had no right of ſucceſſion to the crowne, ſauing two families only, the *Eurytiontides*, and the *Agiades*. The other families, albeit they were all for nobility of bloud deſcended out of one ſelfe houſe, yet had they no more right nor intereſt vnto the realme, then the reſidue of the people: for, the dignities that were attained vnto by vertue, were giuen vnto the inhabitantes that could deſerue them. *Lyſander* then being one of thoſe which was deſcended of the true race of *Hercules*, who notwithſtanding had no intereſt in the crowne: when he ſaw himſelfe aloft, and called to great honor through his famous actes and merites, and that he had wonne many friendes, and great credit and authority by dealing in matters of the ſtate: it grieued him much, to ſee that they which were no nobler then him ſelfe, ſhould be kings in that city, which hee had increaſed by his vertue, and that he could not haue ſo much power as to take from theſe two houſes, the *Eurytiontides*, and the *Agiades* the prerogatiue that the kings ſhould be choſen onely out of one of thoſe two houſes, and to caſt it vpon the offpring of *Hercules*. Some ſay againe, that he would not only haue enlarged that prerogatiue vnto the iſſue of *Hercules*, but vnto all the naturall Spartans alſo: becauſe that *Hercules* race ſhould not only deſire this reward of honor, but euen they alſo that followed his ſteps in vertue, which had made him equall with the gods in honor. For he doubted not, but if they would diſpoſe the crown in this ſort, that there was no man in the city of Sparta that ſhould ſooner be choſen king then him ſelfe: whereupon he attempted firſt to perſwade his citizens by very good reaſons, and to bring this about the better, he conned an oration without booke, penned by *Cleon Halicarnaſſeus*, made him for this purpoſe. But afterwardes waighing with him ſelfe, that ſo great and ſtrange a change as he would bring in, had neede of ſome better and ſtronger helpe: he beganne to frame a deuiſe as they ſay, to moue the people by, much after the manner they vſe in tragedies, framing engines to bring ſome god to come downe from heauen vnto them, and this was his fained inuention. He deuiſed certaine oracles & prophecies, thinking that all *Cleons* rethoricke would ſtand him in no ſteade, if firſt of all he did not fill the citizens hearts with ſome ſuperſtition and feare of the goddes, that he might bring them afterwardes more eaſily vnto reaſon. And *Ephorus* ſayeth, that he proued firſt to corrupt the Nunne with money, that giueth all the oracles and aunſwers in the temple of *Apollo* at Delphes: and that afterwardes, he would haue wonne the Nun alſo of the temple of Dodone with money, by *Pherecles* practiſe. And that he being reiected by them both, went laſtly vnto the temple of *Iupiter Ammon*: and that there he ſpake vnto the prieſtes, and offered them great ſtore of money for the ſame purpoſe. But they were ſo offended with *Lyſander*, that they ſent men of purpoſe to Sparta, to accuſe him, that he would haue corrupted them with money. The counſell clearing *Lyſander* of this accuſation, the Libyans his accuſers at their departing ſayd: we will one day iudge more iuſtly, then you my Lordes of Lacedæmon haue done now, when you ſhall come to dwell in our country of Libya: ſuppoſing there was an auncient prophecy that ſayd, the Lacedæmonians one day ſhould come to dwell in the country of Libya. But we ſhall doe better to write the whole ſtory at large of this practiſe, ſubtilty, and malicious deuiſe, which was no matter of ſmall importaunce, nor lightly grounded: but as in a mathematicall propoſition there were many great coniectures and preſuppoſitions, and many long circumſtances to bring it to con-

*Lyſander ſeeketh innouation in the ſtate of Sparta*

*The Families of the kings of Lacedæmon.*

*Lyſander deuiſeth falſe oracles, & corrupteth ſoothſaiers with money.*

*Lyſanders fayned deuiſe to poſſeſſe the kingdome.*

cluſion, the which I will dilate from point to point, deliuering that which an hiſtoriographer and philoſopher both hath written. There was in the marches of the realme of Pont, a woman that ſayed ſhe was gotten with childe by *Apollo*, the which many (as it is to be thought) would not beleeue at all, and many alſo did beleeue it: ſo that ſhe being deliuered of a goodly ſonne, diuerſe noble men and of great eſtate were carefull to bring him vp, and to haue him taught. This childe, I know not whereupon, nor how, was named *Silenus*: and *Lyſander* fetching the plat of his deuiſe from thence, added to all the reſt of him ſelfe, to goe on with his practiſe. Now hee had many (and they no ſmall men) that made his way to frame this ieſt, giuing out a rumor of the birth of this childe, without any ſuſpition gathered out of the intent of this rumor. And forthermore, they brought other newes from Delphes, which they diſperſed abroad through the city of Sparta, to wit: that the prieſtes of the temple kept ſecret bookes of very auncient oracles, which they them ſelues durſt not touch nor handle, neither might any man read them, vnleſſe he were begotten of the ſeede of *Apollo*, who ſhould come after a long time, and make his birth appeare vnto the prieſtes that kept theſe papers, and that by ſome ſecret marke and token, which they had amongſt them: & thereby being knowen for *Apolloes* ſon, he might then take the bookes and read the auncient reuelations and prophecies of the ſame. Theſe things prepared in this ſort, there was order taken that *Silenus* ſhould come and aſke for theſe bookes as though he were the ſonne of *Apollo*: and that the prieſtes which were priuy to this practiſe, ſhould make as though they did diligently examine him of euery thing, and how he was borne. And that at the length, after they had ſeemed to know all, they ſhould deliuer theſe prophecies vnto him, as if he had bene in deede *Apolloes* ſonne: and that he ſhould openly read them in the preſence of many witneſſes. And among the reſt of the prophecies, that he ſhould read that ſpecially, for the which this long paltry fained drift was framed, touching the kingdome of Lacedæmonia: that it was better, and meetelier for the Spartans they ſhould chooſe them for their kinges, whom they found the meeteſt men of all their magiſtrates. But when *Silenus* was come of full age, and brought into Greece of purpoſe to performe this practiſe, all the miſtery was marde by the faint heart of one of the players and companions of *Lyſander*, who holpe him to countenaunce this deuiſe: who when the matter ſhould haue taken effect, ſhrunke for feare, and let the miſtery alone. This notwithſtanding, nothing was bewrayed in *Lyſanders* life time, till after his death.

*The warres of Bœotia.*

For he died, before king *Ageſilaus* returned out of Asia, being fallen into warres with Boeotia before his death, or rather hauing him ſelfe made Greece to fall into warres. They doe report it eyther way, and ſome lay the fault vpon him, other vpon the Thebans, and other vpon them both: and they burden the Thebans withall, becauſe they did vtterly ouerthrow the common ſacrifices which *Ageſilaus* made in the city of Aulide.

*Diuerſe cauſes ſurmiſed of the beginning of theſe wars.*

And they ſay alſo, that *Androclides* and *Amphitheus* did raiſe this warre among the Grecians, being before corrupted with money by the king of Persia to bring warres vpon the Lacedæmonians in Greece: and began to inuade and deſtroy the country of the Phocians. Other ſay that *Lyſander* was very angry with the Thebans, becauſe they onely of all other their confederates did aſke the tenth part of all the ſpoile which was won in the war againſt the Athenians: and that they were not pleaſed that *Lyſander* had ſet the money away vnto Sparta.

*An edict againſt the baniſhed men from Athens.*

But aboue al, *Lyſander* did malice thē moſt, becauſe they were the firſt that made way for the Athenians to be deliuered from the oppreſſion of thirty tyrants, whom he had ſtabliſhed gouernors in Athens, and in whoſe fauour (to make them to be dreaded the more) the Lacedæmonians had ordained by a common edict: that they that were baniſhed and did flee from Athens, might lawfully be taken and apprehended in what place ſoeuer they fled vnto, and that whoſoeuer ſhould reſiſt or let them to do it, they ſhould be proclaimed rebels, and open enemies vnto the Lacedæmonians.

*An edict made by the Thebans in fauour of the baniſhed men.*

Againe to contrary this edict, the Thebans made another very like, & meete for the glorious deedes of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* their anceſtors, for whom it was made: that euery houſe and city through the country of Boeotia, ſhould be open for the Athenians that would come thither, & that he that would not helpe a baniſhed mā from Athens, againſt him that would take him away by force, ſhould be fined and amerced at a talent. And alſo if there were any ſouldiers that went vnto Athens, through the countrey of Boeotia, that the THEBANS ſhould not ſee nor heare it. This was no diſſimulation to ſpeake of, that they ſhould ordaine things with ſo gentle wordes, and ſo meete for the people of GRECE, and then that the deedes ſhould not anſwere vnto their edicts and proclamations. For *Thraſybulus*, and his fellowes of the conſpiracie, who kept the caſtle of Phyla, they departed from THEBES, with armor and money, and the THEBANS did helpe them to beginne and practiſe their enterpriſe ſo ſecretly, that it was not diſcouered. Theſe were the cauſes why *Lyſander* was ſo earneſtly bent againſt the THEBANS, and his choller being ſo extreme, by reaſon of his melancholineſſe that grew daily vpon him more and more through his age, he ſolicited the EPHORES ſo, that he perſwaded them to ſende a garriſon thither: and himſelfe taking the charge of them, vndertooke the iorney ſtraight with his men. But afterwardes they ſent king *Pauſanias* alſo with an armie thither, who was to fetch a great compaſſe about to enter into the countrie of BOEOTIA, by mount Cithæron: and *Lyſander* ſhould goe to meete him through the coũtry of PHOCIDES, with a great company of ſouldiers beſides. Now as *Lyſander* went, he tooke the citie of the ORCHOMENIANS, who willingly yeelded thẽſelues to him as ſoone as he came thither. From thence he went to the citie of LEBADIA, which he ſpoyled: & from thence he wrote vnto king *Pauſanias* that departing from PLATEES, he ſhould march directly to the citie of ALIARTE, where he would no faile to meete him the next morning by breake of day at the towne walles. Theſe letters were intercepted by certaine skoutes of the THEBANS, who met with the meſſenger that caried them. Thus the THEBANS hauing intelligence of their purpoſe, left their citie in cuſtodie vnto the ATHENIANS who were come to aide them: and departed out of THEBES about midnight, and marched all night with great ſpeede, that they came to ALIARTE in the morning a litle before *Lyſander*, and put halfe their men into the citie. Now for *Lyſander*, he was determined at the firſt to keepe his men vpon a hill which is neere to the city, & there to tary the comming of king *Pauſanias*. But afterwards when he ſaw that the day was farre ſpent, and that he came not, he could tary no longer, but arming himſelfe, after he had made an oration vnto the confederates which he had brought with him, he marched on with his men in battell ray, longer then large, by the high way that went vnto the city. In the mean ſeaſon, the THEBANS that were left without the city, leauing ALIARTE on the left hand, did ſet vpon *Lyſanders* rerewarde of his armie againſt the fountaine called Ciſſuſa: where the Poets faine that the nurſes of *Bacchus* did waſhe him, when he came out of his mothers wombe, becauſe the water that commeth out of it (though it be very cleare and ſweet to drinke) hath notwithſtanding (I cannot tell by what meanes) a colour like wine: and not far from thence there grow great plenty of Styrap trees. The which the ALIARTIANS do alledge, to proue that *Radamanthus* heretofore dwelt in that part, & do ſhew his ſepulcher there yet to this day, which they call Alea. And hard by that alſo, there is the monument of *Alcmena*, which was buried (as they ſay) in that place, & was maried to *Radamanthus*, after the death of *Amphitryon*. But the THEBANS who were within the city with the ALIARTIANS, ſtirred not vntill they ſaw that *Lyſander* with the firſt of his troupe was neare vnto the towne wals: and then opening the gates on the ſodaine, they made a ſaly out vppon *Lyſander*, & ſlue him with his Soothſayer and a few other, becauſe the moſt part of the voward fled, into the ſtrength of the battell. Howbeit the THEBANS gaue them not ouer ſo, but followed them ſo valiantly, that they brake their order, & made them all flie through the mountains, after they had ſlaine three thouſand of them in the field: ſo were there three hundred THEBANS alſo ſlaine there, who followed their enemies ſo fiercely, till they recouered ſtraight narrow waies, of great ſtrength for them. Theſe three hundreth were in maner all thoſe that were ſuſpected in THEBES to fauor the LACEDÆMONIANS ſecretly: wherefore, for the deſire they had to take away this opinion from their citizens, they hazarded them ſelues to no purpoſe, & were caſt away in this chaſe. King *Pauſanias* heard newes of this ouerthrow, going from PLATEES vnto THESPIES, and went on further, marching ſtill in battell ray towards ALIARTE, where *Thraſybulus* alſo arriued at the ſelfe ſame time, bringing the aid of the ATHENIANS frõ THEBES. And when *Pauſanias* was purpoſed to ſend to aske licence of the enemies to take away the bodies of their men which they had ſlain, to the intent to bury them: the old SPARTANS that were in his army, miſliking it much, at the firſt were angry in them ſelues. But after-

*Lyſanders iorney vnto Boeotia.*

*Citheron mons.*

*Ciſſuſa fons.*

*Lyſander ſlaine by the Thebans.*

*To aske leaue of the enemie to burie the dead is diſhonorable.*

*Lyſanders tombe.*

*Oplites fl. Deſtinie ineuitable.*

wards they went vnto the king himſelfe, to tell him that he diſhonoured SPARTA, to offer to take vp *Lyſanders* bodie by his enemies leaue and fauour, and that he ſhould valiantly recouer him by force of armes, and honorably burie him, after that he had ouercome their enemies: or elſe if it were their fortune to be ouerthrowen, that yet it ſhould be more honorable for them to lie dead in the field by their Captaine, then to aske leaue to take vp his bodie. But notwithſtanding all theſe words of the old men, king *Pauſanias* ſeeing that it was a hard matter to ouercome the THEBANS in battell, now that they had gotten the victory, and furthermore, that the bodie of *Lyſander* lay hard by the wals of ALIARTE, and that he could not come to take it away without great danger, although they ſhould winne the battell: he ſent a herauld to the enemies. And hauing made truce for certaine daies, he led his armie away, and tooke vp *Lyſanders* bodie with him, and buried him after they were out of the confines of BOEOTIA, within the teritorie of the PANOPEIANS: where vntill this day his tombe remaineth vpon the high way, going from DELPHES vnto the citie of CHÆRONEA. Thus *Pauſanias* campe being lodged there, it is ſaid there was a PHOCIAN, who reporting the battell vnto one that was not there, ſaid that the enemies came to giue a charge vpon them, as *Lyſander* had paſſed the Oplites. The other wondring at that, there was a SPARTAN a very friend of *Lyſanders* by, hauing heard all their talke, asked him what that was which he called Oplites: for that he had not heard that word named before. What? anſwered the PHOCIAN to him againe. Euen there it was where the enemies did ouerthrow the firſt of our men which were ſlaine in the fieldes: for the riuer that runneth by the walles of the city, is called Oplites. The SPARTAN hearing that, burſt out of weeping for ſorrow, ſaying: then I ſee it is vnpoſſible for a man to auoide his deſtinie. For *Lyſander* aforetime had an oracle that tolde him thus.

*Lyſander, take good heede, come not I thee aduiſe:*
*Neere Oplites that riuers banckes, in any kinde of wiſe.*
*Nor neere the Dragon he, which is the earth her ſonne,*
*VVho at the length will thee aſſault, and on thy back will runne.*

*Thliarus fl. Hoplia, Iſomantus. Neochorus ſlue Lyſander.*

Howbeit ſome take it, that this riuer of Oplites is not that which paſſeth by the walles of ALIARTE, but it is the riuer that runneth neere vnto the city of CORONEA, and falleth into the riuer of Phliarus, hard by the city: and they ſay that in olde time it was called Hoplia, but now they call it Iſomantus. He that ſlue *Lyſander*, was an ALIARTIAN called *Neochorus*, who caried a Dragon painted vpon his target: and this was that which the oracle of likelyhood did ſignifie. They ſay alſo, that in the time of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, the THEBANS had an oracle from the temple of *Apollo Iſmenias*: which oracle did prophecie the battell which they wanne by the caſtell of DELIVM, and the battell of ALIARTE alſo, which was thirty yeares after that. The effect of that oracle was this:

*VVhen thou thy nets ſhalt ſpread, the wolues for to intrap:*
*Beware thou come not neare vnto, a litle hill by happe,*
*Of Orchalide. Nor neare, to any his confines:*
*For there, the crafty foxes keepe their dennes and priuy mines.*

*Orchalide mons.*

*Helicon mons.*

*Pauſanias exile.*

*Lyſanders cleane hands and pouerty commended after his death.*

He calleth the territory that is about DELIVM, the vttermoſt confines, becauſe BOEOTIA doth confine there with the country of ATTICA: and the hill Orchalide which is now called Alopecon (to ſay the fox denne) which lieth on that ſide of the city of ALIARTE, that looketh towardes mount Helicon. *Lyſander* being ſlaine, the SPARTANS tooke his death ſo ill, that they would haue condemned king *Pauſanias* of treaſon by law: who durſt not abide the triall, but fled vnto the city of TEGEA, where he ended the reſt of his life within the ſanctuary of the temple of *Minerua*. When *Lyſander* was dead, his pouerty appeared to the world which made his vertue far more famous, then when he liued. For then they ſaw, that for all the gold and ſiluer which had paſſed through his handes, for all his great authority and countenaunce that he had caried, and for all that ſo many cities and towns did come to honor him, & briefly, for all that he had ſo great and puiſſant a kingdom in manner in his hands: yet he did neuer enrich nor increaſe his houſe with ſo much as one farthing. So writeth *Theopompus*, whom we ſhould rather beleeue when he praiſeth, then when he diſcōmendeth: for commonly he taketh more delite to diſpraiſe, then to praiſe any. It fortuned not lōg after, as *Ephorus* writeth, that the

LACEDEMONIANS and their confederates fell at variance together, wherupon *Lyſanders* letters were to be ſeene that were in his houſe. King *Ageſilaus* going thither to peruſe them, amongſt other writings, found the oration penned by *Cleon Halicarnaſſeus* which *Lyſander* had prepared to perſwade the SPARTANS to change their gouernement, and to declare vnto them that they ſhould reuoke the prerogatiue which the *Eurytiontides* and the *Agiades* had: that the kings of SPARTA could not be choſen but out of thoſe two families, and to leaue the prerogatiue at liberty, that the chiefeſt magiſtrates might be lawfully choſen kings of SPARTA. *Ageſilaus* ſtood indifferent to haue ſhewed this oration openly to the people, that the SPARTANS might ſee what manner a citizen *Lyſander* had bene in his heart. But *Lacratidas*, a graue wiſe man, and preſident at that time of the Councell of the *Ephori*, would not ſuffer him: ſaying, that he ſhould not digge *Lyſander* out of his graue againe, but rather bury his oration with him, that was ſo paſſingly well, & eloquently penned to perſwade. Yet notwithſtanding, they did him great honour after his death: and amongſt others, condemned two citizens in a great ſumme of money, that were made ſure to two of his daughters while he liued, and refuſed to marrie them when he was dead, ſeeing their father died ſo poore: becauſe they ſought to match in his houſe, ſuppoſing he had bene rich, and forſooke them afterwards for their fathers pouertie, when they ſaw he died a good and iuſt man. Thus we ſee, that at SPARTA there was a puniſhment for them that did not marrie, or that married too late, or that married ill: and vnto this puniſhment were they moſt ſubiect, that ſought great matches for couetouſneſſe of goods: This is all we haue to write of *Lyſanders* life and actes.

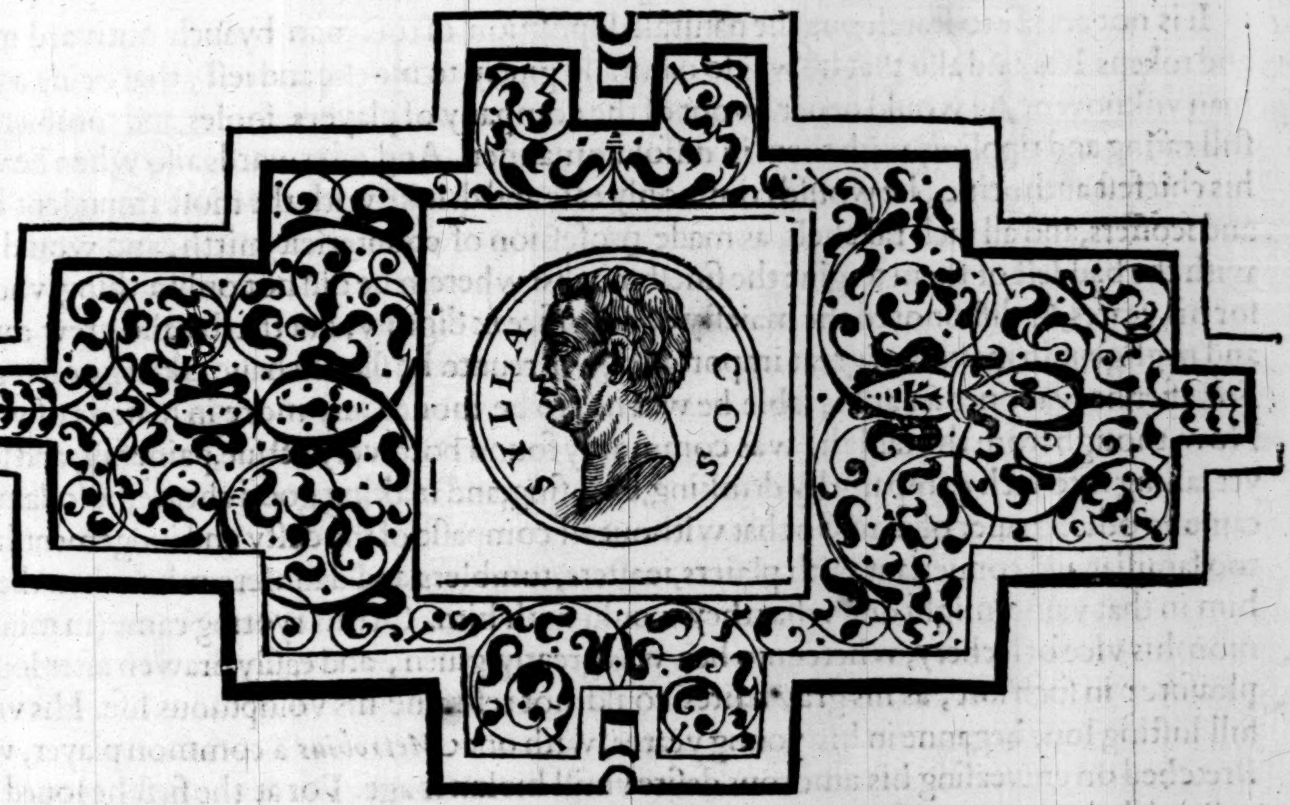
*Lyſanders counſell for altering of the kingdome.*

*Lacratidas wiſedome forbearing to ſhew extremitie to the dead.*

*Lyſander honoured by the Spartans after his death.*

*Singlenes of life, late mariage and ill mariage puniſhed by the Lacedæmonians.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Sylla.*



LVcius Cornelius Sylla was of the race of the *Patricians*, who be the noble men and gentlemen of ROME: and there was one of his anceſters called *Rufinus*, that obtained the dignity of Conſul. He notwithſtanding his Conſulſhip, wan more diſhonor by defame, then he obtained honour by dignity of Conſull. For they finding in his houſe aboue ten pounds worth of plate, contrary to the law at that time expreſly forbidding it: he was expulſed the Senat, & loſt his place there, after which diſhonour once receiued, his iſſue neuer roſe, nor yet recouered it. And *Sylla* him ſelfe had very litle left him by his father: ſo

*Syllaes kinred.*

*Syllaes honeſtie reproued, by meanes of his great wealth.*

*Syllaes ſtature.*

*That is, becauſe that ſylla in latine ſignifieth oker, which becommeth redde when it is put to the fire, and theref re ſyllaceus color in vitruuia, ſignifieth purple colour.*

that in his youth he was faine to hire an other mans houſe, & ſat at a ſmall rent, as afterwards he was twitted in the teeth withal, when they ſaw him richer then they thought he had deſerued. For when he gloried & boaſted of the victory at his returne from the wars of AFRICKE, there was a noble man that ſaid vnto him: why, how is it poſſible thou ſhouldeſt be an honeſt man, that hauing nothing left thee by thy father, thou art now come to haue ſo much? Now, though ROME had left her ancient iuſtice and pureneſſe of life, wherwith ſhe brought vp her people in former times, and that their hearts were poiſoned with couetous deſire of vaine ſuperfluous delights: yet notwithſtanding it was as foule a reproch to them that did not maintaine themſelues in the pouertie of their fathers, as vnto them that did conſume their patrimony, and bring all to naught which their parents had left them. But afterwardes alſo when he caried the whole ſway in ROME, and that he had put ſo many men to death: a free man being borne of the ſlaues infranchiſed, & being ready to be throwen downe the rocke Tarpeian, becauſe he had ſaued and hidden one of the outlawes and men proclaimed to be put to death, whereſoeuer they were found: caſt it in *Syllaes* teeth, how that they had liued and dwelt together a long time in one ſelfe houſe, he hauing payed a thouſand Nummos for the rent of the vppermoſt roomes of the ſame houſe, & *Sylla* three thouſand for all the neathermoſt roomes beneath. So that betwene both their wealthes, there was but onely two thouſand and fiftie Drachmas of ATHENS difference. And this is that we finde in writing of his firſt wealth. As for his ſtature and perſon, that appeareth ſufficiently by the ſtatues and images that were made for him, which yet remaine. But for his eyes, they were like fire, and wonderfull redde: and the colour of his face withall, made them the more fearefull to beholde. For he was copper noſed, and that was full of white ſtreakes here and there: whereupon they ſay that the ſurname of a *Sylla* was giuen him, by reaſon of his colour. And there was a ieſter at ATHENS that finely mocked him in his verſe:

*Sylla is like a blacke Bery ſprinckled with meale.*

*Syllaes ſkoffing.*

*Syllaes voluptuouſneſſe.*

*Sylla Quæſtor.*

It is not amiſſe to ſearch out the naturall diſpoſition of this man by ſuch outward markes and tokens. It is ſaid alſo that he was ſo naturally giuen to mocke and ieſt, that being a young man vnknowne, he would neuer be out of the company of players, fooles, and tumblers, but ſtill eating and tippling with them in diſſolute manner. And afterwards alſo when he was in his chiefeſt authoritie, he would commonly eate and drinke with the moſt impudent ieſters and ſcoffers, and all ſuch rakehels, as made profeſsion of counterfeit mirth, and would ſtriue with the baddeſt of them to giue the fineſt mocks: wherein he did not only a thing vncomly for his yeares, & diſhonored the maieſty of his office & dignity, but therby alſo grew careleſſe and negligent in matters of great importance, whereunto he ſhould haue taken good regarde. For after he was once ſet at his table, he was not to be moued any more in matters of weight. Now, though from the table he was commonly found both very actiue, painefull, and ſeuere: yet falling into ſuch company by drinking, bowſing, and making good cheare, he ſodainly became an other maner of man. So that without all compaſſe of modeſty and iudgement, he was too familiar and conuerſant with plaiers, ieaſters, tumblers, and daunſers: who when they had him in that vaine, might doe what they would with him. Of this ryoting came (in mine opinion) his vice of lechery, whereunto hee was greatly giuen, and eaſily drawen after loue and pleaſure: in ſuch ſort, as his gray haires could not reſtraine his voluptuous life. His vnlawfull luſting loue beganne in his young yeares, with one *Metrobius* a common player, which ſtretched on encreaſing his amorous deſire vntill his latter age. For at the firſt he loued *Nicopolis* a rich curtiſan: and frequenting her company by oft acceſſe, and beſides that he ſpent the prime of his beauty and youth in feaſting her with great delight and paſſing pleaſure: ſhe afterwardes became in loue with him, ſo that when ſhee died, ſhe made *Sylla* her heire of all ſhe had. He was heire alſo vnto his mother in law, who loued him as her owne begotten ſonne: and by theſe two good happes he was ſtept vp to prety wealth. Afterwardes being choſen Quæſtor (to ſay treaſurer) the firſt time that *Marius* was Conſull, he imbarked with him in his iorney into AFRICKE, to warre with king *Iugurthe*. When he was arriued at the campe, he ſhewed him ſelfe a man of great ſeruice in all other things, but in this eſpecially, that he could wiſely vſe the benefit of any occaſion offered him, and thereby wanne *Bocchus* king of the NVMIDIANS to be his faſt and faithfull friend: whoſe Ambaſſadors, that ſcaped from a companie of NVMIDIAN theeues he courteouſly entertained, and hauing giuen them goodly preſents, ſent them backe againe with a ſafe conuoy. Now concerning King *Bocchus*, hee had of long time both hated and feared king *Iugurthe* his ſonne in law: inſomuch, that after he was ouercome in battell, and came to him for ſuccour, *Bocchus* practiſed treaſon againſt him and for this cauſe ſent ſecretly for *Sylla*, deſiring rather that *Iugurthe* ſhould be taken by *Sylla*, then by himſelfe. *Sylla* brake this matter vnto *Marius*, of whom hauing receiued a ſmall number of ſouldiers to accompanie him (without reſpect of perill or danger) went and committed himſelfe to the faith and fidelitie of one barbarous king, to take an other: conſidering alſo that the king whom he truſted was ſo vniuſt of his word, euen vnto his neereſt friends & confederates. Now *Bocchus* hauing *Iugurthe* and *Sylla* both in his power, and brought himſelfe to that pinch that of neceſſity he muſt betray the one or the other: after he had taken good breath to reſolue which of the two he ſhould deale withall, in the end went on with his firſt plot and deuiſe of treaſon, and ſo deliuered *Iugurthe* into *Syllaes* hands. In deede *Marius* triumphed for taking of King *Iugurthe*: but his euill willers, for the ſpight and grudge they bare him, did attribute the glory & honor of *Iugurthes* taking wholy vnto *Sylla*. That ſecretly went to *Marius* heart, and ſpecially for that *Sylla* being high minded by nature (comming then but newly from a baſe, obſcure, and vnknowen life to be knowen & well accepted of the people in ROME, and to taſte alſo what honor ment) became ſo ambitious and couetous of glory, that he cauſed the ſtory to be grauen in a ring, which he did euer after vſe to weare & ſeale withall. Where king *Bocchus* was deliuering of *Iugurthe* vnto *Sylla*, & *Sylla* alſo receiuing *Iugurthe* priſoner. Theſe things miſliked *Marius* much: but notwithſtanding, iudging that *Sylla* was not ſo much enuied as himſelfe, he tooke him with him vnto the warres. *Marius* in his ſecond Conſulſhip, made *Sylla* one of his Lieutenants: and in his third Conſulſhip, he had charge vnder him of a thouſand footmen, and did many notable and profitable exploites for him. When *Sylla* was his Lieutenant he tooke one *Copillus*, a generall of the GAVLES Tectoſages. And when he was Colonell of a thouſand footemen, he brought the MARSIANS (a maruellous great countrie of people in ITALIE) and perſwaded them to remaine good friends, and confederats of the ROMAINES. For this his good ſeruice, he found that *Marius* grew in great miſliking with him, becauſe from thenceforth he neuer gaue him any honorable charge, or occaſion to ſhew good ſeruice: but to the contrary, did what he could to hinder his riſing. Wherefore, *Sylla* afterwards tooke *Catulus Luctatius* part, who was companion with *Marius* in his Conſulſhip. This *Catulus* was a very honeſt man, but ſomwhat ſlacke and colde in martiall matters, which was the cauſe that indeed he did commit vnto *Sylla* all the ſpeciall ſeruice, and matters of weight in his charge: whereuppon he gaue him occaſion not onely to increaſe his eſtimation, but alſo his credit and power. For, by force of armes, he conquered the moſt parte of the barbarous people which inhabited the mountaines of the Alpes: and *Catulus* campe lacking victuals, hauing commiſſion, he made a maruellous great quantity of prouiſion to be brought thither, inſomuch as *Catulus* campe being plentifully victualed, they ſent their ſtore & ſurpluſage vnto *Marius* ſouldiers, the which *Sylla* him ſelfe writeth, did much miſlike *Marius*. And this is the firſt cauſe of their enmity. The which being grounded vpon ſo light occaſion, was followed with ciuill warres, great effuſion of bloud, and with incurable factions and diſſentions: that it ended at the length with a cruell tyranny, and confuſion of all the ROMAINE ſtate and Empire. This doth proue that *Euripides* the Poet was a wiſe man, and one that foreſaw the ruines of common weales, when he counſelled, and alſo commaunded gouernours to flie ambition, as a moſt peſtilent and mortall fury vnto them that are once infected withall. Now *Sylla* thinking that the reputation he had gotten already in the wars, would haue made his way open to preferre him to ſome honorable office in the city of ROME: he was no ſooner returned from the warres but he would needes proue the peoples good willes vnto him, and procured his name to be billed among them that ſued for the Prætorſhippe of the city (that is to ſay, the office of the ordinary iudge that miniſtreth iuſtice vnto the citizens) but he was reiected by the voice of the people. For the which he layed the fault vppon the meaner ſort, ſaying, that the communalty knew well enough the friendſhippe he had with king *Bocchus*, and

*The cauſe of Bocchus friendſhip vnto Sylla.*

*Iugurth deliuered vnto Sylla by king Bocchus.*

*The honour of Iugurthes taking aſcribed vnto Sylla.*

*Syllaes noble deeds vnder Marius.*

*Syllaes doings vnder Catulus.*

*The firſt ca of enmity betwixt Sylla and Marius.*

*Ambition is to be fled, as a mortall fury.*

*Sylla choſen Prætor.*

*Orobazus Ambaſſador from the king of the Parthians vnto Sylla.*

*Sylla accuſed of extortion.*

*Ciuill warres.*

that therefore they hoping that if he were made Ædilis before he came to be Prætor, hee would make them ſee noble huntings and great fightings of wilde beaſtes of LIBYA. And that therefore they did chooſe other Prætors, and put him by his ſute, in hope to compell him by this meanes to be firſt of all Ædilis. Howbeit it ſeemeth that he doth not confeſſe the truth of his refuſall, for his owne act doth condemne himſelfe: becauſe the next yeare following he was choſen Prætor, partly for that he wan the people with courteſie, and partly with money. So he falling out with *Cæſar* vppon that occaſion, in his anger threatned him that he would vſe the power and authoritie of his office vpon him. But *Cæſar* ſmiling, anſwered him: thou haſt reaſon to call it thine office, for indeede it is thine, becauſe thou haſt bought it. But after the time of his Prætorſhippe was expired, he was ſent with an armie into CAPPADOCIA, colouring his voiage thither with commiſſion to reſtore *Ariobarzanes* into his kingdom againe: howbeit the only cauſe of his iorney was indeede to ſuppreſſe king *Mithridates* a litle, who tooke too many things in hande, and increaſed his power and dominion with a new ſigniorie of no leſſe greatneſſe, then that which he had before. In truth he brought no great armie out of ITALIE with him, but he was faithfully holpen by the confederates of the ROMAINES in euery place, through whoſe aide he ouerthrew a great number of the CAPPADOCIANS, and afterwards alſo a greater number of the ARMENIANS, which came in like caſe to aide them: ſo that he expulſed *Gordius* king of PHRYGIA out of CAPPADOCIA, and reſtored *Ariobarzanes* to his realme againe. After which victory, *Sylla* remained by the riuer of Euphrates, and thither came vnto him one *Orobazus* a PARTHIAN, Ambaſſador of *Arſaces*, king of the PARTHIANS. Now theſe two nations, the ROMAINES, and the PARTHIANS, were neuer friends before: and that with other things ſhewed the great good fortune *Sylla* had, that the PARTHIANS came firſt to him by his meanes to ſeeke friendſhip with the ROMAINES. They ſay, that receiuing this Ambaſſador *Orobazus*, he made three chayres to be brought out, the one for king *Ariobarzanes*, the other for *Orobazus* the Ambaſſador, and the thirde for himſelfe, which he placed in the middeſt betwene them both, and ſitting downe in the ſame, gaue audience vnto the Ambaſſadour: for which cauſe the king of PARTHIA afterwardes put *Orobazus* to death. Some doe commend *Sylla* for this acte, for that he kept his ſtate in ſuch maieſtie among the barbarous people. Other do reproue his ambition in it, ſhewing himſelfe ſtately out of time, and to no purpoſe. We do reade that a ſoothſayer of CHALDEA being in *Orobazus* traine, hauing diligently viewed & condered the phyſiognomy of *Sylla*, and all his other mouings and geſtures of minde and body, to iudge not by the clymate of the country, but according to the rules of his arte what his nature ſhould be: all well conſidered of, he ſayde that *Sylla* one day muſt needes come to be a great man, and that he maruelled how he could ſuffer in that he was not euen then the chiefeſt man of the world. When *Sylla* was returned againe to ROME, one *Cenſorinus* accuſed him of extortion, that he had caried away a great ſumme of money with him, contrary to the law, out of one of their confederates countrey: howbeit he proſecuted not his accuſation, but gaue it ouer. In the meane time, the enmity begunne betwixt him and *Marius*, kindled againe vppon a new occaſion of king *Bocchus* ambition: who partly to creepe further into the peoples fauour of ROME, and partly alſo for to gratifie *Sylla*, gaue and dedicated certaine images of victory carying tokens of triumphe, vnto the temple of *Iupiter Capitolin*, & next vnto them alſo the image of *Iugurthe*, which he deliuered into the handes of *Sylla*, being all of pure golde. This did ſo offend *Marius*, that he attempted to take them away by force: but others did defend the cauſe of *Sylla*. So that for the quarrell of theſe two, the city of ROME taking armes, had like to haue brought all to ruine: had not the wars of the confederats of ITALY bene, which of long time did kindle and ſmoke, but at the length brake out into open flame and ſedition for that time. In this maruellous great war which fell out very dangerous, by ſundry miſfortunes and great loſſes to the ROMAINES, *Marius* did no notable exploite: whereby it appeareth, that the vertue of warlike diſcipline hath neede of a ſtrong, luſty, and able body. For *Sylla* to the contrary, hauing done notable ſeruice, and obtained many profitable victories, wan the fame and eſtimation among the ROMAINES, of a noble ſouldier, and worthy Captaine: and among the enemies them ſelues, of a moſt fortunate man. Notwithſtanding, *Sylla* did not as *Timotheus* ATHENIAN, the ſonne of *Conon* had done:

Who, when his aduerſaries & ill willers did attribute his noble deeds vnto the fauor of fortune, and did painte fortune in tables, that brought him all the cities taken and ſnared in nets whileſt he ſlept: he tooke it in very ill parte, and was maruellous angry with them that did it, ſaying, that they robbed him of the glory that iuſtly belonged vnto him. Wherfore one day when this *Timotheus* was returned from the warres with great victories, after he had openly acquainted the ATHENIANS with the whole diſcourſe of his doings in his voyage, he ſayed vnto them: my Lords of ATHENS, fortune hath had no part in all this which I haue told vnto you. Hereupon the gods it ſhould ſeeme were ſo angry with this fooliſh ambition of *Timotheus*, that he neuer afterwards did any worthy thing, but all went vtterly againſt the haire with him: vntill at the length he came to be ſo hated of the people, that in the end they baniſhed him from ATHENS. But *Sylla* to the contrary, did not only patiently abide their wordes, that ſayed, he was a happy man, and ſingularly beloued of fortune: but alſo increaſing this opinion, and glorying as at a ſpeciall grace of the gods, did attribute the honour of his doings vnto fortune, either for a vaine glory, or for that he had in fancie, that the gods did proſper him in all his doings. For he wrote himſelfe in his commentaries, that the enterpriſes which he hazarded moſt hottely according to the ſodaine occaſion offered, did better proſper with him, then thoſe which by good aduiſe he had determined of. Furthermore, when he ſayd that he was better borne vnto fortune, then to the warres: it ſeemeth that he confeſſed all his proſperitie came rather by fortune, then by his worthineſſe. And to conclude, it appeareth that he did wholly ſubmit himſelfe vnto fortune, acknowledging that he did altogether depend vpon her: conſidering that he did attribute it to the ſpeciall grace and fauour of the gods, that he neuer diſagreed with *Metellus* his father in law, who was a man of like dignitie and authoritie as himſelfe was. For where it was thought he would haue bene a great hinderer of his doings, he found him very curteous and gentle in his behalfe, in all that they had to deale in together, by reaſon of the ſocietie of their office. And furthermore, in his commentaries which he dedicated vnto *Lucullus*, he counſelled him to thinke nothing more certaine and aſſured, then that which the goddes ſhould reueale vnto him, and commaund him in his nightes dreame. He writeth alſo that when he was ſent with an army vnto the warres of the confederates, the earth ſodainly opened about LAVERNA, out of the which immediatly came a maruellous bright flame of fire that aſcended vp to the element. The wiſe men being asked their opinions about the ſame, made anſwer that a very honeſt man, and alſo a maruellous fayer man of complexion taking ſoueraine authority in his handes, ſhould pacifie all tumultes and ſedition which were at that time in ROME. Whereupon *Sylla* ſayed it was himſelfe whom the goddes ment, becauſe that amongſt other things he had that ſingular gift of beauty, that his haire was yealow as golde: and he was not aſhamed to name himſelfe an honeſt man, after he had wonne ſo many notable great victories. Thus haue we ſufficiently ſpoken of the truſt he had in the fauour of the goddes. And furthermore, he ſeemed to be very contrary in his manners, and vnlike to himſelfe. For if he tooke away much in one place, he gaue as much more alſo in another. Some he preferred without cauſe: and others he put down without reaſon. He would be very gentle vnto them, of whom he would haue ought: and vnto thoſe that ſought of him, he would ſtand much vpon his honor, and looke for great reuerence. Wherby men could hardly diſcern his nature, whether pride or flattery did more abound in him. And as for the inequality he vſed in puniſhing of them that had offended him: ſometimes he hanged vp men for very ſmall and light cauſes: Some other times againe to the contrary, he patiently abode the moſt grieuous offences in the worlde: and lightly pardoned and forgaue ſuch faultes as were in no wiſe to be forgiuen. And afterwards againe would puniſh right ſmall crimes, with murthers, effuſion of blood, and confiſcation of goods. This iudgment may be giuen of him: that by nature he had a malicious and a reuenging minde: yet notwithſtanding he qualified that naturall bitternes with reaſon, giuing place to neceſſity, and his benefit. For in this warre of the confederates, his ſouldiers ſlue *Albinus* one of his Lieutenantes, beating him to death with ſtaues and ſtones, being a man of good qualitie and one that had bene Prætor. This great offence he paſſed ouer with ſilence, vſing no manner of puniſhment, and turned it to a boaſt in the end, ſaying that his men were the more obedient

*Timotheus Athenian would not attribute the glory of his doings to fortune.*

*Sylla gaue fortune the honor of all his doings.*

*Syllaes beleefe in dreames.*

*A ſtrange ſight appeared to Sylla.*

*Sylla ſtrange of conditions*

*Sylla choſen Conſull.*

*Metellus chiefe biſhop of Rome a maried man.*

*Syllaes wiues.*

*Marius fond ambition.*

*wonderfull ſignes ſeene before the ciuill warres.*

*The Thuſcans opinion of eight worldes.*

and diligent in any peece of ſeruice that was to be done, and that he made them amend their faultes by worthy ſeruice. And furthermore, he did not regard them that did reproue him: but hauing determined with himſelfe to deſtroy *Marius*, and to procure that he might be choſen generall in the warres againſt king *Mithridates*, becauſe that this warre of the confederates was now ended: for this cauſe he flattered & curried fauor with his ſouldiers that ſerued vnder him. At his returne to ROME from theſe warres of the confederates, he was choſen Conſull with *Q. Pompeius*, being then fifty yeare olde, and maried with *Cæcilia* a noble Ladie, and *Metellus* daughter, who was then chiefe biſhop of ROME, for which mariage the common people ſang ſongs and ballades vp and downe ROME againſt him: and many of the noble men enuied him for it, thinking him vnworthy of ſo noble a Ladie, whom they thought worthy to be Conſul, as *Titus Liuius* ſayth. Now ſhe was not his only wife, for he had a yong wife before called *Ilia*, by whom he had a daughter. After he had maried *AElia*, then a thirde called *Cælia*, whom he put away becauſe ſhe brought him no children. But notwithſtanding ſhe went honorably away from him with very good words of her, beſides many other goodly rich giftes he gaue her: howbeit ſhortly after he maried *Metella*, which made the worlde ſuſpect that *Cælia* was put away for her naughtines. How ſoeuer it was, *Sylla* did euer honour and loue *Metella*: inſomuch as the people of ROME afterwardes making ſuite, that they that were baniſhed for *Marius* faction might be called home againe: and being denied, and refuſed by *Sylla*, they cryed out with open voice for *Metella*, praying her to helpe them to obtaine their requeſt. And it ſeemeth alſo that when he had taken the cittie of ATHENS, he delt more cruelly with them, becauſe that ſome of them had ſcoffed at *Metella* from the walles: howbeit that was afterwardes. So *Sylla* making his reckoning at that time that the Conſulſhip was a ſmall matter, in compariſon of that which he looked for in time to come: was maruellous deſirous to go againſt *Mithridates*. But therein *Marius* alſo, of a mad furious ambition and couetouſnes of glory ſtood againſt him, and ſued to goe that iorney in like manner, being ſubiect to thoſe paſſions, which neuer waxe olde, as we may dayly ſee by experience. For being now a heauie man, ſickly of body, and broken in ſeruice abroade in the wars, from the which he came but newly home, and bruſed moreouer with age: did notwithſtanding yet aſpire to haue the charge of the warres ſo farre off beyond the ſeas. Wherfore to obtaine his purpoſe, whileſt *Sylla* was gone a litle vnto the campe to giue order for certaine things that were to be done, he remaining in the city, did practiſe this peſtilent mortall ſedition, which alone did more hurt vnto the city of ROME, then all the enemies that ROME euer had: the which the goddes themſelues had foreſhewed by many ſignes and tokens. For fire tooke of it ſelfe in the ſtaues of the enſignes, which they had much adoe to quench. Three rauens brought their young ones into the high way, and did eate them vp in the ſight of many people, and afterwardes caried the garbage they left of them into their neaſtes. Rats alſo hauing gnawen ſome iewels of golde in a church, the ſextens ſetting a trap for them, a rat was taken full of young, and kendled fiue young rats in the trappe, of the which ſhee ate vp three. But more yet, on a fayre bright day when there was no cloude ſeene in the element at all, men heard ſuch a ſharp ſound of a trumpet, that they were almoſt all out of their wittes, for feare of ſo great a noyſe. Wherupon the wiſe men and ſoothſayers of THUSCAN being asked their opinions, tolde them: that this ſo ſtraunge and wonderfull ſigne did pronounce the change of the worlde, and the departure out of this into another life. For they hold opinion, that there ſhould be eight worldes, all contrary one vnto another, in manners and faſhions of life: vnto euery one of the which ſayed they, God hath determined a certaine time of continuance. Howbeit they all came to ende their courſe within the ſpace of the reuolution of the great yeare: and that when the one is ended, and the other ready to begin, there are ſeene ſuch wonderfull ſtrange ſignes on the earth, or in the element. And ſuch as haue ſtudied that ſcience, doe certainely know, as ſoone as men be borne, which are meere contary vnto the firſt in their liues and maners, and which are either more or leſſe acceptable vnto the goddes, then thoſe which liued in former age. For they ſay, that amongeſt great changes and alterations which are done in thoſe places from one age vnto another, the ſcience of diuination, and foretelling of things to come doth grow in reputation, and meeteth in their predictions, when it pleaſeth God to

ſend

ſende moſt certaine and manifeſt ſignes, to know and foretell things to come. And in contrariwiſe alſo in another age it groweth to contempt, and loſeth her reputation, for that it is very raſh, and fayleth to meete with the moſt parte of her predictions, becauſe ſhe hath but obſcure meanes, and all her inſtruments defaced, to know what ſhould come. And theſe be the fables which the wiſeſt ſoothſayers of THVSCAN reported abroad, & they ſpecially who ſeemed to haue ſome ſingular ſpeculation aboue others. But as the Senate were talking with the ſoothſayers of theſe wonders, being aſſembled together within the temple of the goddeſſe *Bellona*, a ſparrow came flying into the church in ſight of them all, and caried a graſſehopper in her bill, and parted it in the middeſt, and left one part within the temple, and caried the other away with her. Whereupon the wiſe men and interpreters of ſuch wonders, ſayed, that they doubted a commotion and riſing of the country men againſt the cõmons of the city, becauſe the common people of the cittie doe crye out continually like graſſehoppers, and the husband-men do keepe themſelues vpon their lands in the country. Thus *Marius* grew great and very familiar with *Sulpitius*, one of the Tribunes of the people, who in all kindes of wickednes and miſchiefe that a man can reckon, would giue place to no liuing creature: ſo that a man need not to ſeeke or demaund any where for a worſe then he, but the queſtion is rather wherein he himſelfe was not the worſt of all others. For he was full repleat with all kindes of crueltie, auarice, and raſhneſſe, and that ſo extreamely, as he cared not what villainie and wickednes he openly committed, ſo that the ſame might turne to his profit. For he had ſet vp a table in the open market place, where he ſolde freedome, making ſlaues and ſtrangers denizens of ROME for their money: and for that purpoſe he entertained a gard of three thouſand about him, beſides a band of young gentlemen of the order of knightes that attended alwaies vpon his perſon readie at his commaundement, whom he called the garde againſt the Senate. And furthermore, himſelfe hauing paſſed a lawe by the voice of the people, that no Senator ſhould borrow nor owe aboue two thouſand Drachmas: it was found that at the houre of his death, he dyed three millions of Drachmas in debt. This man now like a furious raging beaſt, being left by *Marius* amongſt the people, turned all things topſie turuey, by force of armes and maine ſtrength. He made alſo many wicked lawes to paſſe by voice of the people, and amongſt others, that one ſpecially, wherby he gaue *Marius* commiſſion to make warres againſt king *Mithridates*. For which extreame oppreſſions and dealings of *Sulpitius*, the two Conſuls (*Sylla* and *Quintus Pompeius*) left off to heare publike cauſes, and ceaſed the common courſe of law and iuſtice. And as they were one day occupied about the adiornement of the law, in an open aſſembly in the market place, before the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*: *Sulpitius* the tribune came vpon them with his ſouldiers, and ſlue many people, and among others, the Conſull *Pompeius* owne ſonne, and the father himſelfe being Conſull, had much a doe to ſaue his life by flying. And *Sylla* the other Conſul, was alſo purſued euen into *Marius* houſe, where he was compelled to promiſe before his departure, preſently to goe and reuoke the adiornement of the law which he had before commaunded. Thus *Sulpitius* hauing depriued *Pompeius* of his conſulſhippe, did not depoſe *Sylla*, but onely tooke from him the charge he had giuen him to make warres againſt *Mithridates*, and transferred that vnto *Marius*. And ſending colonels to the city of NOLA to receiue the army that laye there, and to bring them vnto *Marius*, *Sylla* preuented them, and fled to the campe before them, and told the ſouldiers all what had paſt, as it was indeede: who when they heard it, fell all to a tumult, and ſlue *Marius* collonels with ſtones. *Marius* on the other ſide put all *Syllaes* friends to death at ROME, and tooke the ſpoyle of their goodes and houſes: ſo was there nothing elſe but flying from the campe to ROME, and from ROME to the campe againe. The Senate were in manner beſide themſelues, not being able to gouerne as they would, but driuen to obey *Marius* & *Sulpitius* commandementes. Who being aduertiſed that *Sylla* was comming towards ROME, ſent ſtraight two Prætors vnto him, *Brutus* and *Seruilius*, to commund him as from the Senate, to approch no nearer. Theſe two Prætors ſpake a litle too boldly vnto *Sylla*: whereupon the ſouldiers fell to a mutinie, in ſuch ſort, that they ſtood indifferent whether to kill them preſently in the field or no: howbeit they brake their axes and bundels of roddes which were caried before them, and tooke their purple robes wherewith they were apparelled as magiſtrates, from them, and

*The wickednes of Sulpitius the tribune.*

*Marius and Sulpitius ſedition.*

*All law ceaſed for a time, by reaſon of Sulpitius oppreſſions and wicked lawes.*

ſent them home thus ſhamefully handled and intreated. Vpon their returne now to Rome, their ſadde ſilence onely, and themſelues ſo ſtripped beſides of all their markes and tokens of Prætoriall dignitie, made all men then to iudge that they brought no other newes, but ſuch as were the worſt that poſſibly could be: and that there was no way then left to pacifie this ſedition, which was now altogether vncurable. Wherfore *Marius* and his followers began to make themſelues ſtrong by force: and *Sylla* with his companion *Q. Pompeius*, departed in the meane time from the city of Nola, and brought ſix entier legions on with him, who deſired no other thing but to make haſt to march to Rome ward. Howbeit *Sylla* ſtood in doubt with himſelfe what to doe, thinking of the great danger that might follow. Vntill ſuch time as his ſoothſayer *Poſthumius* hauing conſidered the ſignes & tokens of the ſacrifices, which *Sylla* had made vpon this determination, gaue him both his handes, and bad him bind them hard, and ſhut him vp faſt, vntill the day of battell ſhould be paſt: ſaying, that he was contented to ſuffer death, if he had not good ſucceſſe, and that out of hand, to his great honour. And it is ſayed alſo, that the ſame night there appeared vnto *Sylla* in a dreame the goddeſſe *Bellona*, whom the Romaines do greatly honor, following therein the Cappadocians: and I know not whether it be the moone, *Minerua*, or *Enyo* the goddeſſe of battels. So he thought, that ſhe comming to him did put lightning into his hand, commaunding him that he ſhould lighten vpon his enemies, naming them one after another by their proper names: and that they being ſtriken with his lightning, fell down dead before him, and no man knew what became of them. This viſion encoraged *Sylla* very much, and hauing reported the ſame to *Pompeius*, his fellow conſull & companion, the next morning he marched with his army to Rome. Whē he was at Picines, there came other ambaſſadors vnto him, to pray him in the name of the Senate that he would not come to Rome in this heate and fury, declaring therwithall that the Senate would graunt him all things that ſhould be meete and reaſonable. When *Sylla* had heard the meſſage, he anſwered them, that he would campe there: and ſo commaunded the martialls to deuide the ſquadrons according to their manner. The ambaſſadors beleuing that he would ſo haue done indeede, returned againe to Rome: howbeit their backes were no ſooner turned, but *Sylla* ſtraight ſent *Lucius Baſillus*, and *Caius Mummius* before to ſeaze one of the gates of Rome, and the wals which were on the ſide of mount Eſquilin, and he himſelfe alſo in perſon with all poſſible ſpeede marched after them. *Baſillus* entred Rome, and wanne the gate by force. But the common people vnarmed, got them vp ſtraight to the top of their houſes, and with tyles and ſtones ſtayed, and kept him, not onely for entring any further: but alſo draue him backe againe, euen to the very walles of the city. In this hurly burly came *Sylla* himſelfe to Rome, who ſeeing apparantly in what ſtate things ſtoode, cryed out to his men, and bad them ſet fire on the houſes: and himſelfe taking a torch light in his hande ſhewed them the way what they ſhould doe, appointing his archers and darters to hurle and beſtow their dartes, and other fierie inſtrumentes, to the tops of the houſes. Herein he was too much ouercome with vnreaſonable choller, paſſion, and diſire of reuenge. For ſeeking only to plague his enemies, he tooke no regard to friendes, to parents or confederates, neither had he yet any maner of remorſe or pitty: ſuch and ſo fiery was his anger then, that he put no kind of difference betwene thoſe that had offended, and them that had done him no hurt at all. By this meanes was *Marius* driuen into the city, vnto the temple of the Earth, where he made open proclamation by ſound of trumpet, that he would make free all the ſlaues that woulde come to his part. But forthwith came his enemies, ſet vpon him, and preſt him ſo neere, that he was conſtrained vtterly to flie and forſake the city. Then *Sylla* aſſembling the Senate, cauſed *Marius*, and certen others, together with *Sulpitius* Tribune of the people, to be condemned to death. *Sulpitius* was betrayed by a ſlaue of his owne, whom *Sylla* made free according to his promiſe paſt by publike edict: but whē he had made him free, he cauſed him to be throwen downe headlong from the rocke Tarpeian. And not contented with this, he proclaimed by promiſe a great ſumme of money to him that would kill *Marius*: a very ingrate and vnthankefull parte, conſidering that *Marius* not many dayes before hauing *Sylla* in his owne houſe, in his handes and cuſtody, deliuered him from perill, and ſet him in ſafety. Which if at that time he had not done, but had ſuffered *Sulpitius* to haue ſlaine him: himſelfe had bene

*Sylla marcheth towards Rome with 6 legions.*

*Poſthumius the diuine, did prognoſticate victory vnto Sylla.*

*Syllaes viſion in his dreame.*

*Sylla ſet the houſes on fire in Rome.*

*Marius and Sulpitius condemned to death.*

*Treaſon iuſtly rewarded.*

*The ingratitude of Sylla reproued.*

ſouetaine Lord of the whole without all contradictiõ, and might haue ruled all things at his owne will and pleaſure. But *Sylla* ſhortly after vpon the like aduantage, vſed no ſuch manner of requitall or grauitie towardes him, which bred a ſecret miſliking amongſt the Senate: howbeit the common people made open ſhewe of the euill will they bare vnto *Sylla*, by reiecting one *Nonius* his nephew, and one *Seruius*, who vpon confidence of his fauor, preſented themſelues to ſue for certaine offices. And beſides the ſhame of this refuſall, to ſpighte him the more, they choſe others in their ſteades, whoſe honour and preferment they right well knew that *Sylla* would not onely miſlike, but be much offended withall. Howbeit he wiſely diſſembling the matter, ſeemed to be very glad, ſaying that by his meanes the people of ROME enioyed a full and perfect libertie, that in ſuch caſes of election they might freely doe what themſelues liſted. And to mitigate ſomewhat the peoples ill will towards him, he determined to chuſe *Lucius Cinna* Conſull, who was of a contrary faction to him: hauing firſt bound him by ſolemne oth and curſe to fauor his doings and whole procedings. Wherupon *Cinna* went vp to the Capitoll, and there holding a ſtone in his hand, did ſolemnly ſweare and promiſe, that he would be *Syllaes* faithfull friend: beſeeching the gods if he did the contrary, that he might be throwen out of ROME, euen as he threw that ſtone out of his hand: & with thoſe words, threw it to the ground before many people. But notwithſtanding all theſe curſes, *Cinna* was no ſooner entred into his conſulſhip, but preſently he beganne to change and alter all. For amongſt other things, he would needs haue *Sylla* accuſed: and procured *Verginius*, one of the Tribunes of the people, to be his accuſer. But *Sylla* left him with his iudges, and went to make warres againſt *Mithridates*. And it is ſayed, that about the time that *Sylla* tooke ſhip, and departed out of ITALIE: there fortuned many tokens and warnings of the gods vnto king *Mithridates*, who was at that preſent in the cittie of PERGAMVM, as amongſt others, that the PERGAMENIANS to honor *Mithridates* withall, hauing made an image of victory, carying a garland of triumph in her hand, which was let downe from aloft with engines: ſo ſoone as ſhe was ready to put the garland vpon his head, the image brake, and the crowne fell to the ground in the middeſt of the Theater, and burſt all to peeces. Wherby all the people that were preſent, were ſtricken with a maruellous feare, and *Mithridates* himſelfe began to miſlike this euill lucke: although all things at that time fell out more fortunately, then he looked for. For he had taken ASIA frõ the ROMAINES, and BITHYNIA and CAPPADOCIA, from the kings which he had driuen out: and at that time remained in the city of PERGAMVM, to deuide the riches and great territories among his friends. As touching his ſonnes: the eldeſt was of the realme of Pontus, and of BOSPHORVS, which he inherited from his predeceſſors, euen vnto the deſertes beyond the mariſſes of Mæotides, without trouble or moleſtation of any man. The other alſo, *Ariarathes*, was with a great army in conquering of THRACIA, and MACEDON. His Captaines and Lieutenantes moreouer, did many notable conqueſtes in diuerſe places, with a great power: amongſt the which, *Archelaus* being Lord and maſter of all the ſea, for the great number of ſhippes he had, conquered the Iles CYCLADES, and all thoſe beyond the hed of Malea, and ſpecially amongſt others the Ile of EVBOEA. And beginning at the city of ATHENS, had made all the nations of GRECE to rebell, euen vnto THESSALIE, ſauing that he receiued ſome loſſe by the city of CHÆRONEA. Where *Brutius Sura*, one of the Lieutenantes of *Sentius* gouernor of MACEDON (a man of great wiſdome and valiantneſſe) came againſt him, and ſtayed him for going any further, ouerrunning the whole countrie of BOEOTIA like a furious raging riuer. And ſetting vpon *Archelaus* by the city of CHÆRONEA, ouerthrewe him in three ſeuerall battels: repulſed, and enforced him to take the ſeaes againe. But as *Brutius* was following him in chaſe, *Lucius Lucullus* ſent him commandement to giue place vnto *Sylla*, to follow thoſe warres againſt *Mithridates*, according to the charge & commiſſiõ in that behalfe giuen him. Wherupon *Brutius Sura* went out of the country of BOEOTIA, and returned towards his generall *Sentius*: notwithſtanding his affaires proſpered better then he could haue wiſhed, and that all GRECE were very willing to reuolt, for the reputation of his wiſdom and goodnes. Howbeit the things that we before haue ſpoken of, were the moſt notable matters that *Brutius* did in thoſe partes. *Sylla* now vpon his arriuall, recouered immediatly all the other citties of GRECE: who being aduertiſed of his comming, ſent

*Lucius Cinna Conſull.*

*Cinna ſware to be Syllaes frẽd.*

*Sylla went againſt Mithridates.*

*Mithridates power.*

*Sylla beſiegeth the city of Athens.*

*Sylla tooke the iewells & ready money out of all the temples of Grece & brought it to him to Athens.*

*Caphis ſuperſtition for touching the holy things.*

*The commendation of the ancient Romaine captains for ordering of their ſouldiers, and alſo for their modeſt expences.*

preſently to pray him to come to their aide, the city of ATHENS onely excepted, which was compelled by the tyrant *Ariſtion*, to take part with *Mithridates*. *Sylla* thereupon with all his power went thither, beſieged the hauen of Piræa round, cauſing it to be battered and aſſaulted on euery ſide, with all ſortes of engines and inſtrumentes of battery: whereas if he could haue had patience but a litle longer, he might haue had the high towne by famine, without putting himſelfe in any manner of daunger, the ſame being brought to ſuch extreame dearth and ſcarſity of all kind of victuals. But the haſt that he made to returne againe to ROME, for feare of the new chaunge which he heard of daily from thence, compelled him to hazard this warre in that ſorte with great danger, many battelles, and infinite charge: conſidering alſo, that beſides all other prouiſion and furniture, he had twenty thouſand mules and mulets laboring daily to furniſh his engines of battery. And when all other wood failed him, becauſe his engines were oftentimes marred after they were made, ſome breaking of themſelues by reaſon of their waight, others conſumed with fire throwen from the enemies: at the length he fell to the holy wood, and cut downe the trees of the *Academia*, being better ſtored and furniſhed, then any other parke of pleaſure in all the ſuburbes of the city, & feld down all the wood of the parke Lycæum. And ſtanding in neede of a great ſumme of money to entertaine this warres withall, he delt alſo with the holieſt temples of all GRECE, cauſing thē to bring him from the temples of EPIDAVRVM & OLYMPVS, all the richeſt & moſt pretious iewels they had. He wrote moreouer vnto the councell of the AMPHICTYONS holdē in the city of DELPHES, to bring him the ready money they had in the temple of *Apollo*, for that it ſhould be kept in better ſafety with him, thē if it ſtill remained there: promiſing beſides, that if he ſhould by occaſion be compelled to vſe it, he would reſtore as much againe vnto them: and for this purpoſe he ſent *Caphis* PHOCIAN, one of his very friends & familiars, and cōmanded him to wey all that he tooke. So *Caphis* went vnto DELPHES: but when he came thither, being afraid to touch the holy things, in preſence of the councell of the AMPHICTYONS, he wept, that the teares ran downe by his cheekes, as a man compelled to doe ſuch an act againſt his will. And when ſome that were preſent, told *Caphis* that they heard the ſound of *Apolloes* citheren in the temple: whether he beleued it was ſo indeed, or becauſe he would put this ſuperſtitious feare into *Syllaes* head, he wrote to him of it. But *Sylla* mocking him, ſent him word, that he marueled he could not conſider, that ſinging and playing on the citheren, were tokens rather of ioye then of anger: and therfore that he ſhould not faile to proceede farther, and bring him thoſe things which he commanded, for that (ſayed he) *Apollo* did giue them him. Now for the other iewels of the temple of *Apollo*, the cōmon people knew not that they were ſent vnto *Sylla*: but the ſiluer tunne, which only was that that remained of the offrings of the kings, the AMPHICTYONS were faine to breake that in peeces, becauſe it was ſo great & maſſie, that the beaſts of draught could not draw it whole as it was. This act made them to remember the other ancient ROMAINE captains, as *Flaminius*, *Manius Acilius*, and *Paulus AEmilius*: of the which, the one hauing driuen king *Antiochus* out of GRECE, and the reſt alſo hauing ouerthrowen the kings of MACEDON, they neuer once touched the gold and ſiluer of the temples of GRECE: but contrarily ſent their offerings thither, and had them all in great honor and reuerence But as to them, they were all Captaines lawfully choſen and ſent to their charges: their ſouldiers well trained, & obedient at commandement, void of rebellion, or any manner of mutiny. And for themſelues, were kings in greatnes of courage and magnanimitie of mind: but in expence of their perſons, very ſpare and ſcant, without any lauiſh, but needfull and neceſſary, proportioned by reaſon, and thinking more ſhame to flatter their ſouldiers, then feare their enemies. Now the Captaines contrarily in *Syllaes* time, ſought not their preferment in the common wealth by vertue, but by force, and hauing greater warres one with another, then with ſtrangers their enemies: were compelled to flatter their ſouldiers whom they ſhould commaund, and to buy their paines & ſeruice, feeding them ſtill with large & great expences, to pleaſe and content them. Wherein they did not conſider, that they brought their country into bondage, & made themſelues ſlaues of the vileſt people of the world, whilſt that in the meane time they ſought to commaund by all meanes poſſible thoſe, which in many reſpects were farre better then themſelues. And this was the cauſe that both draue *Marius* out of ROME, and made him alſo to returne againe againſt *Sylla*. This ſelfe ſame cauſe made *Cinna* to kill *Octauius*, and *Fimbria* to ſlay *Flaccus*: of which euils *Sylla* was the very firſt and only author, ſpending out of all reaſon, and giuing the ſouldiers largely that ſerued vnder him, to winne their good wils the more, and thereby alſo to allure them. By reaſon wherof, *Sylla* had neede of mountaines of money, and ſpecially at the ſiege where he was: both to make ſtrangers traitors, and beſides, to furniſh and ſatisfie his owne diſſolute ſouldiers. For he had ſuch an earneſt deſire to take the citie of ATHENS, that he could not poſſibly be diſſwaded from it. And either it was of a certain vaine ambition he had to fight againſt the auncient reputation of that citie, being then but a ſhadow to that it had bene: or elſe of a very anger, for the mockes & gibes which the tirant *Ariſtion* gaue in his ſpeeches frō the wals, againſt him & *Metella*, to ſpight him the more withal. This tirant *Ariſtion* was full of all cruelty & wickednes, hauing taken vp al the worſt qualities and greateſt imperfections of king *Mithridates*, & heaped them wholly together in himſelfe: by reaſon whereof the poore city of ATHENS which had eſcaped from ſo many warres, tyrannies, and ciuill diſſentions vntill that preſent time, was by him, as by an vncurable diſeaſe, brought vnto all extremitie. For a buſhell of wheate was worth a thouſande Drachmas, and men were driuen for famine to eate feuerfew that grew about the caſtle: and they cauſed olde ſhoes and old oyle pots to be ſodden, to deliuer ſome ſauor vnto that they did eate, whileſt the tyrant himſelfe did nothing all day long but cramme in meat, & drinke dronke, dance, maske, ſcoffe & flout at the enemies, ſuffering the holy lampe of *Minerua* in the meane ſeaſon to goe out for lacke of oyle. And when the Nunne of the ſame temple ſent vnto him for a quarter of a buſhell of wheate, he ſent her a quarter of a buſhell of pepper. And when the counſellers of the citie, the prieſts & religious came to the caſtle, holding vp their hands, and beſeeching him to take ſome pitie of the citie, and fall to compoſition with *Sylla*: he made them to be driuen away and ſcattered with ſlings. In the end, very late, and yet with great a do, he ſent two or three of his quaffing companions vnto *Sylla*, who when they were come to him, made no demaund of compoſition for the towne, but began to praiſe & magnifie the deeds of *Theſeus*, of *Eumolpus*, & of the ATHENIANS againſt the MEDES. Whereupon *Sylla* made thē this anſwere. My goodly orators, returne you againe with all your rethoricke: for the ROMAINES ſent me not hither to learne nor to ſtudie, but to ouercome & conquer thoſe that are rebelled againſt them. In the meane time there were certaine ſpies in the citie that heard old men talking together in a place called *Ceramicus*, blaming the tyrant becauſe he kept no better watch on that ſide of the wall that was directly ouer againſt the Heptachalcon, which was the onely place where the enemies might eaſilieſt get vp vpon the wals. Thoſe ſpies went ſtraight vntō *Sylla*, and told him what they had heard the old men ſay. *Sylla* tracted no time, but came to the place in the night to ſee it: and perceiuing that it was to be taken, ſet the matter ſtraight abroach. And himſelfe writes in his commentaries, that the firſt man that ſcaled the wals, was *Marcus Teius*: who finding a ſouldier readie to reſiſt him, gaue him ſuch a ſore blow with his ſword vpon his headpeece, that his ſworde brake in two, and yet notwithſtanding that he ſaw himſelfe naked and diſarmed of a ſword, did not for all that giue backe, but ſtood ſtill to it, & kept the place ſo long till through him the city was taken, and all vpon the talke of theſe old men. So *Sylla* cauſed the wall to be pulled down betwene the hauen of Piræa, & the holy hauen: & hauing before made the breach very plaine, entred into the citie about midnight with a wonderfull fearefull order, making a maruellous noiſe with a number of hornes, & ſounding of trumpets, & all his armie with him in order of battell, crying, to the ſacke, to the ſacke: kill, kill. For he had giuen them the towne in ſpoile, & to put all to the ſword. The ſouldiers therfore ran through the ſtreetes with their ſwords drawen, making an vncredible ſlaughter: ſo that to this day they be not acknowen, nor do not declare what number of perſons were ſlaine, but to ſhew the greatnes of the murther that there was committed, the place is yet extant to be ſeene where the bloud ran. For beſides them that were ſlaine through all the city, the bloud of them only that were ſlaine in the market ſteede, did wet all the ground of *Ceramicus*, euen vnto the very place called Dipylon: and ſome ſay alſo, that it ranne by the gates into the ſuburbes of the citie. But if the multitude of the people that were ſlaine in this ſort were great, much more (or ſo many at the leaſt) it is ſaid were thoſe that ſlew themſelues, for the ſorrow and compaſſion they had to ſee

*Sylla the firſt man that ſpoiled all good ſeruice of ſouldiers, by ouermuch libertie and ſufferance.*

*The wickednes of the tyrant Ariſtion.*

*The great valiantneſſe of Marcus Teius.*

*Athens taken by Sylla.*

*The ſlaughter of the Athenians after the taking of the citie.*

their country in ſuch pitifull ſtate, ſuppoſing certainly that their citie was now come to vtter ruine and deſtruction. This opinion made the nobleſt men of the citie to deſpaire of their own ſafetie, and feared to liue any longer, becauſe they thought they ſhould finde no mercie, no moderation of crueltie in *Sylla*. Notwithſtanding, partly at the requeſtes of *Midias* and *Calliphon*, who were baniſhed men from Athens, & fell at *Syllaes* feete vpon their knees: and partly alſo at the requeſtes of the Romaine Senators that were in his campe, who prayed him to pardon the bodie of the citie, and the rather for that he had alreadie quenched the thirſt of his rauening minde ſufficiently well, after that he had ſomewhat ſaide in praiſe of the ancient Athenians, he concluded in the end, to giue the greater number vnto the ſmaller, and the liuing to the dead. *Sylla* writeth himſelfe in his commentaries, that he tooke the citie of Athens on the very ſelfe day of the calendes of march, which commeth to agree with the firſt day of the moneth that we call Antheſterion, on the which day by chance many things are done at Athens in memorie of *Noes* flood, and of the vniuerſall deſtruction of the whole world that was in olde time by rage of waters, falling out euen in that very moneth. When the citie was thus taken, the tyrant *Ariſtion* fled into the caſtle, where he was beſieged by *Curia*, whom *Sylla* left there of purpoſe about that matter. And after he had a great time kept it, at the laſt, conſtrained thereunto for lacke of water, yeelded. The caſtle was no ſooner giuen vp, but immediatly by goddes prouidence, the weather miraculouſly altered. For the ſelfe ſame day, and at the very ſelfe inſtant that *Curio* caried the tyrant *Ariſtion* out of the caſtle, the element being very faire and cleare, the cloudes ſodainly gathered together, and there fell ſuch a maruellous glut of raine, that all the caſtle was full of water. Shortly after alſo, *Sylla* hauing gotten the hauen of Piræa, burnt the greateſt part of the buildinges: amongeſt others was the arſenall and armorie, which *Philo* in olde time had cauſed to be built, being of a ſtrange and wonderfull edifice. In the meane time, *Taxilles*, one of the Lieutenants of king *Mithridates*, comming from Thracia & Macedon, with a hundred thouſand footemen, tenne thouſand horſemen, and foureſcore and tenne thouſand cartes of warre all armed with ſythes: ſent vnto *Archelaus* to ioyne with him, lying yet at ancker in the hauen of Munychia, and not willing to leaue the ſea, nor come to fight with the Romaines, but ſeeking rather to draw theſe warres out in length, & to cut off all victuals from his enemies. *Sylla* vnderſtanding this drift better then himſelfe, departed out of the country of Attica (a very barren ſoile, and in deede not able to keepe him in time of peace) and went into Boeotia: wherein moſt men thought he committed great error to leaue Attica, which is a very hard country for horſemen, and to go into Boeotia, a plaine champion: and ſo much the rather, becauſe he knew well enough that the chiefeſt ſtrength of the barbarous people conſiſted in their horſemen, and their armed cartes with ſythes. But to auoide famine, and lacke of victuals as we haue ſaid, he was compelled to ſeeke battell. Furthermore, hee had an other cauſe alſo that made him affraide, and compelled him to go: and that was *Hortenſius* a famous Captaine, and very valiant alſo, who brought him aide out of Theſſalie, & the barbarous people lay in waite for him in his way, in the ſtraight of Thermopyles. And theſe were the cauſes that made *Sylla* take his way into Boeotia. But in the mean time, *Caphis* that was our country man, deceiuing the barbarous people, guided *Hortenſius* an other way by mount Parnaſſus, and brought him vnder the citie of Tithora, which was not then ſo great a citie as now at this preſent it is, but was a caſtle only, ſituated vpon the point of a rocke, hewen all about: whither the Phocians in old time flying king *Xerxes* comming vpon them, retyred themſelues for their ſafetie. *Hortenſius* lodged there, and there did alſo both defend and repulſe his enemies, ſo long as dailight laſted: and when the night came on, got downe through very hard ſtony waies, vnto the city of Patronide, where he ioyned with *Sylla*, who came to meete him with al his power. Thus being ioyned together, they camped vpon a hill that ſtandeth about the middeſt of the plaine of Elatea: the ſoyle was very good, and well repleniſhed with great ſtore of trees and water at the foote of the ſame. The hill is called Philobæotus, the nature and ſituation whereof, *Sylla* doth maruellouſly commend. When they were camped, they ſeemed but a handfull in the eye of their enemies: and no more were they indeede, for they had not aboue fifteene hundred horſe, and leſſe then fifteene thouſand footemen. Whereupon the other Captaines

*Antheſterion March.*

*The time of Noes flood.*

*Ariſtion the tyrant yeelded.*

*The hauen of Piræa wonne.*

*Philoes armorie burnt by Sylla.*

*Taxilles armie a hundred thouſand footmen, ten thouſand horſemen: foureſcore and ten thouſand cartes with Sythes.*

*The force of the Barbarians conſiſted in horſemen and in their cartes with Sythes.*

*The ſtraight of Thermopyles.*

*Parnaſſus hill.*

*The citie of Tithora.*

*Sylla and Hortenſius met at Patronide.*

*The plaine of Elatea.*

*Philobœotus mons.*

*Their whole armie together 1500. horſe, 15000. footmen.*

their enemies, againſt *Archelaus* minde, brought out their bandes into the field, and filled all the valley and plaine thereabouts with horſemen, with cartes, with ſhieldes and targets, ſo that the aire was euen cut a ſunder as it were with the violence of the noiſe and cries of ſo many ſundrie nations, which altogether did put themſelues in battell ray. The ſumptuouſnes of their furniture moreouer, was not altogether ſuperfluous and vnprofitable, but ſerued greatly to feare the beholders. For the gliſtering of their harneſſe, ſo richly trimmed and ſet foorth with gold and ſiluer, the colours of their arming coates vpon their curaces, after the faſhion of the MEDES and SCYTHIANS, mingled with the bright gliſtering ſteele and ſhining copper, gaue ſuch a ſhew as they went and remoued to and fro, that made a light as cleare as if all had bene on a very fire, a fearefull thing to looke vpon. Inſomuch as the ROMAINES durſt not ſo much as once goe out of the trenches of their campe, nor *Sylla* with all his perſwaſion could take away this great conceiued feare from them: wherefore, (and becauſe alſo he would not compell them to goe forth in this feare) he was driuen not to ſtirre, but cloſe to abide (though it grieued him greatly) to ſee the barbarous people ſo proudly and villainouſly laugh him and his men to ſcorne. Howbeit the diſdaine and ſcoffing of his enemies, ſtood him to great good purpoſe afterwards. For they making now none account of him, kept ſmall watch and ward, ſtraied vp and downe diſorderly beſides, though otherwiſe they were not very obedient vnto their Captaines, being many commaunders, and fewe good followers: by reaſon whereof, a ſmall number kept in the campe, and all the reſt of the great multitude intiſed with the game they made by ſpoyling and ſacking of townes thereabouts, diſperſed themſelues many daies iorney from their campe. For it is ſaide, that at that very time they deſtroyed the citie of PANOPÆIA, ſacked the citie of LEBADIA, and ſpoyled the temple without commaundement or licence of any of all their Captaines to doe it. In the meane while, *Sylla* ſeeing ſo many cities and townes ſpoyled and deſtroyed, tooke it both grieuouſly, and alſo angrily: howbeit he ſuffered not his men to lie idlely, but kept them in labour, to turne the courſe of the riuer of Cephiſus, and to caſt great trenches, not ſuffering any man to take eaſe or reſt, but contrarily with great ſeuerity puniſhed ſuch as went faintly and laſily to worke, to the ende that being wearied with the paine they tooke after ſo many workes, they would rather proue to hazard battell, as it fell out in deede. For the third day after they had begunne thus to labour, as *Sylla* paſſed by them, they cried out vnto him to lead them againſt their enemies. But his anſwere was vnto them againe: that thoſe were but cries of men wearied rather with labor, then deſirous to fight. Notwithſtanding, if it be ſo in deede, and that you haue ſo good a will to fight as you make ſhew of: then I will, ſaid he, that you arme your ſelues preſently, and get you to yonder place, ſhewing them therewithall where the caſtle of the PARAPOTAMIANS ſtood in old time, which then (the citie being deſtroyed) was no more but the toppe of a ſtonie mountaine cut all about, and ſeuered from the mount of Edylium by the breadth of the riuer of Aſſus that runneth betwixt, and which at the very foote of the ſame mountaine falleth into the riuer of Cephiſus, and both theſe riuers running in one, carying a ſwift ſtreame, doe make the knappe of the ſaid hill very ſtrong of ſituation to lodge a campe vpon. And therefore *Sylla* ſeeing the ſouldiers of his enemies campe, marching with their copper targets to take vp that place to lodge in: to preuent them, and to get it before them (as in deede he did) he marched thither in all haſt poſſible, & got it euen with the earneſt good will of all his ſouldiers. *Archelaus* being ſo repulſed from thence, turned his way towards the city of CHÆRONEA. Wereupon certaine of the CHÆRONEANS that were in *Syllaes* campe, beſought him that he would not forſake their citie, and leaue it to their enemy. *Sylla* deſiring to gratifie them therein, ſent one of his Colonels *Gabinius* with a legion, and therewithall gaue the CHÆRONEANS leaue to goe thither, who did what they could poſſible to get into the citie before *Gabinius*: but that they could not, ſuch was the diligence and honeſtie of the man, as he ſeemed more deſirous of their ſafetie, then they were themſelues. Neuertheleſſe, *Iubas* doth not call the Colonell that was ſent thither *Gabinius*, but *Hircius*. And thus was our citie of CHÆRONEA preſerued from the daunger it ſtood in at that time. In the meane time came very good newes to the ROMAINES, both of oracles & prophecies, which promiſed them victory from the temple of LEBADIA, and the caue of *Trophonius*: of which prophecies, thoſe country men

*The braue armour and furniture of the Thracians and Macedonians, ſeruing vnder Taxiles king Mithridates Lieutenant.*

*Many commanders make diſobedient ſouldiers.*

*Cephiſus fl.*

*Syllaes ſtraightneſſe to his ſouldiers.*

*A good policie to weary feareful ſouldiers with extreame labour whereby to make them deſirous to fight.*

*Edylium mons.*

*Aſſus fl.*

*Sylla ſendeth Gabinius with a legion to aide Cheronea.*

*Oracles and prophecies of victorie vnto Sylla.*

make great mention. But *Sylla* in his tenth booke of his commentaries writeth, that *Quintus Titius*, a man of qualitie and name amongſt them that trafficked into the country of GRECE, came vnto him after he had won the battell of CHÆRONEA, to tell him that *Trophonius* gaue him to vnderſtand, that ſhortly after he ſhould haue a ſecond battell, and that he ſhould yet againe haue an other victory in the ſame place. After him an other man of warre called *Saluenius*, told him alſo what ſucceſſe he ſhould haue in the warres of ITALIE, ſaying, that he knew it by reuelation: and both theſe men agreed in the manner of the reuelation. For they ſaid, that they had ſeene a god, in maieſtie, beautie, and greatneſſe, like vnto the image of *Iupiter Olympias*. *Sylla* hauing paſſed the riuer of Aſſus, went to lodge at the foote of mount Edylium, hard by *Archelaus*, who had placed and fortified his campe betweene the two mountaines of Acontium, and of Edylium, ioyning to the citie of the ASSIANS. The place where *Archelaus* camped, beareth his owne name *Archelaus* vnto this day. One day after *Sylla* had changed his lodging, he left *Muræna* in his campe with a legion, and two cohortes, to keepe the enemies ſtill occupied that were in great trouble, and he himſelfe in the meane time went and ſacrificed by the riuer of Cephiſus. His ſacrifice being ended, he marched towards the citie of CHÆRONEA, to take the force he had there vnder *Gabinius*, & to know the mountaine alſo called Thurium, which the enemies had taken. It is a knappe of a mountaine very ſteepe and ſharpe of all ſides, with a narrow point like a pine apple, by reaſon whereof we doe call it Orthopagum. At the foote of the ſame runneth the riuer called Morion, and there is alſo the temple of *Apollo* ſurnamed *Thurias*: and they ſay that this ſurname of *Thurias* was giuen vnto him of the name of *Thuros*, who was mother of *Chæron*, the founder and builder of the citie of CHÆRONEA. Other thinke that the cow which was giuen to *Cadmus* for a guide, came to him in that place: which hath euer ſince kept the name, for that the PHENICIANS call a cow, *Thor*. Now when *Sylla* came neere vnto CHÆRONEA, the Colonell *Gabinius* whom he had ſent thither with a garriſon to defend the ſame, went to meete him with his men very wel armed, wearing a laurell garland: and *Sylla* after he had ſaluted him, and his ſouldiers, made an oration vnto them, exhorting them to do their dutie in fighting. And as he was in his oration, there came two citizens of CHÆRONEA to him, one his name was *Omoloichus*, and the other *Anaxidamus*, who promiſed him to driue the enemies from mount Thurium which they had taken, if he would but giue them ſome ſmal number of ſouldiers. For there was a litle path way, which the barbarous people miſtruſted not, beginning at a place called Petrochus, hard by the temple of the *Muſes*, by the which they might eaſily go to the toppe of this mountaine Thurium: ſo that following that pathe, it would bring them ouer the barbarous peoples heads, and they might eaſily kill them with ſtones, or at the leaſt they ſhould driue them mawgre their heads, downe into the valley. *Gabinius* aſſuring *Sylla* that they were both very valiant men, and ſuch as he might boldly truſt vnto, *Sylla* gaue them men, and commaunded them to execute their enterpriſe: and he himſelfe in the meane ſeaſon went and ſet his men in order of battell in the plaine, deuiding his horſemen on the wings, placed himſelfe in the right wing, appointing the left vnto *Muræna*. *Galba* and *Hortenſius* his Lieutenantes, were placed in the taile with certaine bandes of the reregard which they kept vpon the hils, to watch and let that the enemies ſhould not incloſe them behinde: becauſe they perceiued a farre off that the enemies put forth a great number of horſemen and footemen light armed in the wings, to the end that the points of their battell might the more eaſily bowe and enlarge themſelues, to compaſſe in the ROMAINES on the backe ſide. Now in the meane time, theſe two CHÆRONEIANS whom *Sylla* had ſent vnder *Hircius* their Captaine, hauing compaſſed about the mountaine Thurium, before the enemies were aware of them: ſodainely came to ſhew themſelues vpon the toppe of the mountaine, which did ſo feare the barbarous people, that they began immediatly to flie, one of them for the moſt part killing an other. There was no reſiſtance, but flying downe the mountaine, fell vpon the points of their owne partiſans and pikes, and one of them thruſting in an others necke, tumbled headlong downe the mountaine together, hauing their enemies beſides on their backes, which draue them from the hill, and ſtrake them behind where they lay open vnto them: ſo as they were ſlaine a three thouſand of them about this mountaine Thurium. And as for them that ſought to ſaue themſelues by flight, *Muræna* that was already

*Saluenius a ſouldier.*

*Iupiter Olympias.*

*Acontium, Edylium, mountaines.*

*Thurium mons aliter Orthopagum.*
*Morion fl.*
*Apollo Thurias.*
*Cheron the founder of the citie of Cheronea.*

*Sylla ordereth his battell.*

*Sylla draue Archelaus aide from the hill.*

alreadie ſet in battell ray, met with ſome, cut them off by the way, and ſlew them downe right. The other fled directly to their campe, and came in great companies, thruſting into the battell of their footemen, put the moſt part of them quite out of order, & maruellouſly troubled their Captaines before they could ſet them againe in order: which was one of the chiefeſt cauſes of their ouerthrowe. For *Sylla* went and gaue a charge vpon them in this trouble and diſorder, and had quickly wonne the ground that was betwene both armies, wherby he tooke away the force of all their armed cartes with ſythes, which are then of greateſt force, when they haue the longeſt courſe, to giue them a ſwift and violent ſtroke in their chaſe: whereas when their courſe is but ſhort, the blow is ſo much the weaker and of leſſe ſtrength, euen as arrowes are that a farre off enter not deepe into the thing they be ſhot at: as at that time it fell out with the barbarous people. For their firſt cartes ſet forth ſo faintly, and came on with ſo feeble a force, that the ROMAINES ſent them backe, & eaſily repulſed them, with great ſlaughter and clapping of handes one to an other, as they commonly vſe in the ordinarie games of horſe-running at ROME. When they had thus repulſed the cartes, the battell of *Syllaes* footemen beganne to charge the barbarous people, who baſing their pikes, ſtoode cloſe one to an other becauſe they would not be taken: and the ROMAINES on the other ſide beſtowed firſt their darts among them, and then ſodainely drewe out their ſwordes in the heat they were in, and put a ſide the enemies pikes, wherby they might come neerer to their bodies. There were fifteene thouſand ſlaues in the front of the battell of the barbarous people, whom *Mithridates* Lieutenant had made free by open proclamation, and had deuided them by bandes amongſt the other footemen. By occaſion whereof there was a ROMAINE Centurion ſpake pleaſantly at that time, ſaying, that he neuer ſaw ſlaues before haue libertie to ſpeake and doe like free men, but only at *Saturnes* feaſtes. Neuertheleſſe, they againſt the nature of ſlaues, were very valiant to abide the ſhocke, and the ROMAINE footemen could not ſo readily breake nor enter into them, nor make them giue backe, becauſe they ſtoode very cloſe one to an other, and their ranckes were of ſuch a length beſides: vntill ſuch time as the ROMAINES that were behinde the firſt ranckes, did ſo pelt them with their ſlings, hurling ſtones, beſtowing their darts and arrowes vpon them, that in the end they compelled them all to turne their backes, & flie a maine. And when *Archelaus* did firſt thruſt out the right wing of his armie, ſuppoſing to encloſe the ROMAINES behinde: *Hortenſius* ſtraightwaies cauſed the bands he had with him to run & charge vpon the flankes. Which *Archelaus* perceiuing, made the horſemen he had about him turne their faces forthwith, which were in number aboue two thouſand: inſomuch as *Hortenſius* being ſet vppon with all his troupe, was compelled to retire by litle and litle towardes the mountaine, perceiuing himſelfe farre from the battell of his footemen, and enuironned round about with his enemies. *Sylla* ſeeing that, being in the right wing of his battell, and hauing not yet fought, went ſtraight to the reſcue of *Hortenſius*. But *Archelaus* coniecturing by the duſt which the horſes raiſed, what the matter was: left *Hortenſius* there, and with ſpeede returned againe towardes the right wing of his enemies from whence *Sylla* was gone, hoping he had left it vnfurniſhed of a ſufficient Captaine to commaund them. *Taxilles* on the other ſide, cauſed his copper targets alſo to march againſt *Muræna*: ſo as the noiſe they made on both ſides, cauſed the mountains to ring againe, wherwithall *Sylla* ſtaied, ſtanding in doubt which way to take. At the laſt he reſolued to returne to the place frō whence he came, & ſent *Hortenſius* with foure enſignes to aide *Muræna*: and himſelfe with the fifth in great ſpeed went towards the right wing of his armie, the which was now already bickering, and ioyned with their enemies, fighting hand to hand with *Archelaus*. By reaſon whereof, when *Sylla* was come with his aide, they did eaſily diſtreſſe them: and after they had broken their array, they chaſed them flying for life to the riuer, & vnto the mountaine Acontium. But *Sylla* notwithſtanding forgate not *Muræna*, but went againe to his reliefe: and finding that he on his ſide had alſo put the enemies to flight, followed with him the chaſe of them that fled. There was a maruellous ſlaughter made in that field of the barbarous people, and many of them ſuppoſing to haue recouered their campe, were ſlaine by the way: ſo as of all that infinite multitude of fighting men, there eſcaped onely tenne thouſand, who ſaued themſelues by flying vnto the citie of CHALCIDE. *Sylla* for his part writeth, that he could make reckoning of no more but

*The force of the armed carts with ſythes conſiſt in long courſe.*

*Syllaes conflict with Archelaus at Thurium.*

*Slaues made free by authoritie of the Lieutenants in the field.*

*Syllaes victorie of Mithridates Lieutenants.*

fourteene of his ſouldiers onely that were ſlaine, whereof there came two againe to him the ſame night. Wherefore in the markes of triumph which he ſet vp for tokens of that victory, he cauſed to be written on the toppe thereof, *Mars, victorie*, and *Venus*: ſignifying thereby, that he had ouercome in theſe warres as much by good fortune, as by force, policie, or martiall diſcipline. Theſe markes of triumph were ſet vp for the battell which he wanne in the plaine field, in that place where *Archelaus* beganne to flie, euen vnto the riuer of Molus. And he ſet vp an other alſo in the toppe of mount Thurium, where the barbarous people were ſet vpon behinde: and there is written in Greeke letters, that the valiant deedes of *Omoloichus* and *Anaxidamus*, gaue way to the winning of this victory. *Sylla* for the ioy of this great won battell, cauſed muſitians to play in the citie of THEBES, where he builded a ſtage for all the muſitians, neere vnto the fountaine OEdipus, and certaine noble GRECIANS were appointed iudges of that muſicke, whom he cauſed to be ſent for out of other cities, becauſe he mortally hated the THEBANS: inſomuch as he tooke from them halfe their lands, which he conſecrated vnto *Apollo Pythias*, and *Iupiter Olympias*, appointing that of the reuenue therof, they ſhould redeliuer and pay backe the money which he had taken and caried away from out of their temples. *Sylla* after this hauing intelligence that *Flaccus*, one of his enemies, was choſen Conſull at ROME, and had paſſed the ſea Ionium with an armie, vnder pretext to make warre againſt king *Mithridates*, but indeede to make warre with himſelfe: tooke his iorney towards THESSALIE to meete him. But when he was in the citie of MELITEA, there came newes to him out of all partes, that there was a new and ſecond armie of the kings arriued, no leſſe then the firſt, the which ſpoiled and deſtroyed all the country which he had left behind him. For *Dorylaus*, one of king *Mithridates* Lieutenants, was arriued in the citie of CHALCIDE with a great fleete of ſhips, hauing brought thither with him foure ſcore thouſande fighting men, the beſt trained, the beſt armed and appointed ſouldiers that were in all his kingdom of PONTVS in ASIA: and from thence went into BOEOTIA, had all that country at commandement, and ſought to fight with *Sylla*, notwithſtanding that *Archelaus* alleaged many reaſons to diſſwade him from it: and furthermore, gaue it out in euery place, that ſo many thouſandes of ſouldiers could not haue beene caſt away in the firſt battell, without ſome notable treaſon. Wherupon *Sylla* returned with all poſſible ſpeede, & made *Dorylaus* know before many daies paſſed ouer his head, that *Archelaus* was a wiſe man, and knew well enough the worthines & valiant courage of the ROMAINES. And *Dorylaus* hauing had but a litle proofe only in certain light skirmiſhes which he made againſt *Sylla*, about TILPHOSSION in THESSALY: himſelfe was the firſt that could ſay then, it was not for them to hazard battell, but rather to draw out the wars in length, and ſupplant the ROMAINES with charge and expence. And yet notwithſtanding, the cōmodity of the great large plaine that lieth all about ORCHOMENE, where they were encamped, gaue great encouragement to *Archelaus*, who iudged it a very fit place to giue battell in, ſpecially becauſe he was the ſtronger of horſemen in the field. For of all the plaines that are within the country of BOEOTIA, the greateſt & largeſt of thē, is the plaine neere to the citie of ORCHOMENE, which is altogether without trees, and runneth out in length vnto the mariſſes where the riuer of Melas diſperſeth it ſelfe abroad. The head of the ſame riuer is not farre from the city of ORCHOMENE, & that riuer only of all other riuers in GRECE from the very head whence it commeth, is nauigable: and hath beſides an other ſingular property, that it riſeth & ſwelleth euen in the longeſt ſommer daies, as the riuer of Nilus doth, and bringeth forth the ſelfe ſame plants and trees, ſauing that they beare no frute, neither are they ſo great as thoſe of Ægypt. This riuer hath no long courſe, becauſe that the moſt part of the water runneth into lakes and mariſſes, couered with brambles and briars, and there is but a very litle part of it that falleth into the riuer of Cephiſus, in the place where the reedes growe that they make good flutes withal. When they were camped one neere to another, *Archelaus* lay quietly & ſturred not. But *Sylla* preſently caſt great trenches from one ſide to another, to ſtoppe the way againſt their enemies, that they could not come into that great plaine where they might haue taken what ground they would for their men of armes, and haue driuen the ROMAINES into the mariſſes. The barbarous people not being able to endure that, ſo ſoone as their Captaines had giuen them liberty, diſcharged with ſuch a fury, that they did not only ſcatter them

*The field was wonne in the plaine of Elatea.*

*Molus fl.*

*Apollo Pythias.*

*Iupiter Olympias.*

*Flaccus Conſull went againſt Sylla.*

*Dorylaus Mithridates generall againſt Sylla.*

*The goodly plaine before the citie of Orchomene.*

*The riuer of Melas, and nature thereof.*

that wrought in *Syllaes* trenches, but put the moſt part of their gard alſo that ſtood in battell ray to defend them, in a maruellous feare, who alſo began to flie. Which *Sylla* perceiuing, lighted ſtraight from his horſe, and taking an enſigne in his hand, ran through the middeſt of his men that fled, vntill he came to his enemies, and crying out, ſayd vnto them: O my ROMAINE ſouldiers, mine honour commandeth me to dye here, and therefore when any man asketh you where you forſooke your Captaine, remēber that you anſwere, it was at ORCHOMENE. They were ſo aſhamed at theſe wordes, that he made them turne: beſides that, there came two cohortes vnto him from the right wing of his battell, who vnder his leading gaue ſuch a hot charge vpon their enemies, that they fled forthwith vpon it. That done, *Sylla* retired with his men, and made them dine: and thereupon by and by ſet them againe to the trenches to encloſe his enemies camp, who then came out in better order then they did before. There was *Diogenes*, *Archelaus* wiues ſonne ſlaine, fighting valiantly before them all in the right wing of their battell. And the bow-men being preſſed ſo neare by the ROMAINES, that their bowes would do no good: tooke their arrowes in their handes in ſtead of ſwordes, and ſtrake their enemies with them to force them to giue backe, vntill ſuch time as at the laſt they were all driuen into their camp, where they paſſed that night in great ſorrow, as well for the loſſe of them that were ſlaine, as alſo for the number of thoſe that were hurt. The next morning, *Sylla* leading his men againe towardes the camp of his enemies, went on ſtill continuing his trenches: & certaine of them being come out to skirmiſh with them, he ſet vpon them ſo luſtely, that at the firſt charge he put them to flight. That brought ſuch a feare to all the whole camp of the enemies, that not a man durſt abide any longer: ſo as *Sylla* valiantly following on his victory, ſhuffled in among them as they fled, and in the end tooke all together. Straight way all the mariſſes were filled with bloud, and the lake full of dead bodies: ſo that vntill this preſent day they finde there in that place many bowes of the barbarous people, moryans, peeces of taſſes, and ſwordes drowned in the mudde of the mariſſes, notwithſtanding that it is well neare two hundred yeares a go ſince this battell was ſtriken. And thus much for the warres about the cities of CHÆRONEA, & ORCHOMENE. Now the warres being paſt in this ſort in GRECE, *Cinna*, and *Carbo* delt very cruelly and vnnaturally at ROME with the noble men and greateſt perſons: by reaſon whereof, many flying their tyranny, went to *Syllaes* camp, as vnto the hauen of their health and fulneſſe of felicity, ſo that in ſhort time *Sylla* had an aſſembly of a ROMAINE Senate about him. *Metella* her ſelfe, his wife, hauing ſtollen away very hardly with her children, came to bring him newes that his houſes in the citie and country both, were all burnt & deſtroyed by his enemies: praying him that he would go and helpe them that yet remained at ROME. *Sylla* vpon hearing of theſe newes, fell in great perplexitie. For on the one ſide, it grieued him to ſee his country ſo miſerably afflicted: and on the other ſide, he knew not well how he might go, leauing ſo great an enterpriſe as that warre was, and ſpecially againſt a king of ſuch might and power as *Mithridates* ſhewed himſelfe to be. And being in theſe dumpes, there came one *Archelaus* a marchant to him, borne in the city of DELIVM, who brought him a ſecret meſſage from the other *Archelaus*, king *Mithridates* Lieutenant: the which pleaſed *Sylla* ſo well, that he deſired that *Archelaus* and himſelfe might meete and talke together. So at the length they met by the ſea ſide, neare vnto the city of DELIVM, where there is a temple of *Apollo*. *Archelaus* began to enter the talke with him, declaring vnto *Sylla* that he would wiſh him to leaue the conqueſt of ASIA, and of the realme of PONT, & to returne into his countrey to the ciuill warres at ROME: and in ſo doing, the king would furniſh him, not onely with as much money, but with as many ſhippes and men, as he himſelfe would deſire. *Sylla* vpon this motion told him againe. that he would wiſh him to forſake *Mithridates* ſeruice, and to make himſelfe king, offering to proclaime him a friend and confederate of the ROMAINES, ſo that he would deliuer him all his nauie which then he had in his hands. *Archelaus* ſeemed much to abhorre to heare him ſpeake of treaſon. But *Sylla* going on with his tale, replyed againe vnto him: why *Archelaus*, ſayd he, thou that art a CAPPADOCIAN, and ſeruant to a barbarous king, or his friend at the leaſt: haſt thou ſo good a hart with thee, that for all the benefites I offer thee, thou wilt not once commit an ill act? And art thou in deede ſo bold to ſpeake to me of treaſon, which am the ROMAINES Lieutenant generall,

*Syllaes wordes to animate his ſouldiers.*

*Diogenes ſlaine.*

*Syllaes victory of Mithridates Lieutenaunts at Orchomene.*

*Sylla ouercame Archelaus in two famous battels at Cheronea and at Orchomeno.*

*Talke betwixt Sylla and Archelaus at their meeting.*

and *Sylla*? As if thou wert not he, that at the battell of CHÆRONEA dideſt ſaue thy ſelfe by flying, with a ſmall number left thee of ſix ſcore thouſand fighting men, which thou before haddeſt in thy camp: and that hid thy ſelfe two dayes together in the mariſſes of ORCHOMENI, leauing the fields of BOEOTIA with ſuch heapes of dead bodies, that no man could paſſe for them. After this reply, *Archelaus* altered his ſpeech, and falling downe at *Syllaes* feete, humbly beſought him to end this warre, and to make peace with *Mithridates*. Whereunto *Sylla* aunſwered, that he was very well contented withall. And therupon peace was concluded betweene them vnder conditions: that *Mithridates* ſhould depart from ASIA the leſſe, and from PAPHLAGONIA, that he ſhould reſtore BITHYNIA vnto *Nicomedes*, & CAPPADOCIA vnto *Ariobarzanes*, that he ſhould pay two thouſand talents to the ROMAINES, and giue them three ſcore & ten gallies, with all their furniture. And vpon this, *Sylla* would alſo aſſure him the reſt of his realme: and would cauſe him to be proclaimed a friend of the ROMAINES. Theſe articles being paſt by agreemẽt betwixt them, *Sylla* taking his iourney through THESSALIE, and MACEDON into the countrey of HELLESPONT, caried *Archelaus* with him, whõ he honorably intreated. For *Archelaus* falling dangerouſly ſicke of a diſeaſe in the city of LARISSA, he ſtayed there for him, and was very carefull to recouer him, as if he had bene one of his chiefeſt Captaines and companions. And this was the cauſe that made *Archelaus* to be blamed for the battell of CHÆRONIA, as if he had not faithfully fought it out, nor *Sylla* truly won it, but by treaſon. And againe, *Archelaus* was the more ſuſpected, becauſe *Sylla* redeliuered *Mithridates* all his ſeruants and friends which he had priſoners, ſauing the tyrant *Ariſtion* that kept ATHENS, whom he poyſoned, becauſe he was *Archelaus* enemie: but ſpecially, for the landes *Sylla* gaue vnto this CAPPADOCIAN. For he gaue him ten thouſand Iugera, (or acres of land) within the Ile of EVBOEA, and gaue him moreouer the title of a friend of the ROMAINES for euer. But *Sylla* denieth all theſe things in his commentaries. In the meane time, Ambaſſadours came from king *Mithridates* vnto *Sylla*, who told him that the king their maiſter did ratifie and accept all the articles of peace, ſauing that he onely prayed him he would not take the country of PAPHLAGONIA from him: & as for the gallies, he would not ſo much as once ſay he would promiſe them. *Sylla* being offended herewith, angerly anſwered them againe. Then *Mithridates*, as ye ſay, meaneth to keepe PAPHLAGONIA ſtill, and refuſeth to giue the ſhippes I demanded: where I looked that he would haue humbly thanked me on his knees, if I left him his right hand onely, with the which he put ſo many ROMANE citizens to death. But I hope to make him tell me an other tale, if I come once into ASIA: but now at PERGAMVM, he ſpeaketh his pleaſure of this warre which he hath not ſeene. The Ambaſſadours being afrayed of his words, replyed not againe. Whereupon *Archelaus* ſpake, and beſought him with teares in his eyes to be contented, and tooke him by the hand. By intreatie, in the end he obtained of *Sylla* to ſend him vnto *Mithridates*: promiſing that he would either bring him to agree to all the articles and conditions of peace that he demanded, or if he could not, he would kill himſelfe with his owne handes. Vpon this promiſe *Sylla* ſent him away, and in the meane while entred with his armie into the country of MEDICA: and after he had deſtroyed the moſt part thereof, returned backe againe into MACEDON, where *Archelaus* being returned from *Mithridates*, found him neare vnto the city of PHILIPPES, bringing him newes that all ſhould be well, howbeit that his maiſter *Mithridates* prayed him he might ſpeake with him in any caſe. Now, the matter that made *Mithridates* ſo earneſt to ſpeake with *Sylla*, was chiefly for *Fimbria*: who hauing ſlaine *Flaccus* the Conſull, being of the contrarie faction vnto *Sylla*, and certaine of *Mithridates* Lieutenants alſo, went himſelfe againſt him to fight with him. *Mithridates* fearing his comming, choſe rather to make himſelfe *Syllaes* friend. So *Mithridates* and *Sylla* met together in the country of TROADE, in the city of DARDANE: *Mithridates* being accompanied with a fleete of two hundred ſaile of ſhippes with ores at ſea, with twenty thouſand footemen, ſixe thouſand horſe, and a number of armed cartes with ſythes beſides by land, *Sylla* hauing onely but foure enſignes of footemen, and two hundred horſemen. *Mithridates* went to *Sylla*, and offering to take him by the hand: *Sylla* asked him firſt, if he did accept the peace with the conditions which *Archelaus* had agreed vnto. *Mithridates* made him no anſwere. *Sylla* following on his tale, ſayd vnto him. It is for ſuters to

*Peace concluded betwixt Sylla and Archelaus in Mithridates behalfe vpon conditions.*

*Archelaus ſuſpected of treaſon.*

*Ariſtion tyrãt of Athens, poyſoned by Sylla.*

*Mithridates exception to the conditions.*

*Archelaus ſent from Sylla to Mithridates.*

*Sylla and Mithridates meete at Dardane.*

*The ſtoutneſſe of Sylla.*

ſpeake firſt, that haue requeſt to make: and for conquerours, it is enough to hold their peace, and heare what they will ſay. Then began *Mithridates* to excuſe himſelfe, and to lay the occaſion of the warre, partly vpon the ordinaunce of the gods that ſo had appointed it, and partly alſo vpon the ROMAINES themſelues. Whereunto *Sylla* replyed, that he had heard of long time that *Mithridates* was an eloquent Prince, and that he knew it now by experience, ſeeing that he lacked no comely words, to cloke his fowle and ſhamefull deeds, but withall he ſharpely reproued him, and draue him to confeſſe the cruelties he had committed. And afterwardes asked him againe, if he did confirme that which *Archelaus* had done. *Mithridates* made anſwere that he did. Then *Sylla* ſaluted, embraced, and kiſſed him: and calling for the kings *Nicomedes*, and *Ariobarzanes*, reconciled them together, and made *Mithridates* their friend againe. In concluſion, after *Mithridates* had deliuered *Sylla* three ſcore and ten gallies, and fiue hundred bow-men, he returned by ſea into his realme of PONTVS. But *Sylla* hearing that his ſouldiers were angry with this peace made with *Mithridates*, becauſe they could not abide to behold that king, whom they accounted for their moſt cruell and mortall enemy, (hauing in one ſelfe day cauſed a hundred and fifty thouſand ROMANE citizens to be ſlaine, that were diſperſed abroad in diuers places of ASIA) ſo to depart, and go his way ſafe, with the riches and ſpoyles of the countrey, which he had bereft them of, and vſed at his pleaſure, the ſpace of forty yeares together: aunſwered them in excuſe of himſelfe, that he was not able to make wars with *Mithridates*, & *Fimbria* both, if once they were ioyned together againſt him. And ſo *Sylla* departing thence, went againſt *Fimbria*, who then was encamped neare to the citie of THYATIRA, and lodged himſelfe as neare vnto him as he conueniently might. Now whileſt he was compaſsing in his lodging with a trench, *Fimbraes* ſouldiers came out of their camp in their coates without any armour or weapon, to ſalute *Syllaes* ſouldiers, and holpe them very friendly to make vp their trench. Which *Fimbria* ſeeing, and perceiuing his ſouldiers mindes ſo changed, of an extreme feare which he had of *Sylla*, at whoſe handes he looked for no mercy; killed himſelfe in his owne camp. *Sylla* hereupon condemned the whole country of ASIA the leſſe, to pay the ſumme of twenty thouſand talents amongeſt them, and preſently alſo he vndid many poore houſholders through his inſolent ſouldiers, lying long vpon their charge, which he left in garriſon there. For he ordained that euery houſholder ſhould giue the ſouldier that lodged in his houſe, foure Tetradrachmas a day, and ſhould be bound to giue him and his friends (as many as he would bring with him) their ſupper alſo: and that euery Captaine ſhould haue fifty Drachmas a day, a night gowne for the houſe, and a garment to go abroad into the city when he thought good. When he had giuen this order, he departed from the city of EPHESVS with all his fleete, and in three dayes ſayling arriued in the hauen of Piræa at ATHENS, where he was receiued into the fraternity of the myſteries, and reſerued for himſelfe the Librarie of *Apellicon Teian*: in the which were the moſt part of *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus* workes, not then thought meete to come in euery mans handes. And they ſay, that this Librarie being brought to ROME, *Tyrannion* the Grammarian found the meanes to extract a great part of them: and that *Andronicus* the RHODIAN hauing recouered the originals into his hands, put them in print, and wrote the ſummaries which we haue at this preſent. For the ancient Peripateticke Philoſophers were of themſelues very wiſe and learned men, but they had not all *Ariſtotles* workes, nor *Theophraſtus* amongeſt them, & yet thoſe few they had, were not by them ſeene all whole and perfect together: becauſe that the goods of *Neleus* SCEPSIAN (to whom *Theophraſtus* left all his bookes by will) came to fall into the hands of meane ignorant men, who knew not the vertue and eſtimation of them. And furthermore, *Sylla* being at ATHENS had ſuch a paine and numneſſe in his legges, and was ſo heauy withall, that *Strabo* calleth it a ſpice of the goute, that is to ſay, a feeling or entring therinto, which then began to roote and take hold of him. Vpon which occaſion he tooke the ſeas, and went vnto a place called ADIPSVM, where there are naturall hot bathes: and there remained a while ſolacing himſelfe all the day long with muſicke, ſeeing of playes, and entertaining ſuch kinde of people. Vpon a day as he was walking by the ſea ſide, certaine fiſher-men made him a preſent of fiſh, which pleaſed him maruellous well, & demanding of them whence they were: they anſwered him againe, that they were of the citie of ALES. What? of ALES

*Mithridates excuſeth him ſelfe to Sylla.*

*Syllaes aunſwere to Mithridates.*

*Nicomedes king of Bythinia.*

*Ariobarzanes king of Cappadocia.*

*A hundred & fiftie thouſand Romaines ſlaine in one day in Aſia by Mithridates commandement.*

*Fimbria camped at Thyatira.*

*Fimbria ſlain.*

*Sylla verie hardly intreated them of Aſia.*

*Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus bookes.*

*Sylla went to the bathes at Adipſum for the goute in his legges.*

ſayd he; is there any of them yet left aliue? ſpeaking it, becauſe that after the battell of ORCHOMENE when he followed the chaſe of his enemies, he had taken and deſtroyed three cities of BŒOTIA all at one ſelfe time, to wit ANTHEDON, LARYMNA, and ALES. The poore fiſher men were ſo amazed with theſe words, that they ſtood ſtill, & could not tell what to ſay. *Sylla* fell a laughing thereat, and bad them go their wayes a Gods name, and be not afrayed, for they brought no ſmall interceſſours with them, which were worth the reckening of. Whē *Sylla* had giuen them theſe wordes, the ALLEIANS went home with a merry hart, to gather themſelues together againe in the city. *Sylla* ſo paſsing through THESSALIA & MACEDON, came to the ſea ſide, intēding to go frō the city of DYRRACHIVM vnto BRVNDVSIVM, with twelue hundred ſaile. The city of APOLLONIA is hard by DYRRACHIVM, and there abouts is a parke conſecrated vnto the nymphes, where in a fayre goodly greene meadow in many places there commeth out great bubbles of fire that flame continually: and it is ſayd that there was a Satyre taken ſleeping, euen in the very ſelfe ſame forme the painters and image-grauers haue ſet him out. He was brought vnto *Sylla*, and being asked by all ſortes of interpreters what he was, he made no aunſwere that a man could vnderſtand: but onely put forth a ſharpe voyce like the neying of a horſe, or whynnying of a goate. *Sylla* wondering at it, abhorred him, and made him to be caried from him as a monſtrous thing. Furthermore, when *Sylla* had imbarked his men to paſſe the ſea, he was afrayed that ſo ſoone as they were landed in ITALIE, they would ſhrinke from him, and euery man go home to his owne. But they ſware and promiſed firſt of themſelues, that they would tary and keepe together, and by their willes would do no hurt in ITALIE. Moreouer, perceiuing that he ſtood in neede of money, they offred him of theirs, and euery man to lend him as his ability ſerued. But *Sylla* would none, yet thanked them for their good will: and after he had exhorted them to fight like valiant ſouldiers, he went againſt fifteen generals of armies of his enemies, who had foure hundred and fifty enſignes of footemen well armed, as he himſelfe writeth in his commentaries. But the gods promiſed him good fortune in his warres, by many ſundry apparant ſignes. For in a ſacrifice he made by TARENTVM, after he was come a land, the liuer of a certaine beaſt ſacrificed, was altogether faſhioned after the manner of a crown or garland of laurell, out of the which did hang two bands or rolles. And a litle before he went into CAMPANIA, neare vnto the mountaine Epheum, there appeared two great goates in the day time fighting together, euen as two men do when they fight: which neuertheleſſe was no matter of truth, but a viſion onely that appeared, and riſing from the earth diſperſed it ſelfe by litle and litle here and there in the ayre, and in the end vaniſhed quite away, as cloudes which come to nothing. Shortly after, in the ſelfe ſame place, *Marius* the younger, and *Norbanus* the Conſull, who brought two great armies againſt him, were ouerthrowen by him, before he had ſet his men in battell, or had appointed any man his place where he ſhould fight: and this proceeded onely vpon the courage and life of his ſouldiers, whoſe good will to ſerue againſt them was ſuch, as following this victory, he compelled the Couſull *Norbanus* after he had ſlaine ſix thouſand of his men, to take the citie of CAPVA for his refuge. This noble exploit, (as himſelfe reported) was the cauſe that his men kept ſo well together, that they neither went home to their houſes, nor made any reckening of their enemies, although they were many againſt one. And he ſayth furthermore, that in the city of SYLVIVM, there was a ſlaue of one P*ontius* a citizen, who being inſpired with a propheticall ſpirit, came to tell him from the goddeſſe *Bellona*, that he ſhould grow in ſtrength, and cary away the victory of theſe warres: howbeit that if he did not hye him the ſooner, the Capitoll at ROME ſhould be burnt. And ſo it fell out the ſame day according to his words, being the ſixteenth day of the month called Quintilis, & now Iuly. And furthermore alſo, *Lucullus* (one of *Syllaes* Captaines) being neare vnto the city of FIDENTIA with ſixteen enſignes onely, againſt fifty enſignes of his enemies, knowing his men to be very well affected to ſerue, becauſe the moſt part of them were naked and vnarmed, was afrayed to hazard the battell: & as he was euen bethinking himſelfe what was beſt to determine therof, there roſe a litle wind out of a goodly meadow that blew a wonderfull ſort of flowers vpon the ſouldiers on euery part of them. Theſe flowers ſtayed of themſelues as they fell, ſome vpon their targets, and others vpon their moryans, without falling to the ground: ſo

*Bubbles of fire riſing out of a meadow by Dirrachium.*

*A Satyre takē ſleeping, and brought to Sylla.*

*Sylla went againſt fifteen generals, and foure hundred and fiftie enſignes.*

*Syllaes returne into Italie.*

*Epheum mons.*

*Sylla ouerthrew the Conſull Norbanus and Marius the younger neare to the mountaine Epheum.*

*A ſlaue foreſhewed Syllaes victory, and the burning of the Capitoll which fell out truely.*

*A winde that blew flowers out of a meadow vpon Lucullus ſouldiers by the citie of Fidentia.*

that it ſeemed to their enemies a farre off, as if they had bene garlands of flowers vpon their heads. This made *Lucullus* ſouldiers more luſty a great deale then they were before, and with this good will they determined to giue a charge vpon their enemies: whom they ouerthrew, ſlue eighteen thouſand of them in the field, and tooke their camp. This *Lucullus* was brother vnto the other *Lucullus*, that afterwards ouerthrew the kings *Mithridates*, & *Tigranes*. Neuertheleſſe, *Sylla* perceiuing that his enemies lay round about him with many great puiſſant armies, thought good to vſe policy with force: & therefore practiſed with *Scipio* one of the Conſuls, to make peace with him. *Scipio* was willing to it: & therupon were oft meetings & aſſemblies of both ſides. Now *Sylla* draue off the concluſion of the peace as long as he could, ſtill ſeeking occaſion of delay, to the end that his ſouldiers which were throughly acquainted with craft and ſubtilty as well as himſelfe, might in the meane time corrupt *Scipioes* ſouldiers by repaire into his camp: for they comming into *Scipioes* camp, being very conuerſant with them, ſtraight corrupted ſome of them with ready money, other with promiſes, & other with fayre flattering wordes, and many goodly tales they told them. At the length, after this practiſe had continued a while, *Sylla* comming neare vnto *Scipioes* camp with twenty enſignes only: all his men ſaluted *Scipioes* ſouldiers, & they reſaluting them againe, yeelded themſelues vnto *Sylla*, ſo as *Scipio* was left poſt alone in his tente where he was taken, but they afterwardes let him go. So *Sylla* with his twenty enſignes, like vnto the fowlers, that by their ſtales draw other birdes into their nets, hauing gotten forty enſignes from his enemies by his craft, brought them away with him into his camp. There it was that *Carbo* ſayd of *Sylla*, that he had to fight with a foxe, and a lyon both: but that the foxe did him more hurt and miſchiefe then the lyon. After this, *Marius* the younger hauing foureſcore and fiue enſignes in his camp neare vnto the citie of SIGNIVM, preſented battell vnto *Sylla*: who hauing very good deſire to fight, and ſpecially on that day, becauſe the night before he had ſeene this viſion in his dreame, that he thought he ſaw *Marius* the father (who was deceaſed long before) warning his ſonne that he ſhould come to him. *Sylla* for this reſpect deſired maruellouſly to fight that day: and thereupon cauſed *Dolobella* to come vnto him, that was before lodged farre from him. But the enemies ſtept between him and home, and ſtopped his paſſage to keepe him from ioyning with *Sylla*. *Syllaes* ſouldiers to the contrary, fought to keepe the way open for him, with ſo great labour and paine, that they were all wearie and ouerharried. And furthermore, there fell a maruellous great ſhower of raine vpon them as they were buſie, opening the way, that troubled them more, then the labour they had in hand. Whereupon the priuate Captaines of the bandes went to make *Sylla* vnderſtand it, and to pray him to deferre the battell vntill an other day: ſhewing him how the ſouldiers wearied with labour, lay downe vpon their targets on the ground to take their eaſe. *Sylla* perceiuing this, was contented withall, though greatly indeede againſt his will. But when he had giuen the ſignall to lodge, and that they began to trench and fortifie their camp: *Marius* the yonger commeth a horſe backe marching brauely before all his companie, hoping to haue ſurpriſed his enemies in diſorder, & by that meanes to haue ouerthrowen them eaſily. But farre otherwiſe did fortune then performe the reuelation which *Sylla* had in his foreſayd dreame: for his men falling in a rage withall, left their worke in the trench where they wrought, ſtucke their dartes vpon the bancke, ranne vpon their enemies with their ſwordes drawen, and with a maruellous crie ſet vpon them ſo valiantly, that they were not able to reſiſt their furie, but ſodainly turned their backes and fled, where there was a great and notable ſlaughter made of them. *Marius* their Captaine fled to the citie of PRÆNESTE, where he found the gates ſhut: but they threw him downe a rope from the wall, which he tyed about his middle, and ſo was triced vp by it. Yet ſome writers ſay, and *Feneſtella* among other, that *Marius* neuer ſaw the battell: for being wearied with labour, and verie ſleepie, he lay vnder ſome tree in the ſhadow to reſt a litle, after he had giuen the ſignall and word of the battell, and ſlept ſo ſoundlie, that he could ſcant awake with the noyſe and fleeing of his men. *Sylla* himſelfe writeth, that he loſt at this battell but three and twentie men, ſlue twentie thouſand of his enemies, and tooke eight thouſand priſoners. His Lieutenants alſo had the like good ſucceſſe in other places, *Pompeius*, *Craſſus*, *Metellus*, and *Seruilius*: which without any loſſe of their men, or but with a very ſmall, ouerthrew ma-

*Lucullus victorie at Fidentia.*

*Syllaes policie with Scipio.*

*Sylla wanne 40. enſignes from Scipio by policie.*

*Carboes ſaying of Sylla touching the foxe and lyon.*

*Marius the younger with 85. enſignes preſenteth Sylla battell by the citie of Signium.*

*Syllaes viſion in his dreame.*

*Marius fled to Præneſte.*

*Carbo fled into Africke.*

*Theleſinus the Samnyte put Sylla in great danger.*

*Syllaes danger.*

*Sylla fled*

*Lucretius Offella beſieged Marius in Præneſte.*

*In the end of Marius life it is reported contrarie, that Sylla beſieged Marius the younger in Peruſia, and not in Præneſte.*

ny great mightie armies of their enemies. Inſomuch as *Carbo*, the head and chiefe of all the contrarie faction, and he that moſt maintained it, fled one night out of his camp, and went beyond the ſeas into Africke. The laſt battell that *Sylla* had, was againſt *Theleſinus* Samnyte, who comming like a freſh champion to ſet vpon him, when he was already wearied, and had fought many battels, had almoſt ſlaine him euen at Rome gates. For *Theleſinus* hauing gathered together a great number of ſouldiers with one *Lamponius* Lucanian, marched with all ſpeed towardes the city of Præneſte, to deliuer *Marius* the younger that was beſieged there. But vnderſtanding that *Sylla* on the one ſide, came in great haſt alſo to meete him, and that *Pomponius* came behind him on the other ſide, and perceiuing moreouer that the way was ſo ſhut vp, that he could neither go forward nor backeward being a valiant ſouldier, and one that had bene in many great foughten fieldes, moſt dangerouſly ventured to go ſtraight to Rome. And ſo ſtale away by night with all his whole power, and marching to Rome ward, had almoſt taken it at his firſt comming, for that there was neither watch nor ward kept: but he ſtayed happely ten furlonges from the gate Collina, bragging with him ſelfe, and beleeuing that he ſhould do wonders, for that he had mocked ſo many great Captaines. The next morning betimes came diuers young noble men and gentlemen out of the citie to ſkirmiſh with *Theleſinus*: who ſlue a great number of them, and among others one *Appius Claudius* a young gentleman of a noble houſe, and very honeſt. Whereupon (as you may eaſily imagine) the city trembled for feare, and ſpecially the women, who fell a ſhreeking, and running vp and downe, as if they had bene all taken. But in this great feare and trouble, *Balbus* (whom *Sylla* had ſent) came firſt with ſeuen hundred horſe vpon the ſpurre, and ſtaying but a litle to coole and giue them breath, bridled ſtraight againe, and went to ſet vpon the enemies thereby to ſtay them. Soone after him came *Sylla* alſo, who commanded his men that came firſt, quickly to eate ſomwhat, and that done, put them ſtraight in battell ray: notwithſtanding that *Dolobella* and *Torquatus* perſwaded him to the contrary, and beſought him not to put his ſouldiers wearied with their iourney, to ſo great and maniſeſt a danger, and the rather, becauſe they had not to fight with *Carbo* and *Marius*, but with the Samnytes and Lucanes, who were (both) warlike nations & good ſouldiers, and thoſe beſides that moſt deadly hated the Romaines. But for all that, *Sylla* draue them backe, and commanded his trompets to ſound the alarome, being almoſt within foure houres of night: and this battell was ſharper and more cruell, then any other that euer he fought before. The right wing where *Craſſus* was, had the better much: but the left wing was very ſore diſtreſſed, and ſtood in great perill. *Sylla* hearing thereof, and thinking to helpe it, got vp vpon a white courſer that was both ſwift, and very ſtrong. The enemies knew him, and there were two that lifted vp their armes to throw their dartes at him, whom he ſaw not: but his page gaue his horſe ſuch a laſh with his whippe, that he made him ſo to gird forward, as the very points of the dartes came hard by the horſe tayle, and ſtucke faſt in the ground. Some ſay that *Sylla* had a litle golden image of *Apollo*, which he brought from the city of Delphes, and in time of warres ware it alwayes in his boſome, which he then tooke in his hand, and kiſſing it, ſaid: O *Apollo Pythius*, haſt thou ſo highly exalted *Cornelius Sylla*, ſo fortunate hitherto through ſo many famous victories, and wilt thou now with ſhame ouerwhelme him wholly, euen at the very gates of his owne naturall city among his country men? And ſo crying out to *Apollo* for helpe, thruſt into the preaſe among his men, intreating ſome, threatning others, and laying vpon the reſt to ſtay them. But for all he could do, all the left wing of his armie was broken and ouerthrowen by his enemies: and himſelfe amongeſt them that fled, was compelled to recouer his camp with ſpeede, hauing loſt many of his friendes and familiars. There were moreouer many citizens ſlaine and troden vnder feete (both with horſe and men) that came onely to ſee the battell fought: ſo that they within the citie thought themſelues vtterly vndone. *Lucretius Offella* furthermore (he that Beſieged *Marius* in the citie of Præneſte) had almoſt raiſed his ſiege, vpon the wordes of them that fled and came thither from the battell, who wiſhed him to remoue with all ſpeed poſſible, for *Sylla* was ſlaine, and *Theleſinus* had taken Rome. Now about midnight came certaine ſouldiers from *Craſſus* to *Syllaes* camp, and asked for meate for *Craſſus* ſupper, and his mens, who hauing chaſed his flying enemies whom he had ouerthrowen, throwne, vnto the city of ANTEMNA (which they tooke for refuge) had lodged his campe there. *Sylla* vnderſtanding that, and being aduertiſed that the moſt parte of his enemies were ouerthrowne at this battell, went himſelf the next morning betimes vnto ANTEMNA, where three thouſand of his enemies ſent to know if he would receiue them to mercy, if they yeelded themſelues vnto him. His anſwer was, that he would pardon their liues, ſo as they would doe ſome miſchiefe to their fellowes before they came to him. Theſe three thouſand hereupon truſting to his promiſe, fell vpon their companions: and for the moſt part one of them killed another. Notwithſtanding, *Sylla* hauing gathered all thoſe together that remained of his enemies, as well the three thouſand, as the reſt, amounting in all to the number of ſix thouſand men, within the ſhew-place where they vſed to run their horſes: whileſt he himſelfe held a councell in the temple of the goddeſſe *Bellona*, and was making his oration there, he had appointed certaine to ſet vpon thoſe ſix thouſand, and put them to the ſword euery man. Great & terrible were the cries of ſuch a number of men ſlaine in ſo ſmall a roome, as many may eaſily coniecture: inſomuch as the Senators ſitting in councell heard them very eaſily, and maruelled what the matter was. But *Sylla* continuing on his oration which he had begun with a ſet ſteadie countenance, without changing of colour, willed them only to hearken what he ſaid, and not to trouble themſelues with any thing done abroade: for they were but certaine offenders and lewd perſons that were puniſhed by his commandement. This was enough to ſhew the ſimpleſt ROMAINE in ROME, that they had but only changed the tyrant, but not the tyranny. Now for *Marius*, that had bene euer of a churliſh and ſeuere nature euen from his childhood, he neuer changed for any authority, but did rather harden his naturall ſtubborneſſe. Where *Sylla* contrarily in the beginning, was very modeſt and ciuil in all his proſperity, & gaue great good hope that if he came to the authority of a prince, he would fauour nobility well, and yet loue notwithſtanding the benefit of the people. And being moreouer a man in his youth giuē all to pleaſure, delighting to laugh, ready to pity, and weepe for tender heart: in that he became after ſo cruell and bloudy, the great alteration gaue manifeſt cauſe to condemne the increaſe of honor and authority, as the onely meanes whereby mens manners continue not ſuch as they were at the firſt, but ſtill do change and vary, making ſome fooles, others vaine and fantaſticall, & others extreame cruell and vnnaturall. But whether that alteration of nature came by chāging his ſtate & condition, or that it was otherwiſe a violent breaking out of hidden malice, which then came to ſhew it ſelfe, when the way of liberty was laide open: this matter is to be decided in ſome other treatiſe. So it came to paſſe, that *Sylla* fel to ſhedding of bloud, & filled all ROME with infinite & vnſpeakable murthers: for diuers were killed for priuate quarrels, that had nothing to do with *Sylla* at any time, who ſuffred his friends & thoſe about him to worke their wicked wils. Vntill at the length there was a young man called *Caius Metellus*, that was ſo bold to aske *Sylla* in open Senate, when all theſe miſeries ſhould end, and when they ſhould know that all the miſchiefes were finiſhed, the which they daily ſaw. For ſaid he, we will not intreat you to pardon life, where you haue threatned death: but only to put them out of doubt whom you haue determined to ſaue. Wherunto *Sylla* made anſwer, that he was not reſolued whom he would ſaue. *Metellus* replied, then tell vs quoth he, who they are that ſhall die. *Sylla* anſwered he would. Howbeit ſome ſay it was not *Metellus*, but *Aufidius* one of his flatterers, that ſpake this laſt word vnto him. Wherefore *Sylla* immediatly without making any of the magiſtrats priuy, cauſed foureſcore mens names to be ſet vp vpon poſts, whom he would put to death. Euery mā being offended withall, the next day following he ſet vp 220 mens names more: and likewiſe the third day as many more. Hereupon, making an oration to the people, he told them openly that he had appointed all them to die, that he could call to remembrance: howbeit that hereafter he would appoint them that ſhould die by daies, as he did call them to minde. Whoſoeuer ſaued an outlaw in his houſe, for rewarde of his kindeneſſe, he himſelfe was condemned to die: not excepting them that had receiued their brothers, their ſonnes, their fathers, nor mothers. And the rewarde of euery homicide and murtherer that killed one of the outlawes, was two talents: though it were a ſlaue that had killed his maiſter, or the ſonne that had ſlaine the father. But the moſt wicked & vniuſt act of all was, that he depriued the ſons, and ſonnes ſonnes of them whom he had killed, of all credit & good name, & beſides

*3000. ſaued themſelues in Antemna: & yeelded to Sylla vpon promiſe of life.*

*Sylla againſt the law of armes and his promiſe, cauſed ſixe thouſand men to be ſlain.*

*Honor changeth cōditions. Sylla the example.*

*Infinite murthers committed in Rome by Sylla and his fauorers.*

*The boldneſſe of Caius Metellus, to tell Sylla his crueltie in open Senate.*

*Syllaes proſcription.*

that had taken all their goods as confiſcate. And this was not only done in ROME, but alſo in all the cities of ITALIE through out:& there was no temple of any god whatſoeuer, no aulter in any bodies houſe, no liberty of hoſpitall, nor fathers houſe, that was not embrued with bloud and horrible murther. For the husbands were ſlaine in their wiues armes, and the children on their mothers laps: and yet they which were ſlaine for priuate hatred & malice, were nothing in reſpect of thoſe that were murthered onely for their goods. And they that killed them might well ſay, his goodly great houſe made that man die, his goodly faire garden the other:& his hotte bathes an other. As amongſt others, *Quintus Aurelius*, a man that neuer medled with any thing, and leaſt looked that theſe euils ſhould light vpon him, and that only pitied thoſe which he ſaw ſo miſerably murthered: went one day into the market place, & reading the bill ſet vp of the outlawes names, found his owne name amongſt the reſt, and cried out aloude: alas the day that euer I was borne, my houſe of ALEA maketh me to be put to death. He went not farre from the market place, but met with one that killed him preſently. In the meane time, *Marius* the yonger ſeeing he could by no means eſcape if he were taken, ſlue himſelfe. And *Sylla* comming to PRÆNESTE, did firſt execute them by one and by one, keeping a certaine forme of iuſtice in putting them to death: but afterwards as if he had no longer leiſure to remaine there, he cauſed them all to be put in a place together, to the number of twelue thouſand men, whom he cauſed to be put to the ſword euery man, ſauing his hoaſt only, vnto whom he ſaid, that he ſhewed him ſpecially fauour to ſaue his life. But his hoaſt anſwered him ſtoutly againe, that he would not be beholding vnto him for his life, ſeeing he had ſlaine all the reſt of his countrimen: and ſo thruſting in amongſt the citizens, was willingly ſlaine with them. They thought the act of *Lucius Catiline* alſo very ſtrange, who had ſlaine his owne brother before the ciuill warre was ended: and then praied *Sylla* to put him in the number of the outlawes, as if his brother had bene aliue. *Sylla* performed his deſire. *Catiline* thereupon to ſhew his thankefulneſſe for the pleaſure *Sylla* had done him, went preſently, and ſlue *Marcus Marius*, who was of the contrary faction: and brought him his head for a preſent before all the people, in the middeſt of the market place where he was ſitting. When he had ſo done, he went & waſhed his hands all bloudied in the hallowed fonte of the temple of *Apollo*, that was hard by. But beſides ſo many murthers committed, yet were there other things alſo that grieued the people maruellouſly. For he proclaimed himſelfe Dictator, which office had not bene of ſixſcore yeares before in vſe, and made the Senate diſcharge him of all that was paſt, giuing him free liberty afterwards to kill whom he would, and to confiſcate their goods: to deſtroy cities, and to build vp new as he liſted: to take away kingdomes, and to giue them where he thought good. And furthermore, he openly ſolde the goods confiſcate, by the crier, ſitting ſo proudly and ſtately in his chaire of ſtate, that it grieued the people more to ſee thoſe goods packt vp by them, to whome he gaue and diſpoſed them, then to ſee them taken from thoſe that had forfeited them. For ſomtimes he would giue a whole country, or the whole reuenues of certaine cities, vnto women for their beauty, or vnto pleaſant ieſters, minſtrels, or wicked ſlaues made free: and vnto ſome, he would giue other mens wiues by force, and make them to be married againſt their willes. For he deſiring (howſoeuer it happened) to make alliance with *Pompey* the great, commaunded him to put away his wife he had maried: and taking *Æmylia* (the daughter of *Æmylius* Scaurus, & of *Metella* his wife) from the great *Glabrio*, cauſed him to mary her great with childe as ſhe was by *Glabrio*: but ſhe died in childbed, in *Pompeyes* houſe. *Lucretius Offella* alſo that had brought *Marius* the younger to that diſtreſſe at the city of PRÆNESTE: ſuing to be Conſull, *Sylla* commanded him to ceaſe his ſute. But he notwithſtanding that expreſſe commaundement, went one day into the market place, with a great traine of men following him that fauoured his cauſe. Whither *Sylla* ſent one of his Centurions that ſlue *Offella* before all the people: himſelfe ſitting in a chaire of eſtate in the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and ſeeing from aboue the murther done. The people that were about *Offella*, laid hold of the murtherer ſtraight & brought him before *Sylla*. But *Sylla* bad them be quiet that brought the Centurion with tumult, and that they ſhould let him go, becauſe he commaunded him to do it. Furthermore as touching his triumphe, it was a ſumptuous ſight to behold, for the rareneſſe of the riches, and princely ſpoiles which were ſhewed at the ſame.

*The murther of outlawes generall through Italy.*

*Quintus Aurelius, a quiet man that medled not, ſlaine for his houſe.*

*Marius the younger ſlue himſelfe at Præneſte.*

*Sylla ſlue 12. thouſand men in Præneſte, being put all into one place together.*

*Lucius Catilina ſlue his owne brother.*

**Sylla Dictator.**

*Lucretius Offella ſlaine.*

But yet was it ſo much the better ſet out, and worth the ſight, to ſee the baniſhed Romaines, who were the chiefeſt noble men of all the city of Rome, following his chariot triumphant wearing garlands of flowers on their heads, calling *Sylla* their father, and ſauiour: becauſe that by his meanes they returned to their countrie, and recouered their goods, wiues, & children. In the end of his triumphe, he made an oration in open aſſembly of the people of Rome, in the which he did not only declare vnto them (according to the cuſtome ( what things he had done, but did as carefully tell them alſo as well of his good fortune and ſucceſſe, as of his valiant deeds beſides: and to conclude his oration, tolde them that by reaſon of the great fauour fortune had ſhewed him, he would from thenceforth be called by them, *Felix*, to ſay, happy, or fortunate. And he himſelfe when he wrote vnto the Grecians, or that he had any thing to do with them: ſurnamed himſelfe *Epaphroditus*, as who would ſay, a pleaſant man, beloued and fououred of *Venus*. His tokens of triumphe which are yet in our countrie, haue this ſuperſcription. *Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus*. And when his wife *Metella* had brought him two twinnes, a ſonne and a daughter: he named his ſonne *Fauſtus*, ſignifying fortunate, and his daughter *Fauſta*: becauſe the Romaines call Fauſtum that, which falleth out proſperouſly, and happely. To be ſhort, he truſted ſo much vnto his good fortune and doings, that notwithſtanding he had killed and put ſo many men to death, and had made ſo great a change and innouation in the commonwealth, yet of himſelfe he left off his office of Dictator, and reſtored the people to the authority of election of Conſuls againe, without his preſence at the election: and frequented the market place as a priuate man among the citizens, offering himſelfe to euery man that would aske him account of his doings paſt. It happened that a ſtoute and raſhe enemy of his was choſen Conſull againſt his will, called *Marcus Lepidus*, not for any deuotion the people had to *Lepidus*, but onely to gratifie *Pompey*, who gaue countenance and fauour vnto him. *Sylla* ſeeing *Pompey* come merry homewards from the election, & ioyfull that he had obtained his friends ſute from all other ſuters: tooke him a ſide, and told him. In deede thou haſt great cauſe to reioyce, youngman my friend, for thou haſt done a goodly acte: to chooſe *Marcus Lepidus* Conſull, the verieſt aſſe in all Rome, before *Catulus* the honeſteſt man. But I tell thee one thing, thou hadſt not neede to ſleepe: for thou haſt ſtrengthened an enemie, that will be thine owne deſtruction. And *Sylla* proued a true prophet: for *Lepidus* being bent to all cruelty immediatly after, flatly fell at defiance with *Pompey*. Now *Sylla* conſecrating the diſmes of all his goods vnto *Hercules*, made exceeding ſumptuous feaſts vnto the Romaines, the prouiſion whereof was ſo vnreaſonable great, that euery day they threw a great deale of meate into the riuer, and they dranke wine of forty yeares olde and aboue. During theſe feaſts which continued many dayes, his wife *Metella* ſickened, and died, and in her ſickeneſſe the Prieſts and Soothſaiers willed *Sylla* he ſhould not come neere her, nor ſuffer his houſe to be polluted and defiled with mourning for the dead. Whereupon *Sylla* was diuorced from her in her ſickneſſe, and cauſed her to be caried into an other houſe, whileſt ſhe liued. And thus did *Sylla* curiouſly obſerue the ſuperſtition and ordinance of the ſoothſayers: but yet he brake the law which he made himſelfe, touching the order of funerals, ſparing no coſt at *Metellaes* buriall. So did he alſo breake an other order himſelfe had made, touching the reformation of banckets: comforting his ſorrow with ordinary feaſts, full of all vanitie and laſciuiouſneſſe. Within a fewe moneths after, he had fenſers games at the ſharpe: and the roomes of the Theater being open and vnſeuered, men and women ſitting together, it fortuned that there was a faire Lady, and of a noble houſe, that ſat hard by *Sylla*, called *Valeria*: ſhe was the daughter of *Meſſala*, and ſiſter of *Hortenſius* the orator, and had bene diuorced not long before from her husband. This Lady paſſing by *Sylla* behinde him, did ſoftly put her hand on his ſhoulder, and tooke a haire from off his gowne, and ſo went on to her place, and ſat her downe. *Sylla* maruelling at this familiarity, looked earneſtly vpon her: it is nothing my Lord, (quoth ſhe) but that I deſire with others to be partaker a litle of your happineſſe. Her words miſliked not *Sylla*, but contrarily he ſhewed that ſhe had tickled him with them: for he ſent ſtraight to aske her name, and enquired of what houſe ſhe was, and how ſhe had liued. But after many ſlie lookes betweene them, they turned their faces one to another vpon euery occaſion, with prety ſmiling countenances: ſo that in the end, they came to promiſe and

*The order of Syllaes triumphe.*

*Syllaes twins, named Fauſtus and Fauſta.*

*Sylla leaueth his Dictatorſhip.*

*Marcus Lepidus choſen Conſull.*

*Sylla feaſted the people.*

*Wine of fortie yeares olde and vpward.*

*Sylla brake his owne lawes he made.*

*Valeria, deſirous to be partaker of Syllaes happineſſe.*

contract mariage together, for the which *Valeria* was not to be blamed. For though ſhe was as wiſe, as honeſt, and as vertuous a Lady as could be poſſible, yet the occaſion that made *Sylla* mary her, was neither good nor commendable, becauſe he was taken ſtraight with a looke and a fine tongue, as if he had bene but a young boy: which commonly ſhew forth the filthieſt paſſions of the minde, to be ſo caried, and with ſuch motions. Now, notwithſtanding he had this faire young Lady in his houſe, he left not the company of women minſtrels & tumblers, and to haue pleaſant ieſters and muſitians about him, with whom he would lie wallowing & drinking all the day long, vpon litle couches made for the nonce. For, his companions that were in greateſt eſtimation with him at that time, were theſe three: *Roſcius* a maker of common playes, *Sorex* a prince of ſcoffers, & one *Metrobius* a ſinging man, whom he was in loue withall while he liued, & yet did not diſſemble his loue, though he was paſt age to be beloued. This wicked life of his was cauſe of increaſing his diſeaſe, the originall cauſe whereof had light foundation at the firſt. For he liued a great time before he perceiued that he had an impoſtume in his body, the which by proceſſe of time came to corrupt his fleſh in ſuch ſort, that it turned all to lice: ſo that notwithſtanding he had many men about him, to ſhift him continually night and day, yet the lice they wiped away were nothing, in reſpect of them that multiplied ſtill vpon him. And there was neither apparell, linnen, bathes, waſhing, nor meate it ſelfe, but was preſently filled with ſwarmes of this vile vermine. For he went many times in the day into the bathe to waſhe and clenſe himſelfe of them, but all would not ſerue: for the changing of his fleſh into this putriture wan it ſtraight againe, that there was no clenſing, nor ſhifting of him, that could keepe ſuch a number of lice from him. Some ſay, that in olde time (amongſt the moſt ancienteſt men, whereof there is any memorie) *Acaſtus* the ſonne of *Pelias*, died of the lowſie euill: and long time after alſo, the Poet *Alcman*, and *Pherecides* the diuine: and ſo did *Calliſthenes* OLYNTHIAN in priſon, and *Mutius* a wiſe lawier. And if we ſhall make mention of thoſe that are famous men, although it be not in any good matter: we finde that a bonde man called *Eunus*, he that was the firſt procurer of the warres of the bondmen in SICILIA, being taken and caried to ROME, died alſo of the ſame diſeaſe. Furthermore, *Sylla* did not onely foreſee his death, but he wrote ſome thing of it alſo: for he made an end of writing the two & twentith booke of his commentaries, two daies before he died. In that booke he ſaith, that the wiſe men of CHALDEA had told him long before, that after he had liued honourably, he ſhould end his daies in the flower of all his proſperitie. And there he ſaieth alſo, that his ſonne (who departed a litle before his mother *Metella*) appeared to him in his ſleepe, apparelled in an ill fauoured gowne, and that comming vnto him, he prayed him he would go with him vnto *Metella* his mother, thenceforth to liue in peace and reſt with her. But for all his diſeaſe, he would not giue ouer to deale in matters of ſtate. For ten dayes before his death, he pacified a ſedition, and tumult, riſen among the inhabitants of the city of PVTEOLANVM (in Italian called POZZOLO) and there he gaue them lawes and ordinances, whereby they ſhould gouerne themſelues. And the day before he died, hearing that *Granius* who was in debt to the commonwealth, deferred paiment of his money looking for his death: he ſent for him, and made him come into his chamber, and there cauſed his men to compaſſe him about, and commanded them to ſtrangle him in his ſight. The paſſion of his anger was ſo vehement againſt him, that by the extreame ſtraining of himſelfe, he brake the impoſtume in his body, ſo as there guſhed out a wonderfull deale of bloud: by reaſon whereof his ſtrength failing him, he was full of paine and pangs that night, and ſo died, leauing the two litle children he had by *Metella*. For *Valeria*, was brought to bed of a daughter after his death, which was called *Poſthumia*, becauſe the ROMAINES call thoſe children that are borne after the death of their fathers, *Poſthumi*. Now when *Sylla* was dead, many gathered about the Conſull *Lepidus* to let that his body ſhould not be honorably buried, as they were accuſtomed to bury noblemen & men of quality. But *Pompey*, though he was angry with *Sylla*, becauſe he had giuen him nothing in his will, and had remembred all his other friends: yet he made ſome for loue, ſome by intreaty, and others with threatning to let it alone, and accompanying the corps into ROME, gaue both ſafety and honor vnto the performance of his funerals. And it is ſaid alſo, that the ROMAINE Ladies, amongſt other things, beſtowed ſuch a quantity of perfumes and

*Sylla maried Valeria, the ſiſter of Hortenſius the Orator.*

*Syllaes impoſtume turned to lice.*

*Diuers famous men that died of lyce.*

*Syllaes commentaries containe 22 bookes.*

*Syllaes ſonne that was dead appeared to him in his dreame in ill fauored apparell.*

*Granius ſtrangled in Syllaes ſight by his own comandement.*

*Syllaes death.*

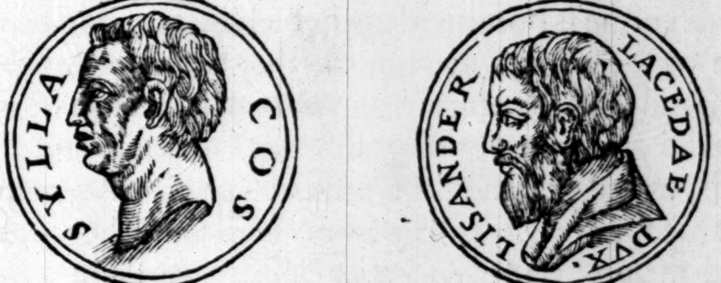
*Poſthumi.*

*Syllaes funeralles.*

odoriferous matter towards the ſame: that beſides thoſe which were brought in two hundred and ten great baskets, they made a great image to the likeneſſe of *Sylla* himſelfe, and an other of a ſergeant carying the axes before him, all of excellent incence and ſynamon. When the day of the funerals came, fearing leaſt it would raine in the forenoone, all the element being ſo cloudie, they deferred to cary forth the body to be burnt, vntill paſt three of the clocke in the afternoone. And then roſe there ſuch a ſodaine boiſterous winde, that it ſet all the ſtake of wood ſtraight a fire, that the body was burnt at a trice, and the fire going out, fell a great ſhower of raine that held on till night: ſo that it ſeemed good fortune following him euen to his ende, did alſo helpe his obſequies after his death. His tombe is to be ſeene in the fielde of *Mars*: and they ſay that he himſelfe made his owne epitaphe that is written vpon it, which was: that no man did euer paſſe him, neither in doing good to his friends, nor in doing miſchiefe to his enemies.

*Syllaes epitaphe.*

# THE COMPARISON OF
## *Sylla with Lyſander.*



NOw that we haue at large alſo ſet forth the life of the ROMAINE, let vs come to compare them both together. In this they are both a like, that both of them grew to be great men, riſing of themſelues through their owne vertue: but this onely is proper to *Lyſander*, that all the offices and dignities which he attained vnto in the commonwealth, were laide vpon him through the peoples good wills and conſents. For he compelled them to nothing, neither vſurped he any extraordinarie authoritie vpon them, contrary to lawe: for, as the common ſaying is:

> *VVhere partialitie, and diſcorde once do raigne:*
> *There wicked men are moſt eſteemde, and rule with greateſt gaine.*

As at that time in ROME, the people being corrupted, and the ſtate of gouernment vtterly ſubuerted and brought to nought: to day there roſe vp one tyrant, to morow an other. And therfore we may not wonder if *Sylla* vſurped and ruled all, when ſuch fellowes as *Glaucia* and *Saturninus*, did both baniſh & driue out of ROME ſuch men as *Metellus* was: and where alſo in open aſſembly they ſlue Conſuls ſonnes in the market place, and where force of armes was bought & ſold for gold and ſiluer, with the which the ſoldiers were corrupted: & where they made new lawes with fire and ſword, and forced men to obey the ſame. Yet I ſpeake not this in reproache of him that in ſuch troubleſome times founde meanes to make himſelfe the greateſt man: but to ſhew that I meaſure not his honeſty by the dignity he grew vnto in ſo vnfortunate a city, although he became the chiefe. And as touching him that came frō SPARTA

*The chiefe perſon is not alwaies the honeſteſt.*

(at what time it floriſhed moſt, and was the beſt gouerned commonweale) he in all great cauſes, and in moſt honourable offices, was reputed for the beſt of all beſts, and the chieſe of all chieſes. Wherefore it happened, that the one reſigned vp the authoritie to his countrimen, the citizens, which they had giuen him, who alſo reſtored it to him againe many and ſundry times: for the honour of his vertue did alwaies remaine, and made him iuſtly accounted for the worthieſt man. Where the other being once onely choſen generall of an armie, remained ten yeares continually in warres and hoſtilitie, making himſelfe by force, ſometime Conſull, ſometime vice Conſull, and ſometime Dictator, but alwayes continued a tyrant. In deede *Lyſander* attempted to change, and alter the ſtate of gouernment in his countrie, howbeit it was with greater lenity, & more lawfully then *Sylla* did. For he ſought it by reaſon, and good perſuaſion, not by the ſworde: neither would he make a change of the whole at one ſelfe time as *Sylla* did, but ſought only to reforme the election of kings. The which thing according to nature, doubtleſſe ſeemed very iuſt: that he which was the beſt amongſt good men, ſhould be choſen king of that citie, which was the chiefe ouer all GRECE, not for her nobilitie, but for her vertue onely. For like as a good hunter doth not ſeeke for the whelpe of a good dog, but for the good dogge himſelfe: nor a wiſe man of armes alſo, the colte that commeth of a good horſe, but the good horſe himſelfe. Euen ſo, he that taketh vpon him to ſtabliſh a ciuill gouernment, committeth a fowle fault, if he looke of whom his Prince ſhould be borne, and not what the Prince himſelfe ſhould be, conſidering that the LACEDÆMONIANS themſelues haue depriued diuerſe of their kings from their crowne and realme, becauſe they were not Princely, but vnprofitable, and good for nothing. Vice, although it be in a noble man, yet is it alwaies ill of it ſelfe: but vertue is honoured for her ſelfe alone, and not becauſe ſhe is placed with nobility. Nowe for the wrongs and iniuries they both committed, the one did worke onely to pleaſure his friends, and the other to offend them to whom he was bounden. For it is certaine that *Lyſander* did great wrongs to gratifie his familiars: and the moſt parte of them whom he put to death, was to eſtabliſh the tyrannicall power of certaine his friends. Where *Sylla* ſought for ſpight to take away his army from *Pompey*, and the Admiralty from *Dolobella*, which he himſelfe had giuen, & cauſed *Lucretius Offella* to be ſlaine openly in his owne ſight, becauſe he ſought to be Conſull, for recompence of the good ſeruice he had done: for which cruelty of his, cauſing his owne friends to be ſlaine in ſuch ſort, he made euery man afeard of him. Furthermore, their behauiours touching couetouſneſſe and pleaſure doth ſhew, that the intent of the one was the deſire of a good Prince, and the other, that of a tyrant. For we doe not finde that *Lyſander*, for all his great Princely authority, did euer vſe any inſolencie or laſciuiouſneſſe in his deedes, but alwaies auoided as much as a man might, the reproache of this common prouerbe: Lyons at home, and Foxes abroade: he led ſuch a true LACONIAN life, ſtraightly reformed in all points. Where *Sylla* could neuer moderate his vnlawfull luſts, neither for pouerty when he was young, nor yet for age, when it came vpon him. But whileſt he gaue lawes to the ROMAINES touching matrimoniall honeſtie and chaſtitie: himſelfe in the meane time did nothing but follow loue, and commit adulteries, as *Saluſt* writeth. By meanes whereof he ſo much impoueriſhed ROME, and left it ſo voide of golde and ſiluer: that for readie money he ſold abſolute freedome vnto the cities their confederats, yet was it his dayly ſtudie to confiſcate and take for forfeit, the richeſt and moſt wealthieſt houſes in all the whole citie of ROME. But all this ſpoile and hauock was nothing in compariſon of that which he daily caſt away vpon his ieſters and flatterers. What ſparing, or meaſure may we thinke he kept, in his gifts at priuate banckets: when openly in the day time (all the people of ROME being preſent, to ſee him ſell the goods which he had cauſed to be confiſcate) he made one of his friends and familiars, to truſſe vp a great deale of houſehold ſtuffe, for a very litle price? And when any other had out bidden his price, and that the crier had cried it out aloude: then was he angry, & ſaid: My friends, I haue great wrong done me here, not to ſuffer me ſell the ſpoile I haue gotten at mine owne pleaſure, and diſpoſe it as I liſt my ſelfe. Where *Lyſander* contrarily ſent to the commonwealth of SPARTA, with other money, the very preſents that were giuen to himſelfe. And yet I do not commend him in that deed. For, peraduenture he did more hurte to SPARTA, bringing thither that golde and ſiluer: then *Sylla* did to ROME, in waſting

*Lyſanders & Syllaes faults.*

*Lyſanders temperance and moderate life.*

*Syllaes licentious and prodigall life.*

*Syllaes tyrannicall ſaying.*

and conſuming that he conſumed. Howbeit I alledge this onely, for proofe and declaration that *Lyſander* was nothing couetous. They both haue done that vnto their city, which neuer any other but them ſelues did. For *Sylla* being a riotous and licentious man, brought his citizens notwithſtanding to good order and gouernment: and *Lyſander* contrarily filled his city with vice, yet not infected withall him ſelfe. Thus were they both offendors, the one for breaking the law he commaunded to be kept, and the other in making the citizens worſe then he was him ſelfe: for he taught the SPARTANS to deſire thoſe things, which he aboue all things had learned to deſpiſe. And thus much concerning peace and ciuill gouernment. Now for matters of warre and battels fought, there is no compariſon to be made of *Lyſander* to *Sylla*, neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battell. For *Lyſander* wan onely but two battels by ſea, beſides the taking of the city of ATHENS: which (though I graunt him) being rightly conſidered, was no great exploite of war, howbeit it was a noble act, conſidering the fame he wanne by it. And as for things which happened to him in BOEOTIA, hard by the city of ALIARTE: a man might ſay peraduenture that he had ill lucke. But yet me thinks alſo there was a fault in him, for that he ſtaied not for king *Pauſanias* aide (the which came from PLATEES immediatly after his ouerthrow) and becauſe he went in a gaire in fury, and in a vaine ambition to runne his head againſt a wall: ſo that men of all ſortes making a deſperate ſaly out of ALIARTE vpon him, ſlue him there to no purpoſe. Farre vnlike to *Cleombrotus* that dyed at the battell of LEVCTRES, reſiſting his enemies that diſtreſſed his men: nor yet like *Cyrus*, nor *Epaminondas*, who to keepe his men from flying, and to giue them aſſured victory, receiued his deadly wound: for all theſe men died like noble kings, and valiant Captaines. Where *Lyſander* raſhly caſt him ſelfe away, to his great diſhonour, by too much venturing: prouing thereby, that the auncient SPARTANS did like wiſe men, to auoide the fight with walles. For the nobleſt and valianteſt man that is, or poſſible can be, may eaſily be ſo ſlaine, not onely by the firſt ſouldier that commeth, but by euery ſeely woman or childe. As they ſay that the worthy *Achilles* was killed by *Paris* within the very gates of TROIA. Now to the contrary again, the victories that *Sylla* wanne in ſet battels, and the thouſandes of enemies which he ſlue, are not eaſily to be numbred, beſides alſo that he tooke the city of ROME twiſe, and the hauen of ATHENS: not by famine as *Lyſander* did, but by force, after he had by many great battels driuen *Archelaus* out of firme land into the maine ſea. It is to be conſidered alſo, againſt what Captaines they made warres. For me thinkes it was but a paſtime, as a man might ſay, for *Lyſander* to fight with *Antiochus*, a pylot of *Alcibiades*, or to ſurpriſe and deceiue *Philocles*, a common orator at ATHENS:

*Sylla for wars to be preferred before Lyſander.*

*Much worſe then two edged ſword, his buſie tongue did ſeeme:*
*VVhich pratled ſtill, and honeſty did neuer once eſteeme.*

And whom *Mithridates* (in my opinion) would not vouchſafe to compare with his horſekeeper, nor *Marius* with one of his ſergeaunts or maſebearers. But to leaue a ſide the particular names of all other Princes, Lordes, Conſuls, Prætors, Captaines, and Gouernours that made wars with *Sylla*: what ROMAINE Captaine was there more to be feared, then *Marius*? what king liuing was there of ſuch power as king *Mithridates*? And of Generals and Lieutenauntes of armies in all ITALY, were there any euer more valiant, then *Lamponius* and *Theleſinus*: of the which *Sylla* draue the one away, and brought the other to obey him, and ſlue the two laſt? But the greateſt matter of all that we haue ſpoken of yet, in my opinion was, that *Lyſander* did all his noble actes, with the aide of his whole countrey: where *Sylla* to the contrary did his, (being baniſhed from his country) by his enemies. And at the ſelfe ſame time that they draue *Syllaes* wife out of ROME, that they ouerthrew his houſes, and ſlue his friendes alſo in ROME: he notwithſtanding made warres in the meane time with infinite thouſandes of fighting men in BOEOTIA, and ventred his perſon in manifold dangers, ſo that in the end he conquered thẽ all to the honor and benefit of his country. Furthermore, *Sylla* would neuer ſtoupe to king *Mithridates*, for any particular alliance he offred him, neither yeelde vnto him for any aide of men, or money, to warre againſt his enemies: but a thing moſt chiefly to be noted aboue the reſt, he would not vouchſafe to ſpeake to *Mithridates*, nor to take him by the hand onely, before he had ſpoken it with his owne mouth, and faithfully promiſed, that he would

*Sylla fought with men of greateſt power and ouercame them.*

*Syllaes magnanimity.*

forgoe Asia, deliuer him his gallies, and giue vp the realmes of Bithynia and Cappadocia vnto their naturall kings. This me thinkes was the goodlieſt act that euer *Sylla* did, and proceeded of the greateſt magnanimity, to haue preferred the benefite of the common wealth in that ſort, before his priuate commodity. For therein he was like vnto a good greyhound that firſt pincheth the Deare, and holdeth him faſt til he haue ouerthrowen him: & then afterwards followeth the recouery of his owne priuate quarrell. And laſtly, me thinkes it is eaſily iudged, what difference there was betweene their two natures, in that they did both towards the city of Athens. For *Sylla* hauing taken it, after the citizens had made fierce warres with him for the increaſe of king *Mithridates* greatnes: yet he left it free vnto them, enioying their owne lawes. Where *Lyſander* to the contrary, ſeeing ſuch a mighty ſtate and Empire as that ouerthrowen from the great rule it bare, had no pity of it at all, but tooke away the liberty of popular gouernment, whereby it had bene gouerned of long time before: and eſtabliſhed there very cruell and wicked tyrants. And therefore in mine opinion, we ſhall not much ſwarue from the troth, if we giue this iudgement: that *Sylla* did the greater acts, and *Lyſander* committed the fewer faultes. And that we giue to the one the honor of a continent and modeſt man: and to the other, the commendation of a valiant and ſkilfull ſouldier.

*Plutarkes iudgement of Sylla and Lyſander.*

# THE LIFE OF *Cimon.*

CYMON D ATHENIEN

*Peripoltas and his poſterity.*

*Peripoltas* the Soothſaier, he that brought king *Opheltas* out of Thessaly into the coũtry of Boeotia, with the people which were vnder his obedience: left a poſterity after him that long time floriſhed in that country, the more part of the which were euer reſident in the city of Chæronea, becauſe it was the firſt city that was conquered frõ the barbarous people whom they expulſed thence. Al they that came of that race, were commonly men of great courage, and naturally giuen to the warres: who were ſo forward and aduenturous in all dangers thereof (in the inuaſions of the Medes into Greece, and in the battels of the Gaules) that they were ſlaine all of them, but onely *Damon* (a litle childe left fatherleſſe and motherleſſe) ſurnamed *Peripoltas* that eſcaped, who for goodly perſonage and noble courage excelled all the luſty youthes of his time, though otherwiſe he was very rude, and of a ſeuere nature. Now it fortuned, that when *Damon* was growen of full age, a Romaine Captaine of an enſigne of footemen (lying in garriſon for the winter ſeaſon in the city of Chæronea) fell in great loue with *Damon*: and becauſe he could not reape the fruites of his diſhoneſt loue by no intreaty nor giftes, there appeared vehement preſumptions that by force he went about to abuſe him, for that Chæronea at that time (being my naturall city where I was borne) was a ſmall thing, and (being of no ſtrength nor power) litle regarded. *Damon* miſtruſting the Captains villainy, and deteſting his abhominable deſire, watched him a ſhrewd turne, and got certaine of his companions (not many in number, becauſe he might the more ſecretly compaſſe his enterpriſe) to bee a counſell with him, and take his part againſt the Captain. Now there were a ſixteene of them in conſort together, that one night blacked their faces all with ſoote, and the next morning after they had drunke together, by the breake of day ſet vpon this Romaine Captaine, that was making ſacrifice in the market place, and ſlue him with a good number of his men: and when they had done, fled out of the city, which was ſtraight in a great vprore for the murther committed. Thereuppon they called a councell, and in the market place condemned *Damon* and his confederates to ſuffer paines of death: hoping thereby to haue cleared their innocency for the fact done to the Romains. But the ſelfe ſame night, as all the magiſtrates and officers of the city were at ſupper together in the towne-houſe according to their cuſtome: *Damon* and his followers ſtale vpon them ſodainly, ſlue them all, and fled againe vpon it. It chaunced about that time, that *Lucius Lucullus* being ſent on ſome iourney, paſſed by the city of Chæronea with his army: and becauſe this murther was but newly done, he ſtaied there a few daies to examine the troth and originall thereof. And found that the commons of the city were in no fault, but that they themſelues alſo had receiued hurt: whereupon he tooke the ſouldiers of the Romains that remained of the garriſon, and caried them away with him. In the meane time, *Damon* deſtroied all the country thereabout, and ſtil houered neare to the city, inſomuch as the inhabitantes of the ſame were driuen in the end to ſend vnto him, and by gentle words & fauorable decrees handled him ſo, that they intiſed him to come againe into the city: and when they had him amongeſt them, they choſe him Gymnaſiarchus, to ſay, a maſter of exerciſes of youth. But ſhortly after, as they were rubbing of him with oile in his ſtoue or hotte houſe, ſtarke naked as he was, they ſlue him by treaſon. And becauſe that there appeared ſpirits of long time after in that place, and that there were heard gronings and ſighings as our fathers tolde vs, they cauſed the dore of the hot-houſe to be walled vp: yet for all that, there are viſions ſeene, and terrible voyces and cries heard in that ſelfe place vnto this preſent time, as the neighbours dwelling by doe teſtifie. Now they that were deſcended of this *Damon* (for there are yet of his race in the country of Phocides, near vnto the city of Stiris, who do only of all other both keepe the language and manners of the Ætolians) are called Asbolomeni, ſignifying blacke, and beſmered with ſoote: becauſe that *Damon* and his fellowes did blacke their faces with ſoote, when they ſlue the Romaine Captaine. But the Orchomenians being neare neighbors vnto the Chæroneians, and therefore their enemies, hiered an informer of Rome, a malicious accuſer, to accuſe the whole city, (as if it had bene one priuate perſon alone) for the murther of the Romaines, whom *Damon* and his companions had ſlaine. The inditement was drawen, and the caſe pleaded before the gouernor of Macedon, for that the Romaines did ſend no gouernors at that time into Greece: and the counſellers that pleaded for the city of Chæronea, relied vpon the teſtimony of *Lucius Lucullus*, referring them ſelues to his report, who knew the troth and how it was. Thereupon the gouernor wrote vnto him, and *Lucullus* in his letter of anſwer aduertiſed the very troth: ſo was our city cleared of the accuſation, which otherwiſe ſtoode in danger of vtter deſtruction. The inhabitants of the city of Chæronea, for that they had eſcaped the danger by teſtimony of *Lucius Lucullus*, to honor him withall, they ſet vp his image in ſtone in the market place, next vnto the image of *Bacchus*. And we alſo that be liuing at this preſent, though many yeares be gone and paſſed ſince, doe notwithſtanding reckon our ſelues partakers of his forepaſſed benefite. And becauſe we are perſwaded, that the image and por-

*The manners and lewd parts of Damon Peripoltas.*

*Lucius Lucullus examineth the truth of the murther.*

*Damon ſlaine by treaſon.*

*Asbolomeni, who they were, and why ſo called.*

*Chæronea indited for the murther.*

*Lucullus called for a witneſſe of the troth.*

traiture that maketh vs acquainted with mens manners and conditions, is farre more excellent, then the picture that repreſenteth any mans perſon or ſhape onely: we will comprehend his life and doings according to the troth, in this volume of noble mens liues, where we do compare and ſort them one with an other. It ſhall be ſufficient for vs therefore, that we ſhew our ſelues thankfull for his benefit, and we thinke, that he him ſelfe would miſlike for reward of his true teſtimony, to be requited with a fauorable lie told in his behalfe. But like as when we will haue a paſſing faire face drawen, and liuely counterfeated, and that hath a excellent good grace withall, yet ſome manner of bleamiſh or imperfection in it: we will not allow the drawer to leaue it out altogether, nor yet too curiouſly to ſhew it, becauſe the one would deforme the counterfeate, and the other make it very vnlikely. Euen ſo, becauſe it is a hard thing (or to ſay better, peraduenture impoſſible) to deſcribe a man, whoſe life ſhould altogether be innocent, and perfect: we muſt firſt ſtudy to write his vertues at large, and thereby ſeeke perfectly to repreſent the troth, euen as the life it ſelfe. But where by chance we finde certaine faultes and errors in their doings, proceeding either of paſſion of the minde, by neceſsity of the time or ſtate of the common wealth: they are rather to be thought imperfections of vertue not altogether accompliſhed, then any purpoſed wickedneſſe proceeding of vice, or certaine malice. Which we ſhall not neede too curiouſly to expreſſe in our hiſtory, but rather to paſſe them lightly ouer, of reuerent ſhame to the meere frayIty of mans nature, which can not bring foorth a man of ſuch vertue and perfection, but there is euer ſome imperfection in him. And therefore, conſidering with my ſelfe vnto whom I might compare *Lucullus*, I thought it beſt to compare him with *Cimon*, becauſe they haue beene both valiant ſouldiers againſt their enemies, hauing both done notable exploites in warres againſt the barbarous people: and moreouer, they haue both bene curteous and mercifull vnto their citizens, and were both the onely men that pacified the ciuill wars and diſſention in their countrey, & both the one and the other of them wan notable victories of the barbarous people. For there was neuer GRECIAN Captaine before *Cimon*, nor ROMAINE Captaine before *Lucullus*, that had made wars ſo far off from their countrey leauing apart the deedes of *Bacchus* and of *Hercules*, and the deedes alſo of *Perſeus*, againſt the ÆTHIOPIANS, the MEDES, and the ARMENIANS, and the deedes of *Iaſon* alſo: if there remaine any monument extant ſince their time, worthy of credit in theſe our daies. Furthermore, herein they are to be likened together: that they neuer ended their warres, they onely ouerthrew their enemies, but neuer ouercame them altogether. Againe, they may note in them a great reſemblaunce of nature, for their honeſty, curteſie and humanity, which they ſhewed vnto ſtraungers in their countrey: and for the magnificence and ſumptuouſnes of their life and ordinary expence. It may be we doe leaue out ſome other ſimilitudes betweene them: howbeit in the diſcourſe of their liues they will eaſily appeare. *Cimon* was the ſon of *Miltiades* and of *Hegeſipyle*, a THRACIAN woman borne, and the daughter of king *Olorus*, as we finde written in certaine poetical verſes which *Melanthius* and *Archelaus* haue written of *Cimon*. The father of *Thucydides* the hiſtoriographer him ſelfe, who was of kinne alſo vnto *Cimon*, was called in like maner *Olorus*, ſhewing by the agreeing of the name, that this king *Olorus* was one of his aunceſters, and did alſo poſſeſſe mines of gold in the countrey of THRACIA. It is ſaied moreouer that he died in a certaine place called the ditchy forreſt, where he was ſlaine: howbeit that his aſhes and bones were caried into the country of ATTICA, where his tombe appeareth yet to this day, amongſt the tombes of them of the houſe and family of *Cimon*, neare vnto the tombe of *Cimons* owne ſiſter called *Elpinice*. Notwithſtanding, *Thucydides* was of the village of ALIMVS, and *Miltiades* of the village of LACIA. This *Miltiades Cimons* father, being condemned by the ſtate to pay the ſumme of fifty talents, was for non payment caſt into priſon, and there died: and left *Cimon* and his ſiſter *Elpinice* aliue, both Orphanes, and very young. Now, *Cimon* in his firſt young yeares had a very ill name and report in the city, being counted a riotous young man, and a great drinker, following his grandfather *Cimons* faſhions vp and downe, as he had alſo his name: ſaying that his grandfather for his beaſtlines was ſurnamed *Coalemos*, as much to ſay as foole. *Steſimbrotus* THASIAN, who was about *Cimons* time, writeth, that *Cimon* neuer learned muſicke, nor any other of the liberall ſciences accuſtomably taught to young noble mens ſonnes of GREECE, and

*Hiſtory, is a certaine image of mens manners and wiſdome.*

*A pretty ſimilitude.*

*How to deſcribe the life of a man.*

*Cimon & Lucullus in what thinges they were alike.*

*Cimons linage.*

*Thucydides linage.*

*Miltiades died in priſon.*

*Cimon defamed in his youth.*

*Coalemos, foole.*

and that he had no ſharpe wit, nor good grace of ſpeaking, a vertue proper vnto children born in the countrey of ATTICA: howbeit that hee was of a noble minde, and plaine, without diſſimulation, ſo that he rather liued PELOPONNESIAN like, then like an ATHENIAN. For he was euen ſuch as the Poet *Euripides* deſcribed *Hercules* to be.

*Cimons conditions.*

*A ſimple man he was, and could not well diſguiſe:*
*As honeſt eke in things of weight, as wit could well deuiſe.*

This ſerued fitly to be applied vnto *Steſimbrotus* wordes written of him: but notwithſtanding, in his firſt young yeares he was ſuſpected of incontinency with his ſiſter, who in deede otherwiſe had no very good name. For ſhe was very familiar with the painter *Polygnotus*, who painting the TROIAN Ladies priſoners vpon the wals of the gallery, called the Pleſianaction, and now *Pæcile*: (to ſay, ſet out and beautified with diuers pictures) he drue (as they ſay) LAODICES face vppon *Elpinices* picture. This painter *Polygnotus* was no common artificer nor hireling, that painted this gallery for moneies ſake, but gaue his labour franckely to the common wealth, as all the hiſtoriographers that wrote in that time doe witneſſe: and as the Poet *Melanthius* alſo reciteth in theſe verſes:

*Elpinice Cimons ſiſter vnchaſt.*

*Polygnotus the painter.*

*At his owne proper charge, great coſt he hath beſtowed,*
*In decking vp our temples here with gilted roofes embowed,*
*For honor of the goddes. And in our towne likewiſe,*
*He hath adornd the common place, with many a fine deuiſe:*
*Painting and ſetting forth, in ſtately ſhew to ſee,*
*The images of demy goddes that here amongeſt vs be.*

Yet ſome ſay that *Elpinice* did not ſecretly company with her brother *Cimon*, but lay with him openly as his lawfull maried wife, becauſe ſhe could not for her pouerty haue a husband of like nobility and parentage to her ſelfe. Howbeit, that a certaine man called *Callias*, being one of the richeſt men of the city, did afterwardes fall in fanſie with her, and deſired to marie her, offering to pay her father *Miltiades* fine of fifty talents, wherein he ſtoode condemned a debter to the ſtate, ſo that he might haue her to his wife. *Cimon* was contented, and vppon that condition maried his ſiſter *Elpinice* vnto *Callias*. This notwithſtanding, it is certaine that *Cimon* was ſomewhat amorous, and giuen to loue women. For *Melanthius* the Poet in certaine of his elegies, maketh mention for his pleaſure of one *Aſteria* borne at SALAMINA, and of an other called *Mneſtra*, as if *Cimon* had bene in loue with them. But vndoubtedly, he loued his lawfull wife *Iſodice* maruellous well, the daughter of *Euryptolemus*, *Megacles* ſonne, and tooke her death very grieuouſly, as we may coniecture by the elegies that were written vnto him, to comfort him in his ſorrow. *Panætius* the Philoſopher is of opinion, that *Archelaus* the Phiſitian wrote thoſe elegies: and ſure it is not vnlikely, conſidering the time in which they were written. But furthermore, *Cimons* nature and conditions deſerued great commendation. For his valiantneſſe he gaue no place vnto *Miltiades*, and for his wiſedome and iudgement, he was not inferior vnto *Themiſtocles*: and it is out of all doubt that he was a iuſter and honeſter man, then either of them both. For he was equall with the beſt of either of both in the diſcipline of warres, and for the valiantneſſe of a noble Captaine: and he did much excell them both in the properties of a good gouernour, and in the adminiſtration of the affaires of a city, when he was but a young man, and had no experience of warres. For when *Themiſtocles* at the comming in of the MEDES counſelled the people of ATHENS to goe out of the city, to leaue their landes and countrey, and to ſhippe into gallies, and fight with the barbarous people by ſea in the ſtraight of SALAMINA: as euery man was wondering at his bolde and vertuous counſell, *Cimon* was the firſt man that went with a life and iolitie through the ſtreete *Ceramicus*, vnto the caſtell, accompanied with his young familiars and companions, carying a bitte of a bridle in his hand to conſecrate vnto the goddeſſe *Minerua*, ſignifying thereby, that the city had no neede of horſemen at that time, but of mariners and ſea men. And after hee had giuen vp his offering, hee tooke one of the targettes that hung vppon the wall of the temple, and hauing made his prayer vnto *Minerua*, came downe to the hauen, and was the firſt that made the moſt part of the citizens to take a good heart to them, and coragiouſly to leaue the land, and

*Elpinice being poore, had regard to match according to her ſtate and calling.*

*Cimon ſubiect to laſciuious life.*

*The praiſe of Cimons conditions.*

*Cimons perſonage commended.*

*Cimon General for the Athenians by ſea.*

*King Pauſanias through his inſolency and pride, loſt the Lacedæmonians all their rule of Greece.*

*Pauſanias killed the yong Bizantine virgine.*

take the ſea. Beſides all this, he was a man of a goodly ſtature, as *Ion* the Poet teſtifieth, and had a faire curled haire and thicke, and fought ſo valiantly at the day of the battell, that he wanne immediatly great reputation, with the loue and good will of euery man. So that many were ſtill about him to encourage him to be liuely and valiant, and to thinke thenceforth to doe ſome actes worthy of the glory that his father had gotten at the battell of MARATHON. And afterwardes, ſo ſoone as he beganne to deale in matters of ſtate, the people were maruellous glad of him, and were wearied with *Themiſtocles*: by meanes whereof *Cimon* was preſently aduanced and preferred to the chiefeſt offices of honor in the city, being very well thought on of the common people, becauſe of his ſoft and plaine nature. Moreouer, *Ariſtides* alſo did greatly further his aduancement, becauſe he ſaw him of a good gentle nature, and for that he would vſe him as a counterpeaſe to control *Themiſtocles* craft & ſtoutnes. Wherefore after the MEDES were fled out of GREECE, *Cimon* being ſent for by the ATHENIANS for their generall by ſea, when the city of ATHENS had then no maner of rule nor commandement, but followed king *Pauſanias* and the LACEDÆMONIANS: he euer kept his countrey men and citizens in maruellous good order in all the voyages he made, and they were readier to doe good ſeruice, then any other nation in the whole army whatſoeuer. And when king *Pauſanias* had practiſed with the barbarous people to betray GREECE, had written alſo to the king of PERSIA about it, and in the meane time dealt very cruelly and ſtraightly with the confederates of his countrey, and committed many inſolent partes by reaſon of the great authority he had, and through his fooliſh pride whereof he was full: *Cimon* farre otherwiſe, gentlely entertained them whom *Pauſanias* iniured, and was willing to heare them. So that by this his curteous manner, the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing no eye to his doings, he ſtale away the rule and commaundement of all GREECE from them, and brought the ATHENIANS to be ſole Lordes of all, not by force and cruelty, but by his ſweete tongue, and gracious manner of vſing all men. For the moſt part of the confederates being no longer able to away with *Pauſanias* pride and cruelty, came willingly and ſubmitted thẽ ſelues vnder the protection of *Cimon* and *Ariſtides*: who did not onely receiue them, but wrote alſo to the councell of the Ephores at LACEDÆMON, that they ſhould call *Pauſanias* home, for that he diſhonored SPARTA, and put all GREECE to much trouble and warres. And for proofe hereof, they ſay that king *Pauſanias* being on a time in the city of BYZANCE, ſent for *Cleonice*, a yong maiden of a noble houſe, to take his pleaſure of her. Her parents durſt not keepe her from him, by reaſon of his cruelty, but ſuffered him to cary her away. The young gentlewoman prayed the groomes of *Pauſanias* chamber to take away the lightes, and thinking in the darke to come to *Pauſanias* bed that was a ſleepe, groping for the bed as ſoftly as ſhee could to make no noiſe, ſhee vnfortunately hit againſt the lampe, and ouerthrew it. The falling of the lampe made ſuch a noiſe, that it waked him on the ſodaine, and thought ſtraight therewithall that ſome of his enemies had beene come traiterouſly to kill him, whereupon he tooke his dagger lying vnder his beddes head, and ſo ſtabbed it in the young virgine, that ſhe died immediately vppon it. Howbeit ſhee neuer let *Pauſanias* take reſt after that, becauſe her ſpirit came euery night and appeared vnto him, as he would faine haue ſlept, and ſpake this angrily to him in verſe, as followeth.

*Keepe thou thy ſelfe vpright, and iuſtice ſee thou feare,*
*For woe and ſhame be vnto him, that iuſtice downe doth beare.*

This vile fact of his did ſo ſtirre vp all the confederates hearts againſt him, that they came to beſiege him in BIZANTIVM vnder the conduction of *Cimon*: from whõ notwithſtanding he eſcaped, and ſecretly ſaued him ſelfe. And becauſe that this maidens ſpirite would neuer let him reſt, but vexed him continually: he fled vnto the city of HERACLEA, where there was a temple that coniured dead ſpirites, and there was the ſpirite of *Cleonice* coniured to pray her to be contented. So ſhee appeared vnto him, and told him that he ſhould be deliuered of all his troubles ſo ſoone as he came to SPARTA: ſignifying thereby (in my opinion) the death which he ſhould ſuffer there. Diuers writers doe thus report it. *Cimon* being accompanied with the confederates of the GRECIANS, which were come to him to take his part: was aduertiſed that certaine great men of PERSIA, & allied to the king him ſelf, who kept the city of EIONE, vpon the riuer of Strymon in the country of THRACIA, did great hurt and damage vnto the GRECIANS inhabiting thereabouts. Vpon which intelligence he tooke the ſea with his armie, and went thither, where at his firſt comming he vanquiſhed and ouerthrew the barbarous people in battell: & hauing ouerthrowen them, draue all the reſt into the citie of EIONE. That done, he went to inuade the THRACIANS that dwelt on the other ſide of the riuer of Strymon, who did commonly victuall them of EIONE: and hauing driuen them to forſake the countrie, he kept it, and was Lord of the whole himſelfe. Whereupon he held them that were beſieged at EIONE ſo ſtraightly from victuals, that *Butes* the king of PERSIAES Lieutenant, diſpairing of the ſtate of the citie, ſet fire on the ſame, and burnt himſelfe, his friendes, and all the goods it in. By reaſon wherefore, the ſpoile taken in that citie was but ſmall, becauſe the barbarous people burnt all the beſt things in it with themſelues: howbeit he conquered the countrie thereabouts, and gaue it the ATHENIANS to inhabite, being a very pleaſant and fertile ſoyle. In memorie whereof, the people of ATHENS ſuffered him to conſecrate and ſet vp openly three Hermes of ſtone (which are foure ſquare pillers) vpon the tops of the which they ſet vp heades of *Mercurie*: vpon the firſt of the three pillers, this inſcription is grauen.

*Butes burneth himſelfe, citie, and friends, for feare of Cimon.*

*Statues of Mercurie.*

*The people truly were, of courage ſtout and fierce,*
*VVho hauing ſhut the Medes faſt vp (as ſtories do rehearce)*
*VVithin the walled towne, of Eione that tide,*
*VVhich on the ſtreame of Strymon ſtands: they made them there abide*
*The force of famines pinch, and therewith made them feele,*
*The dynt of warre ſo many a time, with truſtie tooles of ſteele:*
*Till in the end, deſpaire ſo pearced in their thought,*
*As there they did deſtroy themſelues, and ſo were brought to nought.*

Vpon the ſecond there is ſuch an other.

*The citizens which dwell in Athens ſtately towne,*
*Haue here ſet vp theſe monuments, and pictures of renowne,*
*To honor ſo the factes, and celebrate the fame,*
*Their valiant chieftaines did atchieue, in many a martiall game.*
*That ſuch as after come, when they thereby perceiue,*
*How men of ſeruice for their deedes, did rich rewards receiue,*
*Encouraged may be, ſuch men for to reſemble,*
*In valiant actes and dreadfull deedes, which make their foes to tremble.*

And vpon the third an other.

*VVhen Mneſtheus did leade forth of this citie here,*
*An armie to the Troyane warres, (by Homer doth appeare)*
*He was aboue the reſt, that out of Gracia went:*
*A valiant knight, a worthy wight, a Captaine excellent,*
*To take in hand the charge, an armie for to guide:*
*And eke to range them orderly, in battell to abide.*
*That praiſe of proweſſe then (ô graue Atheniens)*
*Is now no newes to fill the eares of theſe your citizens.*
*Since through the world ſo wide, the fame and worthy praiſe,*
*For martiall feates, to you of yore hath iudged bene alwaies.*

Now, though *Cimons* name be not compriſed in theſe inſcriptions, yet they thought that this was a ſingular honor to him at that time: for neither *Miltiades* nor *Themiſtocles* had euer the like. For when *Miltiades* requeſted the people one day that they would licence him to weare a garland of oliue boughes vpon his head: there was one *Sochares*, borne in the towne of DECELEA, that ſtanding vp in open aſſembly ſpake againſt him, and ſaid a thing that marueillouſly pleaſed the people, though indeede it was an vnthankfull recompence for the good ſeruice he had done to the common wealth. When you haue *Miltiades* (ſaid he) ouercome the barbarous people alone in battell, then aſke to be honoured alone alſo. But how was it then, that *Cimons* ſeruice was ſo acceptable to the ATHENIANS? It was in mine opinion,

*Sochares Decelean ſpake againſt Miltiades requeſt for the garland of Oliue boughes.*

becauſe they had with other Captaines fought to defend themſelues and their countrie onely: and that vnder the conduction of *Cimon*, they had aſſaulted and driuen their enemies home to their owne dores, where they conquered the cities of EIONE and of *Amphipolis*, which afterwards they did inhabite with their owne citizens, and wan there alſo the Ile of SCYROS, which *Cimon* tooke vppon this occaſion. The DOLOPIANS did inhabite it, who were idle people, and liued without labour or tillage, and had bene rouers of the ſea of a wonderfull long time, vſing piracie altogether to maintaine themſelues withall: ſo that in the end they ſpared not ſo much as the marchants & paſſengers that harbored in their hauens, but robbed certaine THESSALIANS that went thither to trafficke. And when they had taken their goods from them, yet would they caſt them in priſon beſides. Howbeit the priſoners found meanes to eſcape, and after they had ſaued themſelues, repaired to the parlament of the AMPHICTYONS, which is a generall councell of all the ſtates and people of GRECE. The AMPHICTYONS vnderſtanding the matter, condemned the city of the SCYRIANS to pay a great ſumme of money. The citizens refuſed to be contributaries to the payment of the fine, and bad them that robbed the marchantes and had the goods in their handes, pay it if they would. And therefore, becauſe there was no other likelihood, but that the theeues themſelues ſhould be driuen to anſwere the fine, they fearing it, wrote letters vnto *Cimon*, and willed him to come with his armie and they would deliuer their citie into his hands: the which was performed. And thus *Cimon* hauing cõquered this Iland, draue out the DOLOPIANS thence, & rid the ſea ÆGEVM of all pirates thereby. That done, remembring that the ancient *Theſeus*, the ſonne of *AEgeus*, flying from ATHENS came into that Iland of SCYROS, where king *Lycomedes* ſuſpecting his comming had traiterouſly ſlaine him: *Cimon* was maruellous carefull to ſeeke out his tombe, becauſe the ATHENIANS had an oracle and prophecie, that commaunded them to bring his aſhes and bones backe againe to ATHENS, and to honor him as a demy god. But they knew not where he was buried, for that the inhabitants of the Ilande would neuer before confeſſe where it was, nor ſuffer any man to ſeeke it out, till he at the laſt with much a doe founde the tombe, put his bones abord the Admirall galley ſumptuouſly decked and ſet foorth, and ſo brought them againe into his countrie, foure hundred yeares after *Theſeus* death. For this, the people thanked him maruellouſly, and therby he wanne exceedingly the ATHENIANS good willes: and in memorie of him they celebrated the iudgement of the tragicall playes of the Poets. For when *Sophocles* the Poet, being a young man had played his firſt tragedy, *Aphepſion* the preſident perceiuing there was great ſtriſe and contention amongſt the lookers on, would not drawe them by lottes that ſhould be iudges of this play, to giue the victorie vnto that Poet that had beſt deſerued: but when *Cimon* & the other Captaines were come into the Theater to ſee the ſame (after they had made their accuſtomed oblations vnto the god, in honor of whom theſe plaies were celebrated) he ſtaied, and made them to miniſter an othe vnto tenne, (which were of euery tribe of the people one) and the othe being giuen, he cauſed them to ſit as iudges to giue ſentence, which of the Poets ſhould carie away the priſe. This made all the Poets ſtriue and contend who beſt ſhould do, for the honour of the iudges: but *Sophocles* by their ſentence bare away the victorie. But *AEſchilus* (as they ſay) was ſo angry and grieued withall, that he taried not long after in ATHENS, and went for ſpight into SICILIA, where he died and was buried neere vnto the citie of GELA. *Ion* writeth that he being but a young boy, newly come from CHIO vnto ATHENS, ſupped one night with *Cimon* at *Laomedons* houſe, and that after ſupper when they had giuen the goddes thankes, *Cimon* was intreated by the company to ſing. And he did ſing with ſo good a grace, that euery man praiſed him that heard him, & ſaid he was more courteous then *Themiſtocles* farre: who being in like company, and requeſted alſo to play vpon the citherne, anſwered them, hee was neuer taught to ſing nor play vpon the citherne, howbeit he could make a poore village to become a rich and mighty citie. After that done, the company diſcourſing from one matter to an other, as it falleth out commonly in ſpeech, they entred in talke of *Cimons* doings: and hauing rehearſed the chiefeſt of them, he himſelfe tolde one, which was the notableſt and wiſeſt part of all the reſt that euer he plaied. For the ATHENIANS and their confederates together, hauing taken a great number of barbarous people priſoners, in the cities of SESTOS and of BIZANTIVM:

*Cimon wanne the Ile of Scyros.*

*The councell of the Amphictyons.*

*Theſeus bones brought to Athens 400. yeres after his death by Cimon*

*Sophocles and AEſchylus contention for victorie.*

*AEſchylus ouercome by Sophocles dwelleth in Sicilia, & dieth there.*

*Cimon ſang paſſing ſweetely.*

the confederates to honour him withall, gaue him the preheminence to diuide the ſpoyle amongſt them. Whereupon he made the diuiſion, and ſet out the bodies of the barbarous people all naked by themſelues, and laide the ſpoiles and their apparell by themſelues. The confederates found this diſtribution very vnequall: but neuertheleſſe *Cimon* gaue them the choice to chooſe which of the two they would, and that the ATHENIANS ſhould be contented with that which they left. So there was a SAMIAN Captaine called *Herophytus*, that gaue the confederates counſell rather to take the ſpoiles of the PERSIANS, then the PERSIANS themſelues, and ſo they did: for they tooke the ſpoile of the priſoners goods and apparell, and left the men vnto the ATHENIANS. Whereupon *Cimon* was thought at that time of the cōmon ſouldiers to be but an ill deuider of ſpoile, becauſe that the confederats caried away great ſtore of chains, karkanets, and bracelets of gold, and goodly rich purple apparell after the PERSIAN faſhion: and the ATHENIANS brought away naked bodies of men, very tender and vnacquainted with paine and labour. But ſhortly after, the parentes and friendes of theſe priſoners, came out of PHRYGIA & LYDIA, and redeemed euery man of them at a great ranſome: ſo that *Cimon* gathered ſuch a maſſe of readie money together by their ranſome, as he defraied the whole charges of all his gallies with the ſame for the ſpace of foure moneths after, and left a great ſumme of money beſides in the ſparing treaſure of ATHENS. *Cimon* by this meanes being now become rich, beſtowed the goods which he had thus honourably gotten from the barbarous people, more honorably againe, in relieuing his poore decaied citizens. For he brake vp all his hedges and incloſures, and laide them plaine and open, that trauellers paſſing by, and his owne poore citizens, might take as much frute thereof as they would, without any manner danger. And furthermore, kept a continuall table in his houſe, not furniſhed with many diſhes, but with meat ſufficient for many perſons, and where his poore country men were daily refreſhed, that would come vnto that ordinary: ſo as they needed not otherwiſe care to labor for their liuing, but might be the readier, & haue the more leaſure to ſerue the common wealth. Yet *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher writeth, that it was not for al the ATHENIANS indifferently, that he kept this ordinarie table: but for his poore townes men only in the village of LACIA, where hee was borne. Furthermore, he had alwaies certaine young men waiting on him of his houſhold ſeruants well apparelled, and if he met by chance as he went vp and downe the citie, any old citizen poorely arrayed, he made one of theſe young men ſtrip himſelfe, and change apparell with the old man: and that was very well thought of, and they all honored him for it. Moreouer, theſe young men caried euer good ſtore of money about them: and when they met with any honeſt poore citizen in the market place, or elſe where, knowing his pouertie, they ſecretly gaue him money in his hand, and ſaid neuer a word. Which the Poet ſelfe *Cratinus* ſeemeth to ſpeake of, in a comedie of his intituled the Archiloches.

*Herophytus Samian, gaue Counſell to chooſe the ſpoile.*

*Cimons liberalitie and hoſpitalitie.*

*Cimons Charitie.*

*I am Metrobius the ſecretarie, he*
*VVhich did my ſelfe aſſure (in age) well cheriſhed to be:*
*At wealthy Cimons board, where want was neuer found,*
*VVhoſe diſtributions and his almes did to the poore abound.*
*There thought I for to paſſe mine aged yeares away,*
*VVith that right noble godly man, which was the Grecians ſtay.*

Furthermore, *Gorgias Leontine* ſaide, that *Cimon* got goods to vſe them, and that he vſed them to be honored by them. And *Critias* that was one of the thirtie tyrants of ATHENS, he wiſheth and deſireth of the goddes in his elegies,

*How Cimon vſed his goods.*

*The goddes of Scopas heyres, the great magnificence,*
*And noble heart of Cimon he, who ſpared none expence:*
*The glorious victories and high triumphant showes,*
*Of good Ageſilaus king, good goddes, oh grant me thoſe.*

The name of *Lichas* SPARTAN, hath bene famous amongſt the GRECIANS: and yet we know no other cauſe why, ſauing that he vſed to feaſt ſtrangers that came to LACEDÆMON on their feſtiuall day, to ſee the ſportes and exerciſes of the young men dauncing naked in the citie. But the magnificence of *Cimon*, did farre exceede the auncient liberalitie, courteſie, and hoſpitalitie of the ATHENIANS: for they of all other were the firſt men that taught the

*The hoſpitality of Lichas Spartan.*

GRECIANS through out all GRECE, how they ſhould ſow corne, and gather it to maintaine themſelues withall, and alſo ſhewed them the vſe of wels, and how they ſhould light and keepe fire. But *Cimon* making an hoſpitall of his owne houſe, where all his poore citizens were fed and relieued, and permitting ſtrangers that trauelled by his groundes to gather ſuch frutes there, as the time and ſeaſon of the yere yeelded: he brought againe (as it were) into the world, the goods to be common amongſt them, as the Poets ſay they were in the olde time of *Saturnes* raigne. And now, where ſome accuſed this honeſt liberalitie of *Cimon*, obiecting that it was but to flatter the common people withall, and to winne their good wils by that meanes: the maner of life he led, accompanying his liberalitie, did vtterly confute and ouerthrow their opinions that way of him. For *Cimon* euer tooke part with the nobilitie, and liued after the LACEDEMONIANS manner, as it well appeared, in that he was alwaies againſt *Themiſtocles*, who without all compaſſe of reaſon encreaſed the authoritie and power of the people: and for this cauſe he ioyned with *Ariſtides*, and was againſt *Ephialtes*, who would for the peoples ſake haue put downe and aboliſhed *Ariopagus* court. And where all other gouernors in his time were extortioners and bribetakers: (*Ariſtides* and *Ephialtes* onely excepted) he to the contrarie led an vncorrupt life in adminiſtration of iuſtice, & euer had cleane hands, whatſoeuer he ſpake or did, for the ſtate and common wealth, and would therefore neuer take money of any man liuing. And for proofe hereof, we finde it written, that a noble man of PERSIA called *Reſaces*, being a traitor to his maſter the king of PERSIA, fled on a time vnto ATHENS: where being continually bayted and wearied, with the common accuſations of theſe tale bearers and picke thanks, that accuſed him to the people, he repaired at the length vnto *Cimon*, & brought him home to his owne dore two bowles, the one full of darickes of gold, and the other of darickes of ſiluer, which be peeces of money ſo called, becauſe that the name of *Darius* was written vpon them. *Cimon* ſeeing this offer, fell a laughing, and asked him whether of the two he would rather chooſe, to haue him his friend or his hireling. The barbarous noble man anſwered him, that he had rather haue him his friend. Then ſaid *Cimon* to him againe, away with thy gold and ſiluer, and get thee hence: for if I be thy friend, that gold and ſiluer ſhall euer be at my commaundement, to take and diſpoſe it as I haue neede. About that time beganne the confederates of the ATHENIANS to be weary of the warres againſt the barbarous people, deſiring thenceforth to liue quietly, and to haue leaſure to manure and husband their grounds, and to trafficke alſo, conſidering that they had driuen their enemies out of their countrie, and that now they did them no more hurt: by reaſon whereof they paied the money they were ſeſſed at, but they would furniſh no moe men nor ſhippes as they had done before. But the other Captaines of the ATHENIANS compelled them to it by all the meanes they could, and proſecuted law againſt them that failed paiment, condemning them in great fines, and that ſo cruelly, that they made the ſeigniorie and dominion of the ATHENIANS hatefull vnto their confederates. Howbeit *Cimon* tooke a contrary courſe to them: for he compelled no man, but was content to take money and voide ſhips of them that would not, or could not ſerue in their perſons, being very glad to ſuffer them to become ſlothfull mongrels in their houſes, by too much reſt, and to tranſpoſe themſelues from good ſouldiers which they had beene, to labourers, marchantes, and farmers, altogether altered from armes and warres, through the beaſtly ſlothfull deſire they had to liue pleaſantly at home. And contrarily, cauſing a great number of the ATHENIANS one after an other to ſerue in gallies, he ſo acquainted them with continuall paines in his viages: that he made them in ſhort ſpace become Lordes and maſters ouer them, that gaue them pay and entertainement. For they beganne by little and litle to flatter and feare the ATHENIANS, whom they ſaw trained continually in the warres, euer bearing armour, & carying their weapons in their hands, becomming expert ſouldiers at their charge, by reaſon of the pay they gaue them: ſo that in the ende, they became ſubiectes and contributaries as it were vnto them, where before they were their friends and companions. So as there neuer was GRECIAN Captaine that bridled more the crueltie and power of that mightie PERSIAN king, then *Cimon* did. For, after he had driuen him out of all GRECE, he left him not ſo, but following him foot hotte, as we cõmonly ſay, before the barbarous people could take breath, or giue wiſe and direct order for their doings: he made ſo great ſpeede, that he tooke ſome

of

*Cimons godly actes.*

*Cimon brought the golden world againe.*

*Cimons integritie and cleane hands.*

*Reſaces attempted to bribe Cimon.*

*Darickes, whereof ſo called.*

*A noble ſaying of Cimon.*

*The benefite of paines and ſeruice: and the diſcommoditie of eaſe and idleneſſe.*

*Cimon plagued the Perſians.*

of their cities from them by force, and other ſome by practiſe, cauſing them to rebell againſt the king, and turne to the GRECIANS ſide. Inſomuch as there was not a man of warre left for the king of PERSIA in all ASIA, from the country of IONIA, directly downe to PAMPHYLIA. And furthermore, being aduertiſed that the kings Captaines were vppon the coaſt of PAMPHYLIA with a great armie by ſea, becauſe he would feare them in ſuch ſort, that they ſhould not braue any more to ſhewe themſelues vppon the ſea, on this ſide of the Iles of the CHELIDONIANS: he departed from the Ile of GINDOS, and from the citie of TRIOPIVM, with two hundred gallies, the which at the firſt had beene excellently well made and deuiſed by *Themiſtocles*, as well for ſwift ſayling, as for eaſie turning. Howbeit *Cimon* made them to be enlarged, to the end they might cary the greater number of men of warre in battell, to aſſault the enemies. And ſo went firſt againſt the PHASELITES (who were GRECIANS borne, and yet notwithſtanding would neither take the GRECIANS part, nor receiue their armie into their hauens) landed there, deſtroyed all the country, and then came and camped with his armie hard at their wals. But the men of CHIO being auncient friends of the PHASELITES, and in *Cimons* armie at that iorney, did ſomewhat pacifie his anger, and gaue aduertiſement to them of the citie of their doings by letters, which they tyed to their arrowes, and ſhot ouer the walles. So as in the end they procured their peace with condition, that the PHASELITES ſhould pay tenne talents for a fine: and furthermore ſhould alſo follow the armie of the GRECIANS, and from thencefoorth fight with them, and for them, againſt the barbarous people. Now *Ephorus* ſaith, that the PERSIAN Captaine that had charge of the armie by ſea, was called *Tithrauſtes*, and the Captaine of the armie by lande, *Pherendates*. But *Calliſthenes* writeth, that *Ariomandes* the ſonne of *Gobrias*, was the kings Lieutenant, hauing chiefe authoritie ouer the whole armie that lay at ancker before the riuer of Eurymedon, and had no deſire to fight, becauſe they looked for a new ſupply of foureſcore ſaile of the PHENICIANS, that ſhould come to them from CYPRVS. But *Cimon* contrarily, ſought to fight before theſe gallies of the PHENICIANS came to ioyne with them, and put his gallies in order of battell, determining to giue a charge, and compell them to fight, would they, or would they not. Which the barbarous people perceiuing, drew neerer into the mouth of the riuer Eurymedon, becauſe they ſhould not compaſſe them in behinde, nor force them to come to battell againſt their willes. Which notwithſtanding when they ſaw the ATHENIANS come to ſet vpon them where they lay, they made out againſt them a fleete of ſixe hundred ſaile, as *Phanodemus* declareth: or as *Ephorus* writeth, three hundred and fiftie ſaile onely. But they did nothing worthie of ſo great a power, at the leaſt touching the fight by ſea, but turned their prores ſtraight to the riuer: where ſuch as could recouer the mouth thereof in time ſaued themſelues, flying to their armie by lande, which was not farre from that place ſet alſo in order of battell. But the reſt that were taken tardie by the way, they were ſlaine, and their gallies ſunke or taken: wherby we may know that there were a great number of them: for many were ſaued as it is likely, and many alſo were ſplitted to peeces, and yet the ATHENIANS tooke two hundred of them priſoners. In the meane ſeaſon, their armie by lande came neerer to the ſea ſide: which *Cimon* perceiuing, ſtood in ſome doubt whether he ſhould land his men or not, becauſe it ſeemed a hard and dangerous thing vnto him, to lande in ſpight of his enemies: and to put forth the GRECIANS alreadie wearied with the firſt battell againſt the barbarous people, who were altogether whole, freſh, and luſtie, and withall many in number againſt one. Neuertheleſſe, perceiuing that his men truſted in their force, beſides the courage which the firſt victorie gaue them, and that they deſired none other thing but to fight with the enemies: he put them a land while they were whotte yet with the firſt battell. And ſo with great furie and loud cries they ranne immediatly againſt the barbarous people, who ſtood ſtill and ſturred not, and receiued their firſt charge very valiantly: by reaſon whereof, the battell grew ſharpe and bloudy, inſomuch as there were ſlaine all the greateſt perſonages and men of beſt account of all the ATHENIANS armie. But the other fought it out ſo valiantly, that in the ende they wanne the field, and with maruellous difficultie made the barbarous people flie, whereof they ſlew a great number in the place, and tooke the reſt priſoners with all their tents & pauilions, which were full of all ſortes of riches. Thus *Cimon* like a valiant champion of the holy games,

*Chio an Ile.*

*Cimon wanne the citie of Phaſelis.*

*Ariomandes the kings Lieutenant of his whole armie by ſea, riding at ancker before the riuer of Eurymedon.*

*Cimons victorie of the Perſians both by ſea and land.*

*Cimon tooke two hundred ſaile priſoners at the battell fought by the riuer of Eurymedon.*

*Cimon ouercame the battell of the barbarous people alſo by land.*

hauing in one ſelfe day wonne two victories, and hauing excelled the battell by ſea alſo which the Grecians had wonne within the channell of Salamina, with that which he wanne then vpon the land: and the battell which the Grecians wanne by land before the citie of Platees, with that which he wan the day before on the ſea: yet he was not contented with all this. For, after two ſo famous victories obteined, he would once againe fight for the honour of the tokens of triumph: and being aduertiſed that the foureſcore ſaile of the Phoenicians (comming too late to be preſent at the firſt battell by ſea) were arriued at the head of *Hydra*, he ſailed thither with all poſſible ſpeede. Now the Captaines of this fleete, knewe no certaintie of the ouerthrow of their chiefeſt armie, but ſtood in doubt of it, and would not be perſwaded that it was ouerthrowen in that ſort: and therefore were they ſo much the more affraide, when they deſcried a farre off the victorious armie of *Cimon*. To conclude, they loſt all their ſhips, and the greateſt part of their men, which were either drowned or ſlaine. This victorie againſt the Persians did ſo daunt and plucke downe the pride and loftie minde of the barbarous Persian king, as he made that condition of peace ſo much ſpoken of in auncient hiſtories, in the which he promiſed and ſware, that his armies thenceforth ſhould come no neerer to the Grecian ſea, then the carrere of a horſe, and that he would ſaile no farther forward, then the Iles Chelidonians, and Cyaneans, with any gallies or other ſhips of warre. Howbeit the hiſtoriographer *Calliſthenes* writeth, that it was no part of any article compriſed within the condition of peace, but that the king kept it for the feare he had of this ſo great an ouerthrowe: and that afterwardes he kept ſo farre from the Grecian ſea, that *Pericles* with fiftie ſaile, and *Ephtaltes* with thirtie only, did ſaile beyond the Iles Chelidoniæ, and no barbarous fleete euer came againſt them. Yet notwithſtanding all this, amongſt the common actes of Athens, which *Craterus* hath gathered together, the articles of this peace are found written at large, as a thing that was true in deede. And it is ſaide, that for this occaſion the Athenians built an aulter of peace, and that they did *Callias* great honor, for that he was ſent Ambaſſador vnto the king of Persia to take his othe for cōfirmation of this peace. So when all theſe ſpoiles of the enemies were ſold to thē that would giue moſt, there was ſuch ſtore of gold and ſiluer in the ſparing coffers of their treaſurie, that there was enough to ſerue their turne for any ſeruice they would employ it to, & beſides that, they had ſufficient to build vp the ſide of the wall of the caſtle which looketh towardes the ſouth, this voyage and great ſpoyle did ſo enrich them. And it is ſaide moreouer, that the building of the long walles that ioyne to the citie with the hauen, which they call the legges, was built & finiſhed afterwards: howbeit the firſt foundations therof were built with the money *Cimon* gaue towardes it, for that the worke met with mooriſh and waterie places, by meane whereof they were driuen to fill vp the mariſſes, with force of flints and great logges, which they threw vnto the bottome. It was he alſo that firſt did beautifie and ſet forth the citie of Athens, with places of liberall exerciſe and honeſt paſtime, which ſhortly after were much eſteemed. For he cauſed plane trees to be ſet in the market place: and the Academie which before was very dry and naked, he made it now a pleaſant groue, and full of goodly ſprings which he brought into it, and made fine couered arbors to walke in, and goodly long ſmooth allies to runne a good courſe in. On a time he had newes brought him, that certaine Persians dwelling in Cherronesus (to ſay a demie Ile of the country of Thracia) would not be gotten out, but ſent to the people of high Thracia, to pray their aide to defende themſelues againſt *Cimon*: of whom they made but litle account, becauſe he was departed from Athens with a very fewe ſhippes, who ſet vpon them only with foure gallies, and tooke thirteene of theirs. And ſo hauing driuen the Persians out of Cherronesus, and ſubdued the Thracians, he conquered all the country of Cherronesus, from Thracia vnto his own country. And departing from thence, went againſt them of the Ile of Thasos, that had rebelled againſt the Athenians: and hauing ouercome them in battell by ſea, he wanne three and thirtie of their ſhippes, and beſides that tooke their citie by ſiege, and wanne the mines of golde lying beyonde the ſame to the Athenians, with all the landes that belonged vnto them. This conqueſt made his way open into Macedon, and gaue him great oportunitie to haue taken the beſt part therof at that preſent time. But becauſe he let it alone, and followed not that oportunitie, he was

*Cimon brought the king of Perſia to condition of peace.*

*Callias ſent Ambaſſador to take the oth of the king of Perſia.*

*Cimon was at the charge of certaine common buildings.*

*Cimon draue the Perſians out of Thracia.*

ſuſpected to haue taken money, and to haue bene bribed by preſents of king *Alexander*: whereupon, his ſecret enemies layd their heades together, and accuſed him. But *Cimon* to cleare himſelfe before the iudges of this accuſation, ſayd vnto them: I haue practiſed friendſhip neither with the IONIANS, nor yet with the THESSALIANS, both which are very rich and wealthy people: neither haue I taken their matters in hand, as ſome other haue done, to receiue both honour and profit by them. But indeede I am a friend to the LACEDÆMONIANS, for I confeſſe I loue them, and deſire to follow their ſobrietie, and temperance of life, the which I preferre and eſteeme aboue any riches or treaſure: although I am very glad notwithſtanding to enrich our ſtate and common wealth with the ſpoyles of our enemies. *Steſimbrotus* reporteth this accuſation, and ſayth: that his ſiſter *Elpinicè* went to *Pericles* houſe, (who was the ſharpeſt and ſtraighteſt accuſer of his) to pray him not to deale ſo extremely with her brother: & that *Pericles* laughing on her, ſayd, alas, thou art too old, *Elpinicè*, thou, now to ouercome theſe matters. Yet for all that, when *Cimons* cauſe came to hearing, he was a more gentle aduerſarie, then any other of his accuſers, and roſe vp but once to ſpeake againſt him, and that for manners ſake onely: ſo that *Cimon* thereby eſcaped, and was cleared of this accuſation. And furthermore, ſo long as he was preſent in ATHENS, he alwayes kept the ſeditious people in obedience, who would euer croſſe and thwart the authoritie of the nobilitie, becauſe they would haue all the ſway and rule in their owne handes. But when *Cimon* was ſent abroad any whither to the warres, then the common people hauing no body to gaineſay them, turned, and altered the gouernement of the citie topſie turuey, and confounded all the ancient lawes and cuſtomes which they had obſerued of long time, and that by the procurement and ſetting on of *Ephialtes*. For they tooke away all hearing of cauſes in manner from the court of * *Areopagus*, and put all authoritie of matters iudiciall into the hands of the people, & brought the ſtate of the citie into a pure Democratia, to ſay, a common weale ruled by the ſole and abſolute power of the people, *Pericles* being then in great credit, who altogether fauoured the peoples faction. Wherefore *Cimon* at his returne, finding the authority of the Senate and councell ſo ſhamefully defaced & troden vnder foote, was marueilouſly offended withall, & ſought to reſtore the ancient ſtate of iudgement againe as it was before, and ſet vp the gouernement of the nobilitie (called Optimatia) that was eſtabliſhed in the time of *Cliſthenes*. But thē began his enemies againe with open mouth to cry out vpon him, reuiuing the old former naughtie rumour that ranne of him before, that he kept his owne ſiſter: and furthermore accuſing him, that he did fauour the LACEDÆMONIANS. And amongſt other things there ranne in the peoples mouthes the verſes of the Poët *Eupolis*, which were made againſt *Cimon*.

*Cimon accuſed & diſcharged.*

*Cimon praiſeth the temperate life of the Lacedæmonians.*

*Steſimbrotus the hiſtorian.*

** Areopagus was a village of Mars by Athens, where the iudges called Areopagitæ did ſit to iudge cauſes of murther and other waightie matters concerning the cōmon wealth.*

*Democratia rule of communaltie.*

*Pericles in Cimons abſence reduceth the cōmon wealth vnto the ſtate Democratia.*

*Optimatia the gouernement of the nobilitie.*

*No wicked man he was, but verie negligent,*
*And there withall to wine much more, then vnto money bent.*
*He ſtale ſometimes away, at Sparta for to ſleepe:*
*And left poore Elpinicè his wife, at home alone to weepe.*

And if it be ſo, that being thus negligent and giuen to wine, he haue gotten ſo many cities, and wonne ſuch ſundry great battels: it is out of doubt then that if he had bene ſober and carefull, there had neuer bene before him nor ſince any GRECIAN Captaine, that had paſſed him in glory of the warres. Indeede it is true, that from the beginning he euer loued the manner of the LACEDÆMONIANS: for of two twynnes which he had by his wife *Clitoria*, he named the one of them *Lacedæmonius*, and the other *Eleus*, as *Steſimbrotus* writeth, ſaying that for that cauſe *Pericles* did euer twit them in the teeth with their mothers ſtocke. Howbeit *Diodorus* the Geographer writeth, that both thoſe two, and an other third called *Theſſalus*, were borne of *Iſodice*, the daughter of *Euryptolemus*, the ſonne of *Megacles*. Howſoeuer it was, it is certaine that *Cimons* credit grew the greater, by the fauour and contenaunce which the LACEDÆMONIANS gaue him, who had hated *Themiſtocles* of long time, and for the malice they bare him, were glad that *Cimon* being but a yoũg man, did beare more ſway in ATHENS thē he. Which the ATHENIANS perceiued well enough, and were not offended withall at the beginning: becauſe the good will of the LACEDÆMONIANS towardes him, did bring them great commodity. For when the ATHENIANS began to grow of great power, and to practiſe ſecretly that the confederats of the GRECIANS ſhould forſake the LACEDÆMONIANS to ioyne with

*Cimō followed the Lacedæmonian manner.*

them: the LACEDÆMONIANS were not angry withall, for the honour and loue they bare vnto *Cimon*, who did alone in manner manage all the affaires of GRECE at that time, becauſe he was very curteous vnto the confederates, and alſo thankefull vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS. But afterwardes when the ATHENIANS were aloft and of great power, and that they ſaw *Cimon* ſtucke not for a litle matter with the LACEDÆMONIANS, but loued them more thē they would haue had him: they began then to enuie him, becauſe in all his matters he had to do, he euer highly praiſed and extolled the LACEDÆMONIANS before them. But ſpecially, when he would reproue them of any fault they had committed, or that he would perſwade them to do any thing: the LACEDÆMONIANS, ſayd he, I warrant ye do not ſo. That, as *Steſimbrotus* ſayth, made him maruellouſly to be maliced of the people. But the chiefeſt thing they accuſed him of, and that moſt did hurt him, fell out vpon this occaſion. The fourth yeare of the raigne of *Archidamus*, the ſonne of *Zeuxidamus* king of SPARTA, there fortuned the wonderfulleſt and moſt fearefull earthquake in the citie of LACEDÆMON, and there abouts, that euer was heard of. For the earth in many places of the country opened, and fell as into a bottomleſſe pit. The mountaine Taygetum ſhooke ſo terribly, that points of rockes fell downe from it. All the citie was layed on the ground and ouerthrowen, fiue houſes onely excepted, the reſt being wholly deſtroyed. And it is ſayd alſo, that a litle before this earthquake came, the young men of that citie were playing with the young boyes exerciſing thēſelues ſtarke naked vnder a great galery couered ouer: and as they were ſporting together, there ſtarted vp a hare hard by thē. The young men ſpying her, ranne after the hare ſtarke naked and oyled as they were, with great laughter. They were no ſooner gone thence, but the top of the gallery fell down vpō the boyes that were left, and ſquaſhed them all to death. And in memorie of the ſame, the tombe where they were afterwardes buried, is called vnto this day Siſmatias, as much to ſay, as the tombe of thoſe which the earthquake had ſlaine. But king *Archidamus* foreſeeing ſtraight vpō the ſodaine the danger that was to come, by that he ſaw preſent, perceiuing his citizens buſie in ſauing their houſhold ſtuffe, and that they were running out of their houſes: made the trumpetters to ſound a hot alarome vpon it, as if their enemies had come ſtealingly vpon them to take the citie, to the end that all the inhabitants ſhould preſently repayre vnto him (ſetting all buſineſſe apart) with armour and weapon. That ſodaine alarome doubtleſſe ſaued the citie of SPARTA at that time: for the ILOTÆ, which are their ſlaues and bondmen in the country of LACONIA, and the country clownes of litle villages there abouts, came running armed out of all parts, to ſpoyle and robbe them vpon the ſodaine, that were eſcaped from this earthquake. But when they found them well armed in order of battell, they returned backe againe as they came: and then began afterwardes to make open warres vpon them, when they had drawen certaine of their neighbours vnto their confederacie, and ſpecially the MESSENIANS, who made hot warres vpon the SPARTANS. Whereupon the LACEDÆMONIANS ſent *Periclidas* vnto ATHENS to demande ayde: whom *Ariſtophanes* the Poët mocking, ſayd.

*A maruellous great earthquake in Lacedæmon. Taygetum mons.*

*Archidamus ſodaine policie ſaued the citie. Ilotæ ſlaues & bondmen to the Lacedæmonians.*

*VVith viſage pale and wanne, he on the aulter ſate,*
*In ſkarlet gowne requiring ayde, to ſuccour their eſtate.*

Againſt whom *Ephialtes* alſo ſpake very much, proteſting that they ſhould not aide nor relieue a city that was an enemy vnto ATHENS, but rather ſuffer it to fall to the ground, and to ſpurne the pride and arrogancy of SPARTA vnder their feete. But *Cimon* (as *Cricias* ſayth) being more carefull for the benefit of SPARTA, then for the enlarging & encreaſing of his country: brought it to paſſe by his perſwaſion, that the ATHENIANS ſent him thither with a great power to helpe them. And furthermore *Ion* rehearſeth the very ſelfe wordes that *Cimon* ſpake to moue the people to graunt his requeſt. For he beſought them that they would not ſuffer GRECE to halt, as if LACEDÆMON had bene one of her feete, and ATHENS the other: not to ſuffer their citie to loſe an other citie their friend, and ſubiect to the yoke and defence of GRECE. Hauing therfore obteined ayde, to lead vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, he went with his army through the CORINTHIANS country: wherewith *Lachartus* a Captaine of CORINTHE was maruellouſly offended, ſaying, that he ſhould not haue entred into their country with an army, before he had asked licence of thē of the citie. For ſayd he, when one knocketh at a mans doore or gate, yet he commeth not in, before the maiſter of the houſe commandeth

*Cimon procured ayde for the Lacedæmonians.*

him. But ye CORINTHIANS (ſayd *Cimon* to him againe) haue not knocked at the gates of the CLEONÆIANS, nor of the MEGARIANS, to come in, but haue broken them open, and entred by force of armes, thinking that all ſhould be open vnto them that are the ſtronger. Thus did *Cimon* ſtoutly aunſwere the CORINTHIAN Captaine againe, becauſe it ſtood him vpon, and ſo went on with his army through the country of CORINTHE. Afterwardes the LACEDÆMONIANS ſent againe vnto the ATHENIANS, to require ayde againſt the MESSENIANS and the ILOTES, (which are their ſlaues) who had wonne the citie of ITHOME. But when the ATHENIANS were come, the LACEDÆMONIANS were afrayd of the great power they had brought, and of their boldneſſe beſides: wherefore they ſent them backe againe, and would not imploy them of all other their confederats that came to their ſuccour, becauſe they knew them to be men very tickle, deſiring change and alterations. The ATHENIANS returned home, miſliking much that they were ſent backe againe, in ſomuch as euer after they hated thē that fauoured the LACEDÆMONIANS in any thing. And for the LACEDÆMONIANS ſake therefore, taking a ſmall occaſion of offence againſt *Cimon*, they baniſhed him out of their country for ten yeares: which was the full terme appointed and limited vnto them that were baniſhed with the Oſtraciſmon baniſhment. Now within the terme of theſe ten yeares, the LACEDÆMONIANS fortuned to vndertake the deliuery of the city of DELPHES, from the ſeruitude and bondage of the PHOCIANS, and to put them from the cuſtodie and keeping of the temple of *Apollo*, which is in the ſayd city. Wherfore, to obtaine their deſire and purpoſe, they came to plant their camp neare vnto the citie of TANAGRE in PHOCIDE, where the ATHENIANS went to fight with them. *Cimon* vnderſtanding this, although he was in exile, came to the ATHENIANS camp armed, with intent to do his duety to fight with his country men againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, and ſo went into the bandes of the tribe Oeneide, of the which he was himſelfe. But his owne country enemies cried out againſt him, and ſayd, that he was come to none other end, but to trouble the order of their battell, of intent that he might afterwardes bring them to the citie ſelfe of ATHENS. Whereupon the great councell of the fiue hundred men were afrayed, and ſent to the Captaines to commaund them they ſhould not receiue him into the battell: ſo that *Cimon* was compelled to depart the camp. But before he went, he prayed *Euthippus* ANAPHLYSTIAN, and his other friends that were ſuſpected as himſelfe was to fauour the LACEDÆMONIANS doings: that they ſhould do their beſt endeuour to fight valiantly againſt their enemies, to the intent their good ſeruice at that battell might purge their innocencie towardes their country men: and ſo they did. For the ATHENIANS keeping the ſouldiers *Cimon* had brought with him, which were a hundred in all, they ſet them apart by themſelues in a ſquadron, and fought it ſo valiantly and deſperatly, that they were ſlaine euery man of them in the field, leauing the ATHENIANS maruellous ſory for them, & repenting thē that they had ſo vniuſtly miſtruſted them as traitours to their country. Wherefore they kept not their malice long againſt *Cimon*, partly as I am perſwaded, becauſe they called his former good ſeruice to minde which he had done to their country aforetime, and partly alſo, becauſe the neceſsitie of the time ſo required it. For the ATHENIANS hauing loſt a great battell before TANAGRE, looked for no other about the ſpring of the yeare, but that the PELOPONNESIANS would inuade them with a great power: wherefore they reuoked *Cimons* baniſhmēt by decree, wherof *Pericles* ſelf was the onely authour & procurer. So ciuill and temperat were mens enmities at that time, regarding the common benefit of their publicke ſtate and weale: and ſo much did their ambition (being the moſt vehement paſsion of all other, & that moſt troubleth mens mindes) giue place, and yeeld to the neceſsities & affaires of the common weale. Now when *Cimon* was againe returned to ATHENS, he ſtraight pacified the warre, and reconciled both cities together. And when he ſaw that the ATHENIANS could not liue in peace, but would be doing ſtill, and enlarge their dominions by warre, for lucres ſake: to preuent them that they ſhould not fall out with any of the GRECIANS, nor by ſcouring and coaſting vp & downe the country of PELOPONNESVS, and the Iles of GRECE, with ſo great a nauie, ſhould moue occaſion of ciuill warres amongſt the GRECIANS, or of complaints vnto their confederates againſt them: he rigged & armed out two hundred gallies to go againe to make warre in CYPRVS, and in EGYPT, becauſe he would acquaint the

*Cimon baniſhed for ten yeares.*

*Cimon called from exile.*

*Cimons dream.*

ATHENIANS with the warres of the barbarous people, and thereby make them lawfull gainers by the ſpoyles of thoſe their naturall borne enemies. But when all things were in readineſſe to depart, and the army preſt to ſhip & ſayle away: *Cimon* dreaming in the night had this viſion. It ſeemed vnto him that he ſaw a bitch angry with him, and barking earneſtly at him, and that in the middeſt of her barking, ſhe ſpake with a mans voyce, and ſayd vnto him:

*Come hardely, ſpare not for if thou come by me,*
*My whelpes, and I which here do ſtand, will quickely welcome thee.*

*The interpretation of the dreame.*
*Cimons death prognoſticated.*

*The cauſe of Themiſtocles willing death.*

*The death of Cimon.*

*Cimons death kept verie ſecret.*

This viſion being very hard to interpret, *Aſtyphilus* borne in the citie of POSIDONIA, a man expert in ſuch coniectures, and *Cimons* familiar friend, told him that this viſion did betoken his death, expounding it in this ſort. The dogge commonly is an enemie to him he barketh at. Againe, nothing gladdeth our enemie more, then to heare of our death. Furthermore, the mingling of a mans voyce with the barking of a bitch, ſignifieth nothing elſe, but an enemie of the MEDES: becauſe the armie of the MEDES is mingled with the barbarous people and the GRECIANS together. Beſides this viſion, as he did ſacrifice to the god *Bacchus*, the Prieſt opening the beaſt after it was ſacrificed, about the bloud that fell to the ground, there aſſembled a ſwarme of antes, which caried the congealed bloud off from the ground by litle and litle, and layed it all about *Cimons* great toe, a great while together before any man marked it: *Cimon* at the laſt ſpyed it by chance, and as he was looking on them to marke what they did, the miniſter of the ſacrifice brought the beaſtes liuer that was ſacrificed, to ſhew him, whereof the biggeſt end that they call the head was lacking, and this they iudged for a very ill token. Notwithſtanding, hauing all things ready for preparation of this iourney, ſo as he could not well go backe, he launched into the ſea, and hoyſed ſayle, and ſending threeſcore of his gallies into EGYPT, ſayled with the reſt vpon the coaſt of PAMPHYLIA. Where he wanne a battell by ſea of the king of PERSIA, ouercomming the gallies of the PHENICIANS and the CILICIANS, & conquered all the cities thereabouts, making the way very open to enter into EGYPT. For he had no ſmall thoughtes in his minde, but reached to high enterpriſes, and determined vtterly to deſtroy the whole Empire of the mighty king of PERSIA, and ſpecially for that he vnderſtood *Themiſtocles* was in maruellous credit and reputation amongſt the barbarous people, becauſe he had promiſed the king of PERSIA to lead his armie for him, and to do him notable ſeruice whenſoeuer he ſhould haue occaſion to warre with the GRECIANS. It is thought this was the chiefe cauſe that made *Themiſtocles* poyſon himſelfe, becauſe he deſpaired that he could not performe that ſeruice againſt GREC which he had promiſed: aſſuring himſelfe that it was no eaſie matter to vanquiſh *Cimons* courage and good fortune, who lay at that time with his army all alongſt the Ile of CYPRVS, promiſing himſelfe great matters at that inſtant. But in the meane ſeaſon, *Cimon* ſent certaine of his men vnto the oracle of *Iuppiter Ammon*, to aske him ſome ſecret queſtion: for no man euer knew neither then nor ſince, for what cauſe he had ſent them thither, neither did they alſo bring backe any aunſwere. For they were no ſooner come thither, but the oracle commanded them ſtraight to returne: ſaying vnto them, that *Cimon* was then comming to him. So *Cimons* men receiuing this anſwere, left the oracle, and tooke their iourney backe to the ſeawardes. Now when they were come againe to the GRECIANS camp, which at that preſent lay in EGYPT, they heard that *Cimon* was departed this world: and reckoning the dayes ſince his death, with the inſtant of their aunſwere receiued by the oracle, that *Cimon* was then comming vnto him: they knew ſtraight that darkely he had ſignified his death vnto them, and that, at that very time he was with the goddes. He dyed at the ſiege of the citie of CITIVM in CYPRVS, as ſome report, or elſe of a hurt he receiued at a skirmiſh, as other hold opinion. When he dyed, he commanded them that were vnder his charge, to returne into their country againe, and in no caſe to publiſh his death: which commaundement was ſo wiſely and cunningly handled, that they all came home ſafe, and not an enemie, nor any of their confederates that once vnderſtood any thing of it. So was the army of the GRECIANS gouerned and led by *Cimon*, though himſelfe was dead, the ſpace of thirtie dayes, as *Phanodemus* writeth: But after his death, there was no GRECIAN Captaine that did any notable thing worthy of fame againſt the barbarous people, becauſe the

Orators

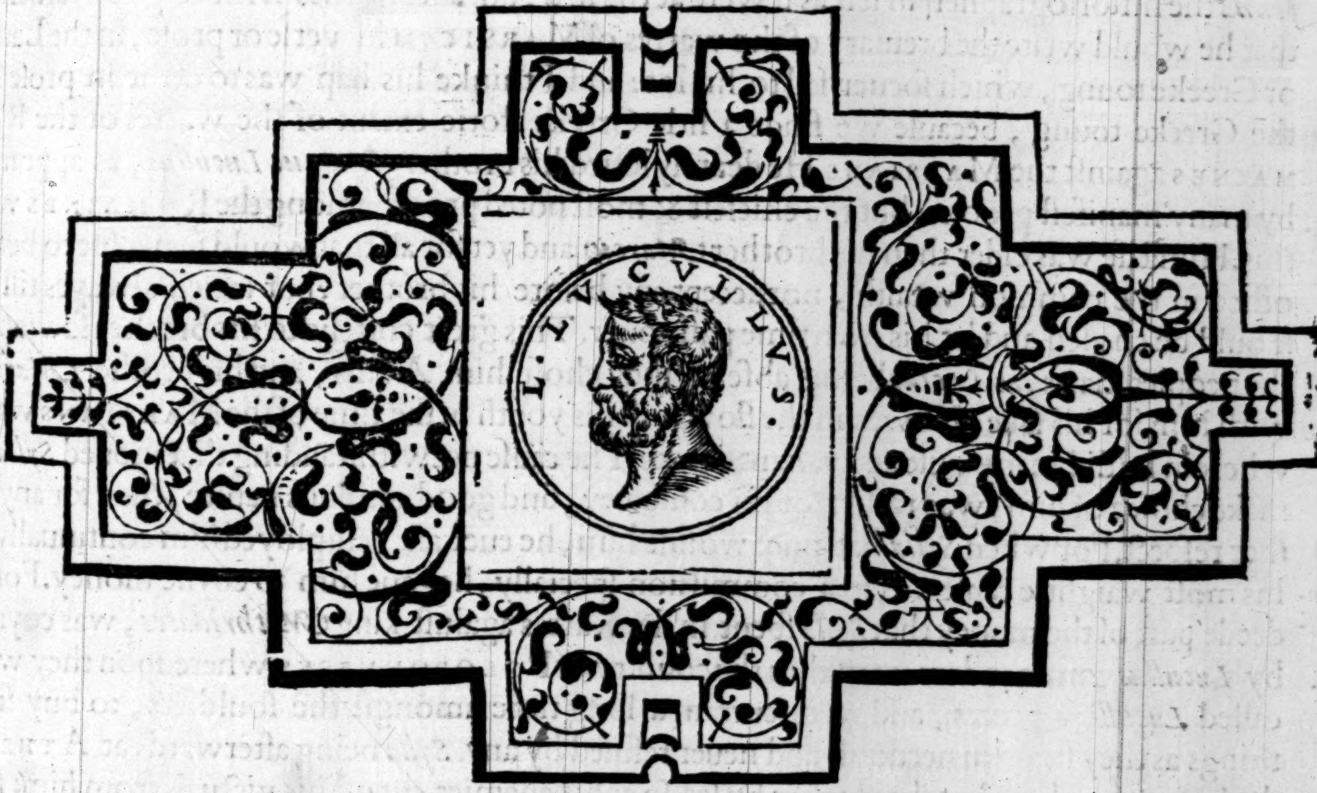
Oratours & gouernours of the chiefeſt cities of GRECE ſtirred them vp one againſt an other, and there was no man that would once ſtep in as a mediatour to make peace betweene them. And thus the GRECIANS now did one deſtroy and ſpoyle an other by ciuill warre amongſt themſelues: which happely gaue the king of PERSIA leaſure and time to reſtore himſelfe againe, and contrarily was cauſe of ſuch vtter ruine and deſtruction of the whole power and force of GRECE, as no toung can well expreſſe. Indeede a long time after, king *Ageſilaus* came with an armie of the GRECIANS into ASIA, and began a ſmall warre againſt the Lieutenants of the king of PERSIAES gouernours of the lower coũtryes of ASIA. But before he could do any notable exploit, he was called home againe by occaſion of new troubles and ciuill warres riſing among the GRECIANS, and compelled to returne into his country, leauing the treaſurers of the king of PERSIA, raiſing of ſubſidies and taxes vpon the cities of the GRECIANS in ASIA, although they were confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Whereas in the time that *Cimon* gouerned, they neuer ſaw any of the kings ſergeants at armes, or commiſsioner, that brought any letters pattents or commaundement from the king, or any ſouldier that durſt come neare the ſea, by fortie furlongs. The tombes which they call vnto this preſent day Cimonia, do witneſſe that his aſhes and bones were brought vnto ATHENS. Neuertheleſſe, they of the citie of CITIVM do honour a certaine tombe, which they ſay is *Cimons* tombe: becauſe that in a great dearth and barennes of the earth, they had an oracle that commanded them, not to neglect *Cimon*, as the Oratour *Nauſicrates* writeth it, but to honour and reuerence him as a god. Such was the life of this GRECIAN Captaine.

*No famous act done by any Grecians to the barbarous people after Cimons death.*

*Cimons monuments at Athens.*

*The end of Cimons life.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Lucius Lucullus.*



AS for *Lucullus*, his grandfather was a Conſull, & ſo was *Metellus* (ſurnamed *Numidicus*, becauſe of his cõqueſt of NVMIDIA) his vncle by the mothers ſide. His father notwithſtanding was conuict of fellony, for robbing the treaſure of the ſtate whileſt he was officer: and *Cæcilia* his mother was reported to haue led an vnchaſt life. But for *Lucullus* ſelfe, before he bare office, or rule in matters of ſtate: the firſt thing he touched and tooke in hand for the cauſe of his country was, the accuſation of *Seruilius* the ſoothſayer (who before had accuſed his

*Lucullus parents.*

*Lucullus accuſeth Seruilius the Soothſayer.*

*The Romaines thought it a noble deede to accuſe the wicked.*

*Lucullus eloquence.*

father ) for that he alſo had dealt falſly in his office, and deceaued the common wealth. And this the ROMAINES thought very well handled of him, in ſomuch as a pretie while after there was no other talke in ROME but of that matter, as though it had bene a notable valiant act done by him. For otherwiſe, though priuatly they had no iuſt occaſion, yet they thought it a noble deede to accuſe the wicked, and it pleaſed them as much to ſee the young men put law-breakers in ſute, as to ſee a notable good courſe of a dogge at a hare. Howbeit there followed ſuch ſturre and banding vpon this ſute, that ſome were very ſore hurt, and other ſlaine in the market place: but in fine, *Seruilius* was cleared and quite diſmiſſed. *Lucullus* was very eloquent, well ſpoken, and excellently well learned in the Geeeke and Latin toung: in ſomuch as *Sylla* dedicated vnto him the commentaries of all his doings which himſelfe had collected, as to one that could better frame a whole hiſtorie thereof, and couche it more eloquently together in writing. For he had not onely a ready toung to vtter that he would ſpeake, and pleade his matters with great eloquence, as other be ſeene to do, hauing matters of ſute or open audience.

*Like tonny fiſh they be, which ſwiftly diue and doppe,*
*Into the depth of Ocean ſea, withouten ſtay or ſtoppe.*

But afterwardes alſo when ye take them out of their common practiſe and pleadings,

*Then are they graueld ſtraight withouten grace or skill,*
*Their eloquence lyes then in dyke, and they themſelues be ſtill.*

*Lucullus ſtudied Philoſophie in his latter time.*

*Lucullus booke of the warre of the Marſians, in Greke.*

*Lucullus loue to his brother Marcus.*

*Lucius, and Marcus Lucullus both choſen Ædiles.*

*Sylla gaue Lucullus commiſsion to coyne money in Peloponneſus.*

For *Lucullus* had ſtudied humanitie from his youth, and was well learned in all the liberall ſciences: but when he came to elder yeares, to refreſh his wit ( after great troubles) he fell to the ſtudy of Philoſophie, which quickened the contemplatiue part of his ſoule, and mortified, or at the leaſt betimes bridled the ambitious and actiue part, ſpecially after the diſſention betwixt him and *Pompey*. But to acquaint you better with his learning yet, it is ſayd, that when he was a young man, he layed a great wager with *Hortenſius* the Oratour, and *Siſenna* the hiſtoriographer (in ieſt as it were at the firſt, but afterwardes it fell to good earneſt,) that he would write the breuiary of the warres of MARSICVM in verſe or proſe, in the Latin or Greeke toung, which ſoeuer fell to his lot: and I thinke his hap was to do it in proſe in the Greeke toung, becauſe we finde a litle Greeke ſtorie extant of the warres of the ROMAINES againſt the MARSIANS. He dearely loued his brother *Marcus Lucullus*, as appeared by many manifeſt proofes: but the chiefeſt & moſt noted proofe among the ROMAINES was this. Himſelfe was elder then his brother *Marcus*, and yet for all that would neuer ſue to beare office in the common wealth, nor accept any before his brother, but taried alwayes till he ſhould be choſen, and let his own time paſſe ouer. This great curteſie to his brother ſo wanne the peoples harts, as *Lucius* being abſent, they choſe him Ædilis, and his brother *Marcus* with him for his ſake. He was in the flower of his youth in the time of the MARSIANS wars, wherein he did many wiſe and valiant deedes. The cauſe notwithſtanding that moued *Sylla* to make choice of him, was rather for his conſtancy, and good curteous nature, then for any other reſpect. For when *Sylla* had once wonne him, he euer after employed him continually in his moſt waightie cauſes: as in a commiſsion ſpecially, he gaue him to coyne money. For indeede part of the money that *Sylla* ſpent in the warres againſt king *Mithridates*, was coyned by *Lucullus* commandement within the country of PELOPONNESVS: whereupon they were called *Lucullian* peeces, and were currant a long time amongſt the ſouldiers, to buy ſuch things as they ſtood in neede of, and neuer refuſed by any. *Sylla* being afterwards at ATHENS, the ſtronger by land, but the weaker by ſea, ſo as his enemies cut off his victuals from him: ſent *Lucullus* into EGYPT and LYBIA to bring him ſuch ſhippes as he found in thoſe parts. It was in the deepe of winter, and yet he ſpared not to ſayle with three brigantines of GRECE, and as many galliots of the RHODIANS, putting himſelfe not onely to the danger of the ſea in ſo long a voyage, but of his enemies in like maner: who knowing themſelues to be the ſtronger, went ſayling euery where with a great nauie. But for all theſe dangers, he firſt arriued in the Ile of CRETA, & wanne their good wils. From thence went to the citie of CYRENE, where he found the inhabitants turmoyled with ciuill warres, and continuall oppreſsions of tyrants: from which troubles he deliuered them, and gaue them lawes to eſtabliſh gouernement amongſt them; putting them in remembrance of *Platoes* words ſpoken to their aunceſters in olde time, in the ſpirite of a prophecie. For when they praied *Plato* to write them lawes, and to appoint them ſome forme of gouernment for their commonwealth, he made them anſwere: it was a hard thing to giue lawes to ſo riche and fortunate people as they were. For to ſay truely, as nothing is harder to be ruled, then a rich man: ſo contrarily, nothing readier to receiue counſell and gouernment, then a man in aduerſitie. This leſſon framed the CYRENIANS at that time to be more ciuill and obedient to the lawes *Lucullus* gaue them. When he departed thence, he coaſted towardes EGYPT, where he loſt the more parte of his ſhips by pyrates: but for his owne perſon, ſcaping their hands, he was very honorably receiued in the citie of ALEXANDRIA. For all the kings armie came to meete him at ſea, gallantly trimmed and appointed, as they were wont to welcome home the king when he returned from any voyage by ſea: and king *Ptolomy* himſelfe being very young at that time, gaue him as honourable entertainment as he poſſible could. For amongſt other honours that he did him, he lodged him in his courte, and defraied his ordinarie diet, where neuer ſtrange Captaine was lodged before: and did not onely ſpend the ordinary allowance in feaſting of him which he vſed vnto others, but commanded foure times as much prouiſion more to be made as he had before. Notwithſtanding, *Lucullus* tooke no more then reaſonable was for his perſon: nor yet would he receiue any maner of gift, although the king had ſent him preſents to the value of foureſcore talents. And which more is, would not ſo much as go ſee the citie of MEMPHIS, nor any other of the famous monuments and wonderfull ſights in EGYPT, ſaying: that it was for a man that trauelled vp and downe for his pleaſure, and had leiſure withall, to ſee ſuch things, but not for him that had left his Captaine in the fielde, at the ſiege of the walles of his enemies. To conclude, this young king *Ptolomy* would in no caſe fall in friendſhip with *Sylla*, fearing leaſt he ſhould thereby put himſelfe into warres: but gaue him men and ſhips to bring him into CYPRVS. And as he was ready to imbarke, the king bidding him farewell, and embracing him, gaue him a goodly rich emerode ſet in golde, which *Lucullus* at the firſt refuſed, vntill the king ſhewed him his picture grauen in it: and then accepted the gift, fearing leaſt the vtter refuſall might cauſe the king thinke he went away diſcontented, and ſhould perhaps therefore lay an ambuſh by ſea for him. Thus hauing gotten a certaine number of ſhips together of the porte townes thereabouts, ouer and beſides ſuch as the Pyrates and ſea-rouers had hidden, being parte of their ſpoiles, and beſtowed with their receitors, went on with them into CYPRVS, where he vnderſtood that his enemies laye cloſe in certaine creekes vnder the foreland, watching to bourde him as he ſailed by. Whereupon he vnrigged and beſtowed his ſhips in docks, and ſent word to all the port townes thereabouts, that he was determined to winter there: and therefore willed them to prouide him victuals and other neceſſarie munition to be in readineſſe againſt the ſpring. But in the meane while, when he ſaw time conuenient, he put his whole fleete againe to the ſea with all poſſible ſpeede, went himſelfe away, and in the day time caried a lowe ſaile, but in the night packt on all the cloath he could for life: ſo that by this craftie fetche, he wanne RHODES, and loſt not one ſhip. The RHODIANS they alſo furniſhed him with ſhips: and beſides them, he ſo perſwaded the GNIDIANS and the inhabitants of the Ile of CO, that they forſooke king *Mithridates*, and went to make wars with him againſt them of the Ile of SAMOS. But *Lucullus* himſelfe alone draue king *Mithridates* men out of CHIO, reſtored the COLOPHONIANS againe to libertie: and tooke *Epigonus* the tyrant priſoner, who had kept them in bondage. Nowe about that time, *Mithridates* was compelled to forſake the citie of PERGAMVM, and to retire to the citie PITANE, within the which *Fimbria* kept him beſieged very ſtraightly by lande. Wherefore *Mithridates* hauing the ſea open vpon him, ſent for his force and Nauie out of all partes, not daring to hazard battell againſt *Fimbria*, who was very valiant, of a venturous nature, and at that time moreouer was himſelfe a conqueror. *Fimbria* perceiuing what *Mithridates* meant, and hauing no power by ſea of his owne, ſent ſtraight to *Lucullus* to requeſt him to come with his nauie into thoſe partes to his aide, for the ouercomming of this king, the greateſt and moſt cruell enemie that euer the ROMAINE people had. Becauſe that ſo notable a prey, which they followed with ſuch danger and trouble, ſhould not eſcape the ROMAINES, while they had

*Lucullus giueth lawes to the Cyrenians.*

*A notable ſaying of Plato.*

*Lucullus iorney into Egypt.*

*A notable rich emerod giuen Lucullus by king Ptolomy.*

*Lucullus doings vnder Sylla by ſea.*

*Lucullus ſtratageme.*

*Fimbria beſieged Mithridates in Pitane.*

him in their hands, and was come himſelfe within their daunger: and that therefore he ſhould ſo much the more hearken vnto it, becauſe that if it fortuned *Mithridates* to be taken, no man ſhould winne more honour and glory by his taking, then he that had ſtopped his paſſage, and laide hands on him, euen as he thought to haue fled. And thereby ſhould the praiſe of this noble victorie runne in equalitie betweene them both: the one that had driuen him from land, and the other that had ſtopped his paſſage by ſea. And furthermore, that the ROMAINES would nothing regarde all the famous battels and victories of *Sylla* in GRECE, which he had wonne before the cities of CHÆRONEA and ORCHOMENE: in compariſon of taking the king. This was the effect of *Fimbriaes* meſſage ſent vnto *Lucullus*, wherein there was nothing, in the which there was not great likelihood. For there is no man that can doubt of it, but if *Lucullus* would haue beleeued him at that time (& haue gone thither with his ſhips to ſtop the hauens mouth of the citie, in the which *Mithridates* was beſieged, conſidering alſo that he was ſo neere at hand) this warre had taken end there, and the worlde beſides had then bene deliuered of infinite troubles which fell out afterwards. But whether *Lucullus* preferred the conſideration and reſpect he had vnto *Sylla*, whoſe Lieutenant he was, before all other due regarde of priuate or common benefit: or that he deteſted and abhorred *Fimbria* as a curſed perſon, who not long before had through his wicked ambition imbrued his handes in the bloud of his Captaine: or elſe, that it was through the ſecret prouidence and permiſſion of the gods, that he ſpared *Mithridates* at that time, to the end he might be reſerued as a worthy enemy, againſt whom he might afterwardes ſhew his valure. Howſoeuer it was, it ſo fell out that he hearkened not vnto *Fimbriaes* meſſage, but gaue *Mithridates* time and leiſure to flie, and finally to ſcorne all *Fimbriaes* force and power. But *Lucullus* ſelfe alone afterwards ouercame the kings armie by ſea, once neere vnto the head of Lectum, which is on the coaſt of TROADE; and an other time neere vnto the Ile of TENEDOS, where *Neoptolemus*, *Mithridates* Lieutenant by ſea, lay in waite for him with a farre greater number of ſhippes then he had. And yet ſo ſoone as *Lucullus* had diſcried him, he ſailed before all his nauie being Admirall, in a galley of the RHODES, at fiue ores to a bancke, whereof one *Demagoras* was maiſter, a man well affected to the ſeruice of the ROMAINES, and very ſkilfull in battell by ſea. And when *Neoptolemus* on the other ſide rowed againſt him with great force, commanding his pylot that he ſhould ſo order his galley, that he might ſtemme him right in the prowe: *Demagoras* fearing the full meeting of the kings galley which was very ſtrong and heauie, and furthermore well armed with pointes and ſpurres of braſſe before, durſt not encounter her with his prowe, but nimbly made his galley to winde about, & turned his poupe towards him. Whereby the galley being low at that end, receiued the blowe without hurt, conſidering that they hit vppon the dead workes, and thoſe partes which are alwaies aboue water. In the meane time *Lucullus* other ſhips were come, who commanding his maiſter to turne the beakehead of his galley forward, did many famous actes: ſo that he made his enemies flie, and draue *Neoptolemus* away. And departing from thence, went to ſeeke out *Sylla* euen as he was ready to paſſe ouer the ſeas, about CHERRONESVS: holpe him to wafte his armie, and ſo paſſed him ouer with ſafetie. Afterwards when peace was concluded, and that king *Mithridates* was come into his realme and countries againe, which lie vpon the ſea Maior: *Sylla* condemned the prouince of ASIA to pay the ſumme of twenty thouſand talents for a fine, by reaſon of their rebellion. And for leauying of this fine, left *Lucullus* there with commiſſion to coine money: which was a great comforte and hearts eaſe vnto the cities of ASIA, conſidering the extremitie that *Sylla* had vſed towards them. For in ſo grieuous and odious a commiſſion vnto them all, as that was: *Lucullus* did not onely behaue himſelfe vprightly and iuſtly, but alſo very fauorably and courteouſly. For, as touching the MITYLENIANS that were opely in armes againſt him, he was very willing they ſhould know their fault, and that for ſatisfaction of the offence they had committed taking *Marius* part, they ſhould ſuffer ſome light puniſhment. And ſeeing that they were furiouſlie bent to continue in their naughtineſſe, he went againſt them, and hauing ouercome them in battell, compelled them to keepe within their walles, and laide ſiege vnto their citie, where he vſed this policie with them. At noone dayes he lanched into the ſea, in the view of all the MITYLENIANS, & ſailed

*Lucullus would not aide Fimbria in beſieging Mithridates.*

*Neoptolemus king Mithridates Lieutenant by ſea.*

*Lucullus put to flight Neoptolemus Mithridates Lieutenant by ſea.*

*Lucullus ſtratagem at the ſiege of the Mitylenians.*

towards the citie of ELEA: howbeit in the night time ſecretly returned backe, and making no noiſe, laide an ambuſh neere vnto the citie. The MITYLENIANS miſtruſting nothing, went out the next morning very raſhly without order, & without any maner watch or ward, to ſpoile the camp of the ROMAINES, ſuppoſing euery man had bene gone: but *Lucullus* comming ſodainly vpon them, tooke a great number priſoners, ſlue about fiue hundred ſuch as reſiſted, and wanne ſixe thouſand ſlaues, with an infinite quantitie of other ſpoile. Now did the goddes happely preſerue *Lucullus*, that he was no partaker at that time of the wonderfull miſeries and troubles, which *Sylla* and *Marius* made poore ITALIE ſuffer, euen then when he was occupied in the warres of ASIA: and yet notwithſtanding his abſence, he was in as good credit and fauor with *Sylla*, as any of his friends about him. For as we haue ſaid before, he dedicated his commentaries vnto him, for the goodwill he bare him, and by his laſt will and teſtament appointed him Tutor vnto his ſonne, leauing *Pompey* out: which ſeemeth to be the firſt occaſion of the quarrell and grudge that fell out afterwards betweene them, becauſe they were both young men, and vehemently deſirous of honour. Shortly after the death of *Sylla*, *Lucullus* was choſen Conſull with *Marcus Cotta*, about the three ſcore Olympiade: and then they began to reuiue the matter againe, that it was very needfull to make warres againſt *Mithridates*, and ſpecially *Marcus Cotta*, who gaue out that it was not ended, but only ſlept for a while. Wherefore, when the Conſuls came to drawe lots what prouinces they ſhould take charge of, *Lucullus* was maruellous ſorie that the prouince of GAVLE, lying betweene the Alpes and ITALIE, fell to his lot: becauſe he thought it no countrie wherein any great exploits were to be done: and againe, the glory of *Pompey* grieued him greatly, whoſe honor daily increaſed by the famous battels he wanne in SPAINE. So that it was moſt certaine, that ſo ſoone as *Pompey* had ended the warres there, they would haue choſen him general in the wars againſt *Mithridates*. Wherfore, when *Pompey* ſent to ROME in earneſt maner, to require money to make pay to his ſouldiers, writing to the Senate, that if they did not ſend him money the ſooner, he would leaue *Sertorius* there, SPAINE behinde him, and bring his army back into ITALIE: *Lucullus* made all the meanes he could to haue it quickly ſent him, fearing leaſt he ſhould returne into ITALIE vpon any occaſion, while he was Conſull. For he thought that if he returned againe to ROME with ſo great an armie, he would eaſily do what him liſt: and the rather, becauſe that *Cethegus* and he could not agree, who at that time bare all the ſwaye and rule at ROME, becauſe he ſpake and did all that pleaſed the common people, being a vitious liuer, and diſſolutely giuen, for which cauſe *Lucullus* hated him. But there was an other common Orator among the people called *Lucius Quintius*, and he would haue had all *Syllaes* doings reuoked and broken: a matter to alter euen the whole ſtate of the commonwealth, and to turmoile the citie of ROME againe with ciuill diſſention, which then liued quietly and in good peace. This *Lucius Quintius Lucullus* talked withall a part to perſwade him, and openly reproued him with ſuch words, that he was diſſwaded from his euill purpoſe, and by reaſon ruled his raſh ambition, handling it both wiſely and as cunningly as he could poſsble (for the ſafetie of the commonwealth) becauſe it was the beginning of a diſeaſe, from whence infinite troubles were like to growe. While theſe things were thus in hand, newes came that *Octauius* the gouernor of CILICIA was dead. Straight whereupon many put forward themſelues to ſue for this charge, and to court *Cethegus*, as the only man who aboue all other might make any man officer whom he thought good. Now for *Lucullus* he made no great reckning of the gouernment of CILICIA in reſpect of the countrie, but becauſe CAPPADOCIA was hard adioyning to it, and perſwading himſelfe that if he could obtaine the gouernment thereof, they would giue none other (but himſelfe) the authoritie to make wars with *Mithridates*: he determined to procure all the meanes he could, that none ſhould haue it but him ſelfe. And hauing prooued ſundry wayes, was compelled in the end, againſt his owne nature, to practiſe a meane neither comely nor honeſt, and yet the readieſt way he could poſſibly deuiſe to obtaine his deſire. There was a woman in ROME at that time called *Pracia*, very famous for her paſſing beauty, and alſo for her pleaſant grace in talke and diſcourſe, howbeit otherwiſe vnchaſte after curtiſan maner. But becauſe ſhe emploied the credit and fauor of them that frequented her companie, to the benefit and ſeruice of the commonwealth, and of them that

*Lucullus honored of Sylla.*

*The firſt occaon of quarrell, betwixt Pompey &* Lucullus.

*Lucullus, M. Cotta, Conſuls.*

*Cethegus a vitious liuer.*

*Lucius Quintius, a ſeditious Orator at Rome.*

*Lucullus ambition to make warres againſt king Mithridates.*

*Pracia a famous curtiſan of Rome.*

*Cethegus ruled all Rome.*

*The gouernment of Cilicia & the warres againſt king Mithridates were giuen to Lucullus.*

*Fimbrian ſouldiers very diſſolute and corrupted.*

*Mithridates armie againſt Lucullus.*

*Mithridates armie.*

loued her: ſhe wanne the reporte (beſides her other excellent commendable graces) to be a very louing woman, and ready to fauour and further any good enterpriſe, and it wanne her great fame and reputation. But after ſhe had once wonne *Cethegus*, (who ruled all the commonwealth at his pleaſure) and brought him to be ſo farre in fancie with her, that he could not be out of her ſight: then had ſhe all the whole power & authority of ROME in her hands, for the people did nothing but *Cethegus* preferred it, and *Cethegus* did what euer *Pracia* would will him to. Thus *Lucullus* ſought to come in fauour with her, ſending her many preſents, and vſing all other courteſies he could offer vnto her: beſides that it ſeemed a great reward for ſo proude and ambitious a woman as ſhe, to be ſued vnto by ſuch a man as *Lucullus* was, who by this meanes came to haue *Cethegus* at his commandement. For *Cethegus* did nothing but cōmend *Lucullus* in all aſſemblies of the people, to procure him the gouernment of CILICIA: who after it was once granted him, had then no neede of the helpe neither of *Pracia*, nor yet of *Cethegus*. For the people wholly of themſelues with one conſent did grant him the charge to make warre with *Mithridates*, becauſe he knew better how to ouercome him, then any other Captaine, and becauſe that *Pompey* was in the warres with *Sertorius* in SPAINE, and *Metellus* alſo growne too olde, both which two were the onely men that could deſeruedly haue contended for this office with him. Neuertheleſſe, *Marcus Cotta* his fellow Conſul, made ſuch ſute to the Senate, that they ſent him alſo with an armie by ſea, to keepe the coaſts of PROPONTIDE, and to defend the countrie of BITHYNIA. Thus, *Lucullus* hauing his commiſſion, went into ASIA with one legion only, the which he leauied a new at ROME: & when he was come thither, he tooke the reſt of the ſtrength he found there, which were men marred and corrupted altogether of long time, through couetouſneſſe and delicacie of the countrie. For amongſt others, were the bandes which they called the *Fimbrian* bandes; men giuen ouer to ſelfe will, and very ill to be ruled by martiall diſcipline, becauſe they had liued a long time at their owne libertie, without all obedience to any man. They were thoſe ſelfe ſouldiers that together with *Fimbria*, ſlue their generall *Flaccus*, Conſull of the ROMAINE people, and that afterwards betraied *Fimbria* himſelfe, and forſooke him, leauing him vnto *Sylla*, being mutiners, traitors, and wicked people: howbeit otherwiſe very valiant, well trained, and painefull ſouldiers. Notwithſtanding, *Lucullus* in ſhort time bridled their boldneſſe meetely well, and reformed the others alſo, who before had neuer proued (in my opinion) what the value of a good Captaine and Generall ment, that knew how to command: but were vſed to flattering leaders, that commaunded the ſouldiers no more then they themſelues liked of. Nowe concerning the ſtate of the enemies, thus it was with them. *Mithridates* that in the beginning was very braue and bolde (as theſe floriſhing Sophiſters commonly are) vndertaking warre againſt the ROMAINES, with a vaine vnprofitable armie, but paſſing freſh and ſumptuous to the eye: but after that he was once foiled and ouercome, with no leſſe ſhame then loſſe, when he came to make this ſecond warre, he cut off all ſuperfluous pompe, and brought his armie into a conuenient furniture to ſerue for warres at all aſſayes. For he put by the confuſed multitude of ſundry nations, the fierce threatnings of the barbarous people in ſo many ſundrie tongues, and clearely baniſht alſo the riche grauen armors with goldeſmiths worke, and ſet with pretious ſtones, as things that more enriched the enemies that wanne them, then gaue ſtrēgth or courage to thoſe that ware them. And contrariwiſe, cauſed long ſtiffe ſwords to be made after the ROMAIN faſhion, and great heauy ſhields, & brought to the field a maruellous number of horſe, more ready for ſeruice, then riche in furniture. Then he ioyned ſixe ſcore thouſand footmen together, appointed & ſet in order like vnto the battell of the ROMAINES, with ſixteene thouſand horſe of ſeruice, beſides thoſe that drue his armed cartes with ſiethes about, which were in all to the number of a hundred. And beſides all this land preparation, he brought alſo a great number of ſhippes and gallies together, which were not decked with goodly golden pauilions, as at the firſt, neither with ſtooues nor bathes, nor with chambers and cabbons, curiouſly hanged for Ladies and gentlewomen: but furniſhed full of armour, artillerie, and ſlings, and with money alſo to pay the ſouldiers. With all this armie and preparation, he went firſt to inuade BITHYNIA, where the cities receiued him very gladly, and not thoſe onely, but all the other cities of ASIA wholly: the which were fallen againe into their former miſeries and diſeaſes, by the crueltie of the ROMAINE farmers and vſurers, who raiſing taxes and impoſtes vppon them, made them abide vntollerable things. It is true that *Lucullus* draue them away afterwards, like the *Harpyæ*, which tooke the meate out of the poore mens mouthes: howbeit at that time he did no more, but brought them to be more reaſonable by the perſwaſions he vſed vnto them and qualified a litle the inclination of the people vnto rebellion, being euery one of them in manner willing to reuolt. Now *Lucullus* being buſie about theſe matters, *Marcus Cotta* the other Conſull (and his companion) ſuppoſing that the abſence of *Lucullus* was a fit occaſion offered him to doe notable ſeruice, prepared to fight with *Mithridates*. And although he had newes brought him from ſundrie places, that *Lucullus* was with his armie in PHRYGIA, and comming towards him: yet notwithſtanding, imagining that he had the honour of triumphe aſſured alreadie in his hands, and becauſe *Lucullus* ſhould be no partaker of it, he aduaunced forwardes to giue battell. But *Mithridates* ouercame him both by ſea and by lande: ſo that *Cotta* by ſea loſt three ſcore of his ſhips with all the men in them, foure thouſand footmen by lande, and was after with ſhame ſhut vp and beſieged in the citie of CHALCEDON, remaining there hopeleſſe to eſcape, but by *Lucullus* onely aide and meanes. Howbeit there were in *Lucullus* campe, that were very earneſt with him to leaue *Cotta*, and to go further, aſſuring him that he ſhould finde the realme of *Mithridates* both without men of warre, or any defence at all: ſo that he might eaſily be Lord of the whole. And theſe were the words of the ſouldiers that ſpighted *Cotta*, becauſe his fooliſh raſhneſſe and fonde imagination had not only brought thoſe men to the ſhambles to be ſlaine and caſt away, whom he had the leading of: but had let them alſo, that they could not ouercome him, and end this warre without blowes, for that they were driuen to go to his helpe. Howbeit *Lucullus* making an Oration vnto them, aunſwered, that he had rather ſaue the life of one ROMAINE citizen, then winne all that his enemies had in their power. And when *Archelaus*, (who had bene *Mithridates* Lieutenant in BOEOTIA in the firſt warres againſt *Sylla*, and now in this ſecond warre tooke part with the ROMAINES) aſſured him that ſo ſoone as they ſaw him in the realme of PONTVS, they would all riſe againſt *Mithridates*, and yeelde themſelues vnto him: *Lucullus* aunſwered him thus, that he would not ſhew himſelfe more fearefull, then the good hunters which neuer ſuffer the beaſt to recouer his denne. And when he had ſo ſaid, he marched with his armie towardes *Mithridates*, hauing in all his campe thirtie thouſand footmen, and two thouſand fiue hundred horſe. When he came ſo neere vnto his enemies, that he might eaſily at eye diſcerne all their hoaſt, he wondered at the great multitude of ſouldiers that were in their campe, and was in minde to giue battell, ſuppoſing yet that the better way was to prolong time, and drawe theſe warres out in length. But one *Marius* a ROMAINE captain, whom *Sertorius* had ſent out of SPAINE vnto *Mithridates* with a certaine number of ſouldiers, came forwards, and prouoked him to battell. *Lucullus* for his part did put his men alſo in a readineſſe to fight. But euen as both battels were prepared to ioyne, the element opened vpon the ſodaine, without any ſhewe of change of weather diſcerned before, and they plainly ſaw a great flake of fire fall betweene both armies, in forme and ſhape much like to a tunne, and of the colour of molten ſiluer. This celeſtiall ſigne put both the armies in ſuch a feare, as they both retired, and fought not a ſtroake: and this wonderfull ſight fortuned (as it appeared) in a place of PHRYGIA, called Otryes. Nowe *Lucullus* afterwards conſidering with himſelfe, that there was no riches nor prouiſion ſo great in the world, that could ſuffice to victuall ſo many thouſands of people as *Mithridates* had in his campe any long time together, hauing his enemies campe ſo lying before them: willed that one of the priſoners ſhould be brought into his tent, and firſt of all he enquired of him, how many of them lay together in a cabin, then what corne he had left in their cabbin. And when the priſoner had aunſwered to all his demandes, he returned him to priſon, and ſent for an other: then for a third, and queſtioned with them all as he had done with the firſt. Then comparing the ſtore of their corne, and other proportion of victuals they had, with the number of men the ſame ſhould maintaine: he found that all would be ſpent in three or foure daies at the vtmoſt. Whereupon he relied on his firſt determination, to delay time without hazard of battell. So he cauſed a maruellous deale of wheate to be brought into his campe out of euery

*Aſia fell into former miſeries by the Romaine vſurers.*

*Cotta the Conſull ouercome by Mithridates in battell.*

*The godly ſaying of Lucullus for the ſauing of a citizen.*

*Lucullus army.*

*A flame of fire fell betweene both armies, out of the element.*

*Lucullus politicke conſideration to diſcypher the enemie.*

quarter, that the ſame being throughly victualed, he might eaſily tary the occaſion which his enemies neceſſitie ſhould offer him. *Mithridates* in the meane time, ſought which way he might take the city of the CYZICENIANS, who had bene ouerthrowne before with *Cotta* at the battell of CHALCEDON, where they had loſt three thouſand men, and tenne of their ſhippes.

*Mithridates beſiegeth Cyzicus.*

And becauſe that *Lucullus* ſhould not vnderſtand of his enterpriſe, *Mithridates* ſtale away by night after ſupper, taking the oportunity of a darke rainie night, and marched thitherwards with ſuch ſpeede, that he was before the city of CYZICVS by breake of day, and pitched his campe, where the temple of the goddeſſe *Adraſtia* ſtandeth, which is the goddeſſe of fatall deſtinie. *Lucullus* receiuing intelligence of *Mithridates* departure from his campe, followed him ſtraight wayes ſteppe by ſteppe, and being glad that he was not met withall of his enemies in diſorder, lodged his armie in a village called THRACIA, in a place of great aduantage for him, and commodiouſly ſeated alſo vppon the high wayes, and through-fare of the neighbours thereabouts, by the which they muſt come of neceſſitie to victuall *Mithridates* campe. Wherfore *Lucullus* wiſely foreſeeing what would follow: would not keep his purpoſe ſecret from his ſouldiers, but after he had well trenched and fortified his campe, called them to counſell, and there making an oration vnto them, told them openly by manifeſt demonſtration of aſſured hope, that ere many dayes paſſed, he would giue victorie into their hands, and that without loſſe of one droppe of bloud. In the meane ſeaſon, *Mithridates* enuironned the GRECIANS round about by land, hauing deuided his armie into tenne campes, and ſtopped vp the mouth of the arme of the ſea, which deuideth the citie from firme lande, with his ſhips from one ſide to another. Now the CYZICENIANS were valiant men, and determined to abide all extreamitie for the ROMAINES ſakes: but one thing onely troubled them much, that they knew not what was become of *Lucullus*, neither could they heare any newes of him, though his campe ſtood in ſuch a place, where they might eaſily diſcerne it from the citie.

*The ſtratagem of Mithridates ſouldiers.*

But *Mithridates* ſouldiers deceiued them, for ſhewing them the ROMAINES campe that lay aboue hard by them, ſaid vnto them: do yee ſee yonder campe there? They are the MEDES, and the ARMENIANS, whom *Tigranes* hath ſent to the aide of *Mithridates*. Theſe wordes put the CYZICENIANS in a maruellous feare, ſeeing ſuch a multitude of enemies diſperſed round about them: that when *Lucullus* ſhould come to their aide, he could not well tell which way to paſſe. Yet at the length they heard of *Lucullus* approach, by one called *Demonax*, whom *Archelaus* ſent vnto them, but they would not beleeue him at the firſt, taking it for a tale, only to make them be of good courage, and valiantly abide the furie of the ſiege: vntill ſuch time as a litle boy of theirs, eſcaped from the enemies that before had taken him priſoner, was come againe vnto them. Of whome they inquired where *Lucullus* was: the boy laughed at them, thinking they ieſted to aske that queſtion of him. But when he ſaw they were in good earneſt, he ſhewed them the ROMAINES campe with his finger: then they beleeued it indeed, & were couragious againe. There is a lake neere vnto the citie of CYZICVS called Daſcylitide, & it is nauigable with conuenient bigge boates. *Lucullus* tooke one of the greateſt of them, put it in a carte, and ſo caried it to the ſea, and there put as many ſouldiers in her as ſhe could well cary, who by night entred into the citie, the skoute of the enemies neuer deſcrying them. This ſmall ſupply did maruellouſly comfort the beſieged CYZICENIANS: and it ſeemeth that the gods, delighting to ſee their noble courage, would further increaſe and aſſure the ſame, by manie manifeſt tokens which they ſent from heauen, and ſpecially by one which was this. The day of the feaſt of *Proſerpina* was at hand, and the citizens had neuer a black cowe to offer in ſolemne ſacrifice, as their ancient ceremonies required: ſo they made one of paſte, and brought it hard vnto the aulter.

*A wonderfull token of a cowe that came to offer her ſelfe to the Cyzicenians to be ſacrificed.*

Now, the cowe that was vowed to this ſacrifice, & which they reered vp of purpoſe to ſerue for that day, was feeding amongſt the heard of the citie in the fields, on the other ſide of the arme of the ſea. But that day ſhe kept alone from all the reſt of the heard, and ſwam ouer the arme of the ſea, and came into the citie: where ſhe went of her ſelfe vnto the place of the ſacrifice.

*Ariſtagoras viſion.*

Furthermore, the goddeſſe *Proſerpina* her ſelfe appeared vnto *Ariſtagoras* in his dreame, ſecretary of the ſtate and commonwealth of the CYZICENIANS, and ſaid vnto him: I am come hither to bring the flute of LIBYA, againſt the trumpet of PONT, and therefore tell the citizens from me, that I will them to be of good courage. The next morning when the ſecretary had told them his viſion, the CYZICENIANS maruelled much at the goddeſſes words, and could not imagine what they ment. Howbeit at the breake of day there roſe a great whiſtling wind, that made the ſea billowes riſe very high: and the kings engines of battery which were brought to the walles of the city to plucke them downe (being wonderfull works that one *Niconides* a THESSALIAN enginer had made and deuiſed) began to make ſuch a noiſe, and to breake in peeces by the roughnes of the winde, that a man might eaſily iudge what would follow vpon it. Then all at one inſtant the ſouthwinde was become ſo vehement bigge, that in a moment it burſt all theſe engines a ſunder, and ſpecially a tower of wodde of the height of a hundred cubittes, which the winde ſhooke ſo vehemently, that it ouerthrew it to the ground. And it is ſayd furthermore, that in the city of ILIVM the goddeſſe *Minerua* appeared vnto diuerſe in their ſleepe, all in a ſweat, and ſhewing part of her vaile torne, as if ſhe had bene newly returned from giuing aide vnto the CYZICENIANS: in confirmation whereof, the inhabitants of ILIVM haue a piller yet vnto this day, whereupon this matter is written for a perpetuall memory. Now was *Mithridates* maruellous ſory for the breaking and loſſe of his engines, by meanes whereof, the CYZICENIANS had eſcaped the danger of aſſault, and of the ſiege in like maner, vntill he truely vnderſtood of the great famine that was in his campe, and the extreame dearth to be ſuch, as the ſouldiers were compelled to eate mans fleſh, which (his Captaines abuſing him) had for a time kept ſecret from his knowledge. But when he was enformed of the troth in deed, he left off his vaine ambition obſtinately to continue ſiege: knowing well that *Lucullus* made not warres with threats and brauery, but (as the common prouerbe ſayth) leapt on his belly with both his feete, that is to ſay, he did what he could poſſible to cut off all the victuals from him. And therefore one day when *Lucullus* was gone to aſſault a caſtell that troubled him very neare vnto his campe: *Mithridates* becauſe he would not loſe that oportunity, ſent the moſt part of his horſemen to get victuals in BITHYNIA, with all his cartes, and beaſtes of cariage, and his moſt vnprofitable footemen. *Lucullus* hearing thereof, returned againe the ſelfe ſame night vnto his campe, and the next morning betimes being in the winter ſeaſon, followed them by the tracke with ten enſignes of footemen only and all his horſemen. But the ſnow was ſo deepe, the cold ſo terrible ſharpe, and the weather ſo rough, that many of his ſouldiers not being able to abide it, dyed by the way. For all that he marched on ſtill, till he ouertooke his enemies about the riuer of Rindacus, where he gaue them ſuch an ouerthrow, that the very women came out of the city of APOLLONIA, and went to ſteale the victuals they had loden, and ſtrip the dead, which were a maruellous great number, as a man may iudge in ſuch a caſe: and neuertheleſſe there were taken ſixe thouſand horſe of ſeruice, an infinite number of beaſtes for cariage, and fifteene thouſand men beſides, all which ſpoile he brought to his campe, and paſſed hard by the campe of his enemies. But I wonder much at the hiſtoriographer *Saluſt*, who writing of this matter ſayth, that here was the firſt time that euer the ROMAINES ſaw any camels. Me thinks it ſtraunge how he ſhould thinke ſo, that they who long before had ouercome *Antiochus* the great vnder *Scipio*, and the others that a litle before had fought againſt *Archelaus*, neare vnto the cities of ORCHOMENE and CHÆRONEA, ſhould not haue ſeene camels. But to returne againe to our matter. *Mithridates* being feared with this ouerthrow, reſolued with him ſelfe immediatly to flie, with all the ſpeede he could poſſibly make: and to entertaine and ſtay *Lucullus* for a time behinde him, determined to ſend *Ariſtonicus* his Admirall with his army by ſea, into the ſea of GREECE. But as *Ariſtonicus* was ready to hoiſe ſaile, his own men betrayed him, and deliuered him into the handes of *Lucullus*, with tenne thouſand crownes which he caried with him, to corrupt if he could part of the ROMAINES army. *Mithridates* hearing of this, fled by ſea, leauing the reſt of his army by land in the handes of his Captaines, to bee brought away by them as well as they could. *Lucullus* followed vnto the riuer of Granicus, where he ſet vppon them, and after he had ſlaine twenty thouſand of them, tooke an infinite number priſoners. And they ſay there died in that warres, what ſouldiers, what ſlaues, what lackeis, and other ſtragglers that followed the campe, about the number of three hundred thouſand people. This done, *Lucullus* returned to the city of CYCICVS, where after hee had ſpent ſome daies, enioying the glory due vnto him, and receiued the honorable entertainment

*Extreame famine in Mithridates campe.*

*Prouerbe: He lept on his belly with both his feete.*

*Rindacus fl.*

*Lucullus ouerthrew Mithridates horſemen.*

*Mithridates fled by ſea.*

*Granicus fl.*

*Lucullus ouerthroweth Mithridates footemen by the riuer of Granicus.*

of the CYZICENIANS: he went to viſite the coaſt of HELLESPONT, to get ſhips together, and to prepare an army by ſea. And paſſing by TROADE, they prepared his lodging within the temple of *Venus*: where, as he ſlept in the night, it ſeemed to him he ſaw the goddeſſe appeare before him, which ſaied theſe verſes vnto him.

*Lucullus dreame.*

*O Lion fierce and ſtoute: why ſleepeſt thou ſo ſound?*
*Since at thy hand ſo faire a prey, is ready to be ſound.*

*Lucullus ouercame Mithridates nauy by ſea.*

*Mithridates in great danger vpon the ſea by tempeſt.*

Herewith he roſe incontinently out of his bed, being yet darke night, and calling his friends to him, told him the viſion he had in his dreame: and about that very time alſo there came ſome vnto him from the city of ILIVM, that brought him newes of fifteene gallies of king *Mithridates*, hauing fiue oares to euery banck, that were ſeen in the hauen of the ACHAIANS, and that ſailed towardes the Ile of LEMNOS. Whereupon *Lucullus* tooke ſhip ſtraight, went and tooke them euery one: for at his firſt comming he ſlue the Captaine called *Iſidorus*, and went afterwardes to the other mariners that lay at ancker on the coaſt ſide, who ſeeing him come, drew towardes land with their ſhippes, in purpoſe to runne them all a ſhore, and fighting aboue hatches, hurt many of *Lucullus* ſouldiers, becauſe they could not compaſſe them in behinde, and for that alſo the place where they had laied their ſhippes was ſuch, as there was no way to force them before, their gallies floting in the ſea as they did, and the others being faſtned to the land as they were. *Lucullus* with much a do all this notwithſtanding, found meanes in the end to put a ſhore certaine of the beſt ſouldiers he had about him, in a place of the Ile where they might eaſily land. Theſe ſouldiers went ſtraight and ſet vpon the enemies behinde, ſlue ſome of them euen at their firſt comming, and compelled the reſt to cut a ſunder the cables that faſtned the gallies to the banckes. But when they thought to flie from land, the gallies bruſed and brake one another: and that worſt of all was, ranne vpon the pointes and ſpurres of *Lucullus* gallies. And ſo many of them that ſtoode aboue hatches were ſlaine, the reſt taken priſoners: amongeſt whom, *Marius* the ROMAINE Captaine was brought vnto *Lucullus*, whom *Sertorius* had ſent out of SPAINE vnto *Mithridates*. He had but one eie, and *Lucullus* had commaunded his men before they fought, not to kill any of his enemies that had but one eie, becauſe *Marius* ſhould not die ſo happy a death, as to be ſlaine, but that hee ſhould die ſome ſhamefull death, and bee condemned by order of law. That done, *Lucullus* went in perſon with all the ſpeede he could poſſible to follow *Mithridates*, hoping to finde him yet vpon the coaſt of BITHYNIA, where *Voconius* ſhould haue ſtayed him: for he had ſent this *Voconius* before with a certaine number of ſhippes vnto the city of NICOMEDIA, to ſtop him from flying. But he taried ſo long in the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA ſacrificing to the goddes of the ſame, and to be receiued into the fraternity of their religion, that he could neuer after come neare *Mithridates* to ſtoppe him from flying: hauing already made ſayle with all the whole fleete, and haſting with all poſſible ſpeede to recouer the realme of PONTVS, before *Lucullus* could returne from whence he went. But in ſayling thitherwardes, he met with ſuch a terrible ſtorme, that caried part of his ſhippes ſo away, that they ranne ſtraggling to ſeeke their fortune, and part of them ſplitted and drowned outright: ſo that all the coaſts and riuers thereabouts, for many daies after, were full of dead bodies and ſhippewrackes caſt a ſhore by waues of the ſea. Now for *Mithridates* owne perſon, he was in a ſhip of great burden, the which for her greatneſſe could not ſaile neare the ſhore, nor recouer land, ſhee was alſo very euill to be guided by the pilots in ſo boiſterous a ſtorme: the mariners beſides were put out of all their ſkill and knowledge: and the ſhippe her ſelfe moreouer tooke in ſuch ſtore of water, and was ſo heauily charged withall, that they durſt no more put her out to the ſea. By reaſon whereof *Mithridates* was compelled to goe abord a litle pinaſe of pyrates, and to put him ſelfe and his life into their handes, by whoſe helpe in the end, (beyond all expectation, but not without great daunger) he got to land, and recouered the city of HERACLEA in the realme of PONTVS. Now here is to be noted, that the great brauery *Lucullus* ſhewed vnto the Senate of ROME, fell out according to his imagination by the fauour of the goddes. For when the Senate had appointed for ending of theſe warres to prepare a great nauy of ſhippes, and therewithall had giuen order alſo for three thouſand talents: *Lucullus* ſtayed them by letters that they ſhould not doe it, writing brauely vnto them, that without all this charge and great preparation he would be ſtrong enough to driue *Mithridates* from the ſea, with the onely ſhippes hee would borrow of their friends and confederates. And in deede, through the ſpeciall fauour of the goddes, he brought it ſo to paſſe: for they ſay, that this terrible ſtorme that deſtroied the army of *Mithridates* was raiſed vp by *Diana*, being offended with the men of the realme of PONTVS, becauſe they had deſtroyed her temple in the city of PRIAPOS, and had caried away her image. Now there were diuerſe that counſelled *Lucullus* to deferre the reſt of this warre, vntill an other ſeaſon: but notwithſtanding all their perſwaſions, he went through the country of GALATIA and BITHYNIA to inuade the realme of *Mithridates*. In the which voyage, at the firſt beginning he lacked victuals, ſo that there were thirty thouſand men of GALATIA following his campe, that caried euery one of them a buſhell of wheate on their ſhoulders: howbeit entring farther into the countrey, and conquering the whole, there was ſuch exceeding plenty of all things, that an Oxe was ſold in his campe but for a Drachma, and a ſlaue at foure times as much. And of all other ſpoile there was ſuch great ſtore, that either they made no reckonning of it, or elſe they made hauocke of it, becauſe there was no man to ſell it vnto, euery man hauing ſo much of his owne. For they ranne ouer all the countrey vnto the city of THEMISCYRA, and to the vallies that lay vpon the riuer of Thermodon, and ſtayed no where longer then they were a ſpoyling. Thereupon the ſouldiers beganne to murmur at *Lucullus*, becauſe he aſſured all the cities vpon compoſition, and neuer tooke any of them by force, nor gaue them any meanes to enrich them ſelues by ſpoile: and yet ſayd they, he would make vs now go farther, and leaue AMISVS a great rich city which we might eaſily take by force, if it were but a litle ſtraightly beſieged, and leade vs into the deſerts of the TIBARENIANS and the CHALDÆIANS to fight againſt *Mithridates*. *Lucullus* paſſed ouer all theſe complaints, and made no reckonning of them, becauſe he would neuer haue thought that they would haue fallen into ſuch mutiny and fury, as afterwardes they did: and contrarily excuſed him ſelfe the more carefully to them that blamed and reproued him, for his long tarying vpon townes and villages that were not worth the reckoning, and ſuffering *Mithridates* in the meane time to gather a new force and army together at his pleaſure. For, ſaid he, that is the marke I ſhotte at, and that maketh me linger time vp and downe as I doe, wiſhing nothing more, then that he might once againe make himſelfe ſtrong, and bring a ſecond army to the field, that might embolden him to come eftſoones to the fight with vs, and runne away no more. Doe you not ſee, ſayed he, that at his backe he hath an infinite number of deſert countries, where it is vnpoſſible euer to follow him by the tracke: and hard by him alſo the mount Caucaſus, and many other vnpaſſable places, which are ſufficient not onely to hide him alone, but infinite number of other princes and kings beſides that would flie battell, and not come to fight? Furthermore, it is but a litle way from the country of the CABIRENIANS vnto the realme of ARMENIA, where *Tigranes* the king of kings inhabiteth, whoſe power is ſo great, that he driueth the PARTHIANS out of ASIA, and carieth whole townes and cities of GREECE vnto the realme of MEDIA, who hath all SYRIA and PALÆSTINE in his handes, and hath ſlaine and rooted out the kings and ſucceſſors of the great *Seleucus*, and hath caried away their wiues and daughters priſoners by force. This great and mighty king is allied vnto *Mithridates*, for he maried *Mithridates* daughter: and it is not likely that when *Mithridates* ſhall come and intreate him to helpe him in his diſtreſſe, that *Tigranes* will refuſe him, but rather we muſt thinke certainely that he will make wars vpon vs in his defence. And thus, in making haſt to driue out *Mithridates*, we ſhall bring our ſelues into great daunger, to prouoke a new enemy, euen *Tigranes* againſt vs, who of long time hath lurked for a iuſt occaſion to make warres with vs: and he can haue no honeſter cauſe to take armes, then to defend and keepe a king his neighbour, and ſo neare a kinſeman, from vtter deſtruction, and one that is compelled to ſeeke vpon him for ſuccour. What neede we then to prouoke him to procure it, and teach *Mithridates* (which he purpoſeth not) to whom he ſhould repaire for aide, to make warres againſt our ſelues, and pricke him forward, or to ſay better, put him with our owne hands into the way to go ſeeke aide of *Tigranes*: which of him ſelfe he will neuer doe, (thinking it a diſhonor vnto him) vnleſſe we driue him to it for very neceſſity. Is it not better for vs to giue him leyſure and time, to gather a ſecond force againe of him ſelfe, and

*Lucullus ambition commendable.*

*Lucullus iorney into Pontus.*

*An oxe bought for a Drachma.*

*The mutiny of Lucullus souldiers.*

*Lucullus oration and excuſe to his ſouldiers.*

*Tigranes king of Armenia, maried Mithridates daughter.*

*Mithridates camped at Cabira.*
*Mithridates army.*
*Lycus fl.*
*The conſtancy of a Romaine ſouldier.*
*Lucullus flieth Mithridates horſemen.*

„ his owne people, that we might rather fight with the Colchians, Tibarenians, Cappadocians,
„ and with ſuch other people whom we haue ſo many times ouercome: then
„ with the Medes and Armenians? With this determination *Lucullus* taried a great while before the city of Amisus, continuing this ſiege of purpoſe, without diſtreſſing them at all. Afterwardes when winter was paſt, he left *Murena* there to continue the ſiege, and him ſelfe with the reſt of his army went to meete *Mithridates*: who had planted his campe neare vnto the city of Cabira, determining to tary the Romaines comming, hauing gathered together againe a new army of forty thouſand footemen, and foure thouſand horſemen, in the which he put his moſt confidence and truſt, ſo that he paſſed ouer the riuer of Lycus, and went and preſented battell to the Romaines in the plaine field. There the horſemen skirmiſhed, & the Romains had the worſe: for there was one *Pomponius* a Romane taken, of great eſtimation, who was brought vnto king *Mithridates* hurt as he was. *Mithridates* asked him, if in ſauing his life, and healing his wounds, he would become his ſeruant and friend. Straight replied *Pomponius*, with all my heart quoth he, ſo that thou make peace with the Romaines: if not, I will euer be thine enemy. The king eſteemed his corage much, and would doe him no hurt. And as for *Lucullus*, he was afraied to come into the plaine, becauſe his enemy was the ſtronger of horſemen: and he doubted alſo on the other ſide to take his way by the mountain, becauſe it was very high, vneaſie to clime, and full of woddes and forreſtes. But as he ſtoode thus doubtfull, they tooke certaine Grecians by chaunce that were fled, and hidden in a caue hard by, among the which there was an old man called *Artemidorus*, who promiſed *Lucullus* if he would beleeue and follow him, he would bring him into a ſure ſtrōg place to lodge his campe, where was a caſtell aboue the city of Cabira. *Lucullus* beleeued the olde mans wordes, wherefore ſo ſoone as night came, he raiſed great fires in his campe, and went his way: and after they had paſſed certaine ſtraight and daungerous waies of the mountaines, he came in the morning vnto the place where *Artemidorus* had promiſed to bring him. Now the enemies were maruellouſly amazed when day light came, to ſee him there ouer them, in a place where if he liſt to fight, he might come vpon them with aduantage: and if he liked not to ſturre, it was vnpoſſible to compell him. For he ſtoode indifferent then to hazard battell or not. But in the meane ſeaſon, they ſay certaine of the kings campe by chaunce were a hunting the Hart. The Romains perceiuing that, fell vpon them to cut them off by the way: and they beganne by this meanes one to charge an other in ſuch ſort, reliefe growing ſtill on either ſide, as *Mithridates*, men grew the ſtronger. But the Romains ſeeing their men flie from the trenches of their campe aboue, were in ſuch a rage, that they all ranne in a choller to *Lucullus* to pray him he would leade them to battell, and giue them a ſignall to fight. *Lucullus*, becauſe he would ſhew them by experience how much the preſence and eie of a good wiſe captaine in time of neede was worth: commaunded them they ſhould not once ſturre, and he him ſelfe in perſon went downe into the valley, where he commaunded the firſt of his men he met withall flying, to ſtay, and returne to the fight againe with him. Which they preſently did, and all the other in like caſe: and thus gathering them together againe, did eaſily make their enemies returne, that before had them in chaſe, and draue them backe, fighting with them euen hard to their owne fort. Afterwardes vppon this returne againe to his campe, he ſette his ſouldiers that fled, vnto a certaine peece of worke to ſhame them withall, which the Romains are wont to vſe in ſuch a caſe: and that is, that he made them digge a ditch of twelue foote long, being in their ſhirtes, all vntruſſed, and their other companions preſent ſeeing them doe it. Now there was in king *Mithridates* campe, one *Olthacus*, prince of the Dardarians (which are certaine barbarous people dwelling vppon the mariſhes of Mæotin) a noble gentleman of his perſon, valiant, and skilfull in warres, and a man of very good iudgement to doe any great enterpriſe as any that was in all the army, and furthermore a prince of great good grace and entertainement in company, knowing how to faſhion him ſelfe with all men. This prince, being alwaies at ſtrife with other Lords of his countrey, and contending who ſhould haue the firſt place of honor and fauor about the king: went vnto *Mithridates*, and promiſed him that he would do him notable ſeruice, and that was, that he would kill *Lucullus*. The king was very glad of this promiſe, & praiſed him maruellouſly in ſecret: howbeit openly

*The ſight of a Generall in a battell is of maruellous force.*
*A politicke deuiſe of the Romains to puniſh cowardly ſouldiers.*
*The Dardarians what people they be.*

of purpoſe he did him many iniuries, becauſe he might haue ſome colour to counterfaite anger and diſpleaſure, and to giue way for him to goe yeelde him ſelfe vnto *Lucullus* as he did. *Lucullus* was maruellous glad of him, becauſe he was one of the chiefeſt men of name in all his campe, and to proue him withall, gaue him charge immediatly: in the which he behaued him ſelfe ſo well, that *Lucullus* greatly eſteemed his wiſedome, and commended his diligence, in ſuch ſort that he did him this honor, to call him ſometimes vnto the councell, and make him ſit at his borde. One day when this DARDARIAN prince *Olthacus* thought to haue found fit occaſion to execute his enterpriſe, he commaunded his footemen to be ready with his horſe out of the trenches of the campe: and at noone daies when the ſouldiers tooke reſt, and ſlept here and there in the came, he went vnto *Lucullus* tent, thinking to haue found no body there to keepe him from comming in, conſidering the familiarity *Lucullus* ſhewed him, ſaying alſo he had matters of great importance to talke with him of: and ſure he had gone in immediatly vnto him, if ſleepe that caſteth away ſo many other Captaines, had not at that time preſerued and ſaued *Lucullus* that ſlept. For one of the groomes of his chamber called *Menedemus*, who by good fortune kept the dore of the tent, told him that he came in very ill time, becauſe *Lucullus* being wearied with trauell and lacke of ſleepe, was but then newly layed downe to reſt. *Olthacus* whatſoeuer the other ſaid to him, would not be ſo anſwered, but told him he would come in whether he would or not, for he muſt needs ſpeake with him in a matter of great importaunce. *Menedemus* anſwered him againe, that nothing could be of greater importaunce, nor more neceſſary, then the preſeruation of his maiſters life and health, who had neede to take reſt: and with theſe words, he thruſt him backe with both his hands. *Olthacus* was afraied then, and withdrew him ſelfe ſecretly out of the trenches of the campe, tooke his horſe backe, and rode ſtraight to *Mithridates* campe without his purpoſe he came for, which was to kill *Lucullus*. And thus it plainly appeareth, that occaſion, and oportunity of time, euen in great matters deliuereth meanes, to ſaue or deſtroy the life of man, like as drugges and medicines giuen vnto the ſicke and diſeaſed perſons. Shortly after, *Lucullus* ſent one of his Captaines called *Sornatius* to get victuals, with tenne enſignes of footemen. Whereof *Mithridates* being aduertiſed, ſent preſently at his taile one of his Captaines alſo, called *Menander*, vnto whom *Sornatius* gaue battell, and ſlue him with great ſlaughter of his men beſide. And afterwardes *Lucullus* ſent an other of his Lieutenants called *Adrianus* with a great company of ſouldiers, to get victuals into his campe more then he ſhould neede. *Mithridates* did not let ſlippe this occaſion, but ſent after him two of his Captaines alſo called *Menemachus* and *Myron*, with a great number of men, as well footemen as horſemen: all which were ſlaine, two onely excepted, that brought newes backe to *Mithridates* campe: the which hee ſought to ſalue as well as he could, ſaying that the loſſe was much leſſe then it was thought for, and that it fortuned through the ignorance and raſhnes of his Lieutenaunts. But *Adrianus* at his returne, paſſed by *Mithridates* campe with great pompe and maieſty, carying a huge number of cartes loden with corne and ſpoiles he had wonne: which draue *Mithridates* ſelfe into ſo great a deſpaire, and all his people into ſuch a feare and trouble, that he preſently determined to remoue thence. Whereupon, the nobility and ſuch as had place of credit about him, beganne to ſend before, and ſecretly to conuay their ſtuffe out of the campe, but vtterly prohibiting others to doe the ſame. The reſt of the ſouldiers ſeeing the ſtoutneſſe of the kinges minions, beganne to ſet vpon them with open force, not ſuffering them on the other ſide once to iſſue out of the campe. This mutiny grew to ſuch a fury, that they ouerthrew their cariages and ſumpter moiles, and ſlue them preſently downe. Amongſt others there was ſlaine *Dorylaus*, one of the chiefeſt Captaines of all their campe, who had nothing about him but a purple gowne, for the which they killed him: and *Hermaus* the Prieſt of the ſacrifices was troden vnder foote, and ſmoothered at the campe gate, by reaſon of the multitude of thoſe that fled in ſo great diſorder. The king him ſelfe amongſt others fled, but hauing neuer a one of his guard about him, nor any of the quiries of his ſtable to bring him a horſe: *Ptolomy*, one of the groomes of his chamber, perceiuing him in the company of them that fled, lighted off his owne horſe, and gaue him the king, but euen in manner too late. For the ROMAINES that followed him were then euen hard at his taile: and it was not for lacke of ſpeede they miſſed the taking of him,

*Lucullus danger by Olthacus conſpiracy.*

*Olthacus prince of the Dardarians.*

*Lucullus life ſaued by ſleepe.*

*Lucullus victory of certaine of Mithridates Captaines.*

*Mithridates noble men and familiars, cauſe of mutiny and ouerthrow of his whole army.*

*Mithridates flieth.*

for they were very neare him: but the couetouſnes of the ſouldiers was the loſſe of the prey they had ſo long ſought for, with ſo great paine and hazard of battels, and depriued *Lucullus* of the honor and reward of all his victories. For they were ſo neare vnto him, that if they had but followed *Mithridates* neuer ſo litle further, they had out of doubt ouertaken him, and his horſe that caried him away. But one of the moiles that caried his gold and ſiluer (whether by chaunce, or of pretended policy of *Mithridates*, as a matter purpoſely habandoned to them that purſued him) was found in the middeſt of the high way betwixt him that fled, & the ROMAINES that followed, who ſtayed there to rob the gold and ſiluer, fighting about it, that *Mithridates* by that meanes wanne ground ſo farre before them, as they could neuer after come neare him againe. And this loſſe was not all which the couetouſneſſe of the ſouldiers made *Lucullus* to loſe. For, one of the chiefeſt ſecretaries of the king being taken, called *Calliſtratus*, whom *Lucullus* commaunded to be brought vnto him to his campe: they that had the charge of him, hearing tell that he had fiue hundred crownes in a girdle about him, for greedineſſe of them, ſlue him by the way, and yet notwithſtanding *Lucullus* ſuffered them to ſpoile and deſtroy the whole campe of their enemies. After *Mithridates* flight, *Lucullus* tooke the city of CABIRA, and many other caſtels and ſtrong places, where he found great treaſure, and the priſons full of poore priſoners of the GRECIANS, and many Princes a kin vnto the king him ſelfe, which were thought to be dead long before: and then ſeeing them ſelues deliuered from this miſerable bondage, by the grace and benefite of *Lucullus*, thought with them ſelues they were not onely taken out of priſon, but reuiued and turned againe vnto a ſecond life. There was alſo taken one of king *Mithridates* ſiſters called *Niſſa*, whoſe taking fell out profitable for her: becauſe al *Mithridates* other wiues and ſiſters whom they placed fartheſt off, as out of all daunger (and ſent into a countrey of greateſt ſafety, neare vnto the city of PHARNACIA) died pittifully, and were miſerably ſlaine. For *Mithridates* ſent one of the groomes of his priuy chamber vnto them called *Bacchides*, to bring them word that they muſt all die. Amongeſt many other noble Ladies, there were two of the kings ſiſters, called *Roxane* and *Statira*, which were forty yeares old a peece, and yet had neuer bene maried: and two of his wiues alſo whom he had maried, both of the countrey of IONIA, the one called *Berenice*, borne in the Ile of CHIO, & the other *Monime*, in the city of MILETVM. *Monime*, ſhe was very famous amongſt the GRECIANS: for notwithſtanding king *Mithridates* importunate dealing, being farre in loue with her, inſomuch as he ſent her fifteen thouſand crowns at one time, yet ſhe would neuer giue eare vnto his ſute, vntill ſuch time as the mariage was agreede vppon betweene them, and that he had ſent her his Diademe or royall band, and called her by the name and title of Queene. This poore Lady after the mariage of this barbarous king, had long liued a woful life, bewailing continually her accurſed beauty, that in ſtead of a husband, had procured her a maiſter: and in ſteade of the matrimoniall company which a noble woman ſhould enioy, had gotten her a gard and garriſon of barbarous men, that kept her as a priſoner, farre from the ſweete countrey of GREECE: in change whereof, ſhe had but a dreame and ſhadow of the hoped goods ſhe looked for, hauing vnfortunatly left them within her own country ſhe happely enioyed before. Now when this *Bacchides* was come vnto them, and had commaunded them from the king to chuſe what maner of death they would, and which euery one of them thought moſt eaſieſt, and leaſt painfull: *Monime* pluckt off the royall band from her head, and tying it on a knot about her necke, hung her ſelfe, but the band not being ſtrong enough, brake incontinently. Whereupon ſhe cried out: O curſed and wicked tiſſue, wilt thou not yet ſerue me to end my ſorrowfull daies? And ſpeaking theſe words, caſt it on the ground and ſpit vppon it, and held out her throte to *Bacchides* to be cut a ſunder. The other, *Berenice*, ſhee tooke a cuppe full of poyſon her mother being preſent, who prayed her to let her haue halfe, the which ſhe did, and they dranke it off betweene them. The force of the poyſon was ſtrong enough to kill the old mother weake with age, but not ſo quickly to deſtroy the daughter: becauſe ſhe had not taken that proportion which would haue ſerued her turne, but drue out the pains of her death in length, vntill ſuch time as *Bacchides* haſting to diſpatch her, ſhe in the end did ſtrangle her ſelfe. As for the kings two ſiſters, *Roxane* and *Statyra*, which were virgines yet vnmaried, they ſay, that one of them alſo dranke poiſon, curſing & deteſting the cruelty of her

brother:

*Couetouſneſſe the ouerthrow of ſouldiers.*

*A ſtratageme of Mithridates*

*Mithridates ſlue his ſiſters and wiues.*

*The corage of Monime Mithridates wife.*

*Monime her throte was cut.*

*Berenice ſtrangled her ſelfe.*

brother: howbeit *Statira* gaue neuer an euill word, nor was faint hearted or ſorowfull to die, but contrarily did commend and thanke her brother highly, that ſeeing himſelfe in danger, had not yet forgotten them, but was carefull to cauſe them die, before they ſhould fall as ſlaues into the handes of their enemies, and before they could come to diſhonor them, or doe them villany. Theſe pitifull misfortunes went to *Lucullus* heart, who was courteous & gentle of nature: neuertheleſſe he went on farther, ſtill following *Mithridates* at the heeles, vnto the city of TALAVRA. And there vnderſtanding that he was fled foure daies before vnto *Tigranes* in ARMENIA, returned backe againe, hauing firſt ſubdued the CHALDEANS, and the TIBARENIANS, taken ARMENIA the leſſe, and brought the cities, caſtles, and ſtrong places vnto his obedience. That done, he ſent *Appius Clodius* vnto king *Tigranes*, to ſummon him to deliuer *Mithridates* vnto him: and himſelf tooke his iorney towards the city of AMISVS, which was yet beſieged. The cauſe why this ſiege continued long, was the ſufficiencie and great experience of the Captaine that kept it for the king, called *Callimachus*. who vnderſtood ſo well how all ſortes of engines of batterie were to be vſed, and was ſo ſubtill beſides in all inuentions that might ſerue to defende a place beſieged, as hee troubled the ROMAINES much in this attempt: but afterwardes he was not onely met withall, and payed home for all his labor, but alſo outreached by *Lucullus* for all his fineneſſe. For where before he had alwaies vſed to ſound the retreat at a certaine houre, and to call his men backe from the aſſault to reſt them: one day he brake that order on the ſodaine, and comming to aſſaulte the wall, at the firſt charge wanne a peece of it, before thoſe within could come in time to reſiſt them. *Callimachus* ſeeing that, and knowing it was now vnpoſſible to keepe the city any longer, forſooke it. But before his departing he ſet the citie a fire, either for the malice to the ROMAINES, becauſe he would not they ſhould enriche themſelues with the ſacke of ſo great a citie: or elſe for a policie of warre to haue the more leaſure to ſaue himſelfe, and flie. For no man gaue eye to them that fled by ſea, becauſe the flame was ſo great, that it diſperſed it ſelfe euen to the very wals, and the ROMAINE ſouldiers, they only prepared to ſpoile. *Lucullus* ſeeing the fire without, had compaſſion of the citie within, and would gladly haue holpen it, and for the purpoſe prayed the ſouldiers quickly to quench it: but not a man would hearken to him, euery one gaping after the ſpoile, making great noiſe with claſſhing of harneſſe, and being very loude beſides otherwiſe, till at the length enforced thereunto, he gaue the city wholly to ſpoile, hoping thereby to ſaue the houſes from fire, but it fell out cleane contrary. For the ſoldiers themſelues in ſeeking all about with torches and lincks lighted, to ſee if any thing were hidden: they ſet a number of houſes a fire. So as *Lucullus* comming into the citie the next morning, and ſeeing the great deſolation the fire had made, fell of weeping, ſaying vnto his familiar friends about him: he had oftentimes before thought *Sylla* happy, howbeit he neuer wondred more at his good fortune, then that day he did. For, *Sylla* ſaid he, deſiring to ſaue the citie of ATHENS, the goddes granted him that fauor that he might do it: but I that would faine follow him therein, and ſaue this city, fortune thwarting my deſire, hath brought me to the reputation of *Mummius*, that cauſed CORINTHE to be burnt. Neuertheleſſe he did his beſt endeuor at that time to helpe the poore city againe. For touching the fire, euen immediatly after it was taken, by Gods prouidence there fell a ſhower of raine as it was newly kindled, that quenched it: and *Lucullus* ſelfe before he left the city, made a great number of the houſes which were ſpoiled by fire, to be built vp againe, and curteouſly receiued all the inhabitauntes that were fled, beſides them he placed other GRECIANS there alſo, that were willing to dwell amongeſt them, and increaſed the boundes and confines of the city which he gaue them, one hundred and twenty furlongs into the countrey. This city was a colony of the ATHENIANS, who had built and founded it, in the time that their Empire floriſhed, and that they ruled the ſeas: by reaſon whereof, many flying the tyranny of *Ariſtion*, went to dwell there, and were made free of the city, as the naturall inhabitants of the ſame. This good happe fell vpon them, that forſaking their owne goodes, they went to poſſeſſe and enioy the goodes of other men: but the very citizens of ATHENS it ſelfe that had eſcaped from this great deſolation, *Lucullus* clothed them well, and gaue them two hundred Drachmas a peece, and ſent them againe into their countrey. *Tyrannion* the grammarian was taken at that time, whom *Muræna* begged of

*The courage of Statira Mithridates ſiſter.*

*Appius Clodius ſent vnto Tigranes from Lucullus.*

*Callimachus gouernour of Amiſus.*

*Lucullus wan Amiſus.*

*Callimachus ſetteth fire of Amiſus and flieth.*

*Lucullus curteſie towards the citie of Amiſus.*

*Lucullus gentle ſaying.*

*Tyrannion the grammarian taken.*

***Lucullus***: and ***Lucullus*** hauing granted him vnto him, he made him free, wherein he dealt verie diſcourteouſly, and did much abuſe ***Lucullus*** liberality and gift vnto him. For in beſtowing this priſoner vpon him, who was a famous learned man, he did not meane ***Muræna*** ſhould take him for a bondman, whereby he ſhould neede afterwardes to make him free. For ſeeming to make him free, and reſtore him to libertie: was no more but to take that freedome and libertie from him, which he had from his birth. But in many other things, and not in that only, ***Muræna*** laide himſelfe open to the world, that he had not all the partes a worthy Captaine ſhould haue in him. When ***Lucullus*** departed from AMISVS, he went to viſite the cities of ASIA, to the end that whileſt he was not now occupied with warres, they might haue ſome refreſhing of lawes and iuſtice. For, by reaſon that law was not executed of long time in ASIA, the poore country was ſo afflicted, and oppreſſed with ſo many euils and miſeries: as no man liuing would ſcant beleeue, nor any tongue can well declare. For, the extreame and horrible couetouſnes of the farmers, cuſtomers, and ROMAINE vſurers did not only deuour it, but alſo kept it in ſuch bondage and thraldome, that particularly the poore fathers were driuen to ſell their goodly young ſonnes and daughters in mariage, to pay the intereſt and vſurie of the money which they had borrowed to diſcharge their fines withall: & publickly the tables dedicated vnto the temples, the ſtatues of their goddes, & other church iewels: and yet in the end, they themſelues were alſo iuged to be bondmen and ſlaues to their cruell creditors, to weare out their daies in miſerable ſeruitude. And yet the worſt of all was, the paine they put them to before they were ſo condemned: for they impriſoned them, ſet them on the rack, tormented them vpon a litle braſen horſe, ſet them in the ſtockes, made them ſtand naked in the greateſt heate of ſummer, and on the iſe in the deepeſt of winter, ſo as that bondage ſeemed vnto them a reliefe of their miſeries, and a reſt of their torments. ***Lucullus*** founde the cities of ASIA full of ſuch oppreſſions, but in a ſhort time after he deliuered them all that were wrongfully tormented. For firſt he tooke order, they ſhould account for the vſury that was payed monethly, the hundred part of the principall debt onely, and no more. Secondly he cut off all vſuries that paſſed the principall. Thirdly, which was the greateſt matter of all, he ordained that the creditor & vſurer ſhould enioy the fourth part of the profits and reuenues of his debter. And he that ioined vſury with the principall, that is to ſay, tooke vſury vpon vſury: ſhould loſe the whole. So that by this order, all debts were paide in leſſe then foure yeares, and the owners lands and reuenues ſet cleare of all maner paiments. This ſurcharge of vſuries, came of the twenty thouſand talents, wherein ***Sylla*** had condemned the countrie of ASIA: the which ſumme they had payed twiſe before vnto the farmers and collectors of the ROMAINS, who had raiſed it, ſtill heaping vſury vpon vſury, to the ſumme of ſixe ſcore thouſand talents. Wherefore theſe collectors and farmers ranne to ROME, and cried out vpon ***Lucullus***, ſaying, that he did them the greateſt wrong that could be, and by meanes of money, they procured certaine of the common counſellers to ſpeake againſt him: which they might eaſily doe, becauſe they had diuerſe of their names in their bookes that dealt in the affaires of the common wealth at ROME. But ***Lucullus*** was not onely beloued of thoſe countries whõ he did good vnto, but was wiſhed for and deſired alſo of others, who thought the countries happy that might haue ſuch a gouernor. Now for ***Appius Clodius***, whom ***Lucullus*** had ſent before from TALAVRA vnto king *Tigranes* in ARMENIA, and whoſe ſiſter at that time was ***Lucullus*** wife: he firſt tooke certaine of the kings men for guides, who of very malice guided him through the high country, making him fetch a great compaſſe about, by many daies iornies ſpent in vaine: vntill ſuch time as one of his infranchiſed bondmen that was borne in SYRIA, taught him the right way. Whereupon he diſcharged theſe barbarous guides, and leauing the wrong waies they had led him, within few daies paſt ouer the riuer of Euphrates, and arriued in the city of ANTIOCH, ſurnamed EPIDAPHNE. Where he had commaundement to abide *Tigranes* return, who was then in the country of PHENICIA, where he ſubdued certain cities, & had ſome other yet to conquer. ***Appius*** in the meane time wanne ſecretly diuers of the princes and noble men, that obeyed this ARMENIAN king but for feare, by force, and againſt their wils, amongſt whom was *Zarbienus*, king of the prouince of GORDIÆNA: and promiſed the aide of ***Lucullus*** alſo to many the cities that ſent vnto him, (which had not long before bene ſubdued

and

*Lucullus relieueth Aſia from extreame vſurie.*

*That is after the rate of 12. in the hundred for the yeare. Lawes ſet downe for vſurers.*

*Appius Clodius Lucullus wiues brother.*

*Euphrates fl.*

*Zarbienus king of Gordiæna.*

and brought into bondage) to whom neuertheles he gaue in expreſſe charge, that for the time they ſhould not once ſturre, nor alter any thing. For, the rule of theſe ARMENIANS was intollerable to the GRECIANS, and ſpecially the pride and arrogancie of the king. Who, by reaſon of his great proſperitie, was growen to ſuch pride and preſumption, that whatſoeuer men did commonly eſteeme beſt, & make moſt reckoning of, he would not only haue it, and vſe it as his owne, but alſo tooke it that all was made for himſelfe whatſoeuer: and this great ouerwening grew, by reaſon of fortunes ſpeciall grace and fauour towards him. For at the beginning he had but very litle, and yet with this litle (which few made reckoning of) he conquered many great nations, and plucked downe the power of the PARTHIANS as much as any man that euer was before him. He repleniſhed the coũtry of MESOPOTAMIA with GRECIAN inhabitantes, which he brought by force out of CILICIA and CAPPADOCIA, compelling them to inhabite there. He made the ARABIANS change their maner of liuing, who are otherwiſe called the SCENITES, as much to ſay, as tent dwellers, becauſe they are vagarant people that dwell in no other houſes but tentes, which they euer vſe to carie with them, and brought them out of their naturall countrie, and made them followe him, vſing them for his commoditie in trade of marchandice. There were euer many kings in his court that waited on him: but amongeſt others, he had foure kings that waited continually on his perſon as his footemen: for when he rode abroade any whither, they ranne by his ſtirroppe in their ſhirtes. And when he was ſet in his chaire of ſtate to giue audience, they ſtood on their feete about his chaire holding their handes together, which countenance ſhewed the moſt maniſeſt confeſſion and tokens of bondage that they could doe vnto him: as if they had ſhewed thereby that they reſigned all their libertie, and offered their bodies vnto their Lord and maiſter, more ready to ſuffer, then any thing to do. Notwithſtanding, *Appius Clodius* being nothing abaſhed nor feared with all this tragicall pompe, when audience was giuen him: tolde king *Tigranes* boldly to his face, that he was come to carie king *Mithridates* away with him, who was due to the triumphe of *Lucullus*: & therefore did ſummon him to deliuer that king into his hands, or elſe that he proclaimed warres vpon himſelfe. They that were preſent at this ſummons, knew well enough that *Tigranes* (although he ſet a good countenance of the matter openly with a fainte counterfeit laughing) yet hearing theſe words ſo boldly and gallantly ſpoken out of this young mans mouth, was galled to the quicke, and hit at the heart. For *Tigranes* hauing reigned, (or to ſay better tyrannically gouerned) fiue and twenty yeares ſpace, had neuer heard any bolde or francke ſpeach but that. Notwithſtanding, he anſwered *Appius*, that he would not deliuer *Mithridates*: and if the ROMAINES made wars with him, that he would defend himſelfe. And being greatly offended that *Lucullus* in his letters gaue him not the title, king of kings, but onely king ſimply: in the letters he wrote backe to *Lucullus* againe, he did not ſo much as vouchſafe to call him Captaine onely. But when *Appius* tooke his leaue, he ſent him goodly rich preſentes which he refuſed. Whereupon the king ſent others againe vnto him, of the which *Appius* tooke a cuppe only, becauſe the king ſhould not thinke he refuſed ought of anger, or ill will: and ſo ſending all the reſt againe vnto him, made great haſt to returne to his Captaine *Lucullus*. Now *Tigranes* before that time woulde not once ſee king *Mithridates* his ſo neare kinſeman, who by fortune of wars had loſt ſo puiſant and great a kingdome, but proudly kept him vnder in fenny, mariſh, and vnholeſome grounds, without any honor giuen vnto him, as if he had bene a very priſoner in deede: howbeit then he ſent for him honorably, and receiued him with great curteſie. When they were neare together in the kings palace, they talked ſecretly one with an other, and excuſing themſelues, clearing all ſuſpitions conceiued betweene them, to the great hurt of their ſeruauntes and friends, whom they burdened with all the occaſion of vnkindnes between them: amongſt which number *Metrodorus* the SCEPSIAN was one, a man excellently well learned, eloquent in ſpeach, and one whom *Mithridates* ſo much loued and eſteemed, that they called him the kings father. *Mithridates* at the beginning of his warres had ſent him Ambaſſador vnto *Tigranes*, to pray aide of him againſt the ROMAINES. At which time *Tigranes* ſaid vnto him: but what ſaieſt thou to it *Metrodorus*: what aduiſe wilt thou giue me? *Metrodorus* eyther becauſe he had regard vnto *Tigranes* profite, or elſe becauſe he was loth *Mithridates* ſhould eſcape,

*Tigranes pride and power.*

*The boldneſſe of Appius Clodius, Lucullus Ambaſſador vnto Tigranes.*

*Appius abſtinence from taking of giftes*

*Tigranes and Mithridates meeting.*

*Metrodorus praiſe, and death.*

anſwered him againe. As Ambaſſador, O king, I would wiſh you ſhould do it: but as a counſellor, that you ſhould not do it. *Tigranes* now reported this ſpeech vnto *Mithridates*, not thinking hee would haue hurt *Metrodorus* for it, though in deede he preſently put him to death vpon it. Whereat *Tigranes* was heartily ſorie, and repented him greatly to haue tolde him ſo much, although he was not altogether the occaſion of his caſting away, hauing but onely reuiued *Mithridates* euill will before conceiued againſt him. For he had borne him diſpleaſure of a long time, as appeared amongſt his ſecret papers and writings that were taken from him, where he had ordained that *Metrodorus* ſhould be put to death: but in recompence thereof *Tigranes* buried his body honorably, ſparing no coſt at all vnto the dead bodie of him, whom liuing he had betraied. There died in king *Tigranes* court alſo an Orator called *Amphicrates*, if he deſerue that mention ſhould be made of him, for the citie of ATHENS ſake wherein he was borne: for it is ſaid, that when he was baniſhed out of his country, he fled into the citie of SELEVCIA, which ſtandeth vpon the riuer of Tigris. Whē the inhabitants of the ſame praied him to teach them the Art of eloquence in their country, he would not vouchſafe it, but anſwered them proudly: that a platter was too litle to holde a Dolphine in, meaning that their citie was too ſmall a thing to containe it. From thence he went vnto *Cleopatra*, *Mithridates* daughter, and king *Tigranes* wife, where he was quickly ſuſpected & accuſed: ſo that he was forbidden to frequent the GRECIANS company any more, which grieued him ſo much, that he famiſhed himſelfe to death, and would eate no meate. And that man was alſo very honorably buried by the Queene *Cleopatra*, neere vnto a place called Sapha, as they call it in that countrie. Now when *Lucullus* had quieted all things in ASIA, and had eſtabliſhed good lawes among them, he was not careleſſe alſo of games and pleaſant paſtimes, but while he was at leiſure in the city of EPHESVS, he made many games, feaſts, wreſtlings, and fence playes at the ſharpe for ioy of his victorie, delighting all the cities of ASIA with them, the which in recompence therof did inſtitute a ſolemne feaſt alſo in the honor of him, which they called Lucullea, and did celebrate it with great ioy, ſhewing a true and no fained friendſhip and good will towards him, which pleaſed him better, and was more to his contentation, then all the honour they could deuiſe to giue him. But after that *Appius Clodius* was returned from his Ambaſſade, and had tolde *Lucullus* that he muſt make wars with *Tigranes*: *Lucullus* went back againe vnto the realme of PONTVS, where he tooke his armie which he had left in garriſon, and brought it before the city of SINOPE to lay ſiege vnto it, or rather to beſiege certaine CILICIANS that were gotten into the city in the behalfe of *Mithridates*. But when they ſaw *Lucullus* come againſt them, they ſlue a great number of the citizens, and ſetting fire on the citie, fled their way by night. *Lucullus* being aduertiſed of it, entred the citie, put eight thouſand of the CILICIANS to the ſword which he founde there, and reſtored the naturall citizens and inhabitants thereof to all that was theirs. But the originall cauſe that made him to be careſull to preſerue the city, was this viſion he had. He thought in his nights dreame that one came to him, and ſayd: go a litle farther *Lucullus*, for *Autolycus* commeth, who is deſirous to ſpeake with thee. This dreame awaked him, but being awake could not imagine what the viſion meant. It was the ſelfe ſame day on the which hee tooke the city of SINOPE, where following the CILICIANS that eſcaped by flying, he found an image lying on the ground vppon the ſea ſide, which the CILICIANS would haue caried away: but they were taken and followed ſo neare, that they had no leyſure to ſhip it. This ſtatue (as it is reported) was one of the goodlieſt and notableſt workes of *Sthenis* the Image grauer. And ſome ſay that it was the image of *Autolycus* who founded the city of SINOPE. For *Autolycus* was one of the princes that went out of THESSALIE with *Hercules* to go againſt the AMAZONES, and he was the ſon of *Deimachus*. And they report that at the returne from this voyage, the ſhippe in the which *Autolycus* was imbarked, with *Demoleon* and *Phlogius*, made ſhippewracke vppon a rocke on the coaſt of CHERRONONESVS, where he was caſt away: howbeit that he & his mē ſcaping with al their furniture, came to the city of SINOPE, which he tooke from certaine SYRIANS, who came (as they ſay) of one *Syrus* the ſonne of *Apollo*, and of the nimphe *Sinope* *Aſopus* daughter. *Lucullus* vnderſtanding this matter, called a ſaying of *Sylla* to minde, which he wrote in his commentaries: that nothing is more certaine, nor that we may giue more credite vnto, then that which

*Amphicrates an Orator of Athens, died in king Tigranes court.*

*Seleucia a citie ſtanding vpon Tigris fl.*

*A platter too litle to hold a Dolphin in, prou.*

*Lucullus taketh Sinope in Pontus.*

*Lucullus dreame.*

*A ſtatue made by Sthenis.*

*Autolycus founder of the city of Sinope.*

*The Syrians, why ſo called.*

*Syllaes note for dreames.*

is ſignified to vs by dreames. In the meane ſeaſon he was aduertiſed that *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* were ready to come downe into LYCAONIA, & CILICIA, becauſe they might firſt enter ASIA. *Lucullus* maruelled much at *Tigranes* counſell, that ſithence he was minded to warre with the ROMAINES, he did not vſe *Mithridates* aide in his warres at ſuch time, as when he was in his beſt ſtrength and force: and that he did not then ioine his power with *Mithridates*, rather then ſuffer him to be deſtroyed and ouerthrowen, and afterwards with a cold hope goe now to begin a new warre, hazarding himſelfe with thoſe that could not helpe themſelues. While theſe things paſſed in this ſort, *Machares* king *Mithridates* ſonne, that kept the realme of BOSPHORVS, ſent a crowne of golde vnto *Lucullus*, of the waight of a thouſand crownes, praying him that he would name him a friend and confederate of the ROMAINES.

*Machares Mithridates ſonne prayeth friendſhippe of Lucullus.*

Whereupon *Lucullus* thought he was then at the very laſt end of his firſt warre, and leauing *Sornatius* with ſixe thouſand men to keepe the realme of PONTVS, he departed with twelue thouſand footmen, and leſſe then three thouſand horſemen to goe to the ſecond warres.

*Lucullus goeth againſt Tigranes with a ſmall company.*

And herein all the world condemned him, and thought it too raſh and light a part of him to goe with ſo ſmall a companie to fight with ſo many warlike nations, and to put himſelfe vnto the hazard of ſo many thouſands of horſemen, in a maruellous large country, and of a wonderfull length, enuironned round about with deepe riuers and mountaines, couered with ſnow all the yeare through: ſo that his ſouldiers, which otherwiſe were no ſpeciall well trained men, nor obedient to their Captaine, followed with an euill will, and did ſtubbornly diſobey him.

*The quarrelling counſellers at Rome, enuie Lucullus proſperitie.*

And on the other ſide the common counſellers at ROME cried out on him continually and openly proteſted before all the people, that out of one warre he ſowed an other, which the common wealth had nothing to doe withall, and that he looked after none other thing but ſtill to raiſe new occaſions of warres, to the end he might alwayes haue armies at his commaundement, & neuer leaue the warres, becauſe he would make himſelfe great with the coſt and perill of the commonwealth. Theſe crying counſellers in the end obtained their purpoſe, which was: to call home *Lucullus* againe, and to ſubſtitute *Pompey* in his place. But *Lucullus* for all that, marched on with his army with all the poſſible ſpeed he could, ſo that he came in few daies vnto the riuer of Euphrates, the which he found very high and rough by reaſon of the winter ſeaſon: which troubled him maruellouſly at that preſent, doubting leaſt it would holde him there a long time in finding out of boats, and making of poſts and plancks to build a bridge to paſſe ouer his armie.

*Lucullus came to the riuer of Euphrates, & found it very high & rough.*

*The ſtrange and ſodaine fall of the riuer of Euphrates, from her great ſwelling.*

But towardes night the water began to fall a litle, and in the night fell ſo much, that the next morning the riuer was come to her ordinary ſtreame: and moreouer, the countrymen themſelues diſcerning certaine litle Ilands that appeared vnto them in the middeſt of the water courſe, and the riuer very calme as a marriſh rounde about them, did honor *Lucullus* as a god, becauſe it was a thing they had neuer ſeene chance before, as though at his comming the riuer had ſodainly yeelded vnto him, and was become gentle to giue him ſafe and eaſie paſſage. And becauſe he would not looſe that oportunity, he paſſed ouer his army immediatly: and was no ſooner on the other ſide, but he mette with a happy token of good lucke, which was this.

*Diana Perſica*

On the other ſide of the riuer, there was a certaine number of kine conſecrated to *Diana Perſica*, whom the barbarous people inhabiting beyond the riuer of *Euphrates*, do reuerence and honor aboue all the other goddes: and theſe kine they employ to none other vſe, but onely to ſacrifice them vnto this goddeſſe. They wander all about the countrey where they will, without any maner of tying, or ſhacling otherwiſe, hauing only the marke of the goddeſſe, which is a lampe printed vpon their bodies, and they are not eaſie to be taken when one would haue them, but with great a doe.

*Kine conſecrated to Diana Perſica.*

One of theſe conſecrated kine, after that *Lucullus* army was paſſed ouer Euphrates, came to offer her ſelfe vppon a rocke which they ſuppoſe is hallowed or dedicate vnto this goddeſſe, bowing downe her head, and ſtretching out her necke, like thoſe that are tied ſhort, as if ſhe had come euen of purpoſe to preſent her ſelfe to *Lucullus*, to be ſacrificed as ſhe was.

*A ſtraunge thing of a cow that came to offer her ſelfe to Lucullus to be ſacrificed.*

And beſides her, he ſacrificed a bull alſo vnto the riuer Euphrates, in token of thankes for his ſafe paſſage ouer. *Lucullus* the firſt day did nothing but encampe him ſelfe only, on the other ſide of the riuer: but the next morning and the other daies following, he went farther into the countrey by the riuer of SOPHENE, hurting none that came and yeelded vnto him, or that willingly receiued his army. For when

*The countrey of Sophene.*

Tigris fl.

Tigranes ſlew the firſt meſſenger that brought the newes of Lucullus approch.

Tigranes ſendeth Mithrobarzanes againſt Lucullus.

Lucullus ſendeth Sextilius againſt Mithrobarzanes.

Sextilius ſlue Mithrobarzanes and ouerthrew his force. The city of Tigranocerta, built by Tigranes.

Lucullus beſiegeth Tigranocerta.

his men would haue had him to haue taken a caſtle by force, where they ſaid was great ſtore of gold and ſiluer: he ſhewed them mount Taurus a farre off, and told them it is that which we muſt rather go to take. As for the things which be in this caſtle, they be kept for them that vanquiſh: and going on ſtill with great iorneyes, paſſed ouer the riuer of Tigris, and ſo entred the realme of ARMENIA with a maine armie. Now for *Tigranes*, the firſt man that ventured to bring him newes of *Lucullus* comming, had no ioy of it: for he cut off his head for his labor. And therefore from thenceforth there durſt no man ſay any thing vnto him, vntill ſuch time as he was at the laſt enuironned round with fire, which *Lucullus* armie had raiſed about him, before he could heare any thing thereof. For he was ſporting and gauding with his familiars, hearing their flattering tales, that *Lucullus*, in deede were a noble Captaine, if he durſt but tary *Tigranes* comming downe in the citie of EPHESVS onely, and how he would ſtraight flie out of ASIA, ſo ſoone as he might but heare tell of his comming againſt him with ſo triumphing an armie of ſo many thouſand men. And thus may we ſee, that like as all bodies and braines, are not a like ſtrong nor able to carie much wine: ſo in like caſe, all wits be not reſolute and conſtant, neuer to doe amiſſe, nor to ſwarue from reaſons bands in great proſperitie. Howbeit in the end, *Mithrobarzanes*, one of *Tigranes* familiars, was the next man that enterpriſed to tell him the truth: whoſe boldnes had litle better reward for his newes, then the firſt that was beheaded. For *Tigranes* ſent him immediatly with three thouſand horſe, and a good number of footemen, commaunding him that he ſhould bring *Lucullus* aliue vnto him, and that furthermore, he ſhould marche vpon the bellies of his men. Now was *Lucullus* alreadie camped with part of his armie, and the other part comming after, when his skoutes brought him newes of the barbarous Captaines approache: which at the firſt put him in feare, that if the enemy ſhould come and aſſaile them thus ſcattered in companies, and not ranged in battell, and ready to fight, he might ouerthrow them whiles they were in diſorder. And therefore he remained within his campe to fortifie the ſame, and ſent *Sextilius* one of his Lieutenants, with a thouſand ſixe hundred horſe, and as many footmen (or a fewe more) as well naked as armed: commaunding him to approach as neere to his enemie as he could without fighting, only to ſtay him there, vntill ſuch time as he heard news that all his army was come together into his campe. *Sextilius* went to doe his commaundement, but he was compelled to fight, (though againſt his will) *Mithrobarzanes* came ſo brauely & luſtily to aſſaile him. So was the battell ſtriken betweene them, in the which *Mithrobarzanes* was ſlaine valiantly fighting, and all his men either broken or killed, few excepted, that onely by flying ſaued themſelues. After this ouerthrow, *Tigranes* forſooke his great roiall citie of TIGRANOCERTA that he built himſelf, & went to mount Taurus, where he aſſembled a great number of men out of all parts. But *Lucullus* would giue him no leiſure to prepare himſelfe, but ſent *Muræna* on the one ſide to cut them off by the way, and to ouerthrow thoſe that were aſſembled about him: and on the other ſide *Sextilius* to ſtoppe a great company of the ARABIANS that were comming to *Tigranes*, whom *Sextilius* ſet vpon as they were ready to lodge, and ouerthrew them in maner euery man. And *Muræna* following king *Tigranes* at the heeles, ſpied an occaſion to giue the charge as he paſſed a long and narrow vally, in the bottome whereof the way was very ill, and ſpecially for an army of ſuch a length: and taking the oportunity, ſet vpon the rereward, which *Tigranes* perceiuing, fled ſtraight vppon it, making all his cariage to be throwen downe in the way before the enemies to ſtay them. There were a great number of the ARMENIANS ſlaine in this ouerthrow, and moe taken. Thoſe things hauing this ſucceſſe, *Lucullus* went to the city of TIGRANOCERTA, the which he beſieged round. In that city were a maruellous nūber of GRECIANS that had bene brought thither by force out of CILICIA, and many of the barbarous people alſo whom they had vſed in the like forcible maner, as they had done the ADIABENIANS, the ASSYRIANS, the GORDIÆNIANS, and the CAPPADOCIANS, whoſe towns and cities *Tigranes* had deſtroyed, and compelled them to come and inhabite there. By reaſon whereof, this city of TIGRANOCERTA was full of golde and ſiluer, of mettels, ſtatues, tables and pictures, becauſe euery man (as well priuate, as Princes and Lordes) ſtudied to pleaſe the king, to enrich and beautifie this city, with all kindes of furniture and ornamentes fit for the ſame. And hereuppon *Lucullus* ſtraighted the ſiege as much as he could, perſwading him ſelfe that *Tigranes* would neuer ſuffer, that it ſhould be taken, but (though he had otherwiſe determined) yet for very anger would preſent him battell, thereby to enforce him to raiſe his ſiege. And ſurely he geſſed right, had it not bene that *Mithridates* had diſſwaded him by expreſſe letters and meſſengers that he ſhould in no caſe hazard battell, and perſwaded him rather to cut off the victuals on all ſides from the ROMAINES with his horſmen. The ſelfe ſame counſell and aduiſe did *Taxiles* (the Captaine whom *Mithridates* ſent) giue him in his campe, & prayed him very earneſtly, that he would not proue the inuincible force of the ROMAINS. *Tigranes* patiently harkened to their reaſons at the firſt; but when the ARMENIANS were come, and all the force of the country beſides, and the GORDIÆNIANS, and that the kings of the MEDES and of the ADIABENIANS were come alſo with all their power, and that on the other ſide there came a maruellous great hoſt of the ARABIANS that dwel vpon the ſea of BABYLON, & a multitude of the ALBANIANS from the CASPIAN ſea, and of the IBERIANS their neighbors, beſides a great company of free people liuing without a king, that dwell by the riuer of Araxes, ſome comming freely to doe him pleaſure, other for their penſions and pay which he gaue them: then was there none other talke neither at his table, nor in councell, but of aſſured hope of victory, and of great bragges and barbarous threatnings, ſo that *Taxiles* was in great danger of himſelfe, becauſe he was againſt the determination taken in councell for giuing of the battell. Now was it thought that *Mithridates* did enuie the glory of king *Tigranes*, and therfore did thus diſſwade him from battell. For which reſpect *Tigranes* would not ſo much as tarry for him, and becauſe alſo *Mithridates* ſhould haue no part of the honour of his victory: but went into the fielde with all his great armie, vaunting amongſt his familiars as they report, that nothing grieued him but one, that he ſhould fight with *Lucullus* alone, and not with all the other ROMAINE Captains. Now this brauery was not ſo fond, nor ſo farre out of ſquare, but that there was great likelyhood of it when he ſaw ſo many ſundrie nations about him, ſo many kings that followed him, ſo many battelles of armed footmen, and ſo many thouſand of horſemen. For he had in his army of bow-men and ſlings onely, twenty thouſand: fiue and fifty thouſand horſe-men, whereof ſeuenteene thouſand men of armes, armed from toppe to toe, as *Lucullus* himſelfe wrote vnto the Senate: and a hundreth and fifty thouſand armed foot-men, deuided by enſignes and ſquadrons: of pyoners, carpenters, maſons, and ſuch other kind of handy-craftes men, to plaine wayes, to make bridges to paſſe ouer riuers, to ſtoppe ſtreames, to cut wood, and to make ſuch kind of workes, of this ſort of people, the number of fiue and thirty thouſand, who followed in battel ray in the rereward of the army, making their campe ſeeme farre greater, & by ſo much the more ſtronger. When *Tigranes* ſhewed on the toppe of mount Taurus, and that they might plainely ſee his whole army from the city, and that himſelfe alſo might eaſily diſcerne *Lucullus* army that beſieged TIGRANOCERTA: the barbarous people that were within the city were ſo glad of this ſight, that they made wonderfull ſhouts of ioy, and great clapping of hands, threatning the ROMAINS from their wals, and ſhewing them the army of the ARMENIANS. *Lucullus* in the meane time ſate in councell to conſider what was to be done: wherein ſome were of opinion that he ſhould raiſe his ſiege, and goe with his whole armie vndeuided againſt *Tigranes*. But others liked not that he ſhould leaue ſo great a number of enemies at his backe, neither that he ſhould raiſe his ſiege. *Lucullus* made them aunſwere, that neither of them both did counſell him well, but both together did counſell him right. Whereupon he deuided his armie, and left *Muræna* at the ſiege of TIGRANOCERTA with ſixe thouſand men: and he with foure and twenty cohortes (in the which were not aboue tenne thouſand armed foot-men) and all his horſe-men, with a thouſand bow-men, and ſlings or thereabouts, went towards *Tigranes*, and camped in a goodly broade field by the riuers ſide. The ROMAINES ſeemed but a handful to *Tigranes* campe, ſo that for a while *Tigranes* paraſites made but a Maye-game of thē to ſporte withall. For ſome mocked them to ſcorne, other drewe lottes, and played away their parte of the ſpoyles, as if they had already wonne the field: and euery one of the kings and Captaines came and offered themſelues to *Tigranes*, and beſought him euery man for himſelfe, that he would giue him the honor alone to leade this battell, & that it would pleaſe him to ſit by in ſome place to ſee the ſporte. *Tigranes* then, becauſe he would ſhewe that he could

*Taxiles perſuadeth Tigranes not to fight with the Romaines.*

*The proude ſaying of Tigranes.*

*Tigranes whole army two hundreth threeſcore thouſand men.*

*Lucullus army againſt Tigranes.*

be as pleaſant as the reſt, ſpake a thing knowen to euery man. If they come as Ambaſſadours quoth he, they are very many: but if they come as enemies, they be but fewe. And thus they played vpon the ROMAINS, and tooke their pleaſure of them at that time: but the next morning by breake of day, ***Lucullus*** brought all his men armed into the field, and put them in order of battel. Now the camp of the barbarous people lay on the other ſide of the riuer toward the Eaſt, and by chance the ſtreame of the riuer turned ſodainely towards the Weſt, where there was a better ford to paſſe ouer. Wherfore ***Lucullus*** marching with his army by the riuers ſide, following the ſtreame to meet with ſome forde, caſting to get ouer, ***Tigranes*** thought he had marched away, and called for ***Taxiles***, and ſayed vnto him, laughing. Doeſt thou ſee ***Taxiles*** thoſe goodly ROMAINE legions, whom thou praiſeſt to be men ſo inuincible, how they flie away now? ***Taxiles*** anſwered the king againe. I would your good fortune (O king) might worke ſome miracle this day: for doubtles it were a ſtrange thing that the ROMAINS ſhould flie. They are not wont to weare their braue coates and furniture vpon their armour, when they meane onely but to march in the fieldes: neither doe they carry their ſhieldes and targets vncaſed, nor their burganets bare on their heades, as they doe at this preſent, hauing throwen awaye their leather caſes and couerings. But out of doubt, this goodly furniture we ſee ſo bright and gliſtering in our faces, is a manifeſt ſigne that they intend to fight, and that they march towardes vs. ***Taxiles*** had no ſooner ſpoken theſe words, but ***Lucullus*** in the view of his enemies, made his enſigne bearer turne ſodainly that caried the firſt Eagle, & the bands tooke their places to paſſe the riuer in order of battell. Then ***Tigranes*** ſecretly come to himſelfe, as out of drunkennes: cried out aloude twiſe, or thrice, come they then to vs? But then was there no ſmall ſturre and tumult, to put ſuch a world of people into battell. The king ***Tigranes*** himſelfe vndertooke to leade the middle battell, gaue the left wing vnto the king of the ADIABENIANS, & the right vnto the king of the MEDES: in the which were the moſt part of the compleat armed men, who made the firſt front of al the battel. But as ***Lucullus*** was ready to paſſe the riuer, there were certaine of his Captaines that came vnto him, to wiſh him to take heede that he fought not that day, becauſe it was one of thoſe which the ROMAINES thought vnfortunate, and call them Atri, as to ſay, blacke: for vpon one of thoſe dayes, one ***Capio*** was ouerthrown in a ſet battell with all his army by the CIMBRES. But ***Lucullus*** gaue thẽ a prety anſwer againe, which is not forgotten to this day: I will make this a happy day (ſayed he) for the ROMAINES. It was the ſixteenth day of the month of October. And ſo with thoſe wordes encouraging his men, paſſed ouer the riuer, and went himſelfe the foremoſt man, and marched directly towardes his enemy, armed with an anima of ſteele, made with ſcalloppe ſhelles, ſhining like the ſunne, and vpon that an arming coate fringed round about, holding his ſword drawn in his hand: to let his men vnderſtand, that they muſt ſodainly ioyne with their enemies, and fight at the ſwords poynte, that were not acquainted to fight but a farre off with ſhotte and ſlings, and that he would ſo quickely winne the diſtance of grounde they had to marche ere they could ioyne, that they ſhould haue no leaſure to ſhoote. And furthermore, perceiuing that the ſtrength of their men of armes (whereof they made ſo great account) was ranged in battell vnder a hill, the top whereof was very plaine and euen, and the way vp the hill not paſſing foure furlongs trauell, and not very hard nor ſteepe to clime: he ſent thither certaine horſemen of the THRACIANS and GAVLES which he had in pay, and commanded them to giue a charge on the flanck to diſorder them, and aſſay to cut their launces, with their ſwordes. For all the ſtrength of theſe men of armes conſiſteth in their launces, and they canne do nothing for themſelues, nor againſt their enemies, they are ſo heauily armed and loden: ſo as it ſeemeth they are locked vp in their armor, as in an iron priſon. And he himſelfe therewithall taking two enſignes of footmen, ſtroue alſo to gaine the toppe of the hill, his ſouldiers following him hard at the heels with a notable corage, becauſe they ſaw him the formoſt man trauelling a foote, and digging againſt the height of the hill. When he had gotten vp to the top, he ſtayed a litle in the higheſt place he could finde, and then cryed out with a loude voyce: oh companions, the victory is ours. And as he ſpake thoſe wordes, he ledde them againſt theſe men of armes, commaunding them they ſhould not meddle with throwing of their darts, but taking their ſwords in their hands they ſhould ſtrike at their thighes and legs,

*The ordering of Tigranes battell.*

*Atri, blacke or vnfortunate dayes.*

*Lucullus battell with Tigranes.*

*Lucullus armour.*

becauſe they haue no other partes of their bodies naked. Howbeit there was no neede of ſuch fight, for they taried not the Romains, but with great crying out turned their horſe heades immediately, and ranne cowardly ( themſelues and their horſes, heauie armed as they were ) through the middeſt of the bandes of their footemen, before they had ſtricken a ſtroke. And thus were ſo many thouſands of men broken without any ſtroke ſtriken, or any man hurt, or one droppe of blood ſeene to be ſpilt. But the greate ſlaughter was, when they began to flie, or (to ſay better) when they thought to flie: for they could not flie, they ranne ſo one vpon anothers necke by reaſon of the maruellous length and bredth of their battelles. *Tigranes* amongſt the reſt was one of the firſt that diſlodged with a ſmall company, and ſeing his ſonne running the ſame fortune, flying as himſelfe did, tooke off his diademe or royall bande from his head, and gaue it him weeping, commaunding him to ſaue himſelfe as well as he could by ſome other way. But the young prince durſt not put it on his head, but gaue it to one of his truſty ſeruauntes to keepe, who by chaunce was taken and brought vnto *Lucullus*: ſo that amongſt the other ſpoyle and priſoners, there was taken *Tigranes* diademe. It is thought that there were ſlaine at this ouerthrow, aboue a hundreth thouſand footmen, and very few of all the horſmem ſaued. On the Romains ſide, there were about a hundreth hurt, and fiue ſlaine. *Antiochus* the Philoſopher ſpeaking of this battell in a treatiſe he made of the gods, writeth that the ſunne neuer ſawe the like ouerthrow. And *Strabo* another Philoſopher in a certaine abridgement he made of ſtories ſayed, that the Romaines were aſhamed and laughed at thē ſelues that they had drawen their ſwordes againſt ſuch daſtardly ſlaues. And *Titus Liuius* declareth alſo, that the Romaines were neuer in any battell with ſo ſmall a number of fighting men, againſt ſo great a multitude of enemies: for the conquerors were not in all the world the twentith part (nothing like) of thoſe that were ouercome. Wherefore the oldeſt and beſt experienced Captaines of the Romaines did highly commend *Lucullus*, becauſe he had ouercome two of the greateſt & moſt mighty princes of the world, by two ſundry cōtrary means: the one by tract and delay, and the other by ſpeed and ſwiftnes. For he vndermined and conſumed *Mithridates*, by holding backe, & delaying, at that time whē al his ſtrēgth was whole: and to the contrary he deſtroied *Tigranes* with great ſpeede and haſte. And thus did he that, which few Captaines could euer do: that is, vſed delay of time to execute, and valiant expedition to win the victory. This was the cauſe why *Mithridates* made no haſt to come to the battell, thinking ſtill that *Lucullus* had vſed his wōted policy, to delay and giue backe alwaies: and therfore he came by ſmall iornies vnto *Tigranes* campe. But meeting at the firſt with a few of the Armenians that fled as he came on his way, like men that had bene frayed, he ſtraight miſtruſted the ouerthrow: but afterwards meeting greater troupes of them naked, & ſore wounded, then he knew how the matter went. So he went to ſeeke out *Tigranes*, whom he found alone, forſaken of his men, & in very poore eſtate, yet did not he requite *Tigranes* in aduerſity with that pride & diſdaine he had vſed him before in his miſerie: but lighted off his horſe, to bewaile with him their common misfortune, and gaue him all his officers, & traine of a kings court that followed him to ſerue him, comforting him, & exhorting him to pluck vp his hart againe, and to be couragious thenceforth. Hereupon they both leauied a freſh the whole force & power they could from all the parts of their dominions. In the meane ſeaſon, there fell out great ſeditiō in the city of Tigranocerta, betwene the Grecians and the barbarous people: for the Grecians, they would haue yeelded vp the towne into *Lucullus* hands. Whereupon, *Lucullus* giuing an aſſault to the citie at that very inſtant, won it, and ſeazed vpon the kings treaſure there, leauing all the reſt to the ſpoile of the ſoldiers: in the which, beſides all other riches, there was eight thouſand talents in ready money. And yet beſides all that, he gaue of the ſpoile that was won vpō the enemies, eight hūdreth Drachmas vnto euery ſouldier. And vnderſtanding that there were diuerſe muſitians, common players, minſtrels, & ſuch kind of people meete for feaſtes and ſport, whom *Tigranes* had ſent for thither from all partes, to dedicate the Theater he had made in this city: he cauſed all thē to ſerue at the ſportes and feaſtes of this victory. After the ſolemnization whereof, he ſent the Grecians home againe vnto their country, and gaue them money to defray their charges by the way, and the barbarous people alſo that were brought thither by force from their natiue coūtries. And ſo

*Lucullus famous victory of Tigranes.*

*Tigranes flight*

*Tigranes diademe taken by Lucullus.*

*Lucullus praiſe.*

*Two puiſant kings ouercome by contrary meanes.*

*Lucullus tooke Tigranocerta.*

it fortuned,that by the deſolation and deſtruction of a city forſaken,many others were built againe,and ſtored with people: becauſe thoſe cities had therby recouered their naturall inhabitants againe,who euer after did loue and honor *Lucullus*,as their benefactor and founder. All other things proſpered alſo according to his vertue and merites. For *Lucullus* liked better the praiſe that came of bounty,of iuſtice, and of clemencie: then that that came by force of martiall prowes and cheualry. For in deedes of armes,he ſayed his army partly deſerued praiſe,& fortune alſo caried the beſt parte away: but the praiſe of the other, were onely due vnto himſelfe. Wherby he ſhewed the valure of an excellent good man, well taught and trained vp in vertue: and ſo reaped the frute of his worthy deſerts. For by thoſe good partes,he wanne the hartes of the barbarous people in ſuch ſorte, that the kings of the ARABIANS came of good will to put themſelues and their goods into his hands.So did the nation of the SOPHENIANS alſo yeeld themſelues vnto him.The GORDIÆNIANS, in like manner,they liked *Lucullus* ſo wel,that they would willingly haue forſakē their cities,houſes & cōutry, to follow him with their wines and children vpon this occaſion. *Zarbienus* king of theſe GORDIÆNIANS,as we haue recited before,had priuily entred amity with *Lucullus*,by meanes of *Appius Clodius*,who could no longer away with the tirāny of *Tigranes*.This practiſe was bewrayed vnto *Tigranes* who put *Zarbienus*,his wife & children to death,before the ROMAINS maine army came into the cōutry of ARMENIA. Howbeit *Lucullus* did not forget it,but paſſing through his realme, gaue him very roiall funerals, for hauing heaped vp a huge pile of wood, ſumptuouſly ſet out with cloth of gold and ſiluer, and other rich ſpoyles of *Tigranes*: he himſelfe in perſon,would needs ſet it a fire,and made the funerall effuſions & accuſtomed ſprinklings at burials, with his friendes and kinſmen, doing him this honor,as to call him friend and confederate of the ROMAINE people,& appointed alſo a great ſumme of money beſides to erect a ſumptuous tombe for him. For they found great ſtore of gold and ſiluer in the kings caſtell,and there was plenty of prouiſion alſo of three hundreth thouſand buſhels of wheate: the which did enrich his ſouldiers maruellouſly, and made *Lucullus* to be wondred at, that hauing receiued not one Drachma from the ſparing coffers at ROME,he had notwithſtanding made the warre entertaine it ſelfe. About the ſelfe ſame time alſo,the king of the PARTHIANS ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him to offer him his friendſhip and alliance: which *Lucullus* willingly accepted, and ſent Ambaſſadors frō him alſo of acceptation, who made report to *Lucullus* at their returne, that the king of the PARTHIANS ſtood doubtfull how to reſolue which part he ſhould take, and that ſecretly he ſent vnto *Tigranes*,to aske the realm of MESOPOTAMIA for his reward to aid him againſt the ROMAINS. *Lucullus* being truly enformed of the king of PARTHIAES double dealing, determined to leaue *Tigranes* & *Mithridates*, as two enemies wearied & ouercome, & a litle to proue the force & power of the PARTHIANS by making wars vpon thē,thinking it great honor vnto him, if he might diſcomfit & ouerthrow three ſo mighty kings one after an other, like a valiant conqueror that had ouercome three famous Captaines together, and had paſſed through the countries of three of the greateſt Princes vnder the ſunne, alwayes a conqueror, and neuer conquered. Hereupon he wrote immediatly vnto *Sornatius* and other of his Captaines which he had left to keepe the realme of PONTVS,that they ſhould repayre to him with all ſpeede with the bandes they had vnder their charge, for that he was determined to depart out of the country of GORDIÆNA, to go againſt the PARTHIANS: howbeit his purpoſe altered by occaſion. For his Lieutenantes that had many times before founde their ſouldiers mutinous,and rebelling at their commandements,knew plainely then their cancred ſtomaks & incorrigible diſobedience. For they could not poſſibly get them from thence, by any compulſion or perſwaſions they could vſe but contrarily they cryed out, and tolde them plainly,that they would no longer tary where they were, but would go hom to their cōutry, and leaue the realme of PONTVS without gard or garriſon at all. And farther, that worſt of al was,when theſe newes were brought to *Lucullus* campe,they gaue a full example of boldneſſe to his ſouldiers there,to mutiny in ſuch ſorte, hauing goodwill and diſpoſition thereunto of themſelues before. For their purſes being full,and they acquainted with finenes, were become ſo dull and laſie,that they could endure no paines nor hardnes of warres,but deſired to liue in all idlenes and eaſe. And hearing the reporte of their fellowes ſtoutneſſe, called them luſtie

laddes

*Lucullus iuſtice and clemencie.*

*Zarbienus king of the Gordiænians ſlaine by Tigranes*

*Lucullus prepareth to go againſt the Parthians.*

*Lucullus ſouldiers fall to mutiny.*

*Full purſes & eaſe maketh mutinous ſouldiers.*

laddes, ſaying, they muſt needes take the like courſe, and doe as they taught them, vaunting of their good ſeruice of long time done, which well deſerued leaue now to departe home with ſafety, and thenceforth take their reſt. *Lucullus* hearing of this their talke, & many other their words worſe, & fuller of ſedition then theſe: brake off his enterpriſe againſt the PARTHIANS, and went againe in the middeſt of ſommer to meet with *Tigranes* But when he was come to the top of mount Taurus, it grieued him to ſee the fields ſo full of wheate yet ſtanding, which came by the ſeaſon of the yeare, and coldnes of the aier, being ſo ſlacke and ſlowe in all thoſe partes. Neuertheles, he came down into the valley, and at two or three skirmiſhes ouerthrew the ARMENIANS, that ventured to abide his comming downe. And ranne ouer all the valley, and deſtroied the whole country, without lette or ſtop of any man, taking away the prouiſion of corne that was made for *Tigranes* campe: wherby he ſtraighted his enemies vnto that need and neceſſity of victuals which himſelfe feared, & yet ceaſed not to prouoke them (by all other meanes) to come to battell. Sometime encloſing their campe with trēches about, as if he ment to famiſh them: ſometime againe deſtroying and ſpoyling the whole coūtry before their face. But becauſe they had ſo ofte bene diſcomfited, they would no more ſtirre, nor once moue againſt him. *Lucullus* perceiuing that, in the end raiſed his campe, & went and layed ſiege vnto ARTAXATA, the chief city of the kingdō of ARMENIA, in the which were *Tigranes* lawfull wiues and young children, hoping that *Tigranes* would rather hazard another battell, thē ſuffer that city to be loſt. It is ſayed that *Hanniball* of CARTHAGE (after king *Antiochus* was ouerthrown in battell by the ROMAINS) went vnto king *Artaxes*, whō he taught many neceſſary and profitable things for his realme: & amongſt others, conſidering that one of the goodlieſt and pleaſanteſt places of all his kingdome lay waſt, and no reckoning made of it, drewe a plot of a city, brought the king thither, and cauſed it to be built and inhabited. The king liked his deuiſe maruellous well, and prayed him to take the charge vpon him to ſee the worke finiſhed. And thus was this noble and famous city built, and called after the kings name, *Artaxata*: and held euer after the reputation of the chiefeſt place of the whole realme of ARMENIA. *Tigranes* being aduertiſed that *Lucullus* went to lay ſiege thereunto, could not endure it, but went with all his army to follow the ROMAINS, and the fourth day came & camped hard by them: inſomuch as there was but the riuer of Arſanias betwene them, which the ROMAINS of neceſſitie muſt paſſe ouer to goe to ARTAXATA. *Lucullus* hauing firſt ſacrificed vnto the gods, aſſuring himſelfe of the victorie, as if he had it already in his handes: made his armie paſſe ouer in order of battell, putting twelue cohortes in the fronte, and the other behinde, fearing leaſt the enemies hauing a great number of men of armes ſhould enuironne them at their backes. They had againſt them alſo the MARDIAN bowmen a horſebacke, & the IBERIANS with their lāces, in whom *Tigranes* truſted more then in any other, as in the beſt ſoldiers he had in pay: & yet for all that they did no notable ſeruice. For when they had skirmiſhed but a litle with the horſemen of the ROMAINES, they durſt not tarry the legionaries or footbandes that came behind them, but diſperſed themſelues, ſome flying one way, ſome an other, which intiſed the ROMAINE horſemen to follow the chaſe. But when the men of armes that were about *Tigranes* perſon, ſaw the horſemen ſo ſcattered abroad, they began ſtraight to breake vpon the footmen. *Lucullus* ſeeing the great multitude of them, and how paſſingly they were armed and appointed, being ſomewhat afrayed thereof: ſent in haſte to call in his horſmen that followed the chaſe, and in the meane time himſelfe marched foremoſt, againſt theſe Lordes and Satrapes, which were in the front before him with all the nobility of their hoaſt, whom he put in ſuch a feare, that before he could come to hand ſtrokes, they all turned taile and fled. There were three kings ranged in battell one hard by another, howbeit of the three, he that fled moſt ſhamefully and cowardly, was *Mithridates* king of PONTVS, who had not the hart ſo much as to abide the cries of the ROMAINES. The chaſe was very long: for it cōtinued all night vntil ſuch time as the ROMAINS were wearied with killing, taking of priſoners, and packing vp of all kindes of ſpoyles. *Titus Liuius* ſayeth, that there were ſlaine moe men in the firſt battell: but greater perſonages in the ſecond: and the chiefeſt of the enemies were all taken. After this battell *Lucullus* hart being bigge, and fearing nothing, determined to go farther into the country, euen vtterly to deſtroy this barbarous king. But in the time of the

*Lucullus beſiegeth Artaxata, the chiefe cittie of Armenia.*

*Artaxes king of Armenia.*

*Hanniball builded Artaxata.*

*Arſanias fl.*

*Lucullus order of his armie.*

*Other do reade in this place againſt the Atropatenians, which are people of Media.*

*Three kings ranged in battell.*

*Lucullus maketh Tigranes flye againe.*

equinoctiall autumne, (whē the weather waxed more bitter then any man would in that ſeaſon haue thought) there fell out ſo great a cold, that for the moſt part, it did nothing but ſnow: and if the element did any thing cleere, then froſe it ſo hard, that the horſe could come by no water, the riuers were ſo extreamely congealed with iſe. And there could no man paſſe ouer by ford: for they did not ſo ſoone enter, but the iſe brake and cut the veines and ſinewes of the horſe legges aſunder, they were ſo hard and thicke withall. And furthermore the country being full of trees, woods and forreſts, and the wayes very narrowe, not being able to paſſe by the fields, they were through wet with ſnow that fell vpon them: and whē they came to their lodging, then it was worſe, for there they were conſtrained to lye in ſoft & moiſt places. And therefore the ſouldiers had followed but few dayes after this battell, but they refuſed to goe any farther. And firſt they ſent their Colonells and Captaines to intreate *Lucullus* to leaue off this iorney. Afterwards they gathered together more boldly in troupes, and in the night time beganne to murmur and groyne in their tentes (which is a certaine ſigne and token of a mutinous armie, that hath a minde to rebell againſt their Generall) although that *Lucuuus* vſed all gentle perſwaſions to winne them with patience to abide this iorney, at the leaſt, till time they might take the cittie of CARTHAGE in ARMENIA: to the end they might there deſtroy the worke & memory of the greateſt enemy that euer the ROMAINS had in the world, meaning *Hanniball*. But when he ſaw all this would not preuaile, he brought them backe againe, & paſſed ouer mount Taurus an other way, and came down into the country called MYGDONIA, a very hot and fertile ſoyle, where there is a great cittie, and maruellouſly repleniſhed with inhabitants: who call it NISIBIS, and the GRECIANS call it ANTIOCH, of MYGDONIA. In that city *Gouras* was Gouernor, who was *Tigranes* own brother: but for experiēce in engines of battery, and for ſufficiencie and skill in ſuch matters, there was *Callimachus* alſo, he that ſo maruellouſly troubled *Lucullus* before at the ſiege of the citie of AMISVS. *Lucullus* placing his campe before this citie beſieged the ſame by all ſuch meanes as might enforce it, and that ſo valiantly, that in very ſhort time he tooke it by aſſault. And as for *Gouras*, who ſubmitted him ſelfe to *Lucullus* mercie, he was very courteouſly intreated. But for *Callimachus*, he would not once heare him ſpeake, notwithſtãding that he promiſed, if they would ſaue his life, he would tell them of coffers full of great treaſure hidden, which no man knew but himſelfe onely. But *Lucullus* commanded them to bring him with gyues to receiue the puniſhment he had iuſtly deſerued, for ſetting the city of AMISVS on fire, and taking from him the meane to ſhewe the GRECIANS his goodnes, affection and liberalitie towards them. Vntill this preſent time, it might be truly ſayed, that good fortune euer fauored & followed *Lucullus* in all his enterpriſes and affayres: but from that time forwards, it was quickly ſeene that the fauorable blaſt of fortune failed him, he did all his things with ſo great paine, and all that he did, fell out contrarie vnto him, and to very ill purpoſe. Indeede he did euer ſhew the valiancie, patience, and great courage that ſhould be in a valiant Generall, or Lieutenant of an army. But his exploites and doings had neuer after that eaſie grace, nor ſhining glory they were wont to haue: but to the contrary, he was like to haue loſt all that he had wonne before, through the miſfortunes that fell vpon him, and for the brawles & vaine contention he had with his people to no purpoſe. But the worſt was, that they make himſelfe the only author of all theſe euils: becauſe he could not, or would not entertaine the good will of the multitude of his ſouldiers: thinking that whatſoeuer a generall, or any other officer of ſtate or calling doth to pleaſe and content them he hath vnder his charge, is to diſhonor himſelfe, and to giue cauſe vnto his ſouldiers to deſpiſe his authoritie. But that which made moſt againſt him was this: that he gaue no eſtimation to gentlemen, and men of like quality to himſelfe, but diſdained them, and thought them vnworthy to be equall with him. For theſe they ſay were his faultes and imperfections, but otherwiſe that he wanted no vertues, nor naturall giftes & good conditions that could be poſſibly wiſhed for, or deſired. For he was a tall gentleman, of goodly preſence, well ſpoken, wiſe and diſcreete, as well in matters of gouernment, as in warres: and as well to perſwade the people in peace, as to encourage his ſouldiers in war. *Saluſt* writeth of him, that his ſouldiers began to miſlike with him, euen from the firſt entry into theſe wars, becauſe he made them lye out two winters together in the field, one after another: the one before the city of CIZICVS,

*The countrie of Mygdonia.*

*Niſibis, alias Antiochia, a city of Mygdonia.*

*Lucullus taketh Niſibis by aſſault.*

*Callimachus did ſet the city of Amiſus on fire.*

*The alteration of Lucullus good fortune.*

*Lucullus cauſe of all his miſfortune.*

*Lucullus faultes.*

*Lucullus vertues.*

*The cauſe why Lucullus ſouldiers miſliked with him.*

and the other before the citie of AMISVS. And euen as much did the other winters following vexe and trouble them. For either they lay in their enemies countrie, or elſe if they lay in their friendes, yet he made them campe abroad in the field, and ſhrowd themſelues in their tentes: for *Lucullus* neuer entred with his armie into any city or confederate towne of GRECE. Now if the ſouldiers of thẽſelues miſliked *Lucullus*, the counſellers at ROME that were his enemies, and enuied his proſperitie and glory, gaue them yet greater occaſions to mutine againſt him. For they continually accuſed him to the people in their orations, that he drew out this war in length, purpoſely becauſe he would alwaies haue occaſion to rule, & meanes to get, hauing in his hands in maner all CILICIA, ASIA, BITHYNIA, PAPHLAGONIA, GALATIA, PONTVS, ARMENIA, & all the prouinces & regions as farre as to the riuer of Phaſis: and yet he had not long before ſpoiled the Princely houſes of *Tigranes*, as if he had bene ſent thither only to ſacke and ſpoyle, and not to deſtroy & ouercome thoſe kings. And they ſay that it was *Lucius Quintius*, one of the Prætors that ſpake theſe wordes. It was he alſo that moſt moued the people to take order that *Lucullus* ſhould be called home, & other ſent to ſucceede him in the charge and gouernmẽt of the countries he had ſubdued. By the ſelfe ſame meane, it was alſo ordained: that diuers which were vnder his charge, ſhould be diſpenſed withall for their othes, and licenced to leaue the warres when they thought good. But beſides thoſe & ſuch like great cauſes, there was yet another more dangerous plague, and that moſt ouerthrew *Lucullus* proceedings, paſſing all the other euils being put together: and that was *Publius Clodius*, a wicked, licentious, and a hatebrainde man. He was *Lucullus* wiues brother, and ſhe was ſo light of her bodie, that *Clodius* her brother was accuſed of incontinencie with her. This *Clodius* being at that time in *Lucullus* campe, caried not that eſtimation and credit he thought himſelfe worthy of. For he tooke himſelfe equall with the beſt, and would needes haue bene holden for chiefe: when in deede there were many of farre better deſert, he being noted both for a vitious and ill diſpoſed perſon. Whereupon he beganne for ſpight to ſuborne the bands called FIMBRIANS, and to ſtirre them vp againſt *Lucullus*, ſowing ſweete and pleaſant wordes amongſt the ſouldiers, which being wonted therunto, looked ſtil to be flattered. For they were thoſe whom *Fimbria* had procured to kill the Conſull *Flaccus*, and chooſe him in his ſteede for their Captaine. By reaſon whereof they gaue good eare to *Clodius* words, and called him a noble Captaine, and a louer of ſouldiers. For when he ſpake vnto them, he made as though he had pittied them, for that they ſhould neuer ſee an end of their great paines and warres, but ſhould miſerably conſume their daies in fighting continually, ſometime with one nation, and ſometime with another: and that they wandered through all the countries of the world, receiuing no worthy reward of ſo long and painefull ſeruice, ſeruing only to gard *Lucullus* carts & camels loden with plate and veſſell of golde and ſiluer, and other pretious ſtones. Where the ſouldiers that had ſerued vnder Pompey, tooke now their eaſe at home in their country with their wiues and children, and were landed men, dwelling in goodly faire cities, as rich burgeſes and wealthy citizens: and yet they had not driuen *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* out of their kingdomes, into deſert places vnhabitable, nor had deſtroyed the Princely houſes of ASIA, but only made a litle warre in SPAYNE againſt thoſe that were baniſhed, & in ITALIE againſt fugitiue ſlaues. Shall we then, ſaid he, carie harneſſe on our backes all the daies of our life? Is it not better that we which are eſcaped vntill this preſent, reſerue our ſelues, our bodies & liues for that noble Captaine, who eſteemeth the greateſt honor and glory he can atchieue vnto, is to make his ſouldiers rich that ſerue vnder him? *Lucullus* armie was ſo ſeduced and corrupted with theſe mutinous and ſeditious accuſations, that the ſouldiers would no longer follow him, neither againſt *Tigranes*, nor againſt *Mithridates*: who went preſently out of ARMENIA into his realme of PONTVS, and began to conquer it againe, whileſt the ROMAINE ſouldiers mutining againſt their General, remained idle in the prouince of GORDIÆNA, excuſing themſelues by the winter ſeaſon, and tarying vntill *Pompey* or ſome other Captaine ſhould quickly come to raiſe the ſiege, and ſucceede *Lucullus*. Notwithſtanding, when they vnderſtoode that *Mithridates* had ouerthrowen *Fabius*, one of *Lucullus* Lieutenants, and that he went againſt *Sornatius* & *Triarius*: they were then aſhamed of themſelues, and became contented to be led by *Lucullus*. But *Triarius* in a brauery, when he heard that *Lucullus* drew neere, made haſt to winne the victory,

*Lucullus armie euer lay in the field, winter and ſummer.*

*Phaſis fl.*

*Publius Clodius a wicked man.*

*Publius Clodius ſtirred vp the ſouldiers againſt Lucullus.*

*Mithridates victorie of Lucullus Lieutenants.*

as if it had beene cocke ſure before *Lucullus* came: and was himſelfe ouerthrowen in a great battell, where ſome ſay there died aboue ſeuen thouſand ROMAINES, amongſt the which were a hundred and fiftie centurions, & foure and twentie Captaines or Collonels of a thouſand men a peece, and yet beſides, *Mithridates* tooke their campe alſo. Shortly after this ouerthrow, *Lucullus* came thither, who hid *Triarius*, whom the ſouldiers ſought in their anger by all the meanes they could to kill. Now when *Lucullus* was come, he proued ſundry meanes to procure *Mithridates* to battell: but *Mithridates* would not once ſturre abroad, becauſe he looked for *Tigranes* that came downe with a mightie power. Whereupon he determined againe to goe againſt *Tigranes* to fight with him, before *Mithridates* and he ioyned forces together. But as he was in his iorney towardes him, the FIMBRIAN bandes beganne to rebell anew, and would not follow his enſignes, ſaying, and alleaging of themſelues, that by decree of the people they had leaue to depart, and were diſcharged from their othe: and furthermore that *Lucullus* had no more to do to commaund them, conſidering that the gouernment of the prouinces which he had, was giuen vnto others. *Lucullus* perceiuing this, did ſo humble himſelfe vnto them, ſuppoſing that way to winne them, as there was no kind of vncomely humilitie but he ſubmitted himſelfe vnto it: inſomuch as he went into their tentes to pray and intreate them one after an other, with water in his eyes, and with ſo great lowlineſſe, as euen to ſhake handes with them. But they fiercely reiected all his courteſies & faire intreaties, caſting their penniles purſes before him, and angrily bad him fight with his enemies alone, ſince he had with the ſpoile of them all ſo well enriched himſelfe alone. Neuertheleſſe, at the interceſſion and earneſt requeſt of the other ſouldiers, theſe FIMBRIAN bands were compelled to promiſe, that they would yet tarry all that ſommer, ſo that if no man in the meane time offred the battell, at the end of the tearme, they might goe where they would. *Lucullus* was forced to accept this condition, or els to remaine alone, & conſequently to forſake the country of the barbarous people. With much a doe thus he kept them together, but in ſuch ſort, as he durſt no more venter to compell them to come to battell, contenting himſelfe that they were willing onely to ſtay with him, being forced to ſuffer *Tigranes* in the meane time to deſtroy and ouerrun the country of CAPPADOCIA, & *Mithridates* alſo to bragge againe, of whom he had before written to the Senate that he had vtterly ouercome him: inſomuch as there came commiſſioners & deputies from ROME by his owne procurement, to order the ſtate of the realme of PONTVS with him, as of a kingdom already won to the ROMAINE Empire. But whē they were come, they found him not maſter of himſelfe, and that his owne ſouldiers flouted him, and did him all the ſpight and iniury they could. For they were ſo vnruly towards their Captaine, and did ſo much diſdaine him, that when the end of the ſommer was come, they armed themſelues with armor and weapon, and drawing out their ſwordes in mockery, challenged their enemies to battell which were gone out of the fielde: and after they had made the noyſe and cries accuſtomed when they ioyned battell, and made as though they fought, hurling and ſwinging their ſwords in the aire, they went from the campe, declaring openly that their time was expired, which they promiſed *Lucullus* to tary. On the other ſide *Pompey* had written vnto the other ſouldiers that were yet in campe, to come vnto him: for through the peoples fauor at ROME, the practiſes and flatteries of the common counſellers there, he was ſubſtituted Generall in *Lucullus* place. Which much miſliked the Senate and nobilitie: for they thought *Lucullus* greatly wronged to haue a ſucceſſour ſent, not to ſucceede him in troubles and dangers, but in honour and glory of triumph. And that they ſhould compell him not onely to reſigne vp the office of a Generall to an other, but (for the good ſeruice he long time had done) the reward of his honour due for the ſame: and this alſo more miſliked them that were then about him. That ſo ſoone as *Pompey* was arriued in ASIA, he tooke all power & authority from *Lucullus*, to puniſh or reward any man for good or ill ſeruice done to the common wealth in thoſe warres, & did moreouer prohibite by publicke bils ſet vp in euery common place, that they ſhould no more repaire vnto him, nor obey ought that he, or any of the ten cōmiſſioners ſent to diſpoſe of the ſtate of the prouinces wonne by him, ſhould commaund or ordaine: and becauſe *Pompey* came with a greater power and armie then his, he was in ſome feare of him. Their friends thought good neuertheleſſe they ſhould meete together: and ſo they did incontinently,

*Mithridates ouercame Triarius Lucullus Captain.*

*The Fimbrian ſouldiers forſooke Lucullus.*

*Lucullus forced to humble him ſelfe to his mutinous ſouldiers.*

*The Fimbrian ſouldiers tarie out the ſommer vpon condition to depart when ſommer was done.*

*Pompey Lucullus ſucceſſor in Aſia.*

*Iniuries offered Lucullus by Pompey.*

*Lucullus and Pompeys meeting.*

*Miſlikings betwene Pompey and Lucullus.*

*Lucullus not beloued of his ſouldiers.*

*Craſſus deſire to conquere Aſia vpon ſight of Lucullus triumph.*

*See the life of Craſſus what ſucceſſe he had.*

*Lucullus returne to Rome.*

*Lucullus triumph.*

tinently,in a village of GALATIA,where at their firſt meeting they ſaluted ech other very curteouſly,reioycing together of the noble victories that either had wonne. *Lucullus* was the elder man,but P*ompey* of greater dignity,becauſe he had bene Generall of the ROMAINE people in many warres,& had alreadie triumphed twiſe. The bundels of roddes which the ſergeants caried before them, were wreathed about with laurell branches for the victories they had both atcheiued: but P*ompeys* bundels were withered away, becauſe they had come a long iorney through hotte and dry countries. *Lucullus* officers ſeeing theirs withered, courteouſly gaue them of theirs freſh and new gathered: which *Pompeys* friendes tooke for a ſigne of good lucke. For to ſay truely, the things that *Lucullus* did in the time of his charge, were cauſe of the honor that P*ompey* afterwards wanne. Howbeit in the end for all their talke,they were no whit the better friends: but departed the one from the other more ſtrange then they met. For *Pompey* by a plaine edict, brake, reuoked and diſanulled all *Lucullus* ordinances, and taking from him al his other ſouldiers, left him but only ſixteene hundred to accompany his triumph, and yet they followed him with vnwilling minds: ſuch was *Lucullus* imperfection & mayme, either by nature or frowardnes of fortune, that he lacked the chiefeſt thing a Generall ſhould haue, which was, to be beloued of his ſouldiers. For if he had attained to that perfection, amongſt many other his excellent vertues, and magnanimitie,wiſedom, iudgement,& iuſtice: the riuer of Euphrates had not bene the vttermoſt confines of the Empire of ROME on ASIA ſide,but it had extended as farre as the ſea Hyrcane,yea euē vnto the vtmoſt part of the world. For king *Tigranes* had already conquered the other nations that lie beyond that, ſauing the countrie of PARTHIA, which then was not ſo great nor ſtrong, as it appeared afterwards in *Craſſus* time: nor ſo ioyned and knit together, but ( what through ciuill diſſentions amongſt them at home, and forreine warres of their neigbours abroad ) was ſo weake, that with great difficulty they could defend themſelues from the ARMENIANS, that continually harried them out of their ſkinnes. But to take things rightly as they be in deede, me thinkes that *Lucullus* did more hurt vnto his country by other, then he did benefit the ſame by himſelfe. For the tokens of triumph and victories which he wanne in ARMENIA ſo neere vnto the PARTHIANS, the cities of TIGRANOCERTA and of NISIBIS which he had ſacked and ſpoyled, the great treaſure that he brought to ROME, and the Diademe alſo of *Tigranes*, which was ſhewed in triumph as a priſoner with the reſt: moued *Craſſus* with ſuch a maruellous deſire to paſſe into ASIA, as if all the barbarous people had bene nothing but an aſſured ſpoyle, and a purpoſed prey vnto all thoſe that would come to take them. But *Craſſus* farre otherwiſe, finding him ſelfe gauled and troubled with the arrowes of the PARTHIANS, knew then by proofe, that *Lucullus* had not ſo much ouercome his enemies for that they wanted skill, or were a cowardly people, as he had done through his wiſedome and valiantnes. But that ſhall be ſeene hereafter. Furthermore, *Lucullus* being now returned to ROME, found firſt of all his brother *Marcus* accuſed by one *Gaius Memmius*, for that he had done in his office of treaſurer in *Syllaes* time, and by his commaundement, whereof he was cleared by ſentence of the iudges. But *Memmius* of ſpight turned his anger againſt *Lucullus* ſelfe, ſtirring vp the people againſt him, and letting them vnderſtand that *Lucullus* had kept backe and robbed much part of the treaſure, which ſhould haue come to the common wealth, and that to worke his feate the better, had prolonged theſe warres as he did: wherefore he perſwaded them flatly to deny him the honor of his triumph. And truely *Lucullus* was in great danger to haue loſt it vtterly: but that the noble men of the citie, and they that were of greateſt authoritie, intermedled themſelues with the tribes when they came to paſſe it by voices of the people, whom they intreated ſo much through ſute and perſwaſion, that in the end, with much a doe, the people ſuffered him to enter the citie in triumph. So *Lucullus* made a triumphant entry, not terrible nor troubleſome for the long ſhewe or ſight thereof, nor for the multitude of things that he brought thither with him, as many other Captaines had done before him. For hee cauſed the ſhewe-place (which they call Circus Flaminius at ROME) to be ſet out and furniſhed chiefely with armour and weapons of the enemies to a maruellous number: and with the kings engines and inuentions of battering peeces, which was a pleaſant ſight to behold. And in this ſhew, there was a certaine number of his men of armes brauely armed, tenne cartes of warre armed with ſythes that paſſed by, and threeſcore of the chiefeſt friendes and Captaines of the two kings that were led priſoners through the citie. And there were alſo drawen after them, a hundred and tenne gallies all armed in the prores with ſtrong ſpurres of copper, and a ſtatue of *Mithridates* all of cleane gold, ſixe foote high, with a rich target ſet with pretious ſtones. Beſides all that, there were twenty cubberds as full of ſiluer plate as could be, and thirtie cubberds full alſo of golden veſſell, armor and coyne of gold, caried vpon mens ſhoulders. After them followed eight mules laden with golden beddes, and ſixe and fiftie other mules that caried ſiluer bullion, and a hundred & ſeuen other mules that caried ſiluer coyne, amounting to the ſumme of two hundred threeſcore and tenne thouſande Seſtertios. Furthermore, there were bookes of account caried alſo, wherin were particularly written the ſummes of money which *Lucullus* had deliuered before vnto *Pompey* for the warre againſt pyrates on the ſea, & vnto the treaſurers and high treaſures, to put into the ſparing coffers of the common wealth at ROME. And afterwardes in an article by it ſelfe, that he had giuen nine hundred and fiftie Drachmas to euery ſouldier by the polle. After the ſhewe of this triumph was ended, hee made a generall feaſt, in the which he feaſted all the citie and villages thereabouts, which the ROMAINES call Vicos. And afterwardes forſooke his wife *Clodia* for her vnchaſt and wanton life, and maried *Seruilia Catoes* ſiſter: howbeit he wanne nothing by the exchange, for he ſped as euill with the ſecond as he did with the firſt. For, ſauing that ſhe was not ſlandered with the inceſt of her owne brethren, otherwiſe ſhe was as diſhoneſt and vnchaſt as *Clodia*: and yet he bare withall a while for her brothers ſake, but at the length grew wearie of her, and put her away as he had done *Clodia*. Now when he had filled the Senate with a maruellous hope and expectation of him (who thought they had now got one to encounter and withſtand Pompeys tyrannie, and to vphold and maintaine the authoritie of the nobility and Senate againſt the people, for that by his noble deedes he had atcheiued ſo great fame and reputation) he ſodainly gaue ouer all dealings in the affaires of the common wealth: either becauſe he ſawe it ſo beſt, being a hard thing now to keepe it from ruine: or elſe (as other ſaid) for that he felt himſelfe ſufficiently furniſhed with honour and wealth, and therefore determined from thenceforth to liue quietly all at his eaſe after ſo great paines, trauelles and troubles, the ende whereof fell not out ouer fortunately. And ſurely ſome were of his minde, and liked this great change of his maruellous well: becauſe he did not as *Marius* did, neither happened on the ill ſucceſſe and end that *Marius* had. For *Marius* after the notable victories which he brought from the CIMBRES, and after his valiant acts in warres which had won him great honor, yet would he not ſo leaue off, when he might haue bene chronicled to his wonderfull glory: but of an vnſatiable mind, and ambitious deſire to rule and beare ſway, (being withall a very old man) went and ſorted himſelfe amongſt young men deſirous of gouernment, who brought him not only to commit many outrages, but made himſelfe alſo to ſuffer greater cruelties. It is thought alſo that *Cicero* had ended his aged courſe more happily, if after he had quenched *Catilines* conſpiracy, he had then taken his eaſe. And ſo had *Scipio* in like caſe, if when he had ioyned NVMANTIA vnto CARTHAGE, he would then haue quieted himſelfe. And therfore, ſome ſay, that there is a certaine reuolution and time appointed, beyond the which no wiſe man ſhould medle any more with the affaires of the cōmon wealth: no more then a man whoſe youth & ſtrength is gone and decaied, is any more fit to iuſt, wraſtle, or enter into ſuch exerciſes of the bodie. But contrarily, *Craſſus* and *Pompey* mocked *Lucullus*, becauſe he gaue himſelfe ſo much to pleaſure and paſtime: as if to liue pleaſantly and delicately did not worſe become his age, then to command an army, or to gouerne the affaires of a common weale. And for my part, reading *Lucullus* life: me thinkes that I read an ancient comedie, the beginning whereof is tedious, and the latter end ioyfull. For at the beginning of his life, you find notable exploites done by him in warres, and great good gouernment alſo in peace: but in the end they all turned into feaſtes and banquets, and lacking litle of maskes and mummeries, dauncing with torches, and all other ſuch delightes fit for young men. For I bring within the compaſſe and reckoning of his fineneſſe and pleaſures, his ſumptuous buildings, his ſtately walles and galleries, his hotte-houſes and ſtoues, his tables and pictures, his ſtatues alſo: and the great workmanſhippe and curioſitie he had beſides of all other chattes by him, gotten together out of all partes to his infinite charge,

*Lucullus forſaketh Clodia & marieth Seruilia Catoes ſiſter as vnchaſt as Clodia.*

*Lucullus giueth ouer gouernment of the common wealth.*

*Lucullus buildings and pleaſures.*

charge, abuſing therein the world of goods and treaſure gotten and wonne in the warres, in time of his charge and office of Generall, and otherwiſe. Inſomuch, that notwithſtanding exceſſe and ſuperfluitie hath euer ſince increaſed vntill this preſent time, yet they reckon the gardens *Lucullus* made, to be the moſt ſumptuous and delicateſt places that the Emperors haue. And therfore *Tubero* the Stoike Philoſopher, hauing ſeene theſe ſtately works which *Lucullus* had cauſed to be made neere vnto NAPLES, by the ſea ſide (where there are mountaines cut through, light as day, and hanged vpon vaults) and great ditches caſt by force to make the ſea paſſe and runne through his houſes, to keepe fiſh therein, and lodgings alſo that he built in the ſea it ſelfe: he called *Lucullus*, *Xerxes* the gowneman, as if he would haue ſaide, *Xerxes* the ROMAINE. For euen ſo did *Xerxes* in old time cauſe the mountaine Atho to be cut in ſunder, and a channell to be digged there to paſſe his ſhippes through. He had alſo many other pleaſant places within the territories of ROME neere vnto THVSCVLVM, where there were great large haules ſet vpon tarraſſes to ſee round about farre off in the day time. And *Pompey* going thither ſometime to ſee him, reproued him greatly, telling him that he had built a maruellous faire ſommer houſe, but not to be dwelt in the winter ſeaſon. *Lucullus* laughing, anſwered him: do ye thinke me to haue leſſe wit & reaſon then ſtorkes or cranes, that I can not ſhift houſes according to the ſeaſon? An other time there was a Prætor of ROME, that making plaies to ſhewe the people paſtime, ſent vnto *Lucullus* to borrow certaine purple clokes to ſet forth his plaiers: *Lucullus* made him anſwere, that he would cauſe his folkes to looke if he had any. And the next morning demaunding of him how many he ſhould neede, the other anſwered, that a hundred would ſerue his turne. Wherupon *Lucullus* told him againe, he would furniſh him with two hundred, if his caſe ſo required. And therefore the Poet *Horace* writing this ſtory, addeth to a notable exclamation againſt ſuperfluity, ſaying: that men thinke that a poore houſe, where there is no more riches then neceſſary, and where there is not more then appeareth in ſight, and that the maſter knoweth of. He was a vaine man in his ordinarie ſeruice at his bord, not onely in that his beddes whereon he fedde, were couered with rich carpettes of purple, and himſelfe ſerued in gold and ſiluer veſſell ſet with precious ſtones, & that there was dauncing, muſicke, plaies, and other ſuch like paſtimes of ordinary: but alſo for that he was continually ſerued with all ſorts of fine daintie diſhes, with workes of paſtry, banqueting diſhes, and frute curiouſly wrought and prepared, which only made him to be wondered at of men of ſimple vnderſtanding and meane condition. Therefore was *Pompey* maruellouſly eſteemed, and ſpecially for a word he ſpake one day when he was ſicke, and that the Phiſitian had willed him to eate of a thruſh. For when his ſeruants tolde him they were hard to come by in ſommer, but at *Lucullus* houſe where they brought them vp all the yeare through: he would in no wiſe they ſhould aske any of him, but ſaide vnto his Phiſitian. What if *Lucullus* were not giuen to pleaſure, could not *Pompey* liue? And ſo willed them to get him ſome other ſuch thing, as they might more eaſily come by. *Cato* was *Lucullus* friend & kinſeman both, and yet he ſo much miſliked his maner of liuing and ordinary expence: that one day a young man making a long and tedious Oration in open Senate (out of time, and to no purpoſe) touching meane diet, ſobrietie, and temperance of life: *Cato* could no longer abide him, but roſe vp, and ſaid vnto him. What, wilt thou not leaue babbling to vs all day: thou that art rich as *Craſſus*, that liueſt as *Lucullus*, and ſpeakeſt as *Cato*? Other affirme that theſe words were ſpoken thus, but that it was not *Cato* that ſpake them: neuertheleſſe it is certaine, by the notable ſayings they haue gathered of *Lucullus*, he did not only delight to liue ſo delicately, but alſo he gloried in it. Some write that he feaſted certaine GRECIANS many daies together in his houſe, that were come out of GREECE to ROME: and that they being men brought vp with the ſobrietie and ſimplicitie of GRECE, after they had bene feaſted there diuers times, were aſhamed, & refuſed to goe thither any more, being afterwards intreated to come to *Lucullus*, ſuppoſing that he had made them this great cheere for their owne ſakes. *Lucullus* hearing of it, told them: my Lords, I pray you refuſe not to come to me for that. In deede I muſt needes grant that there is ſomewhat more then ordinarie to welcome you withall: but I tell you truely, the moſt part is for *Lucullus* ſake. An other time when he ſupped all alone, and his men had laide but one bord, and prepared but a reaſonable ſupper for him, he was very angry with them, and called

*Lucullus gardens of great eſtimation.*

*Lucullus called Xerxes the gownman.*

*Xerxes cut through the mountaine Atho, and made a channell for his ſhippes to paſſe thorow.*

*Lucullus curioſitie and exceſſe in meates and ſeruice.*

*Catoes ſaying of Lucullus.*

*Certain ſayings of Lucullus.*

for his ſteward to know why he was ſerued ſo: the ſteward anſwered him. My Lord, becauſe I ſawe you ſend for no bodie, I thought this ſupper ſufficient. What, ſaid he againe: knoweſt not thou that *Lucullus* ſhould ſuppe to night with himſelf? In fine, *Lucullus* fare was cõmonly knowen through ROME, that there was no talke but of *Lucullus* noble houſekeeping. Whervpon, *Cicero* and *Pompey* being deſirous to ſee the proofe thereof, came one day to him in the market place ſeeing him at pleaſure: (for *Cicero* was *Lucullus* very good friend, and *Pompey* alſo: and though there was ſome iarre betwene them for matters of warres, he did not let for that to come vnto him, and to ſpeake gently one to an other) and *Cicero* after he had ſaluted him, asked him if he would be contented they ſhould come and ſee him. Oh, ſaid he, with all my heart: I pray you come to me. Well then, ſaid *Cicero*, *Pompey* and I will come and ſuppe with you to night, with condition that you prouide no more then your ordinary. *Lucullus* told thẽ againe, they ſhould then fare but badly, and therefore it were better they taried till to morrow. But they would none of that, no nor ſuffer him to ſpeake with his men for feare he ſhould cõmaund them to prouide ſomewhat more then for himſelfe. Neuertheleſſe, at his deſire they ſuffered him onely in their preſence aloude to tell one of his men, that hee would ſuppe that night in *Apollo*: (for ſo was one of his moſt ſtately and ſumptuous haules of his houſe called) and with that word only he finely deceiued them both, and they neuer found him. For euery haule had his certaine ſumme and rate appointed for the charge and expence of euery ſupper they made in them, and the ordinary furniture and ſeruice for the ſame. So that when his ſeruantes had their watch worde but in what haule he would ſuppe, they knew ſtraight what charge he would be at for his ſupper, & what orders ſhould be obſerued therin. Now *Lucullus* manner was to ſpende when he made any feaſt in the haule of *Apollo*, fifty thouſand pence, and that ſelfe day the ſupper was prepared according to that value: inſomuch as Pompey marueled how it could be poſſible that a ſupper of ſo exceeding great charge could be ſo ſodainely prepared. In ſuch things therefore did *Lucullus* lauiſhly and riotouſly ſpende his goods, like ſpoyles in deede gotten of ſlaues and barbarous people. But that ſpecially which he beſtowed vppon bookes, was very commendable and honeſt expence. For he had gathered together a great number of notable hiſtories, the vſe wherof was more honor to him, then the hauing of them. For his librarie was euer open to all cõmers, and they ſuffred the GRECIANS to come into his goodly tarraſſes and faire walkes, or other pleaſant places thereabouts conuenient to ſit and reaſon together, and neuer ſhut dore againſt them: where learned men met commonly, and oftentimes ſpent the whole day in conference together, as in the houſe of the *Muſes*, being very glad when other matters were diſpatched, they had ſo much leaſure as but to goe thither. And *Lucullus* ſelfe would alſo many times be amongſt them, in thoſe tarraſſes and pleaſant walkes, delighting much to talke with them: and he did euer helpe to diſpatch them that had any buſineſſe with him, and granted the thing they requeſted of him. To conclude, his houſe was a common receite for all them that came from GRECE to ROME. He loued all maner of Philoſophy, and refuſed no ſect of the ſame. But from his youth vpward, he euer loued & eſteemed beſt the ACADEMICKE ſect, not that which they cal the new ACADEMICK (although it floriſhed at that time through *Carneades* workes, which *Philo* made ſuch eſtimation of) but the old ACADEMICKE, which the Philoſopher *Antiochus* of the citie of ASCALON did defende and maintaine at that time, being an eloquent rethoritian and well ſpoken, whom *Lucullus* ſought to win by all meanes to make him his friend, and to haue him in houſe with him: becauſe he might inuey againſt *Philoes* hearers & followers, whoſe ſcholler *Cicero* among the reſt was, that wrote a notable booke againſt this old ACADEMICKE ſect. And in the ſame he reciteth *Lucullus*, maintaining the opinion of the old ACADEMICKES: who hold, that a man may certainly know and comprehend ſomething, and called that Catalepſin: but *Cicero* defended the contrarie. The booke is intituled *Lucullus*: for they were (as we haue rehearſed before) very good friends, and had both one ſelfe deſire for gouernement in the common wealth. For *Lucullus* did not ſo withdrawe himſelfe from matters of ſtate, that he would no more medle at all, nor heare ſpeake of them: but he betimes gaue ouer all ambition & contention, as a thing of no ſmall danger, and breeding great reproach and diſhonour to *Marcus Craſſus*, and *Cato*, to be chiefe in authoritie. And theſe two were they that defended the Senate,

*Lucullus hauing diuers haules, had appointed euery haule his certaine rate and charge of diet.*

*What Lucullus ſupper was in Apollo.*

*Lucullus librarie.*

*Lucullus loued Philoſophie.*

*Antiochus of Aſcalon an eloquent rethoritian.*

*The opinion of the Academickes.*

*Marcus Craſſus, Cato, Lucullus, againſt Pompey.*

and whom they raiſed vp to withſtand *Pompeys* greatneſſe, being afrayed of him, after that *Lucullus* had refuſed the chiefe place of authoritie. But otherwiſe, *Lucullus* would be in the market place at courts and common councels, to pleaſure his friends when they requeſted him: and would go to the Senate alſo, when there was occaſion to breake any new practiſe, or to ouerthrow P*ompeys* ambitious policie. For he ouerthrew all the orders and conſtitutions that P*ompey* had made, after he had ouercome the kings, *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*: and with the helpe of *Cato* hindered a diſtribution of money which *Pompey* had written for to ROME, to be beſtowed amongſt his ſouldiers. Whereupon P*ompey* fell in friendſhip, (or to ſpeake more plainly, in conſpiracie) with *Craſſus* and *Cæſar*, by whoſe helpe and aſsiſtaunce, he filled ROME with armes and ſouldiers: and made the people by force to paſſe and confirme what he would haue done, after he had violently expulſed *Lucullus* and *Cato* out of the market place. Whereat the noble men were much offended, and miſliking the great wrong they had offred *Lucullus* & *Cato*, P*ompeys* followers ſuborned a *BRVTIAN, & ſayd he was taken lying in wait to kill P*ompey*. Whereupon the ſaid BRVTIAN being examined by the Senate, named certaine: but when he came before the people, he named *Lucullus*, ſaying that he had hyered him to kill P*ompey*. But no man beleeued him. For they perceiued openly in the market place, that he was procured by themſelues falſly to accuſe *Lucullus*, and P*ompeys* other aduerſaries. And this was proued more plainly within few dayes after, whē they threw the body of this BRVTIAN dead in the middeſt of the ſtreet, out of the priſon: who they ſay dyed of himſelfe with ſickeneſſe. Howbeit the markes being plainly ſeene of the halter wherewith they had ſtrangled him, and the ſtripes appearing alſo which they had giuen him: did plainly ſhew that they themſelues did it, whom after they had ſuborned to accuſe L*ucullus*, they ſlue in this manner. This was the cauſe why L*ucullus* did more then before abſent himſelfe from medling in publicke cauſes: but after, when he ſaw that they had ſo wickedly exiled *Cicero*, and found meanes alſo to conuey *Cato* farre enough off, vnder pretenced colour to ſend him with charge into the Ile of CYPRVS: then he gaue vp altogether. Some write that a litle before his death, he was not perfit in his wits, decaying through age by litle and litle. Howbeit *Cornelius Nepos* ſayth, that it was not for age, nor ſickeneſſe, that his wits did alter: but through poyſon which one of his ſlaues had giuen him, whom he had made free, called *Calliſthenes*: who gaue it him, not of any euill intent, but becauſe his maiſter ſhould loue him the more, ſuppoſing that this poyſon had power to make him loue him. But he troubled his wits ſo much with this poyſon, that L*ucullus* while he liued was faine to haue his brother *Marcus* to ouerſee his goods. Notwithſtanding this, when he was dead, he was as much bewayled and lamented of all the people, as if he had dyed in his beſt credit, and greateſt proſperitie. For all the people ranne to honour his funerals, and his body was caried to the place, by the young noble men of the citie. The people would in any caſe haue buried him within the field of *Mars*, as they had before buried *Sylla*. But becauſe no man thought of it before, and alſo for that things neceſſary were not eaſily to be prouided for the place: his brother *Marcus* beſought the people they would be content his funerals might be at a towne of his owne, neare vnto the citie of THVSCVLVM, where his tombe was prepared, and he himſelfe liued not long time after. For as *Lucullus* both in age, and honour, had not left him farre behind him: ſo did he not much in his death. For as a brother that had alwayes dearely loued him, he could not then long liue, and ſuruiue him.

*Lucullus and Cato againſt Pompey.*

*Pompey, Craſſus, Cæſar, conſpired together againſt the ſtate.*

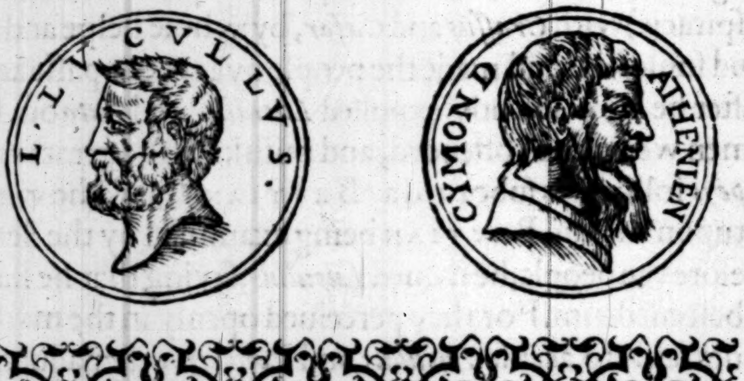
**Cicero calleth him Lucius Veſtius, howbeit it may be that he was a Brutian borne.*

*Lucullus fell out of his wits before his death.*

*Calliſthenes poyſoned Lucullus whereof he dyed.*

*Lucullus death.*

# THE COMPARISON OF *Lucullus with Cimon*.



*Lucullus death bleſſed.*

NOthing (in my opiniō) made ***Lucullus*** more happy, then to dye whē he did, before he ſaw the change and alteration of the cōmon weale, which the fatall deſtinies plagued the ROMAINES withall with ſedition & ciuill wars: & that he dyed in his country yet enioying her liberty, but beginning then to fall to decay. And in that he was likeſt vnto ***Cimō*** aboue all other things: who died whileſt the GRECIANS were in good loue & peace with other, & not in broyle of diſcorde and ciuill warres. Indeede ***Cimon*** dyed in his camp, being generall of his country, at the ſiege of the city of CITIVM in CYPRVS, not withdrawen to his home, as one wearied, liuing idlely, or leading a voluptuous life in feaſtes and banquets, making that the end and reward of his warres, victories and triumphs: but as ***Plato*** ſaid (when he wiſely blamed and reproued ***Orpheus***, who promiſeth perpetuall drunkenneſſe in the world to come, for reward of their vertue, that liued well in this life) merily. And truly it is a great comfort & contentation of minde, for an old man feebled with age, & compelled by weakeneſſe, to withdraw himſelfe from the world, as well in matters of gouernemēt in peace, as in warres: and quietly to paſſe his time in ſtudy, where delight is ioyned with honeſt contemplation. But to finiſh his vertuous deedes, by referring them to pleaſure, as vnto their onely end, and moreouer, to grow old by pleaſure and vanity, ſolemnizing ***Venus*** feaſt al the reſt of his life, after he hath made ſuch warres, & commaunded ſuch armies: that me thinkes a thing vnworthy of an honeſt ACADEMICKE, and altogether vnmeete for one profeſsing old ***Xenocrates*** doctrine, but fit rather for a man giuen ouer altogether to ***Epicurus*** diſcipline. There is a wonderfull thing to be conſidered of in theſe two men, that the ones youth was altogether vitious and reprochfull, and the others to the contrary, honeſt and vertuous. But he is the better that chaungeth for the better: & that nature is alwayes more commendable, in whom vice

*A good gift to decay vice and to encreaſe vertue.*

decayeth, and vertue waxeth young: then that which by continuance of time ſheweth ſtill the contrary. And furthermore, they both grew rich by one ſelfe meane: but they did not both a like vſe their riches. For it were to no purpoſe to compare the buildings of the wall that ſtandeth South within the caſtell of ATHENS, which was built with the money ***Cimon*** brought thither: with the fine built chambers, & high raiſed turrets to gaſe a farre, & enuironned about with conduits of water, which ***Lucullus*** erected by NAPLES, with the ſpoyles of the barbarous people. Neither is ***Cimons*** table alſo of moderate fare & dyet, but yet open to euery man, comparable to ***Lucullus*** bord: which was ſumptuouſly furniſhed, and ſhewed the greatneſſe of his Lord. For ***Cimons*** bord fed many mouthes daily with a ſmall charge: and ***Lucullus*** table exceeded in expence, to feede a few, with ſuperfluous dainties. Vnleſſe they will ſay, that time cauſed this difference betweene them. But who can tell, if *Cimon* had bene at leaſure to haue withdrawen himſelfe to quiet in age from gouernement, and armes, he alſo would not haue led a more ſumptuous and diſſolute life, giuen to all pleaſure, then *Lucullus* did? For of his owne nature he loued wine, banquets, and playes, and was alſo giuen to women, as we haue told you before. But proſperitie, and fortunate ſucceſſe of things do bring ſuch delight to ambitious men of nature, and borne to great enterpriſes: that they make them forget to runne after their other voluptuous vaine deſires. And therefore had *Lucullus* dyed abroad in the warres, whileſt he commaunded armies: there had not bene that liuing man, how curious ſoeuer he had bene to reproue other mens faults, that could haue detected him of any reprochfull vice. And thus much for their manner of life. Now furthermore, touching the ſtate of their warres: no doubt both the one and the other were excellent Captaines, as well by ſea as by land. And like as in games of priſe and exerciſes of body which are ſhewed in GRECE, they that in one ſelfe day winne the games at wreſtling, and weapons both, are called by a ſtrange cuſtome, not conquerours onely, but victours alſo, to honour them withall: euen ſo me thinkes that *Cimon* in like caſe hauing in one ſelfe day crowned GRECE with two notable markes of triumph, for two battels he wanne, the one by ſea, and the other by land, deſerueth to haue ſome place and preferment before other Captaines. And moreouer, *Lucullus* receiued the authoritie to command, of his country and common wealth: but *Cimon* gaue his country both authoritie & abilitie to command. *Lucullus* found his country a commanding people to all their friends & confederates: through whoſe aide he ouercame his enemies. And *Cimon* contrarily, found his country marching vnder an others enſigne, & through his valiantneſſe did ſo behaue himſelfe, that he made his citie go before her confederates, and triumph ouer her enemies: compelling the PERSIANS by force to giue them the rule by ſea, & perſwading the LACEDÆMONIANS willingly to giue place vnto them by land. Now if the chiefeſt thing that can be in an excellent Captaine, is to make himſelfe to be beloued of his ſouldiers, that they may delight to obey him: then was *Lucullus* deſpiſed of his ſouldiers, and *Cimon* eſteemed and wondred at, euen of the confederates themſelues. For *Lucullus* was forſaken of his own men: and *Cimon* was followed by very ſtrangers, for the confederates did ioyne together with him. *Lucullus* returned home into his country, forſaken of thoſe he caried out with him. *Cimon* returned againe, commaunding them that were ſent out with him to obey others: and had at one time done for his country three notable things, and hard for them to haue compaſſed: to wit, made peace with the enemies, giuen them authoritie and rule of their confederates, and ioyned friendſhip with the LACEDÆMONIANS. Both of them vndertooke to deſtroy great Empires, and conquer all ASIA. But neither of them both could bring their enterpriſe to paſſe. The one by reaſon of his death, which cut him off on the ſodaine being generall, and when his affaires proſpered beſt. The other can hardly be excuſed, that there was not a great fault in him: either in that he could not, or becauſe he would not ſatisfie the complaints and griefes of his men, which cauſed them ſo much to hate and miſlike him. And yet it might be ſayd alſo, that in this fault he was like vnto *Cimon*: who was oftentimes accuſed by his citizens, and at the length baniſhed his country for the ſpace of ten yeares, becauſe that in ten yeares ſpace (as *Plato* ſayth) they ſhould no more heare him ſpeake. For to ſay truly, it ſeldome times happeneth, that the graue wits of noble men do pleaſe the multitude, neither are they acceptable vnto the common people: becauſe they ſtriuing continually to reforme them when they go awry, do grieue them as much, as ſurgeons do their patients when they binde vp their ſores with bandes to cure them. For though by that binding they reſtore & bring to their naturall places againe the broken bones or members out of ioynt: yet put they the patient to great paine and griefe. And therefore me thinkes neither the one nor the other is to be blamed. Furthermore, *Lucullus* wēt a great deale farther with his army, thē euer *Cimon* did. For he was the firſt ROMAINE Captaine that paſſed ouer mount Taurus, & the riuer of Tigris with an army. He tooke & burnt almoſt in ſight of both the kings, the royall cities of ASIA, TIGRANOCERTA, CABIRA, SINOPE, & NISIBIS. Towards the North, he went as far as the riuer of Phaſis towardes the Eaſt, into MEDIA: and Southward, euen to the red ſea, and vnto the realmes of ARABIA, ſubduing all vnto the ROMAINE Empire. And hauing ouerthrowen all the power of theſe two mightie kings, he

*Cimons two victories obtained in one day.*

*Great difference betwixt Cimon and Lucullus.*

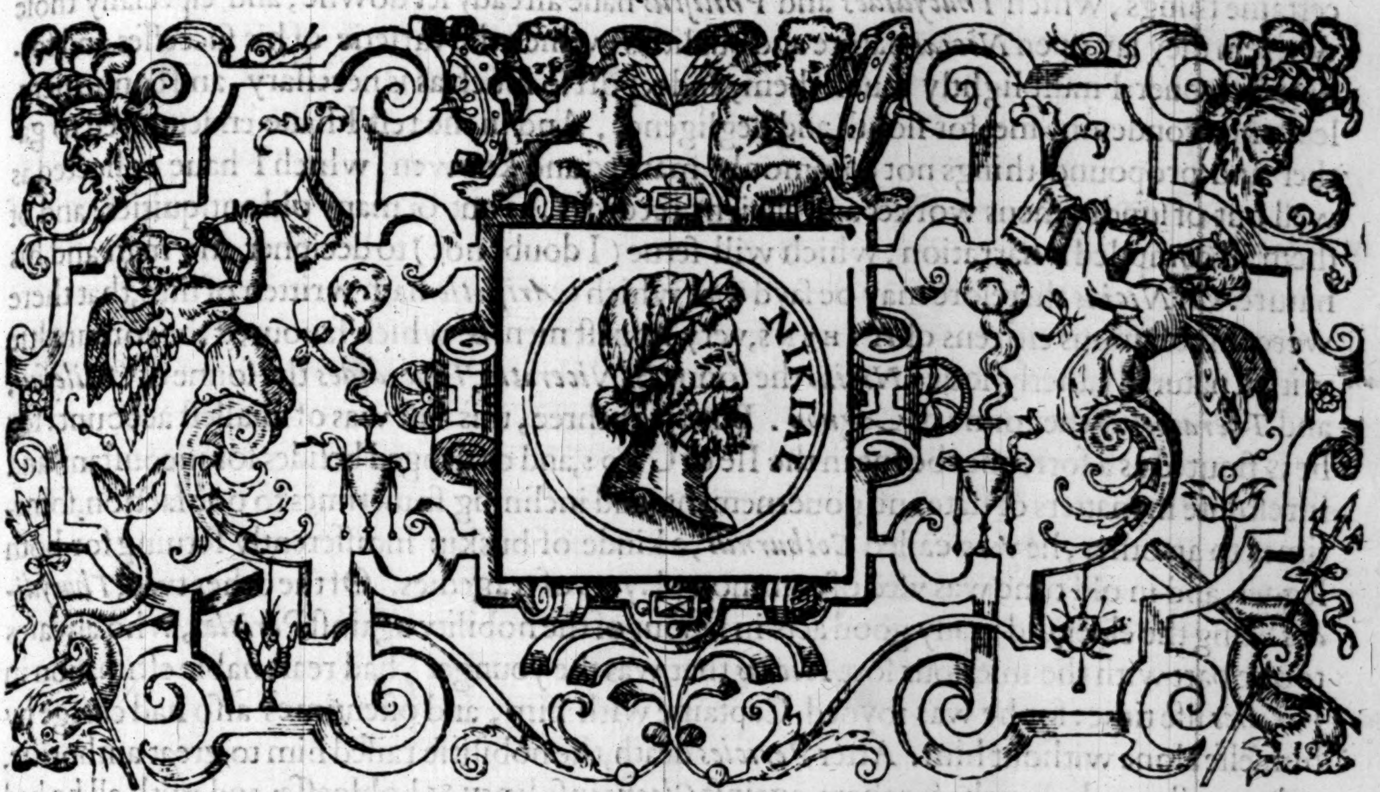
*Graue Magiſtrates reſembled by ſimilitude vnto good Surgeons.*

*Mithridates king of Pontus, dyed in the realme of Boſphorus. Tigranes king of Armenia, ſubmitteth himſelfe to Pompey.*

tooke from them all, but their perſons onely: who fled and hid themſelues like wild beaſtes, in infinite deſerts and vnpaſſable forreſtes. Wherein is eaſily diſcerned the difference betwixt the doings of the one, and of the other. For the PERSIANS, as if they had had no hurt nor ouerthrow at all by *Cimon*, fought a battell immediatly after againſt the GRECIANS, & ouerthrew the greateſt part of their armie in EGYPT: where *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, after *Lucullus* victories, did neuer any notable act. For the one finding himſelfe altogether pulled downe on his knees, and broken by the former battels: durſt neuer once onely ſhew his army vnto *Pompey*, out of the ſtrength of his camp, but fled into the realme of BOSPHORVS, where he dyed. And *Tigranes*, he went and humbled himſelfe on his knees, vnarmed, and without weapon, vnto *Pompey*: and taking his diademe off from his head, layed it at his feete, not flattering him for the victories he had won, but for thoſe which *Lucullus* had triumphed for. By reaſon wherof he ſcaped good cheape, & thought himſelfe happy, when *Pompey* gaue him onely the marke and title of a king, the which before had bene taken from him. He therefore is to be thought the more worthy Captaine, and ſtouteſt champion, that leaueth his enemy in weake eſtate for him that followeth, and ſhall fight afterwardes with him. And furthermore, *Cimon* found the power of the king of PERSIA ouerharried, the pride and fierceneſſe of the PERSIANS layed a ground, by many great battels they had loſt before vnto *Themiſtocles*, king *Pauſanias*, and *Leotychides*, who had ouerthrowen them: and going now againe to fight a freſh with them, it was an eaſie thing to ouercome the bodies of thoſe, whoſe harts were already vanquiſhed. Where *Lucullus* to the contrary, aſſailed *Tigranes*, that had neuer bene ouercome, but bare a maruellous loftie minde with him, for the many great battels and conqueſtes he had wonne. And for the multitude of enemies, there was no compariſon betweene thoſe that *Cimon* ouerthrew, & thoſe that were raunged in battell againſt *Lucullus*. So that all things weighed and conſidered, it were hard to iudge which of them two proued the worthieſt man: for that it ſeemeth, that the goddes did fauour both the one and the other, telling the one what he ſhould do, and the other what he ſhould not do. And thus it appeareth by teſtimonie of the goddes, they were both good men, and that they both obtained euerlaſting glorie.

*The end Lucullus life.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Nicias.*



I Haue reaſon (as I thinke) to compare *Nicias* with *Craſſus*, and the euents that happened to the one in PARTHIA, with thoſe that befell the other in SICYLE: yet am I to pray them that ſhall happen to read my writings, not to thinke me in entermedling with thoſe matters (in the deſcribing and reporting whereof, *Thucydides* hath gone beyond himſelfe, both for varietie and liuelineſſe of narration, as alſo in choice and excellent words) to haue the like intent and opinion, that *Timæus* the hiſtoriographer had. Who, hoping by the grauitie and life of his wordes & reports, to darken the glory of *Thucydides*, and make *Philiſtus* (in compariſon of himſelfe) appeare ignorant, and without any grace of hiſtoricall narration: hath in his hiſtory of purpoſe ſought occaſion to enter into the deſcribing of thoſe battels by ſea and by land, and the report of thoſe ſpeaches and orations, which are deliuered by them with great iudgement and eloquence. Wherein he commeth as neare them whom he contendes to paſſe, as doth the footeman to the LYDIAN coche, as ſayth *Pindarus*: and beſides ſheweth himſelfe fond and of ſmall iudgement, or as *Diphilus* ſayth.

*The prayſe of Thucydides.*

*Timæus follies.*

*A lubber laden with Sicylian greaſe.*

And in diuers places, he falleth into *Xenarchus* follies. As where he ſayth, that he thinkes it was an euill token for the ATHENIANS, that *Nicias* the Captaine (whoſe name was deriued of this word Nice, ſignifying victorie) diſſwaded their attempts againſt SICYLE: and that by the throwing downe and mangling of the Hermes (to ſay, the images of *Mercurie*) it was foreſhewed that they ſhould receiue great ouerthrowes by the generall of the SYRACVSANS, called *Hermocrates*, the ſonne of *Hermon*. And further, that it was not vnlikely that *Hercules* did fauour the SYRACVSANS, by reaſon of the goddeſſe *Proſerpina*, (protectour and defendour of the citie of SYRACVSA) to requite her for that ſhe gaue him Cerberus the dogge, porter of hell: and that he did malice the ATHENIANS beſides, becauſe they tooke the ÆGESTÆANS partes: (who came of the TROYANS, whom he much hated) for breaking their promiſe and faith with him, whoſe city himſelfe had ouerthrowen in reuenge of the wrong that *Laomedon* king of TROY had offered him. Howbeit *Timæus* ſhewes as much wit and iudgement, in deliuering vs ſuch toyes in an hiſtory: as he doth in correcting the ſtile of *Philiſtus*, or in condemning and railing of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*. But in my fanſie, this ambition and contention to write

*Timæus repro-ueth Plato & Ariſtotle.*

or to ſpeake more clarkely then others, ſheweth alwayes a baſe enuious minde, like a ſcholler full of his ſchoole points. But when it ſtriueth with things that are paſt all chalenge and correcting, then is it extreme follie and madneſſe. Since therefore I may not paſſe ouer nor omit certaine things, which *Thucydides* and *Philiſtus* haue already ſet downe, and eſpecially thoſe wherein they lay open *Nicias* nature and qualities, which the varietie of his ſucceſſes and fortune did couer: I muſt lighdly touch them, and report ſo much as is neceſſary, and conuenient, leaſt men condemne me, for ſlouth and negligence. And in the reſt I haue endeuoured to gather and propound things not commonly marked and knowen, which I haue collected as well out of ſundry mens workes and ancient recordes, as out of many old antiquities: and of them all compiled a narration, which will ſerue (I doubt not) to decipher the man and his nature. Of *Nicias* therefore may be ſayd that which *Ariſtotle* hath written of him, that there were three famous citizens of ATHENS, very honeſt men, & which fauoured the cōmunaltie with a naturall fatherly loue: *Nicias* the ſonne of *Niceratus*, *Thucydides* the ſonne of *Mileſius*, and *Theramenes* the ſonne of *Agnon*. But of the three, this laſt was of ſmalleſt account: for he is flouted as a forrenner borne in the Ile of CEOS, and chalenged beſides for inconſtant and irreſolute in matters of ſtate and gouernement: and inclining ſometimes to one faction, ſometimes to an other, he was called *Cothurnus*, a kinde of buskin indifferently ſeruing for both legges, and in old time was vſed of common players of tragedies. Of the other two, *Thucydides* being the elder, did many good acts in fauour of the nobility againſt *Pericles*, who alwaies tooke part with the inferiour ſort. *Nicias* that was the younger, had reaſonable eſtimation in *Pericles* life time: for he was ioyned Captaine with him, and oftentimes alſo had charge by himſelfe alone without him. After *Pericles* death, the nobilitie raiſed him to great authoritie, to be as a ſtrong bulwarke for them, againſt *Cleons* inſolency & boldneſſe: and with all he had the loue of the people, to aduaunce and preferre him. Now this *Cleon* in troth could do much with the people, he did ſo flatter and dandle them, like an old man, ſtill feeding their humour with gaine: but yet they themſelues whom he thus flattered, knowing his extreme couetouſneſſe, impudency, and boldneſſe, preferred *Nicias* before him, becauſe his grauity was not ſeuere nor odious, but mingled with a kinde of modeſty, that he ſeemed to feare the preſence of the people, which made them thereby the more to loue and eſteeme him. For being (as he was) of a fearefull & miſtruſtfull nature & diſpoſition: in warres he cloked his feare with good fortune, which euer fauoured him alike in all his iourneys and exploits that he tooke in hand where he was Captaine. Now being much afrayed of accuſers, this timorous manner of his proceeding in the citie, was found to be popular, whereby he wanne him the good will of the people: and by meanes thereof roſe daily more and more, becauſe the people commonly feare thoſe that hate them, & aduaunce them that feare them. For the greateſt honour nobilitie can do to the communaltie, is to ſhew that they do not deſpiſe them. Now *Pericles*, who through his perfit vertue onely, & force of his great eloquence ruled the whole ſtate and common wealth of ATHENS, he needed no counterfeit colour, nor artificiall flattering of the people, to winne their fauour and good willes: but *Nicias* lacking that, and hauing wealth enough, ſought thereby to creepe into the peoples fauour. And where *Cleon* would entertaine the ATHENIANS with pleaſant toyes and deuiſes, and could feede the peoples humour that way: *Nicias* finding himſelfe no fit man to worke by ſuch encounter, crept into the peoples fauour with liberality, with charges of common playes, and with ſuch like ſumptuouſneſſe, exceeding in coſt and pleaſunt ſportes, not onely all thoſe that had bene before him, but ſuch alſo as were in his time. There yet remaine monuments of his conſecrating vnto the goddes: as the image of *Pallas* in the caſtle of ATHENS, the gilt being worne off: and the chappell which is vnder the feſtiuall table of *Bacchus*: for he many times had the chiefe priſe in *Bacchus* daunſes, and neuer went away without ſome game. And touching this matter, there goeth a report that at certaine playes whereof *Nicias* defrayed the charges, one of his men came forth vpon the players ſtage before the people, apparelled like *Bacchus*: & being a goodly tall young man, without any haire on his face, the ATHENIANS tooke ſuch pleaſure to ſee him ſo attired, that they made a clapping of their hands a long time together for ioy. There withall *Nicias* ſtood vp, and told them, that it were a ſhame for him to leaue the body of a man in bondage, that

openly

*Nicias equals.*

*Nicias, a timorous man.*

*The nature of the people.*

*Nicias liberalitie and magnificence.*

openly was eſteemed as a god: and thereupon forthwith made this young ſlaue a free man. Men write alſo of certaine ſumptuous and deuout acts he did in the Ile of Delos, where the dauncers and ſingers which the cities of Grece ſent thither to ſing rhimes and verſes in the honour of *Apollo*, were wonte before to arriue diſorderly: and the cauſe was, for the numbers of people that ran to ſee them, who made them ſing ſtraight without any order, and landing in haſt out of their ſhippes, they left their apparell, and put on ſuch veſtements as they ſhould weare in proceſſion, and their garlands of flowers on their heads, all at one preſent time. But *Nicias*, being commaunded to go thither to preſent the ſingers of Athens, landed firſt in the Ile of Renia, hard adioyning to the Ile of Delos, with his ſingers, his beaſts for ſacrifice, and with all the reſt of his traine, carying a bridge with him, which he had cauſed to be made at Athens, vppon meaſure taken of the channell, betwixt the one and the other Ile ſet out with pictures and tables, with gilding, with noſegaies and garlands of triumphe, and with excellent wrought tapiſtry: which in the night he ſet vp vpon the channell, being not very broade, and the next morning by breake of the day cauſed his ſingers to paſſe ouer vpon it, ſinging all the way as they went in his proceſſion ſo nobly ſet forth, euen vnto the very temple of *Apollo*. And when the ſacrifice, the feaſt, and games that were to be plaied were finiſhed, he gaue a goodly palme tree of copper, which he offered vp to *Apollo*, bought landes beſides that coſte him tenne thouſand Drachmas, which he conſecrated alſo vnto the god Patron of the Ile: and ordained, that the profites of the ſame ſhould be yearely beſtowed by the Delians, vppon an open ſacrifice and feaſt, in the which they ſhould pray to their god, for the health and proſperitie of *Nicias*: and ſo cauſed it to be written and grauen vpon a piller he left in Delos, as a perpetuall monument and keeper of his offering, and foundation. Afterwardes, this copper palme tree being broken by windes, it fell vpon the great image of the Naxians gift, and threw it downe to the ground. Surely in this ceremonie and acte of his, there was a maruellous pompe, and great ſhew of popular ambition: neuertheleſſe, he that ſhall conſider of his life and actions, may eaſily perſwade himſelfe that aboue all, he did it of very pure zeale and deuotion, and ſecondly, to giue pleaſure and paſtime to the people. For by *Thucydides* reporte of him, he was one that feared the gods with trembling, and was wholly giuen to religion. We finde written in one of the dialogues of *Paſiphoon*, that *Nicias* did ſacrifice dayly to the goddes, and kept a ſoothſayer continually in his houſe, giuing out abroade, that it was to counſell with him what ſhould happen about the affaires of the common wealth: but in troth it was to inquire of his owne buſineſſe, and ſpecially of his mines of ſiluer. For he had many great mines about Lavrion ſide, that were very profitable to him: but withall they digged with great daunger, and he was driuen continually to keepe a maruellous number of ſlaues at worke there. The moſt part of *Nicias* riches was in ready money, and thereby he had many crauers and hangers on him, whome he gaue money vnto: for he gaue as well vnto wicked people that might doe miſchiefe, as vnto them that deſerued rewarde, and were worthie of his liberalitie. Thus was his feare a rent to the wicked, as his liberalitie was alſo a reuenue to the good: and hereof the comicall Poets do deliuer vs auncient teſtimonie. For *Teleclides* ſpeaking of a certaine informer ſaith thus:

*Nicias ſuperſtitious.*

*Nicias mines of ſiluer.*

*Nicias for feare gaue to the wicked.*

*Charicles did refuſe to giue one Mina for to ſtay,*
*The bruting of his ſecret birth, conueyed cloſe away:*
*But Nice, the ſonne of Nicerate, did willingly beſtow,*
*A brace of Minas double told. And though I well do know*
*The cauſe of his ſo doing, yet I will not him bewray:*
*For why? The man is my good friend, and wiſe I dare well ſay.*

And he, whom *Eupolis* mocketh in his comedy intituled Maricas, bringing a plaine ſimple man vpon the ſtage, doth aske him:

The informer.

*How long is it ago ſince thou didſt ſpeake with Nicias?*

The plaine man.

*I ſaw him ſtanding euen right now vpon the market place.*

The informer.

*This man affirmes he ſaw him there. And wherefore ſhould he ſay*
*He ſaw him, but of ſome intent his lewdneſſe to bewray?*
*Now ſirs yee ſee how Nicias here is taken in the trip,*
*For all his walking cloſe in cloudes to giue the priuie ſlip.*

The Authour.

*O fooliſh folke, ſuppoſe ye that ſo good a man as he,*
*In any fault or ſhamefull fact will tardy taken be?*

And *Cleon* threatning in the comedie of *Ariſtophanes*, intituled the Knightes, ſaith theſe wordes.

*The Orators if by the throte I take,*
*Then ſure I am, that Nicias ſtraight will quake.*

*Phrynichus* ſelfe alſo telleth vs glaunſingly, that he was ſo timorous and eaſie to be fraied, when he ſaid ſpeaking of an other man:

*A good ſtout man (I know full well) he was,*
*And not a coward like to Nicias.*

*Nicias warineſſe to offend.*

Now *Nicias* being thus timerous of nature, and fearing to giue any litle occaſion to the Orators to accuſe him: kept himſelfe ſo warily, that he neither durſt eate nor drinke with any man in the city, nor yet put foorth himſelfe in companie to talke, or paſſe the time amongſt them, but altogether auoided ſuch ſports and pleaſures. For when he was in office, he would neuer out of the counſell houſe, but ſtill buſied him ſelfe in diſpatching cauſes, from morning till night, and was euer the firſt that came, and laſt that went away. And when he had no matter of ſtate in hand, then was he very hardly to be ſpoken withall, and would ſuffer no acceſſe vnto him, but kept cloſe in his houſe: and ſome of his friends did euer aunſwere them that came to his gate, and praied them to pardon him, ſaying, that he was buſie then about affaires of the cõmonwealth. One *Hieron*, whom *Nicias* had brought vp in his houſe, & had himſelfe taught him both learning and muſicke, was his greateſt procurer and inſtrument to keepe him from ſpeech with any man, and brought him to this reputation of greatneſſe and grauity. This *Hieron* (as it is reported) was the ſonne of *Dionyſius Chalcus*, of whom they finde certaine Poeticall workes at this day: who being Captaine of a certaine number of men that were ſent to dwell in ITALIE, did build there the citie of THVRIES. *Hieron* I ſay did ſerue his turne, and holpe him ſecretly to enquire what he would vnderſtand of the Soothſaiers, and gaue out theſe wordes among the people: that *Nicias* led too miſerable and painefull a life, for the ouergreat care he tooke to ſerue the commonwealth: inſomuch, as though he were in his hotte houſe to waſh him, or at his table at meate, his minde ranne ſtill of ſome matters about the commonwealth, and to ſerue the ſtate, did neglect his owne priuate affaires: ſo that he ſcant began to ſleepe and take reſt, when others commonly had ſlept their firſt ſleepe, and that he looked like no body. Furthermore, that he was grown crabbed and vncourteous, euen to ſuch as before had bene his familiar friends. So that, ſaid he, he loſeth them together with his goods, and all for ſeruice of the commonwealth: where others grow riche, and win friends, by the credit they haue to be heard of the people, and can make merry among them, and ſporte with the matters of ſtate which they haue in their hands. Now in troth, ſuch was *Nicias* life, that he might truely ſay that which *Agamemnon* ſpake of himſelfe in the tragedie of *Euripides*, called *Iphigenie* in AVLIDE.

*Nicias Hierons ſchoolemaiſter.*

*Dionyſius Chalcus founder of the city of Thuries.*

*Nicias life.*

*In outward ſhew of ſtately pompe, all others I exceede,*
*And yet the peoples vnderling I am in very deede.*

And *Nicias* perceiuing that the people in ſome things did ſerue their turnes with the experience of them that were eloquent, and wiſer then others, although they yet miſtruſted their ſufficiencie, and had a ſpeciall eye to them, plucking downe their courage, by taking their authority from them: as for proofe the condemnation of *Pericles*, the baniſhment of *Damon*, and the miſtruſt they had of *Antiphon* RHAMNVSIAN, and moreouer by that they did vnto *Paches* (that tooke the Ile of LESBOS) who being brought before the iudges in open councel to giue vp an account of his charge, drew out his ſworde, and ſlue himſelfe in preſence of them all.

*Nicias* I ſay, remembring theſe examples, ſought euer to flie from theſe offices, which were either too great, or too ſmall, and when he accepted any, had ſpeciall regarde to worke ſurely, and to venture nothing. Whereby all his enterpriſes that he tooke in hand, as we may eaſily coniecture, proſpered maruellous well: but yet he imputed nothing to his owne wiſedom, nor yet to his vertue and ſufficiencie, but thanked fortune euer for all, and praying diligently to the gods, contented himſelfe to leſſen his glory, and that onely to auoide enuie: As the euent of things falling out euen in his time do ſufficiently witneſſe vnto vs. For the citie of ATHENS hauing ſuſteined many great loſſes and ouerthrowes, he was neuer a party, nor had ought to do in any of them. As once for example: the ATHENIANS were ouercome in THRACIA by the CHALCIDONIANS, howbeit it was vnder the leading of *Calliades* & *Xenophon*, who were their Captaines. An other time, the loſſe they had in ÆTOLIA vnder the charge of *Demoſthenes*. Moreouer at DELIVM, a city of BOEOTIA, where they loſt a thouſand men at one conflict, *Hippocrates* then being there Generall. And as touching the plague, the greateſt number laide the fault thereof to *Pericles*, who by reaſon of warres kept the men that came out of the countrie, within the walles of the citie of ATHENS: and ſo by changing of aire, and their wonted maner of life, they fell into it. Now with none of all theſe great troubles and misfortunes, was *Nicias* euer burthened: but contrariwiſe he being Captaine tooke the Ile of CYTHERA, which the LACEDÆMONIANS inhabited, being an excellent place for ſituation to moleſt and deſtroy the country of LACONIA. He wan diuers cities againe that had rebelled in THRACIA, and brought them once more vnder the obedience of ATHENS. At his firſt comming, hauing ſhut in the MEGARIANS within their walles, he tooke the Ile of MINOA: and at his departure thence, ſhortly after wanne the hauen of Niſea alſo. Furthermore, landing in the countrie of the CORINTHIANS, he ouercame them that offered him battell, and ſlue a great number, and among others *Lycophron* the Captaine. At this battell he chaunſed to forget to bury two of his men that were ſlaine, whoſe bodies could not be found in gathering vp of the reſt: howbeit, ſo ſoone as he heard of it, he cauſed all his fleete to ſtay, and ſent an Herauld to the enemies, to pray leaue to fetch away thoſe two bodies. Now, though by lawe of armes they that ſent to aske leaue to take away their dead to burie them, did thereby loſe the honor of their victory, & were barred to ſet vp any marke or token of triumph, becauſe it ſeemed by the ſute, that they which had them in their power were conquerors, and not the peticioners that made requeſt for them, which otherwiſe needed not to haue made demaund of them: *Nicias* notwithſtanding was contented rather to forſake the honor of his victory, then to leaue the bodies of two of his countrymen in the field without buriall. So, after he had deſtroied all the coaſt of LACONIA and had ouercome certaine LACEDÆMONIANS that came againſt him in battel: he tooke the city of THYREA, which the ÆGINETES kept at that time, whom he brought priſoners vnto ATHENS. And when the PELOPONNESIANS had prepared great armies both by ſea and by land to beſiege the fort of PYLE, the which *Demoſthenes* the Captaine had fortified: battell being giuen by ſea, it chanſed there remained foure hundred naturall citizens of SPARTA, within the Ile of SPACTERIA. Now the ATHENIANS thought it a noble exploite of them, (as in deed it was) to take thoſe foure hundred aliue: howbeit the ſiege was very ſore, becauſe they lacked water euen in the middeſt of ſummer, and were forced to fetch a maruellous compaſſe to bring victuals to their campe, which when winter ſhould be once come, would be very dangerous, and almoſt an impoſſible thing to do. Whereupon, they then became ſory, and repented them much that they had ſent away the Ambaſſadors of the LACEDÆMONIANS which came to them to treate of peace, and that they had (through *Cleons* procurement) ſuffred them to depart in that ſorte without reſolution taken: who was againſt them altogether, onely to do *Nicias* a deſpight, being his enemy, and did earneſtly ſolicite the matter the LACEDÆMONIANS requeſted. This was the cauſe why *Cleon* perſwaded the ATHENIANS, to refuſe their offer of peace. But when the people ſawe that this ſiege drew out in length, and that their campe ſuffered grieuous wantes and neceſſities: then fell they out with *Cleon*, and he againe burthened *Nicias*, ſaying that through his feare he would let the beſieged SPARTANS eſcape, and that if he had bene Captaine, they ſhould not haue holden out ſo long. Thereupon the ATHENIANS ſaide a loude to *Cleon*: and why doeſt not thou

*Notable actes done by Nicias.*

*The lawe of armes.*

go thither yet to take them? Moreouer *Nicias* ſelfe alſo riſing vp, openly gaue him his authoritie to take this Pyle, and bad him leauy as many ſouldiers as he would to goe thither, and not to brag with ſuch impudent wordes where was no danger, but to do ſome notable ſeruice to the commonwealth, *Cleon* at the firſt ſhrunke back, being amazed withall, litle thinking they would haue taken him ſo ſodainly at his worde. But in the end, perceiuing the people vrged him to it, and that *Nicias* alſo was importunate with him: ambition ſo enflamed him, that he not onely tooke the charge vpon him, but in a brauerie ſaid, that within twentie daies after his departure he would either put all the SPARTANS to the ſword, or bring them priſoners vnto ATHENS. The ATHENIANS hearing *Cleon* ſay ſo, had more luſt to laugh a good, then to beleeue that he ſpake: for it was their maner euer to laugh at his anger & folly.

*A feaſt of Cleon.*

For it is reported of him, that the people on a time being ſolemnly aſſembled in councell early in the morning, to heare what *Cleon* would ſay, and hauing taried long for him: at the length he came with a garland on his head, and praied the aſſemblie to diſmiſſe the court till the next morning: for, quoth he, I ſhall not be at leiſure to day, becauſe I haue ſacrificed, and doe feaſt alſo certaine ſtrangers my friends that are come to ſee me. So the people burſt out in a laughing, and brake vp the aſſembly.

*Cleons victorie of the Lacedæmonians.*

This notwithſtanding, fortune fauored him at that time, and he handled himſelfe ſo well in this charge with *Demoſthenes*, that he tooke all the SPARTANS that they beſieged, within the time he had appointed, ſauing ſuch as were ſlaine: and hauing made them yeelde, brought them priſoners to ATHENS. This fell out greatly to *Nicias* ſhame and reproache. For it appeared not only a caſting away of his ſhield, but worſe then that, a voluntary forſaking of his prouince vpon a baſe timerous minde, giuing his enemy occaſion thereby to do ſome noble exploite, depriuing himſelfe of his honorable charge. Wherfore *Ariſtophanes* mocketh him againe, in his comedie of birdes, ſaying:

*It is no time to ſleepe and linger ſtill,*
*As* Nicias *doth: without good cauſe or ſkill.*

Alſo in an other place of his comedy of plowmen he ſaith:

*I faine would follow husbandrie. VVho lets thee? Mary you.*
*A thouſand Drachmaes I will giue to be diſcharged now*
*Of office in the commonweale. Content, ſo ſhall we haue*
*Two thouſand Drachmaes iuſt, with thoſe that* Nicias *lately gaue.*

*The immoderate liberty of Cleon.*

*Cleons lewd & light ieſtures in his Orations.*

But herein *Nicias* did great hurt to the commonwealth, ſuffring *Cleon* in that ſort to grow to credit and eſtimation. For after that victory, *Cleon* grew to ſo haughtie a minde and pride of himſelfe, that he was not to be dealt withall: whereupon fell out the occaſion of the great miſeries that happened to the city of ATHENS, which moſt grieued *Nicias* of all other. For *Cleon* amongſt other things tooke away the modeſty and reuerence vſed before in publicke Orations to the people: he of all other was the firſt that cried out in his Orations, that clapped his hand on his thigh, threw open his gowne, and flung vp and downe the pulpit as he ſpake. Of which example afterwards followed all licentiouſneſſe, and contempt of honeſty, the which all the Orators and counſellers fell into, that dealt in matters of ſtate and commonwealth, and was in the end the ouerthrow of all together. In that very time began *Alcibiades* to growe to credit, by practiſe in the ſtate, who was not altogether ſo corrupt, neither ſimply euill: but as they ſay of the land of EGYPT, that for the fatneſſe and luſtineſſe of the ſoile,

*It bringeth forth both holſome herbes, and alſo noiſome weeds.*

*Alcibiades diuers wit.*

Euen ſo *Alcibiades* wit excelling either in good or ill, was the cauſe and beginning of great change and alteration. For, it fell out, that after *Nicias* was ridde of *Cleon*, he could not yet bring the citie of ATHENS againe to peace and quietneſſe. For when the commonwealth began to grow to ſome reſt and reaſonable good order, then was it againe brought into warres, through *Alcibiades* extreame furie of ambition. And thus it began.

*Cleon & Braſidas the two peacebreakers generally of all Grece.*

The onely peacebreakers and diſturbers of common quiet generally throughout GRECE, were theſe two perſons, *Cleon* and *Braſidas*: for warre cloked the wickedneſſe of the one, and aduanced the valiantnes of the other, giuing to either occaſion to do great miſchiefe, and alſo oportunitie to worke many noble exploites. Now *Cleon* and *Braſidas* being both ſlaine together at a battell fought by *Amphipolis*, *Nicias* ſtraight perceiuing the SPARTANS had long deſired peace, and that the

ATHENIANS were no more ſo hotly giuen to the warres, but that both the one and the other had their hands full, and were willing to be quiet: deuiſed what meanes he might vſe to bring SPARTA and ATHENS to reconciliation againe, and to rid all the cities of GRECE alſo from broile and miſerie of warre, that thenceforth they might all together enioy a peaceable and happy life. The riche men, the olde men, and the husbandmen, he found very willing to hearken to peace: and talking priuately alſo with diuerſe others, he had ſo perſwaded them, that he cooled them for being deſirous of warres. Whereupon, putting the SPARTANS in good hope that all were inclined to peace, if they ſought it: the SPARTANS beleeued him, not onely for that they had found him at other times very ſoft and courteous, but alſo becauſe he was carefull to ſee that their priſoners of SPARTA, (who had bene taken at the forte of Pyle) were gentlely intreated, and had made their miſerable captiuitie more tollerable. So, peace was concluded betweene the SPARTANS and the ATHENIANS for a yeare, during which abſtinence, they frequenting one an other againe, and beginning to taſte the ſweetneſſe and pleaſures of peace, and the ſafety of free acceſſe one to ſee an others friends that were ſtrangers: began then to wiſhe that they might ſtill continue in peace and amitie together, without effuſion of bloud of either partie, and tooke great delight in their daunces, to heare them ſing ſuch ſongs:

*Nicias reconcileth the Spartans with the Athenians.*

*And let my ſpeare lye ouergrowne, with duſty ſpiders webs.*

They did alſo with great ioy & gladneſſe remember him which ſaid, that in peace no ſound of trumpet, but the crowing of the cock doth wake them that be a ſleepe: and on the other ſide they curſed and tooke on with them that ſaid it was predeſtined, the warre ſhould continue thriſe nine yeares. And ſo, vpon a meeting together to talke of many matters, they made an vniuerſall peace throughout all GRECE. Now moſt men thought that ſurely all their ſorrowes and miſeries were come to an end, and there was no talke of any man but of *Nicias*, ſaying: that he was a man beloued of the goddes, who for his deuotion towards them, had this ſpeciall gift giuen him, that the greateſt bleſſing that could come vnto the world, was called after his name. For to confeſſe a troth, euery man was certainly perſwaded that this peace was *Nicias* worke, as the warre was *Pericles* procurement, who vpon light cauſes perſwaded the GRECIANS to runne headlong into moſt grieuous calamities: and *Nicias* on the other ſide had brought them to become friends, and to forget the great hurtes the one had receiued of the other in former wars. And euen to this preſent day, that peace is called Nicium, as who would ſay, *Nicias* peace. The capitulations of the peace were thus agreed vpon: that of either ſide they ſhould alike deliuer vp the cities, and landes, which each had taken from other in time of warres, together with the priſoners alſo: and that they ſhould firſt make reſtitution, whoſe lot it was to begin. *Nicias* (according to *Theophraſtus* report) for ready money ſecretlie bought the lot, that the LACEDÆMONIANS might be the firſt that ſhould make reſtitution. And when the CORINTHIANS and BOEOTIANS that diſliked of this peace, ſought by the complaintes they made, to renue the warre againe: *Nicias* then perſwaded both the ATHENIANS and LACEDÆMONIANS, that they ſhould adde for ſtrength vnto their country, the alliance and peace offenſiue and defenſiue made betweene them, for a more ſure knot of friendſhip, whereby they might be the better aſſured the one of the other, and alſo the more dreadfull to their enemies that ſhould rebell againſt them. Theſe things went cleane againſt *Alcibiades* minde: who beſides that he was ill borne for peace, was enemy alſo vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, for that they ſought to *Nicias*, & made none account of him, but deſpiſed him. Here was the occaſion that cauſed *Alcibiades* to proue from the beginning what he could do to hinder this peace, wherein he preuailed nothing. Yet ſhortly after, *Alcibiades* perceiuing that the ATHENIANS liked not ſo well of the LACEDÆMONIANS, as they did before, & that they thought thēſelues iniured by them, becauſe they had lately made league with the BOEOTIANS without their priuity, and had not wholly rendred vp the cities of PANACTUM and AMPHIPOLIS according to the conditions articled betwene them: began then to enlarge & aggrauate the peoples complaints, and to make them offended with euery one of them. And furthermore he procured Ambaſſadors from the city, of ARGOS to come to ATHENS, and ſo handled the matter, that the ATHENIANS made league offenſiue and defenſiue with them.

*Nicias peace.*

*Ambaſſadors ſent frõ Sparta to Athens.*

*Alcibiades craft & deceit.*

*Alcibiades periured.*

*The earthquake holpe Nicias.*

*Nicias ſent Ambaſſador vnto Sparta.*

*The vſe of the Oſtraciſmon.*

While theſe matters were thus in hand, there came to Athens alſo Ambaſſadors from Lacedæmon, with full power and authoritie to ſet all things at ſtay, and to compound all controuerſies: who hauing firſt ſpoken with the Senate, propounded things vnto them both verie honeſt and reaſonable. Whereupon, *Alcibiades* being affraide that they letting the people vnderſtand ſo much, ſhould thereby bring them to yeelde to what they deſired: he finely deceiued the poore Ambaſſadors by this deuiſe. He promiſed vpon his othe to helpe them in that they went about, ſo farre foorth as they would not confeſſe themſelues to haue abſolute power from the Ephores: making them to beleeue it was the only way to bring their matters to paſſe. The Ambaſſadors giuing credit to his words, relied vpon him, and ſo forſooke *Nicias*. Whereupon *Alcibiades* brought them before the people being ſet in councell, and there demanded openly of them, whether they had full power and authoritie to accorde all matters yea or no. Whereunto they made him aunſwere with a loude voice, that they had not. Thereupon *Alcibiades*, contrarie both to their expectation, and his owne othe and promiſe made vnto them: began to call the councell to witneſſe, whether they did not in open Senate ſay the contrary. and ſo aduiſed the people not to truſt nor giue credit vnto ſuch men, as were openly taken with ſo manifeſt a lie, & that in one ſelfe matter would one while ſay one thing, another while an other. It bootes not to aske whether the Ambaſſadors were much amazed to heare *Alcibiades* words: for *Nicias* himſelfe wiſt not what to ſay to the matter, the ſuddenneſſe of the cauſe did ſo confuſe and grieue him, being a thing he leaſt looked for. Nowe the people they were ſo moued beſides, that they became indifferent whether to haue ſent for the Ambaſſadors of Argos preſently to haue made league with them or not: but there fell out an earthquake vpon this matter, that greatly ſerued *Nicias* turne, and brake vp the aſſemblie. The people meeting againe in councell the next morning, *Nicias* with all that he could doe, or ſay, could ſcant withhold them from making league with the Argives: and to get leaue in the meane time to go to the Lacedæmonians, promiſing he would make all wel again. Thereupon, *Nicias* going to Sparta, was receiued and honored there like a noble man, and as one whom they thought wel affected towards them: but for the reſt, he preuailed nothing, and being ouercome by thoſe that fauored the Boeotians, returned againe to Athens as he departed thence. Where he was not onely ill welcomed home, and worſe eſteemed, but was alſo in danger of his perſon, through the fury of the people, that at his requeſt and counſell had redeliuered ſuch men priſoners, and ſo great a number of them. For indeed, the priſoners which *Cleon* had brought to Athens from the forte of Pyle, were all of the chiefeſt houſes of Sparta, and their kinſmen and friends were the nobleſt men of the city. Notwithſtanding, the people in the end did none other violence to him, ſauing that they choſe *Alcibiades* their Captaine, and made league with the Elians, and Mantinians (which had reuolted from the Lacedæmonians) and with the Argives alſo: and ſent pirats to the fort of Pyle, to ſpoile the country of Laconia. Vpon theſe occaſions the Athenians fell again into warres. Now when the quarrell and controuerſie was greateſt betwene *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, the Oſtraciſmon (to wit, the baniſhment for a time) came in, by the which the people baniſhed for ten yeares any ſuch of their citizens as they thought either of too great authoritie, or that was moſt enuied for his wealth and ſubſtance. *Alcibiades* and *Nicias* were then not a litle perplexed, conſidering their preſent danger, being ſure that the one of them two ſhould not faile but be baniſhed by this next baniſhment. For the people hated *Alcibiades* life, & were afraide of his valiantneſſe: as we haue more amply declared in the deſcription of his life. And for *Nicias*, his wealth made him to be enuied, beſides they miſliked his ſtrange maner of dealing, being no more familiar nor conuerſant with the people than he was, and counted him too ſtately: moreouer they hated him alſo, becauſe in many matters he had ſpoken directly againſt the thing the people deſired, and had enforced them againſt their willes to agree to that which was profitable for themſelues. In fine to ſpeake more plainly, there fell out great ſtrife betwene the young men that would haue warres, and the olde men that coueted peace, ſome deſirous to baniſh *Nicias*, and ſome others *Alcibiades*: but

*VVhere diſcorde reignes in realme or towne,*
*The wicked win the chiefe renowne.*

And ſo fell it out then. For the Athenians being deuided in two factions, gaue authority to certaine of the moſt impudent and inſolent perſons that were in all the city: and among them was one *Hyperbolus* of the towne of Perithvs, a man of no hauior nor value, why he ſhould be bold: but yet one that grew to ſome credit and power, diſhonoring his countrey, by the honor they gaue him. Now *Hyperbolus* thinking him ſelfe free at that time from any daunger of baniſhment, (hauing rather deſerued the gallowes) hoping that if one of them two were baniſhed, he ſhould match him well enough that remained behinde: ſhewed openly that hee was glad of their diſcord and variance, and buſily ſtirred vp the people againſt them both. *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* being acquainted with his wicked practiſes, hauing ſecretly talked together, ioyned both their factions in one: whereby they brought it ſo to paſſe, that neither of them were baniſhed, but *Hyperbolus* ſelfe for tenne yeares. Which matter for the preſent time made the people very mery, though afterwardes it grieued them much, ſeeing their ordinaunce of the Oſtraciſmon blemiſhed by the vnworthines of the perſon: which puniſhment was an honor vnto him. For this baniſhment was thought a meete puniſhment for *Thucydides*, *Ariſtides*, and ſuch like men of accompt as they, or their like: but for *Hyperbolus*, it was thought too great an honor, and too manifeſt an occaſion of glory to be giuen to him, that for his wickednes had the ſelfe ſame puniſhment, which was to be inflicted vpō the chiefeſt eſtates for their greatnes. And the comicall Poet *Plato* him ſelfe ſaieth in a place.

*Hyperbolus.*

*Nicias and Alcibiades ioyned tribes againſt Hyperbolus.*

*Hyperbolus baniſhed for tenne yeares.*

*Although his lewd behauiour did deſerue as much or more,*
*Yet was not that the puniſhment he ſhould haue had therefore.*
*The Oſtracie deuiſed was for men of noble fame,*
*And not for varlets, whoſe lewd life deſerued open ſhame.*

After this *Hyperbolus*, there was neuer man baniſhed with the Oſtraciſmon. For him ſelfe was the laſt, as *Hipparchus* Cholargian, & neareſt kinſman to the tyrant was the firſt. Sure fortune is a very vncertaine thing, and without conceit of reaſon. For had *Nicias* franckly put himſelfe to the hazard of this baniſhmēt againſt *Alcibiades*, one of theſe two things muſt needs haue happened him: either to haue remained in the city with victory, his aduerſary being baniſhed: or being conuict by his baniſhment to haue ſcaped thoſe extreame miſeries and calamities the which he afterwardes fell into, beſides the fame he had wonne of a wiſe Captaine, though he had bene ouercome. I know notwithſtanding that *Theophraſtus* writeth, how *Hyperbolus* not *Nicias*, was baniſhed through the diſſention that fell betwixt *Phæax* and *Alcibiades*: albeit moſt writers agree with that I haue told you before. Now the Ambaſſadors of the Egestans and Leontines being come to Athens, to perſwade the Athenians to attempt the conqueſt of Sicilia: *Nicias* being againſt it, was ouercome by *Alcibiades* craft & ambition. For he, before they were called to councell, had already through falſe ſurmiſes filled the peoples heads with a vaine hope and perſwaſion of conqueſt. Inſomuch as the young men meeting in places of exerciſe, and the old men alſo in artificers ſhoppes, and in their compaſſed chaires, or halfe circles where they ſate talking together, were euery one occupied about drawing the platforme of Sicile, telling the nature of the Sicilian ſea, and reckoning vp the hauens and places looking towards Africke. For they made not their accompt that Sicile ſhould be the end of their warres, but rather the ſtore-houſe and armory for all their munition and martiall prouiſion to make warre againſt the Carthaginians, and to conquer all Africke, and conſequently all the Africke ſeas, euen to *Hercules* pillers. Now all their mindes being bent to warres, when *Nicias* ſpake againſt it, hee found very few men of quality to ſtand by him. For the rich, fearing leaſt the people would thinke they did it to auoide charge, and the coſt they ſhould be at about theſe warres, they held their peace, though in deede not contented withall: yet would not *Nicias* leaue ſtill to counſel thē to the contrary. But when they had paſt the decree in councel for the enterpriſe of Sicile, and that the people had choſen him chiefe Captaine, with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, to follow the ſame: at the next ſeſſion of the councell holden in the city, *Nicias* roſe vp againe, to ſee if hee could turne the people from this iourney with all the proteſtations he could poſſibly make, burdening *Alcibiades*, that for his owne ambition and priuate commodity, he brought the common wealth into ſo farre and daungerous a warre. But all his wordes preuailed not. Him ſelfe before all o-

*The taking away of tenne yeares baniſhment.*

*Nicias choſen Captaine for the warres of Sicile.*

*Signes to feare the Athenians not to attempt the enterpriſe of Sicile.*

*Statues mangled at Athens.*

*The madnes of Meton the Aſtronomer.*

thers was thought the meeteſt man for this charge, partly becauſe of his experience, but chiefly for that they knew he would handle their matters with greater ſafetie, when his timerous foreſight ſhould be ioined with *Alcibiades* valiantnes, and with *Lamachus* ſoftnes, which in deede moſt confirmed the election. Now after the matter thus debated, *Demoſtratus* one of the Orators that moſt procured the Athenians to vndertake this enterpriſe ſtepped foorth, and ſayd. It were good that *Nicias* left off, and ſet aſide all theſe excuſes and deuiſes, and preferred a decree, that the people ſhould throughly authoriſe the Captaines that were choſen, to ſet forward and execute what they thought good, as well here as there, and ſo perſwaded the people to paſſe and authoriſe it. Yet it is ſayd that the Prieſtes obiected many things to hinder the iourney. But *Alcibiades* alſo hauing ſuborned certaine Soothſayers, alleaged in like caſe ſome auncient Oracles that ſayd, the Athenians ſhould haue great honour from Sicile: and further had entiſed certaine pilgrimes, who ſayed they were but newly come from the Oracle of *Iupiter Ammon*, and had brought this Oracle thence, *That the Athenians should take all the Syracuſans*. But worſt of all, if any knew of contrary ſignes or tokens to come, they held their peace, leaſt it ſhould ſeeme they entermedled to prognoſticate euill for affections ſake, ſeeing that the ſignes them ſelues, which were moſt plaine and notorious, could not remoue them from the enterpriſe of this iourney. As for example, the hacking and cutting of the Hermes, and images of *Mercury*, which in one night were all to be mangled, ſauing one image onely called the Hermes of *Andocides*, which was giuen and conſecrated in old time by the tribe of the Ægeides, and was ſet vppe directly ouer againſt a citizens houſe called *Andocides*. Furthermore, the chaunce that happened by the aulter of the twelue gods: where a man leaping ſodainely vpon it, after he had gone round about it, cut off his genitories with a ſtone. And in a temple alſo in the city of Delphes, where was a litle image of *Minerua* of gold, ſet vpon a palme tree of copper, which the city of Athens had giuen of the ſpoiles won of the Medes. Vppon that palme tree ſate certaine crowes many daies together, and neuer left pecking and iobbing at the fruite of it which was all of gold, vntill they made the ſame to fall from the tree. But the Athenians ſayd, that the Delphians (whom the Syracvsans had ſubdued) had finely fained this deuiſe. There was a prophecy alſo that commanded them to bring one of *Mineruaes* Nuns to Athens, that was in the city of Clazomenes. So they ſent for this Nun called *Heſychia*, which is, reſt: and it ſeemeth it was that which the goddes by this prophecy did counſell them vnto, that for that time they ſhould be quiet. *Meton* the Aſtronomer hauing charge in the army leauied for the war of Sicile, being afraied of this prophecy, or otherwiſe miſliking the celeſtiall ſignes, and ſucceſſe of the iourney: fained him ſelfe mad, and ſet his houſe a fire. Others ſay he counterfeited not madnes, but did one night in deede ſet his houſe a fire, and that the next morning looking ruefully on it, he went into the market place as a man brought to pittifull ſtate, to ſue to the people, that in conſideration of his great misfortune happened him, they would diſcharge his ſonne of the voyage, who was to take charge of a gally at his owne coſt, and ready to make ſaile. Moreouer, the familiar ſpirite of wiſe *Socrates* that did vſe to tell him before what ſhould happen: told him then that this iorney would fall out to the deſtruction of Athens. *Socrates* tolde it to certaine of his very familiar friends: and from them the rumor became common. And this alſo troubled a number of them, for the vnlucky daies on the which they did imbarke. For they were the very daies on the which the women celebrated the feaſt and yeareday of *Adonis* death: and there were alſo in diuerſe partes of the city, images of dead men caried to buriall, and women following them, mourning & lamenting. So that ſuch as did put any confidence in thoſe ſignes, ſayed they miſliked it much, and that they were afraied leaſt the ſame ſignified, that all the goodly preparation of this army, (the which was ſet out with ſuch pompe and brauery) would come to nothing. Now for *Nicias*, that he ſpake againſt this war in open councell, whileſt they were deliberating vpon it, and that he was not caried away with any vaine hope, nor puffed vp with the glory of ſo honorable a charge to make him chaunge his minde: therein ſurely he ſhewed him ſelfe an honeſt man, wiſe, and conſtant. But when he ſaw plainly that he could by no perſwaſions remoue the people from the enterpriſe of this warre, neyther yet by ſute nor intreaty get him ſelfe diſcharged from being a Captaine thereof, but that they would in any caſe make him one of the heades of the army: then was it out of time to be fearefull, and ſtill giuing backe, turning his head ſo oft like a childe to looke vpon his gally behinde him, and euer to be telling that no reaſon could be heard in determining of his iorney. For in deede this was enough to diſcorage his companions, and to mar all at their firſt ſetting out: where, to ſay truly, he ſhould ſodainly haue ſet vpon his enemies, and haue gone to it with a luſty corage, to haue aſſayed fortune. But he tooke a cleane contrary courſe. For when *Lamachus* thought good at their firſt comming to go ſtraight to SYRACVSA, and to giue them battell as neare the wals as might be, and that *Alcibiades* on the other ſide was of opinion firſt of all to goe about to winne the cities that were in league with the SYRACVSANS, and after that they had made them rebell, then to goe againſt the SYRACVSANS them ſelues. *Nicias* to the contrary ſpake in councell, and thought it better to goe on faire and ſoftly, deſcrying the coaſts of SICILE round about, to view their gallies and preparation, and ſo to returne ſtraight to ATHENS againe, leauing only a few of their men with the EGESTANS, to helpe to defend them. But this from the beginning maruellouſly cooled the corage of the ſouldiers, and quite diſcoraged them. Shortly after alſo, the ATHENIANS hauing ſent for *Alcibiades* to aunſwere to certaine accuſations, *Nicias* remaining Captaine with *Lamachus* (the other Captaine in ſight, but *Nicias* ſelfe in power and authority the Lieutenaunt generall of all the army) ſtill vſed delayes, running vp and downe, and ſpending time ſo long in conſultation, till the ſouldiers were left without both hope and corage: & the feare the enemy had of them at their firſt comming to ſee ſo great an army, was now in maner cleane gone. Yet *Alcibiades* being in the army, before he was ſent for from ATHENS, they went with three ſcore gallies to SYRACVSA, of the which they placed fifty in battell ray out of the hauen, and ſent the other ten into the hauen to diſcouer: which approaching neare the city, cauſed an Herauld to make open proclamation, that they were come thither to reſtore the LEONTINES to their lands and poſſeſſions, and tooke a ſhippe of the enemies, in the which among other things they found tables, wherein were written the names of al the inhabitants of SYRACVSA, according to their tribes and houſes. Theſe tables were kept farre from the city, in the temple of *Iupiter Olympian*, but at that time they had ſent for them to know the number of men of ſeruice, and of age to beare weapon. The ſame tables being taken by the ATHENIANS, and caried to the generals of the army, the Soothſayers ſeeing this long rolle of names, at the firſt miſliked it, fearing leaſt the prophecy had bene fulfilled, which promiſed them, that the ATHENIANS one day ſhould take all the SYRACVSANS. Howbeit it is reported this prophecy came to paſſe in an other exploit, when *Calippus* ATHENIAN hauing ſlaine *Dion*,, wanne alſo the city of SYRACVSA. Now when *Alcibiades* was gone from the campe, *Nicias* bare all the ſway and commaunded the whole army. For *Lamachus*, though otherwiſe he was a ſtout man, an honeſt man, and very valiant of his handes, and one that would not ſpare him ſelfe in time of neede: neuertheleſſe he was ſo poore and miſerable, that euen when he was in ſtate of a Generall, and gaue vp an accompt of his expences, he would not ſticke to put into his bookes, ſo much for a gowne, and ſo much for a paire of pantophles. Where *Nicias* authority and reputation contrariwiſe was of an other maner of cut, as well for other reſpects, as for his riches, and for the honour of many noble things which he had done before. As one namely which they tell of him, that on a time being a Captaine with others, and ſitting in councell with his companions in the councell houſe at ATHENS, about the diſpatch of certaine cauſes, he ſpake vnto *Sophocles* the Poet, then preſent amongeſt them, and bad him ſpeake firſt and ſay his opinion, being the oldeſt man of all the whole company. *Sophocles* aunſwered him againe: in deede I confeſſe I am the oldeſt man, but thou art the nobleſt man, and him whom euery man regardeth beſt. So hauing at that time *Lamachus* vnder him, a better Captaine and man of war then him ſelfe was, yet by being ſo ſlow to imploy the army vnder his charge by deferring off time ſtill, and houering about SICILE as farre from his enemies as he could: he firſt gaue the enemies time and leyſure to be bold without feare of him. And then going to beſiege HYBLA, being but a pelting litle towne, and raiſing the ſiege without taking of it: he fell into ſo great a contempt with euery man, that from thenceforth no man almoſt made any more reckonning of him. At laſt, he retired vnto CATANA with his army, without any other exploite done, ſauing that hee

*Nicias fooliſh fearefulnes.*

*Nicias councell for inuading the Syracuſans.*

*Lamachus valiant, but ſimple.*

*Lais the courtiſan caried out of Sicile into Peloponneſus.*

*Nicias notable ſtratageme.*

*Nicias winneth the hauen of Syracuſa.*

*Nicias forbeareth to ſpoile the temple of Iupiter.*

*Nicias beſiegeth Syracuſa.*

tooke HYCCARA, a baggage village of the barbarous people, and where it is ſayed *Lais* the courtiſan was borne, and that being then a young girle, ſhee was ſold among other priſoners, and afterwards caried into PELOPONNESVS. And in fine, the ſummer being farre ſpent, *Nicias* was informed that the SYRACVSANS had taken ſuch corage to them, that they would come and enterpriſe the charge vppon them firſt: and that their horſemen were approached already before his campe, to ſkirmiſh with them, aſking the ATHENIANS in mockery, if they were come into SICILE to dwell with the CATANIANS, or to reſtore the LEONTINES to their landes againe. Hereupon with much a do, *Nicias* determined to go to SYRACVSA and becauſe he would campe there in ſafety, and at eaſe without hazard: he ſent one of CATANA before to SYRACVSA, to tell them (as if he had bene a ſpie) that if they would ſodainely come and ſet vpon the campe of the ATHENIANS & take all their cariage, he wiſhed them to come with all their power to CATANA at a day certain which he would appoint them. For the ATHENIANS (ſaid he) for the moſt part are within the city, wherein there are certaine citizens, which fauoring the SYRACVSANS, haue determined ſo ſoone as they heare of their cōming, to keepe the gates of the city, and at the ſame time alſo to ſet the ATHENIANS ſhippes a fire: and how there were alſo a great number in the city of this confederacy, that did but looke euery hower for their comming. And this was the nobleſt ſtratageme of warre, that *Nicias* ſhewed all the time he was in SICILE. For by this deuiſe hee made the SYRACVSANS come into the field with all their power, ſo that they left their city without guard: and he him ſelfe departing in the meane time from CATANA with all his fleete, wanne the hauen of SYRACVSA at his eaſe, and choſe out a place to campe in, where his enemies could not hurt him: in the which he was both the ſtronger, & might without let or difficulty ſet vpon them with that, wherein he moſt truſted. The SYRACVSANS returning ſtraight from CATANA and offering him battell hard by the wals of SYRACVSA, he came out into the field, and ouerthrew them. There were not many of the SYRACVSANS ſlaine at this battell, becauſe their horſemen did hinder the chaſe: but *Nicias* breaking vp the bridges vpon the riuer, gaue *Hermocrates* occaſion to mock him. For, comforting and encoraging the SYRACVSANS, he told them *Nicias* deſerued to be laughed at, becauſe he did what he could that he might not fight, as if hee had not purpoſely come from ATHENS to SYRACVSA to fight. This notwithſtanding, he made the SYRACVSANS quake for feare: for where they had then fifteene Captaines, they choſe out three only, to whom the people were ſworne, that they would ſuffer them to haue full power and authority to command and take order for all things. The temple of *Iupiter Olympian* was hard by the ATHENIANS campe, which they would gladly haue taken, for that it was full of rich iewels and offerings of gold and ſiluer, giuen vnto the temple afore time. But *Nicias* of purpoſe ſtill draue off time, and delayed ſo long, till the SYRACVSANS at laſt ſent a good garriſon thither to keepe it ſafe: thinking with him ſelfe, that if his ſouldiers came to take and ſpoile the temple, his countrey ſhould be nothing the richer by it, and him ſelfe beſides ſhould beare all the blame of ſacrilege. So, hauing obtained victory without profite, (which ranne ſtraight through SICILE) within few dayes after he returned vnto the city of NAXOS, where he lay all the winter, conſuming a wonderfull maſſe of victuals with ſo great an army, for the doing of things of ſmall moment, vppon certaine SICILIANS that yeelded to him. The SYRACVSANS in the meane time being in hart againe, & coragious: returned to CATANA, where they ſpoiled and ouerranne all the countrey, and burnt the campe of the ATHENIANS. Herefore euery man blamed *Nicias* much, becauſe through his long delay, and protracting of time to make all things ſure, he let ſlippe ſundry occaſions of notable exploites, wherein good ſeruice might haue bene done. Yet when he would doe a thing in deede, he did it ſo thorowly as no man could take exception to his doings, for that he brought it to ſo good a paſſe: and once taking it in hand, he did execute it with all ſpeede, though he was both ſlow to determine and a coward to enterpriſe. Now whē he remoued his army to return to SYRACVSA, he brought it ſo orderly, and alſo with ſuch ſpeede and ſafety: that he was come by ſea to THAPSVS, had landed and taken the fort of Epipolis, before the SYRACVSANS had any intelligence of it, or could poſſibly helpe it. For the choiſe men of the SYRACVSANS being ſet out againſt him, hoping to haue ſtopped his paſſage: he ouerthrew them, tooke three hundred priſoners, and made their horſemen flie, which before were thought inuincible. But that which made the SYRACVSANS moſt afraied, and ſeemed moſt wonderſull alſo to the other GRECIANS, was this: that in a very ſhort ſpace he had almoſt enuironned SYRACVSA with a wall, which was as much in compaſſe about, as the wals of ATHENS, and worſe to performe, by reaſon of the woddy countrey, and for the ſea alſo that beateth vppon the wals, beſides that there were diuerſe mariſhes hard by it: and yet (ſicke as he was of the ſtone) hee had almoſt finiſhed it. And ſure good reaſon it is that we attribute the fault of the not finiſhing of it, vnto his ſickeneſſe. For mine owne part I wonder maruellouſly both of the care and diligence of the Captaine, and of the valiauntneſſe and dexterity of the ſouldiers, which appeareth by the notable feats they did. For *Euripides* after their ouerthrow and vtter ruine, made a funerall Epitaphe in verſe, and ſayeth thus.

*Nicias wall at the ſiege of Syracuſa.*

*Eight times our men did put the men of Syracuſa to flight,*
*So long as with indifferency the goddes did vſe their might.*

But we finde it written, that the SYRACVSANS were not only eight times, but many times more ouerthrowen by them: a time at length there was in deede, that both the gods and fortune fought againſt them, euen when the ATHENIANS were of greateſt power. Now *Nicias* in his owne perſon was euer in the greateſt and moſt weighty affaires, ſtriuing with his ſickely body. Howbeit one day when his diſeaſe grew ſore vpon him, he was compelled to be lodged in his campe with a few of his men: and *Lamachus* in the meane time alone hauing charge of the whole army, fought with the SYRACVSANS, who then had brought a wall from the city, vnto the wall with the which the ATHENIANS had purpoſed to haue ſhutte them in, to keepe that they ſhould not compaſſe it rounde. And becauſe the ATHENIANS commonly were the ſtronger in theſe skirmiſhes, they many times ouer raſhly followed the chaſe of their enemies that fled. As it chaunced one day that *Lamachus* went ſo farre, that he was left alone to encounter a company of horſemen of the city, before whom *Callicrates* marched formoſt, a valiant man of his handes, who challenged *Lamachus* hand to hand. *Lamachus* abode him, and in the conflict was firſt hurt: but he gaue *Callicrates* alſo ſuch a wound therewithall, that they both fell downe dead preſently in the place. At that time the SYRACVSANS being the ſtronger ſide, tooke vp his body, and caried it away with them: but they ſpurred out for life to the ATHENIANS campe, where *Nicias* lay ſicke, without any gard or ſuccour at all: neuertheleſſe, *Nicias* roſe with ſpeede out of his bed, and perceiuing the daunger he was in, commaunded certaine of his friendes to ſet the wodde a fire which they had brought within the trenches of the campe, to make certaine deuiſes for battery, and the engines of timber alſo that were already made. That deuiſe onely ſtayed the SYRACVSANS, ſaued *Nicias*, and the ſtrength of their campe, together with all the ſiluer and cariage of the ATHENIANS. For the SYRACVSANS perceiuing a farre off, betwixt them and the ſtrength of their campe, ſuch a great flame as roſe vp in the aire: vpon ſight of it turned taile ſtraight, and made towardes their city. Things falling out thus, *Nicias* being left ſole Captaine of the army without anie companion, in great hope notwithſtanding to do ſome good: diuers cities of SICILE yeelded vnto him, ſhippes fraught with corne came out of euery quarter to his campe, and many ſubmitted them ſelues, for the good ſucceſſe he had in all his doings. Furthermore the SYRACVSANS alſo ſent to parle with him of peace, being out of hope that they were able to defend their city any longer againſt him. *Gylippus* alſo a Captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS, comming to aide the SYRACVSANS, vnderſtanding by the way how the city of SYRACVSA was ſhut in with a wall round about, and in great diſtreſſe: held on his voyage notwithſtanding, not with any hope to defend SICILE (ſuppoſing the ATHENIANS had won the whole countrey) but with intent neuertheleſſe to helpe the cities of ITALY if he could poſſibly. For it was a common rumor abroade, that the ATHENIANS had wonne all, and that their Captaine for his wiſdome and good fortune was inuincible. *Nicias* him ſelfe now contrary to his wonted wiſdome and foreſight, truſting altogether to the good ſucceſſe which he ſaw to follow him, but ſpecially beleuing the reports that were told him of SYRACVSA, and the newes that were brought him thence by ſome of them ſelues, which came ſecretly vnto him, perſwading himſelfe that within few dayes he ſhould haue SYRACVSA by compoſition: took no care to with-

*The death of Lamachus.*

*Nicias ſole Captaine of the whole army.*

*Gylippus a Lacedamonian aideth the Syracuſans.*

ſtand *Gylippus* comming hither, neither ſent any men to keepe him from landing in SICILE. By which negligence, *Gylippus* landed in a paſſenger, without *Nicias* knowledge: ſo ſmall reckonning they made of him, and ſo much did they fondly deſpiſe him. *Gylippus* being thus landed farre from SYRACVSA, beganne to gather men of warre together, before the SYRACVSANS them ſelues knew of his landing, or looked for his comming: inſomuch as they had already appointed the aſſembly of a councell to determine the articles and capitulations of peace, which they ſhould conclude vpon with *Nicias*. Moreouer, there were ſome that perſwaded they ſhould doe well to make haſt to conclude the peace, before the incloſure of *Nicias* wall was altogether finiſhed, which then lacked not much to performe, hauing all the ſtuffe for the purpoſe brought euen ready to the place. But as theſe things were euen thus a doing, arriued one *Gongylus* at SYRACVSA, that came from CORINTHE with a gally. At whoſe landing, the people vppon the peere flocking about him, to heare what newes: he told them that *Gylippus* would be there before it were long, and that there came certaine other gallies after to their aide. The SYRACVSANS would hardly beleeue him, vntill there came an other meſſenger alſo ſent from *Gylippus* ſelfe of purpoſe, that willed them to arme, and come to him into the field. Thereupon the SYRACVSANS being maruellouſly reuiued, went all ſtraight & armed them ſelues. And *Gylippus* was no ſooner come into SYRACVSA, but hee preſently put his men in battell ray, to ſet vppon the ATHENIANS. *Nicias* for his part had likewiſe alſo ſet the ATHENIANS in order of battell, and ready to fight. When both the armies were now approached neare each to other, *Gylippus* threw downe his weapons, and ſent a Heraulde vnto *Nicias* to promiſe them life and baggage to depart ſafely out of SICILE. But *Nicias* would make the Herauld none aunſwere to that meſſage. Howbeit there were certaine of his ſouldiers that in mockery asked the Heraulde, if for the comming of a poore cape and wande of LACEDÆMON, the SYRACVSANS thought themſelues ſtrengthned ſo much, that they ſhould deſpiſe the ATHENIANS, which not long before kept three hũdred LACEDÆMONIANS priſoners in irons, farre ſtronger and more haire on their heades, then *Gylippus* had, and had alſo ſent them home to their citizens at LACEDÆMON. And *Timæus* writeth alſo, that the SICILIANS them ſelues, made no reckonning of *Gylippus*, neither then, nor at any time after. After, becauſe they ſaw his extreame couetouſneſſe and miſery: and then, for that he came ſo meanely apparelled, with a threede bare cape, and a long buſh of haire, which made them ſcorne him. Yet in an other place he ſayth, that ſo ſoone as *Gylippus* arriued in SICILE, many came to him out of euery quarter with very good will, like birds wondering at an owle. This ſecond report ſemeth truer then the firſt: for they ſwarmed about him, becauſe in this cape and wand they ſaw the tokens of the maieſty of the city and ſeigniory of SPARTA. *Thucydides* alſo ſaith, that it was *Gylippus* only that did al there. And much like doth *Philiſtus* ſelfe a SYRACVSAN confeſſe, who was preſent then in priſon and ſaw al things that were done. Notwithſtanding at the firſt battell the ATHENIANS had the vpper hand, & ſlue a nũber of the SYRACVSANS, among the which *Gongylus* the CORINTHIAN was one. But the next morning following, *Gylippus* made them know the skill and experience of a wiſe Captaine. For, with the ſelfe ſame weapons, with the ſame men, with the ſame horſes, and in the ſame places, chaunging only the order of his battell, he ouerthrew the ATHENIANS: and (fighting with them ſtil) hauing driuen them euen into their campe, he ſet the SYRACVSANS a worke to build vp a wall ouerthwart, (with the very ſelfe ſame ſtones and ſtuffe which the ATHENIANS had brought and layed there for the finiſhing of their incloſure) to cut off the other, and to keepe it from going forward, that it ioyned not together. So, all that the ATHENIANS had done before vntill that preſent, was vtterly to no purpoſe. Things ſtanding in theſe tearmes, the SYRACVSANS being couragious againe, beganne to arme gallies, and running vp and downe the fields with their horſemen and ſlaues, tooke many priſoners. *Gylippus* on the other ſide, went in perſon to and fro through the cities of SICILE, perſwading and exhorting the inhabitaunts in ſuch ſort, that they all willingly obeyed him, and tooke armes by his procurement. *Nicias* ſeeing things thus fall out, fell to his olde trade againe, and conſidering the chaunge of his ſtate and former good lucke, his heart beginning to faint: wrote ſtraight to the ATHENIANS to ſend an other army into SICILE, or rather to call that home which he had there, but in any

*Gongylus a Corinthian.*

*Gylippus arriuall at Syracuſa.*

*Gongylus the Corinthian ſlaine.*

*Nicias good fortune changed.*

caſe to giue him leaue to returne, and to diſcharge him of his office, for cauſe of his ſickeneſſe. The ATHENIANS were indifferent before he wrote, to ſend aid thither: howbeit the enuy the nobility bare vnto *Nicias* good fortune, did euer cauſe ſome delay that they ſent not vntil then, and then they determined to ſend with ſpeed. So *Demoſthenes* was named to be ſent away immediatly after winter, with a great nauie. In the middeſt of winter ***Eurymedon*** went to *Nicias*, and caried him both money & newes, that the people had choſen ſome of them for his companions in the charge, which were already in ſeruice with him, to wit, *Euthydemus* and *Menander*. Now *Nicias* in the meane time being ſodainly aſſailed by his enemies both by ſea and lande: though at the firſt he had fewer gallies in number then they, yet he budged diuerſe of theirs and ſuncke them. But by land againe, he could not aide his men in time, becauſe *Gylippus* at the firſt onſet had taken a fort; of his called Plemmyrion, within the which lay the ſtore and tackle for many gallies, and a great maſſe of ready money which was wholly loſt. Beſides, in the ſame conflict alſo were many men ſlaine, and many taken priſoners. Yet further, the greateſt matter of weight was, that thereby he tooke from *Nicias* the great commodity he had to bring his victuals ſafely by ſea to his campe. For while the ATHENIANS kept this fort, they might at their pleaſure bring victuals without danger to their camp, being couered with the ſame: but when they had loſt it, then it was hard for them ſo to do, becauſe they were euer driuen to fight with the enemies that lay at ancker before the fort. Furthermore the SYRACVSANS did not thinke that their armie by ſea was ouerthrowen, becauſe their enemies were the ſtronger, but for that their men had followed the ATHENIANS diſorderedly: and therfore were deſirous once againe to venture, in better ſort and order than before. But *Nicias* by no meanes would be brought to fight again: ſaying, that it were a madnes looking for ſuch a great nauy & a new ſupply as *Demoſthenes* was comming withall, raſhly to fight with a fewer number of ſhippes than they, and but poorely furniſhed. But contrarily, *Menander* and *Euthydemus* newly promoted to the ſtate of Captaines with *Nicias*, being pricked forwards with ambition againſt the two other Captaines (*Nicias* and *Demoſthenes* that was then comming) deſired to preuent *Demoſthenes*, in performing ſome notable ſeruice before his arriuall, & thereby alſo to excell *Nicias* doings. Howbeit the cloke they had to couer their ambition withall was, the honor & reputation of the city of ATHENS, the which (ſaid they) were ſhamed and diſhonored for euer, if they now ſhould ſhew thẽſelues afraid of the SYRACVSANS, who prouoked them to fight. Thus brought they *Nicias* againſt his will to battell, in the which the ATHENIANS were ſlaine and ouercome, by the good counſell of a CORINTHIAN Pilot called *Ariſton*. For the left wing of their battell (as *Thucydides* writeth) was clearely ouerthrowen, & they loſt a great number of their men. Whereupon *Nicias* was wonderfully perplexed, conſidering on the one ſide that he had taken maruellous paines, whileſt he was ſole Captaine of the whole army: and on the other ſide, for that he had committed a foule fault, when they had giuen him companions. But as *Nicias* was in this great deſpaire, they deſcried *Demoſthenes* vpon a pere of the hauen, with his fleete brauely ſet out and furniſhed, to terrifie the enemies. For he had threeſcore and thirteene gallies, and in them he brought fiue thouſande footemen well armed and appointed, and of darters, bowmen, and hurlers with ſlings about three thouſand, and the gallies trimmed and ſet foorth with goodly armors, numbers of enſignes, and with a world of trumpets, howboyes, and ſuch marine muſicke, and all ſet out in this triumphant ſhew, to feare the enemies the more. Now thought the SYRACVSANS themſelues againe in a pecke of troubles, perceiuing they ſtroue againſt the ſtreame, and conſumed themſelues to no purpoſe, when by that they ſaw there was no likelyhood to be deliuered frõ their troubles. And *Nicias* alſo reioyced, that ſo great aide was come, but his ioy helde not long. For ſo ſoone as he began to talke with *Demoſthenes* of the ſtate of things, hee found him bent forthwith to ſet vpon the SYRACVSANS, and to hazard all with ſpeed, that they might quickly take SYRACVSA, and ſo diſpatch away home againe. *Nicias* thought this more haſt then good ſpeede, and feared much this foolehardineſſe. Whereupon he praied him to attempt nothing raſhly, not deſperately: and perſwaded him that it was their beſt way to prolong the warre againſt the enemies, who were without money, and therefore would ſoone be forſaken of their confederates. And beſides, if they came once to be pinched for lacke of victuals: that

*Euthydemus and Menander choſen captaines with Nicias.*

*Demoſthenes arriuall at Syracuſa.*

*Demoſthenes raſhneſſe.*

*Nicias counſell vnto Demoſthenes.*

they would then quickely ſeeke to him for peace, as they had done afore time. For there were many within Syracvsa that were *Nicias* friends, who wiſhed him to abide time: for they were weary of warre, and waxed angry alſo with *Gylippus*. So that if they were but ſtraighted a litle more with want of victuals, they would yeeld ſtraight. *Nicias* deliuering theſe perſwaſions ſomwhat darkly, & keeping ſomewhat alſo from vtterance, becauſe he would not ſpeake them openly: made his colleagues thinke he ſpake it for cowardlineſſe, and that he returned againe to his former delayes to keepe all in ſecurity, by which manner of proceeding he had from the beginning killed the hearts of his armie, for that he had not at his firſt comming ſet vpon the enemies, but had protracted time ſo long, till the courage of his ſouldiers was colde and done, and himſelfe alſo brought into contempt with his enemies. Whereupon the other Captaines (his colleagues and companions with him in the charge) *Euthydemus* and *Menander*, ſtucke to *Demoſthenes* opinion: wherunto *Nicias* was alſo forced againſt his will to yeeld. So *Demoſthenes* the ſelfe ſame night taking the footemen, went to aſſault the fort of Epipolis: where, before his enemies heard any thing of his comming, he ſlew many of them, and made the reſt flie that offered reſiſtance. But not content with this victory, he went farther, till hee fell vpon the Boeotians. They gathering themſelues together were the firſt that reſiſted the Athenians, baſing their pikes with ſuch fury and loude cries, that they cauſed the former to retire, and made all the reſt of the aſſailantes affraide and amaſed. For the formoſt flying backe, came full vpon their companions: who taking them for their enemies, and their flight for a charge, reſiſted them with all their force, & ſo miſtaking one another, both were wounded and ſlaine, and the hurt they ment vnto their enemies, did vnfortunately light vppon their owne fellowes. For this multitude meeting thus confuſedly together, what through their great feare, & what for that they could not diſcerne one an other in the night, the which was neither ſo darke that they could not ſee at all, nor yet ſo cleare, as they might certainely iudge by ſight what they were that met them: (for then the moone declined a pace, and the ſmall light it gaue was diffuſed with the number of men that ran to and fro) the feare they had of the euemie, made them miſtruſt their friendes. All theſe troubles and diſaduantages had the Athenians, and beſide, the moone on their backes, which cauſing the ſhadow to fall forward, did hide their number, and gliſtering of armour: and contrarily, the enemies targets glaring in their eyes by the reflection of the moone that ſhone vppon them, encreaſed their feare, and making them ſeeme a greater number and better appointed then they were in deede. At laſt, the enemies giuing a luſty charge vppon them on euery ſide, after they once beganne to giue backe and turne taile: ſome were ſlaine by their enemies, others by their owne company, and others alſo brake their neckes falling from the rockes. The reſt that were diſperſed abroade in the fieldes, were the next morning euery man of them put to the ſworde by the horſemen. So the account made, two thouſand Athenians were ſlaine, and very few of them eſcaped by flight, that brought their armors backe againe. Wherefore *Nicias* that alwaies miſtruſted it would thus come to paſſe, was maruellouſly offended with *Demoſthenes*, and condemned his raſhnes. But he excuſing himſelfe as well as he could, thought it beſt to imbarke in the morning betimes, and ſo to hoiſe ſaile homewardes. For, ſaide he, we muſt looke for no new aide from Athens, neither are we ſtrong enough with this army to ouercome our enemies: and though we were, yet muſt we of neceſſity auoide the place we are in, becauſe (as it is reported) it is alwaies vnholſome for an army to campe in, and then ſpecially moſt contagious, by reaſon of the autumne and ſeaſon of the yeare, as they might plainly ſee by experience. For many of their people were already ſicke, and all of them in maner had no minde to tary. *Nicias* in no caſe liked the motion of departing thence, becauſe he feared not the Syracvsans, but rather the Athenians, for their accuſations & condemnation. And therefore in open councell he tolde them, that as yet he ſaw no ſuch danger to remaine: and though there were, yet that he had rather die of his enemies hands, than to be put to death by his owne countrymen. Being therein of a contrary mind to *Leo* Bizantine, who after that ſaid to his citizens. I had rather ſuffer death by you, than to be ſlaine with you. And furthermore, as for remouing their campe to ſome other place, they ſhould haue leaſure enough to determine of that matter as they thought good. Now when *Nicias* had deliuered this opinion in councell, *Demoſthenes*

*Demoſthenes raſhneſſe.*

*The ſlaughter of the Athenians at Syracuſa.*

*The courage of Leo Bizantine.*

hauing had ill lucke at his firſt comming,durſt not contrary it. And the reſidue alſo ſuppoſing that *Nicias* ſtucke not ſo hard againſt their departure, but that he relied vpon the truſt & confidence he had of ſome within the citie: they all agreed to *Nicias*. But when newes came that there was a new ſupply come vnto the Syracvsans, and that they ſaw the plague encreaſed more and more in their campe: then *Nicias* ſelfe thought it beſt to depart thence, and gaue notice to the ſouldiers to prepare themſelues to ſhippe away. Notwithſtanding, when they had put all things in readineſſe for their departure, without any knowledge of the enemy, or ſuſpition thereof: the moone beganne to eclipſe in the night, and ſodainly to loſe her light, to the great feare of *Nicias* and diuerſe others, who through ignorance and ſuperſtition quaked at ſuch ſightes. For,touching the eclipſe and darkening of the ſunne, which is euer at any coniunction of the moone, euery common perſon then knew the cauſe to be the darkneſſe of the bodie of the moone betwixt the ſunne and our ſight. But the eclipſe of the moone it ſelfe, to know what doth darken it in that ſort, and how being at the full it doth ſodainely loſe her light, and change into ſo many kinde of colours: that was aboue their knowledge, and therefore they thought it verie ſtrange, perſwading themſelues that it was a ſigne of ſome great miſchiefes the goddes did threaten vnto men. For *Anaxagoras*,the firſt that euer determined and deliuered any thing for certaine and aſſured, concerning the light and darkeneſſe of the moone: his doctrine was not then of any long continuance, neither had it the credit of antiquity,nor was generally knowen but only to a few,who durſt not talke of it but with feare euē to them they truſted beſt. And the reaſon was,for that the people could not at that time abide them that profeſſed the knowledge of naturall Philoſophy,& inquired of the cauſes of things: for them they called then Μετεωρολεσχης, as much to ſay, as curious inquirers, and tatlers of things aboue the reach of reaſon, done in heauen and in the aire. Becauſe the people thought they aſcribed that which was done by the goddes onely, vnto certaine naturall and neceſſarie cauſes, that worke their effectes not by prouidence nor will, but by force, and neceſſary conſequences. For theſe cauſes was *Protagoras* baniſhed from Athens, and *Anaxagoras* put in priſon: frõ whence *Pericles* had much a do to procure his deliuery. And *Socrates* alſo, though he did not medle with that part of Philoſophie, was notwithſtanding put to death for the ſuſpition thereof. In fine,the doctrine of *Plato* being receiued and liked, as well for his vertuous life, as alſo for that he ſubmitted the neceſſitie of naturall cauſes vnto the controlement and diſpoſition of diuine power, as vnto a more excellent and ſupreame cauſe: tooke away all the ill opinion which the people had of ſuch diſputations, and gaue open paſſage and free entry vnto the Mathematicall ſciences. And therefore *Dion*, one of *Platoes* ſchollers and friendes, an eclipſe of the moone chauncing euen at the very ſame time that he was weying vp his anckers to ſaile from Zacynthe, to make warre with the tyrant *Dionyſius*: being nothing affraid nor troubled therewithall,made ſaile notwithſtanding, and when he came to Syracvsa, draue out the tyrant. But then it fell out vnfortunately for *Nicias*, who had no expert nor skilfull ſoothſaier: for the party which he was wont to vſe for that purpoſe, and which tooke away much of his ſuperſtition,called *Stilbides*,was dead not long before.For this ſigne of the eclipſe of the moone (as *Philochorus* ſaith) was not hurtfull for men that would flie,but contrarily very good: for ſaid he, things that men doe in feare, would be hidden, and therefore light is an enemie vnto them.But this notwithſtanding,their cuſtome was not to keepe themſelues cloſe aboue three daies in ſuch eclipſes of the moone and ſunne, as *Autoclides* ſelfe preſcribeth in a booke he made of ſuch matters: where *Nicias* bare them then in hande, that they ſhould tary the whole and full reuolution of the courſe of the moone, as though he had not ſeene her ſtraight cleere againe, after ſhe had once paſſed the ſhadow and darkeneſſe of the earth. But all other things laide a ſide and forgotten, *Nicias* diſpoſed himſelfe to ſacrifice vnto the goddes: vntill ſuch time as the enemies came againe as well to beſiege their fortes, and all their campe by lande, as alſo to occupie the whole hauen by ſea. For they had not onely put men aborde into their gallies able to weare armor, but moreouer young boyes into fiſher botes and other light barkes, with the which they came to the Athenians, and ſhamefully reuiled them,to procure them to fight: among the which there was one of a noble houſe, called *Heraclides* whoſe bote being forwarder than his companions, was in danger of taking by a gallie of the

*The eclipſe of the moone.*

*The eclipſe of the moone not knowen of long time.*

*Anaxagoras the firſt that wrote of the eclipſe of the moone.*

*The Athenians do perſecute the Philoſophers. Socrates put to death for Philoſophie.*

*Dyon very skilfull in naturall cauſes.*

*Nicias ignorant of naturall cauſes.*

*The Syracuſans ouercome the Athenians by ſea.*

*The ſoothſaiers do promiſe victorie to the Syracuſans.*

*The Athenians againe ouercome on the ſea by the Syracuſans.*

*Nicias deceiued by Hermocrates.*

ATHENIANS, that rowed againſt him. **Pollichus** his vncle being afraid of it, lanched forward with tenne gallies of SYRACVSA for his reſcue, of the which himſelfe was Captaine. The other gallies doubting alſo leaſt **Pollichus** ſhould take hurt, came on likewiſe a mayne: ſo that there fell out a great battell by ſea, which the SYRACVSANS wanne, and ſlew ***Eurymedon*** the Captaine, and many other. This made the ſouldiers of the ATHENIANS ſo affraid, that they beganne to crie out, it was no longer tarying there, and that there was none other way but to depart thence by land. For after the SYRACVSANS had wonne that battell, they had ſtraight ſhut vp the hauens mouth. ***Nicias*** could not conſent to ſuch a retire. For, ſaid he, it would be too great a ſhame for them to leaue their gallies and other ſhippes to the enemie, conſidering the number not to be much leſſe than two hundred: but he thought good rather to arme a hundred and tenne gallies with the beſt and valianteſt of their footmen, and darters, that were in the army, becauſe the other gallies had ſpent their owers. And for the reſt of the army, ***Nicias*** forſaking their great campe and walles (which reached as farre as the temple of ***Hercules***) did ſet them in battell ray vpō the pere of the hauen. Inſomuch, that the SYRACVSANS which vntill that day could not performe their wonted ſacrifices vnto ***Hercules***: did then ſende their Prieſtes and Captaines thither to do them. The ſouldiers being imbarked into the gallies, the Prieſtes and Soothſayers came and told the SYRACVSANS, that vndoubtedly the ſignes of the ſacrifices did promiſe them a noble victory, ſo that they gaue no charge, but onely ſtood vpon their defence: for ſo did ***Hercules*** euer ouercome, defending when he was aſſailed. With this good hope the SYRACVSANS rowed forward, and there was ſuch a hotte & cruell battell by ſea, as had not beene in all this warre before: the which was as dreadfull to them that ſtoode on the ſhore to behold it, as it was mortall vnto them that fought it, ſeeing the whole conflict, and what alteration fell out beyond all expectation. For the ATHENIANS did as much hurt themſelues by the order they kept in their fight, and by the ranckes of their ſhippes, as they were hurt by their enemies. For they had placed all their great ſhippes together, fighting with the heauie, againſt the enemies that were light and ſwift, which came on on euery ſide of them, hurling ſtones at them which were made ſharpe to wound how euer they lighted: whereas the ATHENIANS onely caſting their dartes, and vſing their bowes and ſlings, by meanes of their rowing vp and downe, could not lightly aime to hit with the head. That maner of fight, ***Ariſto*** a CORINTHIAN (an excellent ſhippe maſter) had taught the SYRACVSANS, who was himſelfe ſlaine valiantly fighting, when they were conquerers. The ATHENIANS thereupon being driuen to fight, hauing ſuſteined a maruellous ſlaughter & ouerthrow, (their way to flie by ſea being alſo clearely taken from them) and perceiuing moreouer that they could hardly ſaue themſelues by land: were then ſo diſcouraged, as they made no longer reſiſtance, when their enemies came hard by them and caried away their ſhippes, before their faces. Neither did they aske leaue to take vp their dead mens bodies to burie them, taking more pity to forſake their diſeaſed & ſore wounded companions, than to bury them that were already ſlaine. When they conſidered all theſe things, they thought their owne ſtate more miſerable than theirs, which were to end their liues with much more cruelty, than was their miſery preſent. So they being determined to depart thence in the night, ***Gylippus*** perceiuing the SYRACVSANS through all the citie diſpoſed themſelues to ſacrifice to the goddes, and to be merry, as well for the ioy of their victorie, as alſo for ***Hercules*** feaſt: thought it booteleſſe to perſwade them, and much leſſe to compell them to take armes vpon a ſodaine, to ſet vpon their enemies that were departing. Howbeit ***Hermocrates*** deuiſing with himſelfe how to deceiue ***Nicias***, ſent ſome of his friends vnto him with inſtructions, to tell him that they came from ſuch as were wont to ſend him ſecret intelligence of all things during this warre: and willed him to take heede not to depart that night, leaſt he fell into the ambuſhes which the SYRACVSANS had laid for him, hauing ſent before to take all the ſtraights and paſſages, by the which he ſhould paſſe. ***Nicias*** being ouerreached by ***Hermocrates*** craft and ſubtilty, ſtaied there that night, as though he had bene affraide to fall within the danger of his enemies ambuſh. Thereupon the SYRACVSANS the next morning by peepe of day, hoyſed ſaile, got the ſtraights of ***Nicias*** paſſage, ſtopped the riuers mouthes, & brake vp the bridges: and then caſt their horſemen in a ſquadron in the next plaine fieldes adioyning, ſo that the ATHENIANS had no way left to eſcape and paſſe by them without fighting. At laſt notwithſtanding, hauing ſtaied all that day and the next night following, they put themſelues in iorney, and departed with great cries & lamentations, as if they had gone from their naturall country, and not out of their enemies lande: as well for the great diſtreſſe and neceſſity wherein they were, (lacking all things needefull to ſuſtaine life) as alſo for the extreame ſorow they felt to leaue their ſore wounded companions and diſeaſed kinſemen and friends behinde them, that could not for their weakeneſſe followe the campe, but ſpecially for that they looked for ſome worſe matter to fall to themſelues, than that which they ſawe preſent before their eyes to be happened to their fellowes. But of all the moſt pitifull ſightes to beholde in that campe, there was none more lamentable nor miſerable, than the perſon of *Nicias* ſelfe: who being tormented with his diſeaſe, and waxen very leane and pale, was alſo vnworthily brought to extreame want of naturall ſuſtenance, euen when he had moſt neede of comfort, being very ſickely. Yet notwithſtanding his weakneſſe and infirmitie, he tooke great paines, and ſuffered many things which the ſoundeſt bodies doe labour much to ouercome and ſuffer: making it appeare euidently to euery man, that he did not abide all that paines for any reſpect of himſelf, or deſire that he had to ſaue his owne life, ſo much as for their ſakes in that he yeelded not vnto preſent deſpaire. For where the ſouldiers for very feare & ſorrow burſt out into teares & bitter wailing: *Nicias* ſelfe ſhewed, that if by chance he were forced at any time to doe the like, it was rather vpon remembrance of the ſhame and diſhonour that came into his minde, to ſee the vnfortunate ſucceſſe of this voyage, in ſteede of the honor and victory they hoped to haue brought home, than for any other reſpect. But if to ſee *Nicias* in this miſery, did moue the lookers on to pitie: yet did this much more encreaſe their compaſſion, when they remembred *Nicias* wordes in his orations continually to the people, to breake this iorney, and to diſſwade them from the enterpriſe of this warre. For then they plainly iudged him not to haue deſerued theſe troubles. Yet furthermore, this cauſed the ſouldiers vtterly to deſpaire of helpe from the goddes, when they conſidered with themſelues, that ſo deuout and godly a man as *Nicias* (who left nothing vndone that might tend to the honor and ſeruice of the goddes) had no better ſucceſſe, than the moſt vile and wicked perſons in all the whole armie. All this notwithſtanding, *Nicias* ſtrained himſelfe in all that might be, both by his good countenance, his cheerefull wordes, & his kind vſing of euery man: to let them know that he fainted not vnder his burden, nor yet did yeeld to this his misfortune and extreame calamitie. And thus trauelling eight daies iorney out right together, notwithſtanding that he was by the way continually ſet vpon, wearied and hurt: yet he euer maintained his bandes, and led them whole in company vntill that *Demoſthenes* with all his bandes of ſouldiers was taken priſoner, in a certaine village called POLYZELIOS: where remaining behinde, he was enuironned by his enemies in fight, and ſeeing himſelfe ſo compaſſed in, drewe out his ſworde, and with his owne handes thruſt him ſelfe thorow, but died not of it, becauſe his enemies came ſtraight about him, and tooke hold of him. The SYRACVSANS thereupon went with ſpeede to *Nicias*, and told him of *Demoſthenes* caſe. He giuing no credite to them, ſent preſently certaine of his horſemen thither to vnderſtand the truth: who brought him word that *Demoſthenes* and all his men were taken priſoners. Then he beſought *Gylippus* to treate of peace, to ſuffer the poore remaine of the ATHENIANS to depart out of SICILE with ſafetie, and to take ſuch hoſtages for the ſure payment of all ſuch ſummes of money the SYRACVSANS had diſburſed by meanes of this warre, as ſhould like himſelfe: which he promiſed he would cauſe the ATHENIANS to performe & ſatisfie vnto them. Howbeit the SYRACVSANS would in no wiſe hearken to peace, but cruelly threatning and reuiling them that made motion hereof, in rage gaue a new onſet vpon him, more fiercely then euer before they had done. *Nicias* being then vtterly without any kind of victuals, did notwithſtãding hold out that night, & marched al the next day folowing (though the enemies dartes ſtill flew about their eares) vntill he came to the riuer of Aſinarus, into the which the SYRACVSANS did forcibly driue them. Some others of them alſo dying for thirſt, entred the riuer of themſelues, thinking to drinke. But there of all others was the moſt cruell ſlaughter of the poore wretches, euen as they were drinking: vntill ſuch time as *Nicias* falling downe flat at *Gylippus* feete, ſaide thus vnto him. Since the goddes haue giuen thee (*Gylippus*)

*The miſerable ſtate of the Athenians departing from Syracuſa.*

*Nicias extreame miſerie.*

*Demoſthenes taken of the Syracuſans.*

*Nicias moueth treaty of peace.*

*Nicias army ouercome at the riner of Aſinarus.*

*Nicias words yeelding him ſelfe vnto Gylippus.*

victorie, ſhew mercy, not to me that by theſe miſeries haue won immortall honor and fame, but vnto theſe poore vanquiſhed ATHENIANS: calling to thy remembrance, that the fortunes of warre are common, and how that the ATHENIANS haue vſed you LACEDÆMONIANS courteouſly as often as fortune fauored them againſt you.

*Gylippus ſheweth mercy to Nicias.*

*Gylippus* beholding *Nicias*, & perſwaded by his words, tooke compaſſion of him (for he knew he was a friend vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS at the laſt peace concluded betwixt them, and furthermore thought it great honor to him, if he could carie away the two Captaines or Generals of his enemies priſoners) ſhewed him mercy, gaue him wordes of comfort, and moreouer commaunded beſides that they ſhould take all the reſidue priſoners. But his commaundement was not knowen in time to all: inſomuch as there were many moe ſlaine than taken, although ſome priuate ſouldiers ſaued diuers notwithſtanding by ſtealth. Now the SYRACVSANS hauing brought all the priſoners that were openly taken into a troupe together, firſt vnarmed them, then taking their weapons from them hung them vp vpon the goodlieſt young trees that ſtoode vpon the riuers ſide in token of triumph.

*The Syracuſans enter into Syracuſa with triumph.*

And ſo putting on triumphing garlands vpon their heades, and hauing trimmed their owne horſes in triumphant maner, & alſo ſhorne all the horſes of their enemies: in this triumphing ſort they made their entry into the citie of SYRACVSA, hauing gloriouſly ended the moſt notable warre that euer was amongſt the GREEKES one againſt an other, and attained alſo the nobleſt victorie that could be atchieued, and that only by force of armes and valiancy. So at their returne, a councell and aſſembly was holden at SYRACVSA, by the citizens and their confederates: in the which, *Eurycles* one of the orators (a practiſer in publicke cauſes) firſt made petition, that the day on the which they had taken *Nicias*, might for euer thenceforth be kept holy day, without any maner of worke, or labour, but only to do ſacrifice to the goddes: and that the feaſt ſhould be called, Aſinarus feaſt, after the name of the riuer where the ouerthrow was giuen.

*Aſinarus feaſt.*

This victory was had the ſixe & twenty day of the moneth of Iuly. And as touching the priſoners that the confederates of the ATHENIANS and their ſlaues ſhould be openly ſold by the dromme: and that the naturall ATHENIANS which were free men, and their confederates of the country of SICILE, ſhould be clapped in irons, and laid in priſon, the Captaines only excepted, whom they ſhould put to death.

*The Captaines of the Athenians condemned to die.*

The SYRACVSANS confirmed this decree. And when the Captaine *Hermocrates* went about to perſwade them that to be mercifull in victory, would be more honor vnto them, than the victory it ſelf: they thruſt him backe with great tumult. And furthermore, when *Gylippus* made ſute that for the Captaines of the ATHENIANS, he might carie them aliue with him to SPARTA: he was not onely ſhamefully denied, but moſt vilely abuſed, ſo luſtie were they growen vpon this victorie, beſide alſo that in the time of the warre they were offended with him, & could not endure his ſtraight ſeuere LACONIAN gouernement. *Timæus* ſaith moreouer, that they accuſed him of couetouſnes and theft, which vice he inherited from his father.

*Gylippus, a couetous man. Cleandrides condemned for extortion.*

For *Cleandrides* his father was conuict for extortion, and baniſhed ATHENS. And *Gylippus* ſelfe hauing ſtolen thirtie talents out of a thouſande which *Lyſander* ſent to SPARTA by him, and hauing hid them vnder the eauings of his houſe, being bewrayed, was compelled with ſhame to flie his countrie, as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Lyſander*. So *Timæus* writeth, that *Nicias* & *Demoſthenes* were not ſtoned to death by the SYRACVSANS, as *Thucydides* and *Philiſtus* report, but that they killed themſelues, vpon word ſent them by *Hermocrates* (before the aſſembly of the people was broken vp) by one of his men whom the keepers of the priſon let in vnto them: howbeit their bodies were caſt out at the iaile dore, for euery man to beholde.

*Nicias and Demoſthenes ſlew themſelues.*

I haue heard there is a target at this preſent to be ſeene in a temple at SYRACVSA, which is ſaid to be *Nicias* target, couered all ouer with golde and purple ſilke, paſſing finely wrought together. As for the other priſoners of the ATHENIANS, the moſt of them died of ſickneſſe, and of ill handling in the priſon: where they had no more allowed them to liue withall but two diſhfuls of barley for their bread, and one of water for ech man a day. In deede many of them were conueyed away, and ſold for ſlaues: and many alſo that ſcaped vnknowen as ſlaues, were alſo ſolde for bondmen, whom they branded in the forehead with the print of a horſe, who notwithſtanding beſides their bondage endured alſo this paine. But ſuch, their humble patience and modeſtie did greatly profite them. For either ſhortly after they were made free men, or if they ſtill continued in bondage, they were gently intreated, and beloued of their maiſters. Some of them were ſaued alſo for *Eurypides* ſake. For the SICILIANS liked the verſes of this Poet better, than they did any other GRECIANS verſes of the middeſt of GRECE. For if they heard any rimes or ſongs like vnto his, they would haue them by hart, and one would preſent them to an other with great ioy. And therfore it is reported, that diuers eſcaping this bondage, and returning againe to ATHENS, went very louingly to ſalute *Euripides*, & to thanke him for their liues: and told him how they were deliuered from ſlauery, onely by teaching them thoſe verſes which they remembred of his workes. Others told him alſo, how that after the battell, they ſcaping by flight, and wandering vp and downe the fields, met with ſome that gaue them meate and drinke to ſing his verſes. And this is not to be maruelled at, weighing the report made of a ſhip of the citie of CAVNVS, that on a time being chaſed in thither by pyrates, thinking to ſaue themſelues within their portes, could not at the firſt be receiued, but had repulſe: howbeit being demanded whether they could ſing any of *Euripides* ſongs, and anſwering that they could, were ſtraight ſuffered to enter, and come in. The newes of this lamentable ouerthrow, was not beleeued at the firſt, when they heard of it at ATHENS. For a ſtranger that landed in the hauen of PIRÆA, went and ſat him downe (as the manner is) in a barbers ſhop, and thinking it had bene commonly knowen there, began to talke of it. The barber hearing the ſtranger tell of ſuch matter: before any other had heard of it: ranne into the citie as faſt as he could, and going to the gouernours told the newes openly before them all. The Magiſtrates thereupon did preſently call an aſſembly, and brought the barber before them: who being demaunded of whom he heard theſe newes, could make no certaine report. Whereupon being taken for a forger of newes, that without ground had put the citie in feare and trouble: he was preſently bound, and layed on a wheele, whereon they vſe to put offenders to death, and ſo was there tormented a great time, vntill at laſt there arriued certaine men in the citie, who brought too certaine newes thereof, and told euery thing how the ouerthrow came. So as in fine they found *Nicias* wordes true, which now they beleeued, when they ſaw all thoſe miſeries light fully vpon them, which he long before had prognoſticated vnto them.

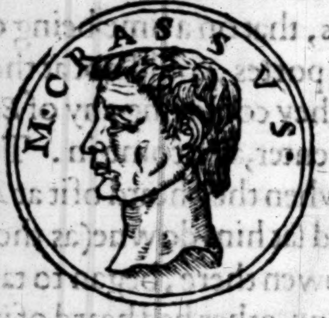
*Eurypides verſes ſaued many of the Athenians liues.*

*The Athenians do torment the bringer of the newes of their ouerthrow.*

*Nicias foreſhewed the miſeries of the Athenians.*

*The end of Nicias life.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Marcus Craſſus.*



***Marcus Craſſus kinred, and youth.***

Marcus *Craſſus* was the ſonne of a Cenſor, who had alſo receiued the honour of triumph: but himſelf was brought vp in a litle houſe with two other of his brethrẽ, which were both maried in their fathers & mothers life time, and kept houſe together. Whereupon it came to paſſe, that he was a man of ſuch ſober and temperate dyet, that one of his brethren being deceaſed, he maried his wife by whõ he had children. For womẽ, he liued as continent a life, as any ROMAINE of his time: notwithſtanding, afterwardes being of riper yeares, he was accuſed by ***Plotinus*** to haue defloured one of the Veſtall Nunnes called *Licinia*. But in troth the cauſe of that ſuſpitiõ grew thus. *Licinia* had a goodly pleaſant garden hard by the ſuburbes of the citie, wherewith *Craſſus* was maruellouſly in loue, and would faine haue had it good cheape: and vpon this onely occaſion was often ſeene in ſpeach with her, which made the people ſuſpect him. But for aſmuch as it ſeemed to the iudges that his couetouſneſſe was the cauſe that made him follow her, he was cleared of the inceſt ſuſpected, but the neuer left following of the Nunne, till he had got the garden of her. The ROMAINES ſay there was but that onely vice of couetouſneſſe in *Craſſus*, that drowned many other goodly vertues in him: for mine owne opinion, me thinkes he could not be touched with that vice alone without others, ſince it grew ſo great, as the note of that onely did hide and couer all his other vices. Now to ſet out his extreme couetous deſire of getting, naturally bred in him, they proue it by two manifeſt reaſons. The firſt, his manner and meanes he vſed to get: and the ſecond, the greatneſſe of his wealth. For at the beginning he was not left much more worth, then three hundred talents. And during the time that he delt in the affaires of the common wealth, he offered the tenthes of all his goods wholly vnto ***Hercules***, kept open houſe for all the people of ROME, and gaue alſo to euery citizen of the ſame as much corne as would keepe him three monthes: & yet when he went from ROME to make warre with the PARTHIANS, himſelfe being deſirous to know what all he had was worth, found that it amounted to the ſumme of ſeuen thouſand one hundred talents. But if I may with licence vſe euill ſpeach, writing a troth: I ſay he got the moſt part of his wealth by fire and bloud, raiſing his greateſt reuenue of publicke calamities. For when ***Sylla*** had taken the citie of ROME, he made portſale of the goods of them whom he had put to death, to thoſe that gaue moſt, terming them his

*Craſſus couetouſneſſe.*

*Craſſus riches.*

*How Craſſus came by his goods.*

booty, onely for that he would the nobilitie, and greateſt men of power in the citie ſhould be partakers with him of this iniquitie: and in this open ſale *Craſſus* neuer left taking of giftes, nor bying of things of *Sylla* for profit. Furthermore, *Craſſus* perceiuing that the greateſt decay commonly of the buildings in ROME came by fire, and falling downe of houſes, through the ouermuch weight by numbers of ſtories built one vpon an other: bought bondmē that were maſons, carpenters, and theſe deuiſours and builders, & of thoſe he had to the number of fiue hundred. Afterwardes, when the fire tooke any houſe, he would buy the houſe while it was a burning, and the next houſes adioyning to it, which the owners ſold for litle, being then in daunger as they were, and a burning: ſo that by proces of time, the moſt part of the houſes in ROME came to be his. But notwithſtāding that he had ſo many ſlaues to his workemen, he neuer built any houſe from the ground, ſauing his owne houſe wherein he dwelt: ſaying, that ſuch as delighted to build, vndid themſelues without helpe of any enemy. And though he had many mynes of ſiluer, many ploughes, and a number of hyndes and ploughmen to follow the ſame: yet all that commoditie was nothing, in reſpect of the profit his ſlaues and bondmen brought him dayly in. As readers, ſcriueners, goldſmithes, bankers, receiuers, ſtewardes of houſhold, caruers, and other ſuch officers at the table, taking paines himſelfe to helpe them when they were learners, and to inſtruct them what they ſhould do: and to be ſhort, he thought the greateſt care a good houſholder ought to haue, was to ſee his ſlaues or ſeruants well taught, being the moſt liuely cattell and beſt inſtruments of a mans houſe. And ſurely therein his opinion was not ill, at the leaſt if he thought as he ſpake: that all things muſt be done by ſeruaunts, and his ſeruaunts muſt be ruled by him. For we ſee that the art and skill to be a good husband, when it conſiſteth in gouernement of things without life or ſence, is but a baſe thing, onely tending to gaine: but when it dependeth vpon good order and gouernement of men, me thinkes then it is to know how to gouerne well a common wealth. But as his iudgement was good in the other, ſo was it very bad in this: that he thought no man rich, and wealthie, that could not maintaine a whole armie with his owne proper goods. For the warre (as king *Archidamus* was wont to ſay) is not made with any certaintie of expence: and therefore there muſt no ſufficiencie of riches be limited for the maintenance of the ſame. But herein *Marius* and he differed farre in opinion: who hauing allowed euery ROMAINE foureteen acres land (called with them, Iugera) vnderſtanding that ſome were not pleaſed, but would haue more, made them this anſwer. The gods forbid any ROMAINE ſhould thinke that land litle, which indeed is enough to ſuffiſe for his maintenance. This notwithſtanding, *Craſſus* was curteous to ſtraungers, for his houſe was open to them all, and he lent his friends money without intereſt: but when they brake day of payment with him, then would he roūdly demaunde his money of them. So, his curteſie to lend many times without intereſt, did more trouble them, than if he had taken very great vſurie. Indeede when he bad any man to come to his table, his fare was but euen ordinarie, without all exceſſe: but his fine and cleanly ſeruice, & the good entertainement he gaue euery man that came to him, pleaſed them better, than if he had bene more plentifull of dyet and diſhes. As for his learning and ſtudy, he chiefly ſtudied eloquence, and that ſort ſpecially that beſt would ſerue his turne to ſpeake in open preſence: ſo that he became the beſt ſpoken man in ROME of all his time, and by his great induſtry and diligent indeuour excelled all them that euen by nature were moſt apt vnto it. For ſome ſay, he had neuer ſo ſmall nor litle a cauſe in hand, but he alwayes came prepared, hauing ſtudied his caſe before for pleading: and oftentimes alſo when Pompey, *Cæſar*, and *Cicero* refuſed to riſe, and ſpeake to matters, *Craſſus* would defend euery cauſe if he were requeſted. And therfore was he generally beloued & well thought of, becauſe he ſhewed himſelfe painfull, & willing to helpe euery man. Likewiſe was his gentleneſſe maruellouſly eſteemed, becauſe he ſaluted euery body curteouſly, & made much of all men: for, whom ſo euer he met in the ſtreetes that ſpake to him as he paſſed and ſaluted him, were he neuer ſo meane, he would ſpeake to him againe, and call him by his name. It is ſayd alſo he was very well ſtudied in ſtories, and indifferently ſeene in Philoſophy, ſpecially in *Ariſtotles* workes, which one *Alexander* did read vnto him, a man that became very gentle and patient of nature, by vſing of *Craſſus* company: for it were hard to ſay, whether *Alexander* was poorer when he came to *Craſſus*

*Craſſus ſaying of builders.*

*Craſſus care about ſeruants.*

*what belōgeth to good husbādary, & in whā it conſiſtes.*

*Craſſus iudgement who was a rich man.*

*Archidamus ſaying of warre.*

*Craſſus fare at his bourd.*

*Craſſus eloquence.*

or made poorer while he was with him. Of all his friendes he would euer haue *Alexander* abroad with him, and while they were abroad, would lend him a hat to couer his head by the way: but ſo ſoone as they were returned, he would call for it againe. O wonderfull patience of a man! to ſee that he making profeſsion of Philoſophie as he did, the poore man being in great pouertie, did not place pouertie in things indifferent. But hereof we will ſpeake more hereafter. *Cinna* and *Marius* being now of greater power, and comming on directly towards ROME, euery man ſuſpected ſtraight their comming was for no good to the common wealth, but as appeared plainly, for the death and deſtruction of the nobleſt men of ROME. For it ſo fell out indeede, that they ſlue all the chiefe men they found in the citie, among whom *Craſſus* father & his brother were of the number, and himſelfe being at that time but young, eſcaped the preſent danger onely by flight. Furthermore, *Craſſus* hearing that they layed wait to take him, and that the tyrants ſought him in euery place, tooke three of his friends in his company, and ten ſeruants onely, and fled into SPAYNE with all poſsible ſpeede, where he had bene with his father before, and had got ſome friends when he was Prætor, and ruled that country. Neuertheleſſe, ſeeing euery body afrayed, and miſtruſting *Marius* crueltie as if he had bene at their doores, he durſt not bewray himſelfe to any man, but went into the fieldes, and hid him in a great caue being within the land of one *Vibius Piciacus* by the ſea ſide, from whence he ſent a man of his to this *Piciacus*, to feele what good will he bare him, but ſpecially for that his victuals began to faile him. *Vibius* hearing that *Craſſus* was ſafe, and had ſcaped, became very glad of it: and vnderſtanding how many perſons he had with him, and into what place he was gotten, went not himſelfe to ſee him, but called one of his ſlaues (who was his receiuer and occupied that ground for him) and bringing him neare the place where *Craſſus* was, commaunded him euery night to prouide meate for ſupper, to bring it ready dreſſed to this rocke whereunder was the caue, & make no wordes of it, neither be inquiſitiue for whom it was, for if he did, he ſhould dye for it: and otherwiſe, for keeping the thing ſecret as he commanded, he promiſed to make him a free man. This caue is not farre from the ſea ſide, & is cloſed in round about with two rocks that meet together, which receiue a ſoft coole wind into them. When ye are entred into the caue, it is of a great height within, and in the hollowneſſe therof are many other caues of great receit one within an other, and beſides that, it neither lacketh light nor water: for there is a well of paſsing good water running hard by the rocke, and the naturall riftes of the rockes alſo receiuing the light without, where they meet together, do ſend it inward into the caue. So that in the day time it is maruellous light, and hath no dampe ayre, but very pure and dry, by reaſon of the thickeneſſe of the rocke, which ſendeth all the moiſtneſſe and vapour into that ſpringing well. *Craſſus* keeping cloſe in this caue, *Vibius* receiuer brought victuals thither dayly to relieue him, and his company, but ſaw not them he brought it to, nor could vnderſtand what they were: and yet they ſaw him plainly, obſeruing the houre and time of his comming when he brought the ſame. He prouided them no more then would euen neceſſarily ſerue their turne, and yet plenty ſufficient to make good cheare withall: for *Vibius* was bent to entertaine *Craſſus* as honorably as he could poſsible, in ſomuch as he conſidered he was a young man, and therefore reaſon would he ſhould offer him ſome occaſion to take ſuch pleaſure and delight as his youth required. For to relieue his neceſsitie onely, he thought that rather a part of feare, than any ſhew of loue towardes him. One day he tooke two fayre young damſels, and brought them with him to the ſea ſide: and when he came to the caue, ſhewed them where they ſhould get vp, and bad them not be afrayed. *Craſſus* at the firſt, when he ſaw the young wenches, was afrayed he had bene betrayed: yet he asked them what they were, and whom they ſought. They being inſtructed by *Vibius* what they ſhould ſay, aunſwered, that they ſought their maiſter that was hidden there. Then *Craſſus* knew this was *Vibius* mirth to ſhew him curteſie: ſo he receiued them into his caue, and kept them as long as he lay there, letting *Vibius* vnderſtand by them what he lacked. *Feneſtella* writeth, that he ſaw one of them when ſhe was an old woman, and that he had heard her tell him this tale many a time with great delight. In fine, *Craſſus* (after he had lyen hidden in this caue eight monthes) vnderſtanding that *Cinna* was dead, came out: and ſo ſoone as he made himſelfe to be knowen, there repayred a great number of ſouldiers vnto him, of whom he onely choſe

*Craſſus* fleeth *Marius* and *Cinna*.

*Vibius* curteſie vnto *Craſſus*.

*Craſſus* caue.

two thouſand fiue hundred, and with them paſſed by many cities, and ſacked one called MALACA, as diuers do write, but he flatly denied it, and ſtoutly contraried them that affirmed it. And afterwardes hauing gotten ſhippes together, went into AFRICKE, to *Metellus Pius*, a man of great fame, and that had already gotten a great army together. Howbeit he taried not long with *Metellus*, but iarring with him, went vnto *Sylla*, who welcomed and honored him as much, as any that he had about him. *Sylla* afterwardes arriuing in ITALIE, intending to imploy all the young nobility he had in his company, gaue euery one of them charge vnder him, and ſent *Craſſus* into the country of the MARSIANS, to leauy men of warre there. *Craſſus* deſiring certaine bandes of *Sylla* to aide him, being driuen to paſſe by his enemies: *Sylla* aunſwered him angerly againe. I giue thee thy father, thy brother, thy friendes and kinſemen to aide thee, whom they moſt wickedly haue ſlaine and murthered, and whoſe deathes I purſue with hot reuenge of mayne army, vpon thoſe bloudy murtherers that haue ſlaine them. *Craſſus* being netled with theſe wordes, departed thence preſently, and ſtoutly paſsing through his enemies, leauied a good number of ſouldiers: and was euer after ready at *Syllaes* commaundement in all his warres. Here began firſt (as they ſay) the ſtrife and contention betwixt him and P*ompey*. For *Pompey* being younger than *Craſſus*, and borne of a wicked father in ROME, whom the people more hated thā euer they did man: came yet to great honour by his valiancy, & by the notable acts he did in the warres at that time. So that *Sylla* did P*ompey* that honor many times, which he ſeldome did vnto them that were his elders, nor yet vnto thoſe that were his equals: as to riſe vp when he came towardes him, to put off his cappe, to call him Imperator, as much as Lieutenant generall. And this galled *Craſſus* to the hart, although he had no wrong in that P*ompey* was taken before him, becauſe he had no experience in matters of warre at that time, and alſo becauſe theſe two vices that were bred in him, miſery and couetouſneſſe, drowned all his vertue and well doing. For at the ſacke of the citie of TVDER, which he tooke, he priuily got the moſt part of the ſpoyle to himſelfe, whereof he was accuſed before *Sylla*. Yet in the laſt battell of all this ciuill warre (which was the greateſt and moſt daungerous of all other) euen before ROME it ſelfe, the wing that *Sylla* led, was repulſed and ouerthrowen: but *Craſſus* that led the right wing, ouercame his enemies, followed them in chaſe till midnight, ſent *Sylla* word of his victory, and demaunded victuals for his men. But then againe he ranne into as great defame, for buying, or begging the confiſcate goodes of the outlawes appointed to be ſlaine, for litle or nothing. And it is ſayd alſo, that he made one an outlaw in the country of the BRVTIANS, without *Syllaes* priuitie or commaundement onely to haue his goodes. But *Sylla* being told of it, would neuer after vſe him in any open ſeruice. Surely this is a ſtraunge thing, that C*raſſus* ſelfe being a great flatterer of other, & could creepe into any mans fauour: was yet himſelfe eaſie to be won through flattery, of any man that would ſeeke him that way. Furthermore, it is ſayd of him that he had this propertie: that though himſelfe was as extremely couetous as might be, yet he bitterly reproued and vtterly miſliked them that had his owne humour of auarice. P*ompeyes* honour that he attained vnto dayly, by bearing great charge & rule in the warres, did greatly trouble C*raſſus*: both becauſe he obtained the honour of triumph before he came to be Senatour, & alſo for that the ROMAINES commonly called him, P*ompeius Magnus*, to ſay, P*ompey* the great. C*raſſus* being in place on a time when one ſayd that ſaw P*ompey* comming, ſee, P*ompey* the great is come. And how great I pray ye, ſayd he ſcornefully? howbeit deſpayring that he could not attaine to match him in the warres, he gaue himſelfe vnto the affaires of the citie: and by his paines and induſtry of pleading, and defending mens cauſes, by lending of money to them that needed, and by helping of them that ſued for any office, or demaunded any thing elſe of the people, he attained in the end to the like eſtimation and authoritie that P*ompey* was come vnto, by his many noble victories. And there was one notable thing in either of them. For P*ompeyes* fame & power was greater in ROME, whē him ſelfe was abſent: and contrariwiſe when he was there preſent, C*raſſus* oftentimes was better eſteemed than he. P*ompey* caried a great maieſty and grauity in his maner of life, would not be ſeene often of the people, but kept from repayring to open places, and would ſpeake but in few mens cauſes, and that vnwillingly: all to keepe his fauour and credit whole for himſelfe, when he ſtood in neede to employ the ſame. Where C*raſſus* diligence was profitable to ma-

*Craſſus viage into Africke.*

*Craſſus ſent by Sylla into the country of the Marſians.*

*The emulation betwixt Craſſus and Pompey.*

*Sylla called Pompey Imperator.*

*Craſſus tooke the citie of Tuder.*

*The valiantnes of Craſſus.*

*Craſſus enuieth Pompey.*

*The Romaines called Pompey, the great.*

*Craſſus induſtrie and cauſe of riſing in the cōmon wealth.*

ny, becauſe he kept continually in the market place, and was eaſie to be repayred vnto by any man that required his helpe, dayly following thoſe exerciſes, indeuouring himſelfe to pleaſure euery man: ſo that by this eaſie acceſſe and familiaritie, for fauour and good will, he grew to exceede the grauity and maieſty of *Pompey*. But as for the worthineſſe of their perſons, their eloquence of ſpeach, and their good grace and countenance: in all thoſe (it is ſayd) *Pompey* and *Craſſus* were both alike. And this enuy and emulation neuer caried *Craſſus* away, with any open malice and ill will. For though he was ſory to ſee *Pompey* and *Cæſar* honoured aboue him: yet the worme of ambition neuer bred malice in him. No, though *Cæſar* when he was taken by pyrates in Asia (as he was once) and being kept priſoner cryed out aloude: O *Craſſus*, what ioy will this be to thee, when thou ſhalt heare I am in priſon. This notwithſtanding, they were afterwardes good friendes, as it appeareth. For *Cæſar* being ready on a time to depart out of Rome for Prætor into Spayne, and not being able to ſatisfie his creditours that came flocking all at once about him, to ſtay and arreſt his cariage: *Craſſus* in that time of neede forſooke him not, but became his ſurety for the ſumme of eight hundred and thirty talentes.

*Three factions at Rome.*

In fine, all Rome being deuided into three factions, to wit, of *Pompey*, *Cæſar*, and *Craſſus* (for as for *Cato*, the eſtimation they had of his fidelitie was greater, than his authority: and his vertue more wondered at then practiſed) inſomuch as the graueſt and wiſeſt men tooke part with *Pompey*. The liueliest youthes, and likelieſt to runne into deſperate attemptes, they followed *Cæſars* hope.

*Craſſus inconſtancie.*

*Craſſus* keeping the middeſt of the ſtreame, was indifferent to them both, and oftentimes chaunged his minde and purpoſe. For in matters of gouernement in the common weale, he neither ſhewed himſelfe a conſtant friend, nor a daungerous enemy: but for gaine, was eaſily made friend or foe. So that in a moment they ſaw him prayſe and reproue, defend and condemne, the ſame lawes, and the ſame men. His eſtimation grew more, through the peoples feare of him: than for any good will they bare him. As appeareth by the aunſwere that one *Sicinius* (a very buſie headed man, and one that troubled euery gouernour of the common weale in his time) made to one that asked him, why he was not buſie with *Craſſus* amongſt the reſt: and how it happened that he ſo ſcaped his handes? O, ſayd he, he caries hay on his horne.

*Sicinius prouerbe.*

The manner was then at Rome, if any man had a curſt bullocke that would ſtrike with his horne, to winde hay about his head, that the people might beware of him when they met him.

*The warre of the bondmen, called Spartacus warre.*

The commotion of fenſers, which ſome call *Spartacus* warre, their waſting and deſtroying of Italie came vpon this occaſion. In the citie of Capva, there was one *Lentulus Batiatus*, that kept a great number of fenſers at vnrebated foyles, whom the Romaines call Gladiatores, whereof the moſt part were Gavles & Thracians. Theſe men were kept locked vp, not for any fault they had committed, but onely for the wickedneſſe of their maiſter that had bought them, and compelled them by force, one to fight with an other at the ſharpe. On a time two hundred of them were minded to ſteale away: but their conſpiracie being bewrayed, three ſcore and eighteen of them entred into a cookes houſe, and with the ſpittes and kitching kniues, which there they got, went quite out of the citie. By the way they fortuned to meete with cartes loden with fenſers weapons, that were brought from Capva going to ſome other citie: thoſe they alſo tooke by force, and arming themſelues therewith, got them then to a ſtrong place of ſituation.

*The wit and behauiour of Spartacus, the chiefe Captaine of the bondmens warre.*

Where amongſt themſelues they choſe three Captaines, & one *Spartacus* a Thracian borne (and of thoſe countrymen that go wandring vp and downe with their heards of beaſtes neuer ſtaying long in a place) they made their Generall. This *Spartacus* was not onely valiant, but ſtrong made withall, and endued with more wiſedome and honeſty, than is commonly found in men of his ſtate and condition: and for ciuilitie and good vnderſtanding, a man more like to the Grecians, than any of his country men commonly be It is reported, that whẽ *Spartacus* came firſt to Rome to be ſold for a ſlaue, there was found as he ſlept, a ſnake wound about his face. His wife ſeeing it, being his owne country woman, & a wiſe woman beſides, poſſeſt with *Bacchus* ſpirit of diuination: ſaid plainly that it did ſignifie, that one day he ſhould be of great power, much dread, and haue very good ſucceſſe. This ſame woman propheteſſe was then with him, and followed him likewiſe when he fled. Now firſt they ouerthrew certaine ſouldiers that came out of Capva againſt them, thinking to take them: and ſtripping them of their armour & weapons, made them glad to take the fenſers weapons, which they threw away as vile and vnſeemly. After that, the ROMAINES ſent *Clodius* Prætor againſt them, with three thouſand men. Who beſieged them in their forte, ſituate vpon a hill that had a verie ſteepe and narrowe aſcent vnto it, and kept the paſſage vp to them: all the reſt of the ground round about it, was nothing but high rocks hanging ouer, and vpon them great ſtore of wilde vines. Of them the bondmen cut the ſtrongeſt ſtirppes, and made thereof ladders, like to theſe ſhip ladders of ropes, of ſuch a length and ſo ſtrong, that they reached from the top of the hill euen to the very bottome: vpon thoſe they all came ſafely downe, ſauing one that taried aboue to throwe downe their armor after them, who afterwards by the ſame ladder ſaued himſelfe laſt of all. The ROMAINES miſtruſting no ſuch matter, theſe bondmen compaſſed the hill round, aſſailed them behinde, and put them in ſuch a feare with the ſodaine onſet, as they fled vpon it euery man, and ſo was their campe taken. Thereupon diuerſe heardmen and ſheapheards that kept cattell hard by the hill, ioyned with the ROMAINES that fled, being ſtrong and hardy men: of which ſome they armed, and others they vſed as ſcoutes and ſpials to diſcouer. Vpon this ouerthrowe was ſent an other Captaine from ROME, called *Publius Varinus*, againſt theſe bondmen: who firſt ouercame *Furius*, the Lieutenant of *Varinus* in battell, and two thouſand of his men: & after that againe they ſlue one *Coſſinius*, and ouerthrew a great army of his, being ioyned with *P. Varinus*, as his fellow and counſeller. *Spartacus* hauing intelligence that *Coſſinius* was bathing himſelf at a place called the ſalte pits, had almoſt taken him tardie, hauing much a do by flight to ſaue himſelfe: notwithſtanding, *Spartacus* wanne all his cariage at that time, and hauing him hard in chaſe, tooke his whole cãpe with great ſlaughter of his men, among whom *Coſſinius* ſelf was ſlaine. *Spartacus* hauing thus now in ſundry battels and encounters ouercome the Prætor himſelfe, *P. Varinus*, and at the length taken his ſergeants from him that caried the axes before him, and his owne horſe whereon he rode himſelfe: was growne then to ſuch a power, as he was dreaded of euery man. Yet all this notwithſtanding, *Spartacus* wiſely conſidering his owne force, thinking it not good to tary till he might ouercome the power of the ROMAINES: marched with his armie towards the Alpes, taking it their beſt way after they had paſſed them ouer, euery man to repaire home to his owne countrey, ſome into GAVLE, the reſt into THRACIA. But his ſouldiers truſting to their multitude, and perſuading themſelues to do great things: would not obey him therein, but went againe to ſpoile and ouerrune all ITALIE. The Senate of ROME being in a great perplexitie, not onely for the ſhame and diſhonor that their men ſhould be ouercome in that ſort by ſlaues and rebels, but alſo for the feare and danger all ITALIE ſtood in beſides: ſent both the Conſulles together, *Gelius* and *Lentulus*, as vnto as difficult and dangerous a warre, as any that could haue happened vnto them. This *Gellius* one of the Conſuls, ſetting ſodainly vpõ a band of the GERMAINES, which in a brauerie and contempt as it were, diſpearſed themſelues from their campe, put them to the ſworde euery man. *Lentulus*, his colleague & fellow Conſull on the other ſide, campaſſed in *Spartacus* round with a great armie. but *Spartacus* charged his Lieutenants that led the army, gaue them battell, ouerthrew them, and tooke all their cariage. Hereupon, marching on ſtill with his armie towards the Alpes, *Caſſius* the Prætor, and Gouernor of GAVLE about the PO, came againſt him with an armie of ten thouſand men. *Spartacus* ioyned battell with him, and ouercame him. *Caſſius* hauing loſt a great number of his men, with great difficultie ſaued himſelfe by flying. The Senate hearing of *Caſſius* ouerthrow, were maruellouſly offended with the Cõſuls, and ſent commaundement vnto them, to leaue off the warre: and thereuppon gaue the whole charge therof vnto *Marcus Craſſus*, who was accompanied in this iorney with many noble young gentlemen of honorable houſes, both for that he was maruellouſly eſteemed, and alſo for the good will they bare him. Now went *Craſſus* from ROME, and camped in ROMANIA, tarying *Spartacus* comming, who was marching thitherward. He ſent *Mummius* one of his Lieutenants with two legions, to fetche a compaſſe about to intrappe the enemie behinde, ſtraightly commanding him to follow *Spartacus* rereward, but in no caſe to offer him skirmiſh nor battell. But *Mummius* notwithſtanding this ſtraight commaundement, ſeeing ſome hope giuen him to doe good, ſet vpon *Spartacus*, who gaue him the ouerthrowe, ſlue numbers of his men, and moe had ſlaine, ſauing that certaine of them ſaued themſelues by

*Clodius a Romaine Prætor, ſent againſt Spartacus with 3000 men.*

*Clodius the Prætor ouercome of Spartacus.*

*Publius Varinus Prætor, ſent againſt Spartacus.*

*Spartacus victorie of P. Varinus.*

*Gellius and Lentulus both Conſuls, ſent againſt Spartacus.*

*Caſſius ouercome by Spartacus.*

*Craſſus ſent againſt Spartacus.*

*Mummius, Craſſus Lieutenant.*

*Mummius ouerthrowne by Spartacus.*

*The Romaines maner of puniſhing cowardly ſouldiers.*

*Craſſus wonderfull trenche and wall.*

*A wonderfull nature of the water of the lake of Lucania.*

*Ambuſh laide by Craſſus.*

*The valiantnes of Spartacus ſouldiers.*

*Spartacus retyred to the mountaines of Petelie.*

flight, hauing only loſt their armor and weapons. Hereupon *Craſſus* was grieuouſly offended with *Mummius*, and receiuing his ſouldiers that fled, gaue them other armour and weapons: but yet vpon ſureties, that they ſhould keepe them better thencefoorth, than they had before done. Now *Craſsus* of the fiue hundred that were in the firſt ranckes, and that firſt fled, them he deuided into fiftie times ten, and out of euery one of thoſe he put one of them to death as the lot fell out: renuing againe the ancient diſcipline of the ROMAINES to puniſh cowardly ſouldiers, which of long time before had not bene put in vſe. For it is a kinde of death that bringeth open ſhame withall, and becauſe it is done in the face of the campe, it maketh all the reſidue afraide to ſee the terror of this puniſhment. *Craſſus* hauing done execution in this ſorte vpon his men, led his armie againſt *Spartacus*: who ſtill drue backe, vntill he came to the ſea ſide through the country of the LVCANIANS, where he found in the ſtraight of the Far of MESSINA, certaine pirats ſhips of CILICIA, and there determined to go into SICILIA. And hauing put two thouſand men into SICILE, he then reuiued the warre there of the ſlaues, which was but in maner newly ended, and lacked ſmall prouocation to begin it againe. But theſe pirats hauing promiſed *Spartacus* to paſſe him ouer thither, and alſo taken giftes of him, deceiued him, and brake their promiſe. Wherupon *Spartacus* returning back againe from the ſea ſide, went and camped within a litle Ile of the RHEGIANS. *Craſſus* comming thither to ſeeke him, and perceiuing that the nature of the place taught him what he ſhould do: determined with a wall to choke vp the bar or channell entring into this litle Iland, both to keepe his men occupied from idleneſſe, and his enemies alſo from victuall. This was a maruellous hard and long peece of worke, notwithſtanding, *Craſſus* finiſhed it beyond all mens expectation in a very ſhort time, and brought a trenche from one ſide of the ſea to the other ouerthwart this barre, which was three hundred furlongs in length, fifteene foote broade, and ſo many in height: and vpon the top of this trenche built a high wall, of a maruellous ſtrength, whereof *Spartacus* at the firſt made light account, and laughed at it. But when pillage began to faile him, & trauelling all about the Ile for victuals, perceiuing himſelf to be ſhut in with this wall, and that there was no kinde of victuals to be had within all the compaſſe of the Ile: he then tooke the vantage of a rough boiſterous night, the winde being very great, when it ſnowed exceedingly, ſet his men a worke, and filled vp a peece of the trenche (being a ſmall breadth) with earth, ſtones, and boughes of trees, whereupon he paſſed ouer the third part of his army. *Craſſus* at the firſt then became afraide, leaſt *Spartacus* would haue taken his way directly towarde ROME: but he was ſoone put out of that feare, when he heard they were fallen out together, and that a great number of them rebelling againſt *Spartacus*, went & camped by themſelues by the lake of LVCANIA, which water by reporte hath this variable propertie, that at certaine times it changeth and becommeth very ſweete, and at ſome other times againe ſo ſalt and brackiſh, as no man can drinke it. *Craſsus* going to ſet vpon them, draue them beyond the lake, but could kill no great number of them, nor follow them very farre: becauſe *Spartacus* came preſently to the reſcue with his army, who ſtayed the chaſe. *Craſſus* had written letters before to the Senate, to call *Lucullus* home out of THRACIA, & *Pompey* out of SPAINE, whereof he then repented him, and made all the poſſible ſpeede he could to end this warre, before either of them came thither: knowing, that which of them ſo euer came to his helpe, to him would the people giue the honour of ending this warre, and not to him ſelfe. Wherefore he firſt determined to aſſaile them that had reuolted from *Spartacus*, and camped by themſelues: who were led by *Caius Canicius*, and an other called *Caſtus*. So *Craſſus* ſent ſix thouſand footemen before to take a hill, commaunding them to lie as cloſe as they could, that their enemies might not diſcouer them: and ſo they did, and couered their morians and headpeeces as well as might be, from being ſeene. Neuertheleſſe they were diſcouered by two women doing ſacrifice for the ſafetie of their armie: and thereupon were all in great hazard of caſting away, had not *Craſſus* bene, who came in time to their aide, and gaue the enemies the cruelleſt battell that euer they fought in all that warre. For there were ſlaine of the ſlaues at that battell, twelue thouſand and three hundred, of which, two onely were found hurt in the backes, and all the reſt ſlaine in the place of their ranckes, valiantly fighting where they were ſet in battell raye. *Spartacus* after this ouerthrowe, drew towards the mountaines of Petelie, whither *Quintus*, one of *Craſſus* Lieutenants, and *Scrofa* his treaſurer followed him, ſtill skirmiſhing with his rereward all the way: yet in fine, *Spartacus* turned ſodainly vpon them, made the Romaines flie that ſtil harried his men in that ſort, and hurt *Scrofa Craſſus* treaſurer ſo ſore, that he hardly eſcaped with life. But the vantage they had of the Romains by this ouerthrow, fell out in the ende to the vtter deſtruction of *Spartacus*. For his men thereby, being the moſt of them fugitiue bondmen, grew to ſuch a ſtoutneſſe and pride of themſelues, that they would no more flie from fight, neither yet would they any longer obey their leaders and Captaines: but by the way as they went, they compaſſed them in with their weapons, and tolde them, that they ſhould go backe againe with them whether they would or not, and be brought through Lvcania againſt the Romaines. All this made for *Craſsus* as he wiſhed, for he had receiued newes that *Pompey* was comming, and that diuers were ſuters for him at Rome to be ſent in this iorney, ſaying, that the laſt victory of this warre was due to him, and that he would diſpatche it at a battell, as ſoone as he came thither. *Craſsus* therefore ſeeking occaſion to fight, lodged as neere the enemie as he could, and made his men one day caſt a trenche; which the bondmen ſeeking to preuent, came with great furie, & ſet vpon them that wrought. Whereupon fell out a hotte skirmiſh, and ſtill ſupplies came on of either ſide: ſo that *Spartacus* in the ende perceiuing he was forced vnto it, put his whole power in battell ray. And when he had ſet them in order, and that they brought him his horſe he was wonte to fight on: he drew out his ſworde, and before them all ſlue the horſe dead in the place, ſaying: if it be my fortune to winne the field, I know I ſhall haue horſe enow to ſerue my turne: and if I chance to be ouercome, then ſhall I need no more horſes. After that, he flew in among the Romains, thinking to attaine to fight with *Craſſus*, but he could not come neere him: yet he ſlue with his owne hands two Romaine Centurions that reſiſted him. In the end, all his men he had about him, forſooke him and fled, ſo as *Spartacus* was left alone among his enemies: who valiantly fighting for his life, was cut in peeces. Now though *Craſſus* fortune was very good in this warre, and that he had ſhewed himſelfe a noble and valiant Captaine, venturing his perſon in any danger, yet he could not keepe *Pompey* from the honour of ending this warre: for the ſlaues that ſcaped from this laſt battell where *Spartacus* was ſlaine, fell into *Pompeyes* hands, who made an end of all thoſe rebellious raſcals. *Pompey* hereupon wrote to the Senate, that *Craſſus* had ouercome the ſlaues in battell, but that he him ſelfe had pulled vp that warre euen by the very rootes. After this *Pompey* made his entrie into Rome, and triumphed for his victorie of *Sertorius*, and the conqueſt of Spayne. *Craſſus* alſo ſued not for the great triumphe, neither thought he the ſmall Ouation triumphe a foote, which they granted him, any honour vnto him, for ouercomming a few fugitiue bondmen. But for this ſmall triumphe, whereby it was called Ouatio, how much it differeth from the great triumphe: ſee *Marcellus* life, where we haue at large diſcourſed thereof. Now *Pompey* being called to be Conſull: *Craſſus*, though he ſtood in good hope to be choſen Conſull with him, did yet notwithſtanding pray his friendſhip and furtherance. *Pompey* was very willing to helpe him, and was euer deſirous to make *Craſſus* beholding to him: wherupon he delt friendly for him, and ſpake openly in the aſſembly of the city, that he would no leſſe thanke the people to appoint *Craſſus* his companion and fellow Conſull with him, then for making himſelfe Conſull. But notwithſtanding they were both Conſuls together in office, their friendſhip held not, but were euer at iarre, and the one againſt the other. So by meanes of their diſagreement, they paſſed all the time of their Conſulſhip, without any memorable act done: ſauing that *Craſſus* made a great ſacrifice to *Hercules*, and kept an open feaſt for the people of Rome of a thouſand tables, and gaue to euery citizen corne to finde him three moneths. But in the ende of their Conſulſhip, at a common councell holden, there was a knight of Rome called *Onatius Aurelius*: (a man not greatly knowne, for that he had no dealings in the ſtate, and kept moſt in the country) who getting vp to the pulpit for orations: told the people what a viſion he had ſeene in his dreame. *Iupiter*, ſaid he, appearing to me this night, willed me to tell you openly, that ye ſhould not put *Craſſus* and *Pompey* out of their office, before they were reconciled together. He had no ſooner ſpoken the wordes, but the people commaunded them to be friends. *Pompey* ſate ſtill, and ſaide neuer a word to it. But *Craſſus* roſe, and tooke *Pompey* by the hand, & turning him to the people, tolde

*The noble courage of Spartacus.*

*Spartacus ſlaine.*

*Pompeyes triumphe for Spaine.*

*Ouatio ſee Marcellus life.*

*Craſſus made Conſull with Pompey.*

*Craſſus great feaſting of the people of Rome.*

*The dreame of Onatius Aurelius.*

them alowd: my Lords of ROME, I do nothing vnworthy of my ſelfe, to ſeeke *Pompeys* friendſhip and fauour firſt, ſince you your ſelues haue called him the great, before he had any haire vpon his face, and that ye gaue him the honor of triumphe, before he was Senatour. And this is all that *Craſſus* did of any account in his Conſulſhip. When he was Cenſor alſo, he paſſed it ouer without any acte done. For he reformed not the Senate, muſtered not the men of warre, nor tooke any view or eſtimate of the peoples goods: although *Luctatius Catulus* was his colleague and fellow Cenſor, as gentle a perſon as any of that time that liued in ROME. Now *Craſſus* at the firſt entry into his office of Cenſor, going about a cruell and violent act, to bring EGYPT to pay tribute to the ROMAINES, *Catulus* did ſtoutly withſtand him: wherby diſſention falling out betwene them, they both did willingly reſigne their office. In that great conſpiracie of *Catiline*, which in manner ouerthrew the whole ſtate and commonwealth of ROME, *Craſſus* was had in ſome iealouſie and miſtruſt: becauſe there was one of the confederates that named him for one of them, howbeit they gaue no credit vnto him. Yet *Cicero* in an oration of his, doth plainly accuſe *Craſſus* & *Cæſar*, as confederats with *Catiline*: howbeit this oration came not forth till they were both dead. And in the oration he made alſo, when his office and authority of Conſul ceaſed, he ſaid: that *Craſſus* came one night to him, & ſhewed him a letter touching *Catiline*, certainly confirming the conſpiracy then in examination. For which cauſe *Craſſus* euer after hated him: and that he did not openly reuenge it, the let was by meane of his ſonne. For *Publius Craſſus* much fauouring eloquence, and being giuen to his booke, bare great good will vnto *Cicero*: in ſuch ſorte, that vpon his baniſhment he put on changed garments as *Cicero* did, and procured many other youthes to do the like alſo, and in fine, perſuaded his father to become his friend. *Cæſar* now returning to ROME from the prouince he had in gouernement, intended to ſue for the Conſulſhip: and perceiuing that *Pompey* and *Craſſus* were againe at a iarre, thought thus with himſelfe, that to make the one of them his friend to further his ſute, he ſhould but procure the other his enemy: and minding therfore to attaine his deſire with the fauor of them both, ſought firſt the meanes to make them friends, and perſuaded with them, that by their controuerſie the one ſeeking the others vndoing, they did thereby but make *Cicero*, *Catulus*, and *Cato*, of the greater authoritie, who of themſelues were of no power, if they two ioined in friendſhip together: for making both their friends & factions one, they might rule the ſtate and commonwealth euen as they would. *Cæſar* hauing by his perſuaſion reconciled *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, ioyning their three powers in one, made themſelues vnuincible, which afterwards turned to the deſtruction of the people and Senate of ROME. For he made them not onely greater than they were before, the one by the others meanes: but himſelfe alſo of great power through them. For when they began to fauour *Cæſar*, he was ſtraight choſen Conſull without any deniall: and ſo behaued himſelfe in the Conſulſhip, that at the length they gaue him charge of great armies, and then ſent him to gouerne the GAVLES: which was, as a man may ſay, euen themſelues to put him into the caſtell that ſhould keepe all the citie in ſubiection: imagining that they two ſhould make ſpoile and good booty of the reſt, ſithence they had procured him ſuch a gouernment. Now for *Pompey* the cauſe that made him commit this error was nothing elſe, but his extreame ambition. But as for *Craſſus*, beſides his old vice of couetouſneſſe rooted in him, he added to that a new auarice and deſire of triumphes and victories, which *Cæſars* fame for proweſſe and noble actes in warres did throughly kindle in him, that he being otherwiſe his better in all things, might not yet in that be his inferior: which furie tooke ſuch holde as it neuer left him, till it brought him vnto an infamous end, and the commonwealth to great miſery. Thus *Cæſar* being come out of his prouince of GAVLE vnto LVCA, diuerſe ROMAINES went thither to ſee him, and among other *Pompey* and *Craſſus*. They hauing talked with him in ſecret, agreed among them to deuiſe to haue the whole power of ROME in their hands: ſo that *Cæſar* ſhould keepe his armie together, and *Craſſus* and *Pompey* ſhould take other prouinces and armies to them. Now to attaine to this, they had no way but one: that *Pompey* and *Craſſus* ſhould againe ſue the ſecond time to be Conſuls, and that *Cæſars* friends at ROME ſhould ſtand with them for it, ſending alſo a ſufficient number of his ſouldiers to be there at the day of chooſing the Conſuls. Thereupon *Pompey* and *Craſſus* returned to ROME to that ende, but not without ſuſpition of

*Craſſus and Pompey made friends.*

*Craſſus Cenſor with Catulus.*

*Craſſus ſuſpected for Catilines conſpiracie.*

*Craſſus and Cæſar confederates with Catiline.*

*Craſſus Ciceroes enemie.*

*Cæſar reconciled Craſſus and Pompey together.*

*Pompey, Craſſus, and Cæſar, all three ioyned in friendſhip.*

*Pompey and Craſſus did meete with Cæſar at Luca.*

their practiſe: for there ranne a rumor in the citie, that their meeting of *Cæſar* in LVCA, was for no good intent. Whereupon, *Marcellinus* and *Domitius* asked *Pompey* in open Senate, if he ment to make ſute to be Conſull. *Pompey* aunſwered them: peraduenture he did, peraduenture he did not. They asking him againe the ſame queſtion: he aunſwered, he would ſue for the good men, not for the euill. *Pompeys* anſwers were thought very proud & haughty. Howbeit *Craſſus* aunſwered more modeſtly, that if he ſaw it neceſſarie for the commonwealth, he would ſue to be Conſull: if not, that he would not ſtand for it. Vpon theſe words, ſome were ſo bolde to make ſute for the Conſulſhip, as *Domitius* among other. But afterwards *Pompey* and *Craſſus* ſtanding openly for it, all the reſt left off their ſute for feare of them, *Domitius* onlie excepted: whome *Cato* ſo prayed and intreated, as his kinſeman and friend, that he made him to ſeeke it. For he perſwaded him, that it was to fight for the defence of their libertie, and how that it was not the Conſulſhip *Craſſus* and *Pompey* looked after, but that they went about to bring in a tyranny: and that they ſued not for the office, but to get ſuch prouinces and armies into their hands as they deſired, vnder colour and countenance of the Conſulſhip. *Cato* ringing theſe words into their eares, and beleeuing it certainly to be true as he ſaid, brought *Domitius* as it were by force into the market place, where many honeſt men ioyned with thē: becauſe they wondred what the matter meant that theſe two noble men ſhould ſue the ſecond time to be Conſuls, and why they made ſute to be ioyned together, and not to haue any other with them, conſidering there were ſo many other worthie men, meete to be companion with either of them both in that office. *Pompey* fearing he ſhould be preuented of his purpoſe, fell to commit great outrage and violence. As amongſt other, when the day came to chooſe the Conſuls, *Domitius* going earely in the morning before day, accompanied with his friends to the place where the election ſhould be: his man that caried the torche before him was ſlaine, by ſome whom *Pompey* had laid in waite, and many of his companie hurt, and among others, *Cato*. And hauing thus diſperſed them, he beſet a houſe rounde about whither they fled for ſuccour, and incloſed them there, vntill they were both choſen Conſuls together. Shortly after they came with force to the pulpit for orations, and draue *Cato* out of the market piace, and ſlue ſome of them that reſiſted and would not flie. They alſo then prolonged *Cæſars* gouernment of the GAVLES for fiue yeares more, and procured for themſelues by decree of the people, the countries of SYRIA and SPAINE. Againe, when they drew lots together, SYRIA fell to *Craſſus*, and SPAINE to *Pompey*. Euery man was glad of their fortune. For the people on the one ſide were loth *Pompey* ſhould go farre from ROME: and himſelf alſo louing his wife well, was glad he had occaſion to be ſo neere her, that he might remaine the moſt of his time at ROME. But *Craſſus* of all other reioyced moſt at his hap, that he ſhould go into SYRIA: and it appeared plainely that he thought it was the happieſt turne that euer came to him, for he would euer be talking of the iourney, were he in neuer ſo great or ſtrange company. Furthermore, being among his friends and familiars, he would giue out ſuch fonde boaſts of it, as no young man could haue made greater vauntes: which was cleane contrary to his yeares and nature, hauing liued all his life time as modeſtly, and with as ſmall oſtentation as any man liuing. But then forgetting himſelfe too much, had ſuch fonde conceits in his head, as he not only hoped after the conqueſt of SYRIA, and of the PARTHIANS, but flattered himſelfe that the world ſhould ſee all that *Lucullus* had done againſt king *Tigranes*, and *Pompey* againſt king *Mithridates*, were but trifles (as a man would ſay) to that he intended. For he looked to conquer the BACTRIANS, the INDIANS, and the great Ocean ſea toward the Eaſt, though in the decree paſſed by the people, there was no mention made of any warres againſt the PARTHIANS. Now euery man ſaw *Craſſus* ambition and greedie deſire of honor: inſomuch as *Cæſar* ſelfe wrote vnto *Craſſus* out of GAVLE, commending his noble intent and forwardneſſe, and wiſhed him to goe thorow therewith. But *Atteius* one of the Tribunes being bent againſt *Craſſus* to withſtand his departure: (hauing diuers other confederates with him to further his purpoſe, who much miſliked that any man of a brauery & luſtines ſhould make war with any nation or people that had no way offended the ROMAINES, but were their friends & confederates) *Craſſus* fearing this conſpiracy, praied *Pompey* to aſſiſt and accompany him out of the city, becauſe he was of great authority and much reuerenced of the people, as it appeared then.

*Pompeys ſtout aunſwer.*

*Craſſus modeſt aunſwer.*

*Pompey made himſelfe and Craſſus Conſuls by force.*

*Pompey and Craſſus Conſuls the ſecond time.*

*Craſſus had the gouernment of Syria.*

*Atteius the Tribune, againſt Craſſus departure*

For, though multitudes of people were gathered together of purpoſe to let *Craſſus* of his departure, and to crie out vpon him: yet when they ſaw *Pompey* go before him, with a pleaſant ſmyling countenance, they quieted themſelues, and made a lane for them, ſuffering them to paſſe on, and ſaid nothing. This notwithſtanding, *Atteius* the Tribune ſtepped before them, and commaunded *Craſſus* he ſhould not depart the city, with great proteſtations if he did the contrary. But perceiuing *Craſſus* ſtill held on his way notwithſtanding, he commanded then one of the officers to lay hold of him, and to arreſt him: howbeit the other Tribunes would not ſuffer the officer to do it. So the ſergeant diſmiſſed *Craſſus*. Then *Atteius* turning towards the gate of the city, got a chafingdiſh with coles, and ſet it in the middeſt of the ſtreete. When *Craſſus* came againſt it, he caſt in certaine perfumes, and made ſprincklings ouer it, pronouncing horrible curſes, and calling vpon terrible and ſtrange names of gods. The ROMAINES ſay that thoſe manner of curſes are very auncient, but yet very ſecret, and of ſo great force: as he that is once curſed with that curſe can neuer eſcape it, nor he that vſeth it dooth euer proſper after it. And therefore fewe men do vſe it, and neuer but vpon vrgent occaſion. But then they much reproued *Atteius*, for vſing of theſe dreadfull ceremonies and extreame curſes, which were much hurtefull to the commonwealth, although he for his countries ſake had thus curſed *Craſſus*. *Craſſus* ſetting forward notwithſtanding, ſailed on, and arriued at BRVNDVSIVM, when winter ſtormes had not left the ſeas, and he had loſt many of his ſhips: howbeit he landed his army, and marched through the country of GALATIA. There he found king *Deiotarus*, a very old man and yet building a new city: and to taunt him pretily, ſaid vnto him. What, O king, begin you to builde now in the afternoone? To whom the king of the GALATIANS againe ſmiling made aunſwer. And truely Syr Captaine, you goe not very early (me thinkes) to make warre with the PARTHIANS. For indeed *Craſſus* was threeſcore and vpward, and yet his face made him ſeeme elder then he was. But to our ſtory againe. *Craſſus* being come into the country, had as good luck as he looked for: for he eaſily built a bridge vpon the riuer of Euphrates, and paſſed his armie ouer it without any let or trouble. So entring into MESOPOTAMIA, receiued many cities, that of good will yeelded themſelues vnto him. Howbeit there was one city called ZENODOTIA, wherof *Appolonius* was tyrant, where *Craſſus* loſt a hundred of his men: thereupon he brought his whole armie thither, tooke it by force, ſacked their goods, and ſolde the priſoners by the drumme. The GREEKES called this citie ZENODOTIA, and for winning of the ſame *Craſſus* ſuffered his men to call him Imperator, to ſay, ſoueraigne Captaine: which turned to his ſhame and reproach, and made him to be thought of a baſe minde, as one that had ſmall hope to attaine to great things, making ſuch reckoning of ſo ſmall a trifle. Thus when he had beſtowed ſeauen thouſand of his footemen in garriſon, in thoſe cities that had yeelded vnto him, and about a thouſand horſmen: he returned backe to winter in SYRIA. Thither came his ſonne P*ublius Craſſus* to him out of GAVLE from *Iulius Cæſar*, who had giuen him ſuch honours, as Generals of ROME did vſe to giue to valiant ſouldiers for rewarde of their good ſeruice: and brought vnto his father a thouſand men of armes, all choiſe men. This me thinkes was the greateſt fault C*raſſus* committed in all his enterpriſe of that warre. For when he ſhould preſently haue gone on ſtill, and entred into BABYLON and SELEVCIA, (cities that were euer enemies vnto the PARTHIANS) he tracted time, & gaue them leiſure to prepare to encounter his force when he ſhould come againſt them. Againe they found great fault with him for ſpending of his time when he lay in SYRIA, ſeeming rather to leade a marchants life, than a chiefetaines. For he neuer ſawe his armie, nor trained them out to any martiall exerciſe, but fell to counting the reuenue of the cities, and was many daies buſily occupied weying of the golde and ſiluer in the temple of the goddeſſe *Hierapolis*. And worſe then that: he ſent to the people, princes, and cities about him, to furniſh him with a certaine number of men of warre, and then he would diſcharge them for a ſumme of money. All theſe things made him to be both ill ſpoken of, & deſpiſed of euery body. The firſt token of his ill lucke that happened to him, came from this goddeſſe *Hierapolis*, whom ſome ſuppoſe to be *Venus*, other ſay *Iuno*, and others, that ſhe is the mother and chiefe cauſe that giueth beginning of moiſture to euery thing that commeth forth and hath a being, and taught men the originall cauſe alſo of euery good thing. For as C*raſſus* the father, & ſonne

*Obſeruations of curſings among the Romaines.*

*Craſſus iorney into Syria.*

*Deiotarus, king of Galatia.*

*Craſſus paſſeth ouer the riuer of Euphrates.*

*Zenodotia taken by Craſſus.*

*Publius Craſſus came to his father in Syria*

*Great faults committed by Craſſus.*

both, were comming out of the temple: *Craſſus* the younger fell firſt on his face, and the father afterwardes vpon his ſonne. Likewiſe as he was gathering his garriſons together, calling them out of the cities into the field, there came Ambaſſadours vnto him from *Arſaces*, king of the PARTHIANS: who deliuered him their meſſage in few words, and told him, that if this army he brought came from the ROMAINES to make warre with their maiſter, then that he would haue no peace nor friendſhip with them, but would make mortall warres againſt them. Further, if it were (as he had heard ſay) that *Craſſus* againſt the peoples mindes of ROME, for his owne couetous deſire, and peculiar profit was come in a iolity to make war with the PARTHIANS, and to inuade their countrey: then in that reſpect *Arſaces* would deale more fauorably, in conſideration of *Craſſus* yeares, and was contented alſo to ſuffer his men to depart with life and goods, whom he tooke rather to be in priſon, then in garriſon within his cities. Thereto *Craſſus* coragiouſly aunſwered, that he would make them aunſwere in the city of SELEVCIA. Therewith *Vagiſes*, one of the eldeſt Ambaſſadors fell a laughing, and ſhewing *Craſſus* the palme of his hand, told him thus: haire will ſooner grow in the palme of my hand, *Craſſus*, then you will come to SELEVCIA. In this ſort the Ambaſſadors tooke their leaue of *Craſſus*, and returned to their king *Hyrodes*, telling him he was to prepare for warre. In the meane ſpace, certaine of *Craſſus* ſouldiers whom he had left in garriſon in the cities of MESOPOTAMIA, hauing ſcaped maruellous daungerouſly and with great difficulty: brought him newes of importance, hauing themſelues ſeene the wonderfull great campe of the enemy, and their maner of fight in the aſſaults they made to the cities where they lay in garriſon. And, as it falleth out commonly among men eſcaped from any daunger making things more fearefull and daungerous then they be in deede: they reported that it was vnpoſſible by flying to ſaue them ſelues, if they did follow in chaſe: neither to ouertake them alſo, if they fled. And further, that they had ſuch kinde of arrowes as would flie ſwifter, then a mans eye could diſcerne them, and would pearce through any thing they hit, before a man could tell who ſhot them. Beſides, for the horſemens weapons they vſed, that they were ſuch, as no armour could poſſibly hold out: and their armors on the other ſide made of ſuch a temper and metall, as no force of any thing could pearce them through. The ROMAINES hearing theſe newes, fell from their former ſtoutnes and courage, being borne in hand before, that the PARTHIANS differed nothing at all from the ARMENIANS and CAPPADOCIANS, whom *Lucullus* had ouercome and ſpoiled ſo oft, that he was weary withall: and they had already made account, that their greateſt paines in this warre, was but the tediouſnes of the iourney they had to make, and the trouble they ſhould haue to follow thoſe men that would not abide them. But then contrarie to expectation, they looked to come to ſtrokes, and to be luſtely fought withall. Hereupon, diuers Captaines and head officers that had charge in the army (among whom *Caſſius* the treaſurer was one) aduiſed *Craſſus* to ſtay, and to deliberate in councell to know whether he were beſt to goe on, or to remaine where he was. The Soothſaiers them ſelues did partly let *Craſſus* vnderſtand, that the goddes ſhewed no good tokens in all their ſacrifices, and were hardly to be pacified. But *Craſſus* gaue no eare to them, neither would heare any other that told him as much, but only liſtned to them that counſelled him to make haſt. Yet *Craſſus* chiefeſt comfort and incoragement, was of *Artabazes*, king of ARMENIA, who came to his campe with ſixe thouſand horſe, which were but onely the kings cornet and guard. Againe he promiſed him other tenne thouſand horſemen all armed and barbed, and thirty thouſand footemen which he kept continually in pay, and counſelled *Craſſus* to enter the PARTHIANS country vpon ARMENIAES ſide: becauſe his campe ſhould not onely haue plenty of victuals, which he would ſend him out of his country, but for that he ſhould alſo march in more ſafety, hauing a countrey full of mountaines and wods before him very ill for horſemen, which was the onely ſtrength and force of the PARTHIANS. *Craſſus* coldly thanked *Artabazes* for his good will, & al his noble offer of aide: yet told him he would take his iorney through MESOPOTAMIA, where he had left many good ſouldiers of the ROMAINS. And thus departed the king of ARMENIA from him. But now as *Craſſus* was paſſing his army vpō the bridge he had made ouer the riuer of Euphrates, there fell out ſodaine ſtrange and terrible cracks of thunder, with fearefull flaſhes of lightning full in the ſouldiers faces: moreouer, out of a great blacke cloude

*The firſt ſignes of Craſſus ill lucke.*

*This name of Arſaces, or Arſacides, was common to all the kings of the Parthians.*

*Ambaſſadors of the Parthians ſent to Craſſus.*

*Vagiſes words, ſhewing Craſſus the palme of his hand.*

*Hyrodes king of the Parthians.*

*Caſſius treaſurer vnder Craſſus.*

*Craſſus forewarned by the Soothſayers of his ill ſucceſſe.*

*Artabazes king of Armenia, came to Craſſus campe.*

*Wonderfull ſignes & tokens to Craſſus.*

came a wonderfull ſtorme and tempeſt of winde vpon the bridge, that the maruellous force thereof ouerthrew a great part of the bridge, and caried it quite away. Beſides all this, the place where he appointed to lodge, was twiſe ſtriken with two great thunder clappes. One of his great horſe in like caſe, being brauely furniſhed and ſet out, tooke the bit in his teeth, and leapt into the riuer with his rider on his backe, who were both drowned, and neuer ſeene after. They ſay alſo, that the firſt Eagle and enſigne that was to be taken vp when they marched, turned backe of it ſelfe, without any handes layed vppon it. Further it fortuned that as they were diſtributing the victuals vnto the ſouldiers, after they had all paſſed ouer the bridge, the firſt thing that was giuen them, was ſalt, and water lintels, which the ROMAINES take for a token of death and mourning, becauſe they vſe it at the funerals of the dead. After all this, when *Craſſus* was exhorting his ſouldiers, a word ſcaped his mouth that troubled the army maruellouſly. For he told them that he had broken the bridge which hee had made ouer the riuer of Euphrates, of purpoſe, becauſe there ſhould not a man of them returne backe againe. Where in deede when he had ſeene that they tooke this word in ill part, he ſhould haue called it in againe, or haue declared his meaning, ſeeing his men ſo amazed thereat: but he made light of it, he was ſo wilfull. In the end he made ordinary ſacrifice for the purging of his army: and when the Soothſayer gaue him the intrailes of the beaſt that was ſacrificed, they fell out of his handes. *Craſſus* perceiuing that the ſtanders by were troubled withall, fell a laughing, and told them, you ſee what age is: yet ſhall you not ſee my ſword fall out of my hand. So hauing ended his ſacrifice, he beganne to march forward into the countrey by the riuers ſide, with ſeuen legions of footemen, and litle lacke of foure thouſand horſe, and in manner as many ſhot and ſlings lightly armed. There returned to him certaine of his skoutes that had viewed the country, and told him there was not an enemy to be ſeen in the field: howbeit that they had found the tracke of a maruellous number of horſe, which ſeemed as they were returned backe. Then *Craſſus* firſt of all beganne to hope well: and his ſouldiers alſo, they fell to deſpiſe the PARTHIANS, thinking certainly that they would not come to battell with them. Yet *Caſsius* his treaſurer euer perſwaded him the contrary, and thought it better for him to refreſh his army a litle in one of the cities where he had his garriſon, vntill ſuch time as he heard more certain news of the enemies: or elſe that he would march directly towards SELEVCIA by the riuers ſide, which lay fit for him to victuall him ſelfe eaſily by botes that would alwaies follow his campe, and ſhould be ſure beſides that the enemies could not enuiron him behind, ſo that hauing no way to ſet vpon them but before, they ſhould haue none aduantage of them. *Craſſus* going about then to conſult of the matter, there came one *Ariamnes* vnto him, a Captaine of the ARABIANS, a fine ſubtill fellow, which was the greateſt miſchiefe and euill, that fortune could ſend to *Craſſus* at that preſent time, to bring him to vtter ruine and deſtruction. For there were ſome of *Craſſus* ſouldiers that had ſerued *Pompey* before in that countrey, who knew him very well, and remembred that *Pompey* had done him great pleaſures: whereuppon they thought that he bare great good will to the ROMAINES. But *Ariamnes* had bene labored at that time by the king of PARTHIAES Captains, and was won by them to deceiue *Craſſus*, and to entiſe him all he could, to draw him from the riuer and the woddy countrey, & to bring him into the plaine field, where they might compaſſe him in with their horſemen: for they ment nothing leſſe then to fight with the ROMAINES at the ſwordes point. This barbarous Captaine *Ariamnes* comming to *Craſſus*, did highly praiſe and commend *Pompey*, as his good Lord and benefactor (for he was an excellent ſpoken man) and extolled *Craſſus* army, reprouing him that he came ſo ſlowly forward, tracting time in that ſort as he did, preparing himſelfe as though he had neede of armor and weapon, and not of feete and hands ſwift and ready againſt the enemies: who (for the chiefeſt of them) had of long time occupied them ſelues to flie with their beſt moueables, towards the deſerts of SCYTHIA and HYRCANIA. Therefore if you determine (ſaid he) to fight, it were good you made haſt to meete them, before the king haue gathered all his power together. For now you haue but *Surena* and *Syllaces*, two of his Lieutenaunts againſt you, whom he hath ſent before to ſtay you that you follow him not: and for the king him ſelfe, be bold, he meaneth not to trouble you. But he lied in all. For king *Hyrodes* had deuided his army in two partes at the firſt, whereof him ſelfe tooke the one, and

*Craſſus army was fifty thouſand men.*

*Ariamnes, a Captaine of the Arabians.*

*Ariamnes deceiueth Craſſus*

*Surena and Sillaces, Arſaces Lieutenants.*

went to ſpoile the realme of ARMENIA, to be reuenged of king *Artabazes*: and with the other he ſent *Surena* againſt the ROMAINES, not for any contempt he had of *Craſſus* (for it was not likely he would diſdaine to come to battel with him, being one of the chiefeſt noble men of ROME, & to thinke it more honorable to make warre with king *Artabazes* in ARMENIA) but I thinke rather he did it of purpoſe to auoide the greater daunger, and to keepe farre off, that he might with ſafety ſee what would happen, and therefore ſent *Surena* before to hazard battell, and to turne the ROMAINES backe againe. For *Surena* was no meane man, but the ſecond perſon of PARTHIA next vnto the king: in riches, reputation, valure, and experience in warres, the chiefeſt of his time among all the PARTHIANS, and for execution, no man like him. *Surena*, whẽ he did but remoue into the country only with his houſhold, had a thouſand camels to cary his ſumpters, and two hundred coches of Curtiſans, a thouſand men of armes armed at all peeces, and as many moe beſides lightly armed: ſo that his whole traine and court made aboue ten thouſand horſe. Further, by the tenure of that land he had by ſucceſſion from his anceſters, his office was at the firſt proclaiming of any king, to put the roiall crown or diademe vpon the kings head. Moreouer, he had reſtored king *Hyrodes* that then raigned, to his crowne, who had bene before driuen out of his realme: and had wonne him alſo the great city of SELEVCIA, him ſelfe being the firſt man that ſcaled the wals, and ouerthrew them with his owne handes that reſiſted him. And though he was vnder thirty yeares of age, yet they counted him a wiſe man, as well for his counſell, as his experience, which were the meanes whereby he ouercame *Craſſus*. Who through his raſhnes and folly at the firſt, and afterwards for very feare and timerouſnes, which his misfortune had brought him vnto, was eaſie to be taken and intrapped, by any policy or deceit. Now this barbarous Captaine *Ariamnes* hauing then brought *Craſſus* to beleeue all that he ſaid, and drawen him by perſwaſion from the riuer of Euphrates, vnto a goodly plaine country, meeting at the firſt with very good way, but after with very ill, becauſe they entred into ſandes where their feete ſuncke deepe, and into deſert fields where was neither tree nor water, nor any end of them that they could diſcerne by eye, ſo that not onely extreame thirſt, and miſerable way maruellouſly amazed the ROMAINS, but the diſcomfort of the eye alſo, when they could ſee nothing to ſtay their ſight vpon: that, aboue all the reſt, wrought their extreame trouble. For, neither far nor neare any ſight of tree, riuer, brooke, mountaine, graſſe, or greene herbe appeared within their view, but in troth an endleſſe ſea of deſert ſandes on euery ſide, round about their campe. Then beganne they to ſuſpect that they were betraied. Again, when newes came that *Artabazes* king of ARMENIA, was kept in his country with a great war king *Hyrodes* made vpon him, which kept him that he could not according to his promiſe come to aide him, yet that he wiſhed him to draw towardes ARMENIA, that both their armies being ioyned together they might the better fight with king *Hyrodes*, if not, that he would alwaies keep the woddy country, marching in thoſe vallies and places where his horſemen might be ſafe, and about the mountaines: *Craſſus* was ſo wilfull, as he would write no aunſwere to it, but angrily told the meſſenger, that he had no leyſure then to hearken to the ARMENIANS, but that afterwardes he would be reuenged well enough of *Artabazes* treaſon. *Caſſius* his treaſurer was much offended with *Craſſus* for this anſwere: howbeit perceiuing he could do no good with him, and that he tooke euery thing in euill part, he ſaid vnto him, he would tell him no more. Notwithſtanding, taking *Ariamnes* this Captaine of the ARMENIANS a ſide, he rebuked him roundly, and ſaid: O thou wretch, what curſed deuill hath brought thee to vs, and how cunningly haſt thou bewitched & charmed *Craſſus*: that thou haſt made him bring his army into this endleſſe deſert, and to trace this way fitter for an ARABIAN Captaine of theeues, then for a Generall and Conſull of the ROMAINES? *Ariamnes* being crafty and ſubtil, ſpeaking gently vnto *Caſſius*, did comfort him, and prayed him to haue patience, and going and comming by the bandes, ſeeming to helpe the ſouldiers, he told them merily: O my fellowes, I beleeue you thinke to marche through the countrey of *Naples*, and looke to meete with your pleaſaunt ſprings, goodly groues of wodde, your naturall bathes, and the good innes round about to refreſhe you, and doe not remember that you paſſe through the deſertes of ARABIA and ASSYRIA. And thus did this barbarous Captaine entertaine the ROMAINES a while: but afterwardes he diſlodged betimes, before he

*Surena ſent againſt Craſſus.*

*Surena what he was.*

*Surenaes court and traine.*

*Surena a yong man, but very wiſe.*

*Artabazes ſent an Embaſſage vnto Craſſus.*

*Craſſus wilfulnes.*

was openly knowen for a traitor, and yet not without *Craſſus* priuity, whom he bare in hand, that he would goe ſet ſome broile and tumult in the enemies campe. It is reported that *Craſſus* the very ſame day came out of his tent not in his coate armor, of ſcarlet, (as the manner was of the ROMAINE Generals) but in a blacke coate: howbeit, remembring him ſelfe, he ſtraight chaunged it againe. It is ſaied moreouer, that the enſigne bearers when they ſhould march away, had much a doe to plucke their enſignes out of the ground, they ſtucke ſo faſt. But *Craſſus* ſcoffing at the matter, haſtened them the more to march forward, compelling the footemen to goe as faſt as the horſemen, till a few of their ſkowtes came in, whom they had ſent to diſcouer; who brought newes how the enemies had ſlaine their fellowes, and what a doe they had them ſelues to ſcape with life, and that they were a maruellous great army, and well appointed to giue them battell. This newes made all the campe afraied, but *Craſſus* ſelfe more then the reſt, ſo as he beganne to ſet his men in battell ray, being for haſt in maner beſides him ſelfe.

*Craſſus army againſt the Parthians.*

At the firſt following *Caſſius* minde, he ſet his ranckes wide, caſting his ſouldiers into a ſquare battell, a good way a ſunder one from an other, becauſe hee would take in as much of the plaine as he could, to keepe the enemies from compaſſing them in, and ſo deuided the horſemen into the wings. Yet afterwardes he chaunged his minde againe, and ſtraighted the battell of his footemen, faſhioning it like a bricke, more long then broad, making a front, and ſhewing their faces euery way. For there were twelue cohorts or enſignes imbatteled on either ſide, and by euery cohort a company of horſe, becauſe there ſhould be no place left without aide of horſemen, and that all his battell ſhould be a like defended. Then he gaue *Caſſius* the leading of one wing, his ſonne *Publius Craſſus* the other, and him ſelfe led the battell in the middeſt. In this order they marched forward, till they came to a litle brooke called Baliſſus, where there was no great ſtore of water, but yet happily lighted on for the ſouldiers, for the great thirſt and extreame heate they had abidden all that painefull way, where they had mette with no water before. There the moſt part of *Craſſus* Captaines thought beſt to campe all night, that they might in the meane time finde meanes to know their enemies what number they were, and how they were armed, that they might fight with them in the morning. But *Craſſus* yeelding to his ſonnes and his horſemens perſwaſion, who intreated him to march on with his army, and to ſet vpon the enemy preſently: commaunded, that ſuch as would eate, ſhould eate ſtanding, keeping their ranckes. Yet on the ſodaine, before this commaundement could runne through the whole army, he commaunded them againe to march, not faire and ſoftly as when they go to giue battell, but with ſpeede, till they ſpied the enemies, who ſeemed not to the ROMAINES at the firſt to be ſo great a number, neither ſo brauely armed as they thought they had bene.

*Surenaes ſtratageme for the hiding of his great army.*

*Craſſus battell with the Parthians.*

*The Parthians kettle drums.*

For, concerning their great number, *Surena* had of purpoſe hid them, with certaine troupes he ſent before: and to hide their bright armors, he had caſt cloakes and beaſts ſkins vpon them, but when both the armies approached neare the one to the other, and that the ſigne to giue charge was lift vp in the aire: firſt they filled the fielde with a dreadfull noiſe to heare. For the PARTHIANS doe not encorage their men to fight with the ſound of a horne, neither with trumpets nor howboies, but with great kettle drums hollow within, and about them they hang litle bels and copper rings, & with them they all make a noiſe euery where together, and it is like a dead ſound, mingled as it were with the braying or bellowing of a wilde beaſt, & a fearefull noiſe as if it thundered, knowing that hearing is one of the ſenſes that ſooneſt moueth the heart and ſpirit of any man, and maketh him ſooneſt beſides him ſelfe. The ROMAINES being put in feare with this dead ſound, the PARTHIANS ſtraight threw the clothes & couerings from them that hid their armor, & then ſhewed their bright helmets and curaces of Margian tempered ſteele, that glared like fire, & their horſes barbed with ſteele and copper.

*The perſon of Surena, Generall of the Parthians deſcribed.*

And *Surena* alſo, General of the PARTHIANS, who was as goodly a perſonage, and as valiant, as any other in all his hoaſt, though his beauty ſomewhat effeminate, in iudgement ſhewed ſmall likelihood of any ſuch corage: for he painted his face, and ware his haire after the faſhion of the MEDES, contrary to the maner of the PARTHIANS, who let their hair grow after the faſhion of the TARTARES, without cōbing or tricking of them, to appeare more terrible to their enemies. The PARTHIANS at the firſt thought to haue ſet vpon the ROMAINS with their pikes, to ſee if they could breake their firſt ranckes. But when they drew neare, and ſaw the depth of the Romaines battell ſtanding cloſe together, firmely keeping their rancks: then they gaue backe, making as though they fled, and diſperſed them ſelues. But the Romaines marueiled when they found it contrary, and that it was but a deuiſe to enuiron them on euery ſide. Whereupon *Craſſus* commanded his ſhot and light armed men to aſſaile them, the which they did: but they went not farre, they were ſo beaten in with arrowes, and driuen to retire to their force of the armed men. And this was the firſt beginning that both feared and troubled the Romaines, when they ſaw the vehemency and great force of the enemies ſhot, which brake their armors, and ran through any thing they hit, were it neuer ſo hard or ſoft. The Parthians thus ſtill drawing backe, ſhot al together on euery ſide, not a fore hand, but at aduenture: for the battell of the Romaines ſtoode ſo neare together, as if they would, they could not miſſe the killing of ſome. Theſe bowmen drew a great ſtrength, and had big ſtrong bowes, which ſent the arrowes from them with a wonderful force. The Romains by means of theſe bowes were in hard ſtate. For if they kept their rancks, they were grieuouſly woũded: againe if they left them, and ſought to run vpon the Parthians to fight at hand with them, they ſaw they could do them but litle hurt, and yet were very likely to take the greater harme them ſelues. For, as faſt as the Romaines came vpon them, ſo faſt did the Parthians flie from them, and yet in flying continued ſtill their ſhooting: which no nation but the Scythians could better doe then they, being a matter in deede moſt greatly to their aduantage. For by their flight they beſt doe ſaue them ſelues, and fighting ſtill, they thereby ſhunne the ſhame of that their flying. The Romaines ſtill defended them ſelues, and held it out, ſo long as they had any hope that the Parthians would leaue fighting, when they had ſpent their arrowes or would ioyne battell with them. But after they vnderſtoode that there were a great number of camels loden with quiuers full of arrowes, where the firſt that had beſtowed their arrowes fetched about to take new quiuers: then *Craſſus* ſeeing no end of their ſhotte, began to faint, and ſent to *Publius* his ſonne, willing him in any caſe to charge vpon the enemies, and to giue an onſet, before they were compaſſed in on euery ſide. For it was on *Publius* ſide, that one of the wings of the enemies battell was neareſt vnto them, and where they rode vp and downe to compaſſe them behinde. Whereuppon *Craſſus* ſonne taking thirteene hundred horſemen with him (of the which, a thouſand were of the men of armes whom *Iulius Cæſar* ſent) and fiue hundred ſhot, with eight enſignes of footemen hauing targets, moſt neare to the place where him ſelfe then was: he put them out in bredth, that wheeling about they might giue a charge vpon them that rode vp and downe. But they ſeeing him comming, turned ſtraight their horſe and fled, either becauſe they met in a mariſhe, or elſe of purpoſe to beguile this young *Craſſus*, intiſing him thereby as farre from his father as they could. *Publius Craſſus* ſeeing them flie, cried out, theſe men will not abide vs, and ſo ſpurred on for life after them: ſo did *Cenſorinus* and *Megabacchus* with him (the one a Senatour of Rome a very eloquent man, the other a ſtout coragious valiant man of warre) both of them *Craſſus* well approued friendes, and in maner of his owne yeares. Now the horſemen of the Romaines being trained out thus to the chaſe, their footemen alſo would not abide behinde, nor ſhew them ſelues to haue leſſe hope, ioy and corage, then their horſemen had. For they thought all had bene won, and that there was no more to do, but to follow the chaſe: till they were gone farre from the army, and then they found the deceit. For the horſemen that fled before them, ſodainely turned againe, and a number of others beſides came and ſet vpon them. Whereuppon they ſtaied, thinking that the enemies perceiuing they were ſo few, would come and fight with them hand to hand. Howbeit they ſette out againſt them their men at armes with their barbed horſe, and made their light horſemen wheele round about them, keeping no order at all: who gallowping vp and down the plaine, whirled vp the ſand hils from the bottome with their horſe feete, which raiſed ſuch a wonderfull duſt, that the Romaines could ſcarce ſee or ſpeake one to an other. For they being ſhut vp into a litle roome, and ſtanding cloſe one to another, were ſore wounded with the Parthians arrowes, and died of a cruell lingring death, crying out for anguiſh and paine they felt: and turning and tormenting them ſelues vppon the ſand, they brake the arrowes ſticking in them. Againe, ſtriuing by force to plucke out the forked arrowe heades, that had pearced farre into their bodies through their vains and ſinewes: thereby they opened

*The Parthians fought retyring.*

*The maner of the Parthians fight.*

*The praiſe of Cenſorinus and Megabacchus.*

*The miſerable fight of the Romaines againſt the Parthians.*

their woundes wider,and ſo caſt them ſelues away. Many of them died thus miſerably martyred: and ſuch as died not, were not able to defend them ſelues. Then when *Publius Craſſus* prayed and beſought them to charge the men at armes with their barbed horſe, they ſhewed him their hands faſt nailed to their targets with arrowes,and their feete likewiſe ſhot through and nailed to the ground: ſo as they could neither flie nor yet defend them ſelues. Thereupon him ſelfe encoraging his horſemen, went and gaue a charge, and did valiantly ſet vpon the enemies, but it was with too great diſaduantage, both for offence, and alſo for defence. For him ſelfe and his men with weake and light ſtaues, brake vpon them that were armed with curaces of ſteele, or ſtiffe leather iackes. And the PARTHIANS in contrary maner with mighty ſtrong pikes gaue charge vpon theſe GAVLES, which were either vnarmed,or elſe but lighty armed. Yet thoſe were they in whom *Craſſus* moſt truſted, hauing done wonderfull feates of warre with them. For they receiued the PARTHIANS pikes in their handes,and tooke them about the middels, and threw them off their horſe, where they lay on the ground, and could not ſturre for the weight of their harneſſe: and there were diuerſe of them alſo that lighting from their horſe, lay vnder their enemies horſe bellies, and thruſt their ſwordes into them. Their horſe flinging and bounding in the aire for very paine threw their maſters vnder feete,& their enemies one vpon an other,and in the end fell dead among them. Moreouer, extreame heate and thirſt did maruellouſly comber the GAVLES,who were vſed to abide neither of both:and the moſt part of their horſe were ſlaine,charging with all their power vpon the men at armes of the PARTHIANS,and ſo ranne them ſelues in vpon the points of their pikes. At the length, they were driuen to retire towards their fotemen, and *Publius Craſſus* among them, who was very ill by reaſon of the woundes he had receiued. And ſeeing a ſand hill by chaunce not farre from them,they went thither,and ſetting their horſe in the middeſt of it, compaſſed it in round with their targets, thinking by this meanes to couer and defend them ſelues the better from the barbarous people: howbeit they found it contrary. For the countrey being plaine,they in the formoſt ranckes did ſomewhat couer them behinde, but they that were behinde, ſtanding higher then they that ſtoode formoſt(by reaſon of the nature of the hil that was higheſt in the middeſt)could by no meanes ſaue them ſelues,but were all hurt alike,as well the one as the other, bewailing their owne miſery and misfortune, that muſt needes die without reuenge, or declaration of their valiancy. At that preſent time there were two GRECIANS about *Publius Craſſus*, *Hieronymus*, and *Nicomachus*, who dwelt in thoſe quarters, in the city of CARRES: they both counſelled *P. Craſſus* to ſteale away with them,and to flie to a city called ISCHNES, that was not farre from thence, and tooke the ROMAINES part. But *P.* aunſwered them, that there was no death ſo cruell as could make him forſake them, that died for his ſake. When he had ſo ſayd, wiſhing them to ſaue them ſelues,he embraced them,and tooke his leaue of them: and being very ſore hurt with the ſhot of an arrow through one of his handes, commaunded one of his gentlemen to thruſt him through with a ſword,and ſo turned his ſide to him for the purpoſe. It is reported *Cenſorinus* did the like. But *Megabacchus* ſlue him ſelfe with his owne handes, and ſo did the moſt part of the gentlemen that were of that company. And for thoſe that were left aliue, the PARTHIANS got vp the ſand hill,and fighting with them,thruſt them through with their ſpeares and pikes, and tooke but fiue hundred priſoners. After that, they ſtroke off *Publius Craſſus* head, and thereupon returned ſtraight to ſet vpon his father *Craſſus*, who was then in this ſtate. *Craſſus* the father,after he had willed his ſon to charge the enemies, and that one brought him word he had broken them,and purſued the chaſe:& perceiuing alſo that they that remained in their great battell, did not preaſe vpon him ſo neare as they did before, becauſe that a great number of them were gone after the other for reſcue: he then began to be liuely againe, and keeping his men cloſe, retyred with them the beſt he could by a hils ſide, looking euer that his ſonne would not be long before that hee returned from the chaſe. But *Publius* ſeeing him ſelfe in daunger, had ſent diuerſe meſſengers to his father, to aduertiſe him of his diſtreſſe, whom the PARTHIANS intercepted and ſlue by the way: and the laſt meſſengers he ſent, ſcaping very hardly, brought *Craſſus* newes, that his ſonne was but caſt away, if he did not preſently aide him, and that with a great power. Theſe newes were grieuous to *Craſſus* in two reſpects: firſt for the feare he had, ſeeing him ſelfe in daunger to loſe all: and

*Carres a city of Meſopotamia.*
*Iſchnes, a city.*

*The death of Publius Craſſus.*

ſecondly for the vehement deſire he had to goe to his ſonnes helpe. Thus he ſaw in reaſon all would come to nought, and in fine determined to go with all his power, to the reſcue of his ſonne. But in the meane time the enemies were returned from his ſonnes ouerthrow, with a more dreadfull noyſe and crie of victorie, than euer before: and thereupon their deadly ſounding droms filled the aire with their wonderfull noiſe. The ROMAINES then looked ſtraight for a hot allarme. But the PARTHIANS that brought ***Publius Craſſus*** head vpon the point of a lance, comming neere to the ROMAINES, ſhewed them his head, and asked them in deriſion, if they knew what houſe he was of, and who were his parents: for it is not likely (ſaid they) that ſo noble and valiant a young man, ſhould be the ſonne of ſo cowardly a father, as *Craſſus*. The ſight of ***Publius Craſſus*** head killed the ROMAINES hearts more, than any other daunger they had bene in at any time in all the battell. For it did not ſet their hearts a fire as it ſhould haue done, with anger, and deſire of reuenge: but farre otherwiſe, made them quake for feare, & ſtroke them ſtarcke dead to behold it. Yet *Craſſus* ſelfe ſhewed greater courage in this miſfortune, than he before had done in all the warre beſide. For riding by euery band he cried out aloude. The griefe and ſorrow of this loſſe (my fellowes) is no mans but mine, mine only: but the noble ſucceſſe and honor of ROME remaineth ſtill vnuincible, ſo long as you are yet liuing. Now, if you pitie my loſſe of ſo noble and valiant a ſonne, my good ſouldiers, let me intreate you to turne your ſorrow into furie: make them deerely buy the ioy, they haue gotten: be reuenged of their crueltie, and let not my misfortune feare you. For why: aſpiring mindes ſometime muſt needes ſuſteine loſſe. *Lucullus* ouercame not *Tigranes*, nor *Scipio Antiochus*, but their bloud did pay for it. Our aunceſters in olde time loſt a thouſand ſhippes, yea in ITALIE diuers armies and chieftaines for the conqueſt of SICILIA: yet for all the loſſe of them, at the length they were victorious ouer them, by whom they were before vanquiſhed. For the Empire of ROME came not to that greatneſſe it now is at, by good fortune onely, but by patience and conſtant ſuffering of trouble and aduerſitie, neuer yeelding or giuing place vnto any daunger. *Craſſus* vſing theſe perſwaſions to encourage his ſouldiers for reſolution, found that all his wordes wrought none effect: but contrarily, after he had commaunded them to giue the ſhowte of battell, he plainely ſawe their heartes were done, for that their ſhowt roſe but faint, and not all alike. The PARTHIANS on the other ſide, their ſhowt was great, and luſtely they rang it out. Now when they came to ioyne, the PARTHIANS archers on herſebacke compaſſing in the ROMAINS vpō the wings, ſhot an infinite number of arrows at their ſides. But their men at armes giuing charge vpon the front of the ROMAINS battel with their great lances, compelled them to draw into a narrow roome, a fewe excepted, that valiantly, and in deſperate maner ranne in among them, as men rather deſiring ſo to die, than to be ſlaine with their arrows, where they could do the PARTHIANS almoſt no hurt at all. So were they ſoone diſpatcht, with the great launces that ranne them through, head, wood and all, with ſuch a force, as oftentimes they ranne through two at once. Thus when they had fought the whole day, night drew on, and made them retire, ſaying: they would giue *Craſſus* that nights reſpit, to lament and bewaile his ſonnes death: vnleſſe that otherwiſe he wiſely looking about him, thought it better for his ſafety to come and offer him ſelfe to king *Arſaces* mercy, then to tarie to be brought vnto him by force. So the PARTHIANS camping hard by the ROMAINS, were in very good hope to ouerthrow him the next morning. The ROMAINES on the other ſide had a maruellous ill night, making no reckoning to bury their dead, nor to dreſſe their wounded men, that died in miſerable paine: but euery man bewailed his hard fortune, when they ſaw not one of them could eſcape, if they taried til the morning. On the other ſide, to depart in the night through that deſert, their wounded men did grieue them much. Becauſe, to cary them ſo away, they knew it would let their flight: and yet to leaue them ſo behinde, their pittifull cries would giue the enemies knowledge of their departure. Now, though they all thought *Craſſus* the only author of their miſery, yet were they deſirous to ſee his face, and to heare him ſpeake. But *Craſſus* went a ſide without light, and layed him downe with his head couered, becauſe he would ſee no man, ſhewing thereby the common ſort an example of vnſtable fortune: and the wiſe men, a good learning to know the fruites of ill counſell, and vaine ambition, that had ſo much blinded him, as he could not be content to commaund ſo many

*hians ſight*

*Craſſus oration to his ſouldiers when his heart was full of ſorrow.*

*Craſſus an example of fortunes inconſtancie.*

thouſandes of men, but thought (as a man would ſay) himſelfe the meaneſt of all other, and one that poſſeſt nothing, becauſe he was accounted inferior vnto two perſons onely, *Pompey* and *Cæſar*. Notwithſtanding, *Octauius* one of his chiefetaines, and *Caßius* the treaſurer, made him riſe, and ſought to comfort him the beſt they could. But in the end, ſeeing him ſo ouercome with ſorrow, and out of heart, that he had no life nor ſpirite in him: they themſelues called the Captaines and Centurions together, and ſate in counſell for their departure, and ſo agreed that there was no longer tarying for them. Thus of their owne authority at the firſt they made the armie march away without any ſound of trumpet or other noyſe. But immediatly after, they that were left hurt and ſicke, and could not follow, ſeeing the campe remoue, fell a crying out and tormenting themſelues in ſuch ſort, that they filled the whole campe with ſorrow, and put them out of all order with the great mone and loude lamentation: ſo as the formoſt ranke that firſt diſlodged, fell into a maruellous feare, thinking they had bene the enemies that had come and ſet vppon them. Then turning oft, and ſetting themſelues in battell ray, one while loading their beaſts with the wounded men, an other while vnloding them againe, they were left behinde, ſauing three hundred horſemen that ſcaped, who came about midnight to the citie of CARRES. *Ignatius* their Captaine called to the watch on the walles, and ſpake in the Latine tongue. Who anſwering, he willed them to tell *Coponius*, Gouernor of the towne, that *Craſſus* had fought a great battell with the PARTHIANS, and ſaid no more, neither tolde what he was: but rode on ſtill, till he came to the bridge which *Craſſus* had made ouer Euphrates. Yet this word *Ignatius* gaue to the watch to tell *Coponius*, ſerued *Craſſus* turne very well. For *Coponius* thought by this great haſt of his, and the ſhorte confuſed ſpeeche he made, paſſing on his way, that he had no good newes to tell them: wherefore he ſtraight armed his ſouldiers, and vnderſtanding that *Craſſus* was returning backe, went to meete him, and brought him & his army into the city of CARRES. The PARTHIANS knew well enough of the remouing of the ROMAINS campe, but yet would not follow thē in the night, but the next morning entring into their campe where they lay, ſlue all that were left behinde, which were about foure thouſand men: and riding after them that were gone, tooke many ſtragglers in the plaine. Among them there was *Barguntinus*, one of *Craſſus* Lieutenants, who ſtraied in the night out of the army with foure whole enſignes, and hauing loſt his way, got a hill, where the PARTHIANS beſieged him, ſlue him and all his company, though he valiantly there defended himſelfe: yet twenty of them onely eſcaped, who with their ſwordes drawne in their hands, running forward with their heads, thruſt in among the thickeſt of the PARTHIANS: They wondering at their deſperation, opened of themſelues, & ſuffered them to march on towards the city of CARRES. In the meane time falſe newes was brought to *Surena*, how *Craſſus* with all the chiefeſt men of his hoſt was fled, & that the great number that were receiued into the city of CARRES were men of all ſorts gathered together, and not a man of any qualitie or eſtimation. *Surena* thereupon thinking he had loſt the honour of his victory, yet ſtanding in ſome doubt of it, becauſe he would know the troth, that he might either beſiege the city of CARRES, or purſue after *Craſſus*: ſent one of his interpreters to the walles of the city, charging him to cal for *Craſſus*, or *Caßius*, and to tell them that *Surena* would parle with them. The interpreter did as he was commaunded. Word was brought to *Craſſus*, and he accepted parlance. Shortly after alſo, thither came certaine ſouldiers of the ARABIANS from the campe of the PARTHIANS, who knew *Craſſus* and *Caßius* very well by ſight, hauing diuers times ſeene them in their campe before the battell. Theſe ARABIANS ſeeing *Caßius* vpon the walles, told him, that *Surena* was contented to make peace with them, and to let them goe ſafely, as his maiſters good friendes, ſo that they would ſurrender MESOPOTAMIA into the king of PARTHIANS handes, and how they thought that was the beſt way for both parties, rather then to be enforced vnto it by extremity. *Caßius* thought this a good offer, and told them, that they muſt appoint the day and place, where *Craſſus* and *Surena* ſhould meete to talke together of the matter. The ARABIANS made aunſwere they would doe it: and ſo departed. *Surena* hearing this, was glad he had them at ſuch aduantage, where he might beſiege them. The next day he brought al his army before the city of CARRES. There the PARTHIANS maruellouſly reuiled the ROMAINES, and told them, they muſt deliuer them *Craſſus* and *Caßius* bound hands and

*raſſus flying*

*Coponius Gouernor of Carres in Meſopotamia.*

*The valiantneſſe of twenty Romaines.*

*A ſtratagem of Surena.*

feete, if they would haue any grace or peace with them. The Romaines were maruellouſly offended that they were thus deceiued, & told *Craſſus* that it was no boote any longer to looke for aide of the Armenians, but preſently to flie: howbeit to keepe it ſecret in any wiſe from any of the Carrenians, till the very houre of their departure. Yet *Craſſus* ſelfe had told it to *Andromachus*, the verieſt traitor and villain in al the city, whom he had choſen to be his guide. This traitor *Andromachus* aduertiſed the enemies in euery point, of their purpoſe and departure. But becauſe the Parthians do neuer vſe to fight in the night, & that it was a hard matter to bring them to it, and againe that *Craſſus* departed in the night time: *Andromachus* was affraid leaſt the Romaines would win ſuch ground before the Parthians, as they could not poſſibly ouertake him the next day. Therefore of purpoſe he ſometime brought them one way, other while an other way, and at the laſt, brought them into a great bogge or mariſh, full of deepe holes and ditches, and where they muſt needes make many turnes and returnes before they could get out againe, and yet very hardly. Whereupon, ſome in the armie began to miſtruſt, that *Andromachus* ment no good to turne and toſſe them vp and downe in that ſort, and therefore would followe him no more: inſomuch as *Caſſius* among others, returned towardes the citie of Carres againe, from whence they came. And when his guides (who were Arabians) counſelled him to tary there, til the moone were out of the ſigne of *Scorpio*, he anſwered them: I feare the ſigne of *Sagittarie* more. So as ſoone as he could, he tooke his way towardes Assyria with fiue hundred horſemen. And other of the armie alſo hauing faithfull guides, recouered a countrie of the mountaines, called Sinnaca, and retired into a ſafe place before the breake of day: and they were about fiue hundred men, whom *Octauius* a noble man had in charge. But the day ſtale vpon *Craſſus*, hunting vp & down yet in the marriſſe, in thoſe ill fauored places, into the which *Andromachus* that traitor had of purpoſe brought him, hauing with him foure enſignes of footmen all with targets, and very few horſemen, and fiue ſergeants that caried the axes and roddes before him: with whom, with much a do and great labour, he got into the right way, when the enemies were almoſt vpon him, and that he was within twelue furlong of ioyning with *Octauius*. There in haſt he had gotten a hil, which was not ſo ſteepe for horſemen, neither of ſuch ſtrength as the other hilles were, called *Sinnaees*, yet vnder them, and ioyning to them by a long hill that runneth alongſt the plaine, ſo as *Octauius* plainly ſaw the danger *Craſſus* was in. Thereupon he firſt ran downe the hilles with a few of his men that followed him: but after alſo came all the reſt, ſaying they were cowards if they ſhould tary behinde. At their comming they gaue ſuch a hot onſet vpon the Parthians, that they made them giue back from that hill: and compaſſing *Craſſus* in the middeſt of them, couering him rounde with their targets, they ſpake nobly, that neuer arrowe of the Parthians ſhould touche the bodie of their Generall, before they were ſlaine one after an other, and that they had fought it out to the laſt man in his defence. Hereupon *Surena* perceiuing the Parthians were not ſo couragious as they were wont to be, and that if night came vpon them, and that the Romaines did once recouer the high mountaines, they could neuer poſſibly be met withall againe: he thought cunningly to beguile *Craſſus* once more by this deuiſe. He let certaine priſoners goe of purpoſe, before whom he made his men giue out this ſpeech. That the king of Parthia would haue no mortall warre with the Romaines: but farre otherwiſe, he rather deſired their friendſhip, by ſhewing them ſome notable fauour, as to vſe *Craſſus* very courteouſly. And to giue colour to this brute, he called his men from fight, and going himſelfe in perſon towards *Craſſus*, with the chiefeſt of the nobility of his hoaſt, in quiet maner, his bow vnbent: he held out his right hand, and called *Craſſus* to talke with him of peace, and ſaid vnto him. Though the Romaines had felt the force & power of their king, it was againſt his will, for he could do no leſſe but defend himſelfe: howbeit that now he was very willing and deſirous to make them taſt of his mercy & clemencie, and was contented to make peace with them, and to let them go ſafely where they would. All the Romaines beſides *Craſſus* were glad of *Surenaes* words. But *Craſſus* that had bene deceiued before by their crafty fetches and deuiſes, conſidering alſo no cauſe apparant to make them change thus ſodainly: would not hearken to it, but firſt conſulted with his friends. Howbeit the ſoldiers they cried out on him to goe, and fell at wordes with him, ſaying: that he cared not though they

*Andromachus treaſon to Craſſus.*

*The Parthians do neuer fight by night.*

*Caſſius gentle anſwere in the ſtraights.*

*The worthines of the Romaine ſouldiers to their chiefetaine.*

*An other ſtratageme of Surena.*

*Surenaes craftie ſpeeche to Craſſus.*

were all ſlaine, and that himſelfe had not the heart only to come downe and talke with the enemies that were vnarmed. *Craſſus* proued firſt to pacifie them by faire meanes, perſwading them to beare a litle patience but till night, which was at hande, and then they might ſafely depart at their pleaſure, and recouer the mountaines and ſtraight paſſages, where their enemies could not follow them: and pointing them the way with his finger, he prayed them not to be faint hearted, nor to deſpaire of their ſafetie, ſeeing they were ſo neere it. But in the ende *Craſſus* perceiuing they fell to mutiny, and beating of their harnes did threaten him if he went not, fearing then they would doe him ſome villany: went towardes the enemy, and comming backe a litle, ſaid only theſe wordes: O *Octauius*, and you *Petronius*, with all you ROMAINE gentlemen that haue charge in this armie: you all ſee now how againſt my will I am enforced to go to the place I would not, & can witnes with me, how I am driuen with ſhame and force.
„ Yet I pray you if your fortunes be to eſcape this danger, that ye will report whereſoeuer you
„ come, that *Craſſus* was ſlaine, not deliuered vp by his own ſouldiers into the hands of the barbarous
„ people, as I am: but deceiued by the fraud and ſubtilty of his enemies. *Octauius* would not tary behind on the hill, but went down with *Craſſus*: but *Craſſus* ſent away his officers that followed him. The firſt that came frō the PARTHIANS vnto *Craſſus* were two mongrel GRECIANS, who diſmounting from their horſe ſaluted him, and prayed him to ſend ſome of his men before, and *Surena* would ſhewe them, that both himſelfe and his traine came vnarmed towards him. *Craſſus* thereto made them aunſwer, that if he had made any account of his life, he would not haue put himſelfe into their hands. Notwithſtanding he ſent two brethren before, called the ROSCIANS, to knowe what number of men, and to what ende they met ſo many together. Theſe two brethren came no ſooner to *Surena*, but they were ſtayed: and himſelfe in the meane time kept on his way a horſe backe, with the nobleſt men of his army. Now when *Surena* came neere to *Craſſus*: why, how now (quoth he) what meaneth this? a Conſull and Lieutenant generall of ROME a foote, and we a horſebacke? Therewithall he ſtraight commaunded one of his men to bring him a horſe. *Craſſus* aunſwered *Surena* againe: In that, they neither of both offended, following the vſe and maner of their country, when any meeting is made for treatie of peace. *Surena* replied: As for the treatie of peace, that was already agreed vpon betwene the king *Hyrodes*, and the ROMAINES: howbeit that they were to go to the riuer, and there to ſet downe the articles in writing. For you ROMAINES, ſaid he, do not greatly remember the capitulations you haue agreed vpon. With thoſe wordes he gaue him his right hand. As *Craſſus* was ſending for a horſe, you ſhall not neede, ſaid *Surena*, for looke, the king doth preſent you this. And ſtraight one was brought him with a ſteele ſaddle richly gilt, vpon the which his gentlemen mounted *Craſſus* immediatly, and following him behinde, laſhed his horſe to make him runne the ſwifter. *Octauius* ſeeing that, firſt laide hand on the bridle, then *Petronius* Colonell of a thouſand footmen: and after them, all the reſt of the ROMAINES alſo gathered about *Craſſus* to ſtay the horſe, & to take him from them by force, that preſſed him on of either ſide. So they thruſt one at an other at the firſt very angrily, and at the laſt fell to blowes. Then *Octauius* drew out his ſword, and ſlue one of the barbarous noble mens horſekeepers: and another came behinde him, and ſlue *Octauius*. *Petronius* had no target, and receiuing a blow on his curaces, lighted from his horſe, and had no hurte: and on the other ſide came *Pomaxathres*, one of the PARTHIANS, and ſlue *Craſſus*. Some ſay notwithſtanding, that *Pomaxathres* ſlue him not, but an other, yet that he cut off his head and his hand after he fell dead to the ground. But all theſe reports are rather coniectures, then any certainty. For as for them that were there, ſome of them were ſlaine in the field fighting for *Craſſus*, and other ſaued themſelues by flying to the hill. The PARTHIANS followed them, and tolde them that *Craſſus* had paide the paine he had deſerued: and for the reſt, that *Surena* bad them come downe with ſafetie. Then ſome of them yeelded to their enemies: and other diſperſed themſelues when night came, and of them very fewe eſcaped with life. Other being followed and purſued by the ARABIANS, were all put to the ſworde. So as it is thought there were ſlaine in this ouerthrow, about twentie thouſand men, and ten thouſand taken priſoners. *Surena* had now ſent *Craſſus* head and his hand vnto *Hyrodes*, the king his maiſter, into ARMENIA: and gaue out a brute as farre as the citie of SELEVCIA, that he brought *Craſſus* aliue,

*Craſſus wordes to the Romains going to his death.*

*Surenaes craft to Craſſus.*

*Octauius ſlaine.*

*Craſſus ſlaine.*

*The number of the Romaines that were ſlaine and taken.*

liue, and that he had prepared a ſight to laugh at, which he called his triumph. Among the ROMAINE priſoners there was one called *Caius Pacianus*, who was very like *Craſſus*: him they clothed in womans apparell of the PARTHIANS, and had taught him to anſwere, when any called him *Craſſus*, or Lord captaine. Him they put a horſebacke, and had many trumpets before him, and ſergeantes vpon camels backes, that caried axes before them, and bundles of roddes, and many purſes tyed to the bundles of roddes, and ROMAINES heads newly cut off, tyed to the axes: and after him followed all the ſtrumpets and women minſtrels of SELEVCIA, who went ſinging of ſongs of mockery and deriſion of *Craſſus* womaniſh cowardlineſſe. Now for theſe open ſhewes, euery one might ſee them: but beſides that ſight, *Surena* hauing called the Senate of SELEVCIA together, laide before them *Ariſtides* bookes of ribaldrie, intituled the Mileſians, which was no fable, for they were found in a ROMAINES fardle or truſſe, called *Ruſtius*. This gaue *Surena* great cauſe to ſcorne and deſpiſe the behauiour of the ROMAINES, which was ſo farre out of order, that euen in the warres they could not refraine from doing euill, and from the reading of ſuch vile bookes. Then the Senatours of SELEVCIA found that *Æſope* was a wiſe man, who ſaid, that euery man caried a ſacke on his necke, and that they put other mens faultes at the ſackes mouth, and their owne towardes the bottome of the ſacke. When they conſidered that *Surena* had put the book of the laſciuiouſnes of the MILESIANS at the ſackes mouth, and a long taile of the PARTHIANS vaine pleaſures and delightes in the bottome of the ſacke, carying ſuch a number of carts loden with naughtie packes in his armie as he did, which ſeemed an army of ermites and fielde miſe. For in the voward and foremoſtranckes, all appeared terrible and cruell, being onely launces, pikes, bowes, and horſe: but all they ended afterwards in the rereward with a traine of harlots, inſtruments of muſicke, daunſing, ſinging, banqueting, and ryoting all night with Curtiſans. I will not deny but *Ruſtius* deſerued blame: but yet withall, I ſay, that the PARTHIANS were ſhameleſſe to reproue theſe bookes of the vanities of the MILESIANS, conſidering that many of their kings, and of the royal bloud of the *Arſacides*, were borne of the IONIAN & MILESIAN curtiſans. Things paſſing thus in this ſorte, king *Hyrodes* had made peace & league with *Artabazes* king of ARMENIA, who gaue his ſiſter in mariage vnto *Pacorus*, king *Hyrodes* ſonne, and made great feaſts one to another: in the which were many Greeke verſes ſong, *Hyrodes* ſelfe vnderſtanding well the Greeke tongue, and *Artabazes* was ſo perfit in it, that he himſelfe made certaine tragedies, orations, and ſtories, whereof ſome are yet extant at this day. The ſame night *Craſſus* head was brought, the tables being all taken vp, *Iaſon* a common plaier of enterludes (borne in the city of TRALLES) came before the kings, and recited a place of the tragedy of the BACCHANTES of *Euripides*, telling of the miſfortune of *Agaue*, who ſtrake off his ſonnes head. And as euery man tooke great pleaſure to heare him, *Sillaces* comming into the hall, after his humble duty firſt done to the king, deliuered him *Craſſus* head before them all. The PARTHIANS ſeeing that, fell a clapping of their handes, and made an outcry of ioy. The gentlemen huſhers by the kings commaundement, did ſet *Sillaces* at the table. *Iaſon* caſting off his apparell repreſenting *Pentheus* perſon, gaue it to an other player to put it on him, & counterfaiting the BACCHANTES poſſeſt with fury, beganne to rehearſe theſe verſes, with a ieſture, tune, and voice, of a man madde, and beſide him ſelfe.

*Surenaes triumph of Craſſus.*

*Ariſtides books intituled the Mileſians.*

*Æſops wiſe ſaying.*

*The deſcription of Surenaes army.*

*Craſſus head brought to Hyrodes.*

*Behold, we from the foreſt bring a ſtag now newly ſlaine,*
*A worthy booty and reward beſeeming well our paine.*

This maruellouſly pleaſed the company: and ſpecially ſinging theſe verſes afterwardes, where the Chorus both asked and anſwered him ſelfe.

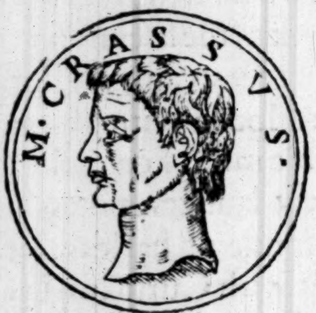
*VVho ſtrake this ſtag?*
*None elſe but I thereof may brag.*

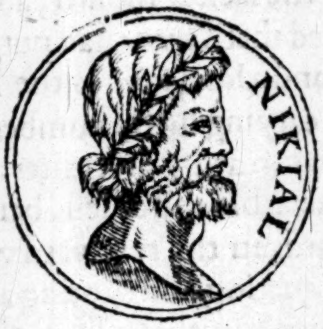
*Pomaxathres* hearing them diſpute about the matter, being ſet at the table with others, roſe ſtraight, and went and tooke the head him ſelfe, to whome of right it belonged to ſay thoſe wordes, and not vnto the player that ſpake them. King *Hyrodes* liked this ſport maruellouſly, and rewarded *Pomaxathres* according to the maner of the countrey in ſuch a caſe: and to *Iaſon* he alſo gaue a talent. Such was the ſucceſſe of *Craſſus* enterpriſe and voyage, much like vnto the end of a tragedy. But afterwardes, *Hyrodes* cruelty, and *Surenaes* fowle periury and craft, See the reward of craft and periury. The miſerable end of king Hyrodes and Surena.

Hyrodes ſtrangled by his ſonne.

were in the end iuſtly reuenged vpon them both, according to their deſerts. For king *Hyrodes* enuying *Surenaes* glorie, put *Surena* to death. And *Hyrodes* fell into a diſeaſe that became a dropſie, after he had loſt his ſonne *Pacorus*, who was ſlaine in a battell by the ROMAINES. *Phraates* his ſecond ſonne, thinking to ſet his father forwards, gaue him drinke of the iuice of Aconitum. The dropſie receiued the poiſon, and ōne draue the other out of *Hyrodes* body, and ſet him a foote againe. *Phraates* perceiuing his father to amend vpon it, to make ſhort worke, with his owne hands ſtrangled him.

# THE COMPARISON OF *Craſſus with Nicias.*





Nicias and Craſſus richeſſe.

Lycurgus ſaying.

BVt now to proceede to the compariſon: firſt, *Nicias* goods were more iuſtely gotten, and with leſſe reproach, than *Craſſus* wealth, for otherwiſe a man cannot giue any great praiſe to minerall works, the which are wrought by lewd and ill diſpoſed barbarous fellows kept in irons, and toiled to death in vnholſome and peſtilent places. But being compared vnto *Craſſus* buying of confiſcate goods at *Syllaes* handes, and vngentlemanly bargaines of houſes a fire, or in danger thereof: ſurely *Nicias* trade will appeare the better way of getting. For as openly did *Craſſus* auow vſury, as tillage. And again for other faults, wherewith *Craſſus* many times was burthened, and which he ſtoutly denied: as, that he tooke money of men hauing matters before the Senate at ROME, to winne fauor for their ſide: and that he preferred matters to the preiudice of the confederats of the ROMAINES, only for his priuate profit: and therefore curried fauor with Ladies, & generally ſought to cloke all foule offenders: of all theſe faults, was *Nicias* neuer ſo much as once ſuſpected. For he to the contrarie, was mocked of euery bodie, becauſe for feare he maintained wicked doers by giftes: which perhaps would not haue becommed *Pericles*, nor *Ariſtides*, and yet was meete for *Nicias*, who was borne a timerous natured man, and neuer had courage in him. Whereof *Lycurgus* the Orator did vaunte afterwardes to the people, being accuſed that he redeemed detractours with money: I am glad, ſaid he, that hauing dealt thus long in affaires of the ſtate, it is found I haue rather giuen than taken. And now touching expences: *Nicias* was thought the better and more ciuill citizen. For his charge and coſt was, in dedicating ſome goodly image to the goddes, or in making of publicke playes or paſtimes to recreate the people. But all the money he ſpent that way, and all that he was worth beſides, was nothing comparable, and but a ſmall parte of that *Craſſus* beſtowed in an open feaſt he made at ROME: feaſting ſo many thouſands at one time, and did finde and maintaine them alſo for a certaine time after. Now I cannot but wonder at thoſe men, that deny vice to be an inequality and diſagreement

of

*Nicias and Craſſus actes in the common wealth.*

*The duty of Gouernors & Magiſtrates.*

*Nicias fearefulneſſe.*

*Themiſtocles and Catoes vertues.*

of manners,repugnant in it ſelfe, ſeing men may honeſtly ſpend that which is naughtily gotten. Thus much for their goodes. For *Nicias* doings in the common weale, he did nothing maliciouſly,cruelly,nor vniuſtly,neither any thing of ſelfe will or ſtomacke, but rather dealt plainly and ſimply. For he was deceiued by truſting of *Alcibiades*, and neuer came to ſpeake before the people, but with great feare. *Craſſus* on the other ſide was reproued for his vnconſtancie and lightnes, for that he would eaſily chaunge friendes or enemies: and he himſelfe denied not, that he came to be Conſull the ſeconde time by plaine force and crueltie, hauing hired two murtherers to kill *Cato* & *Domitius*. And in the aſſembly the people held for deuiding of the prouinces,many men were hurte, and foure were ſlaine in the market place: and more then that, *Craſſus* himſelfe (which we haue forgotten to write in his life.) gaue one *Lucius Annalius* ſo ſore a blow on the face with his fiſt,for ſpeaking againſt him,that he ſent him going with blood about his eares. But as *Craſſus* in thoſe things was very fierce and cruell: ſo *Nicias* womaniſh behauior on the other ſide,and faint heart in matters of the cõmon wealth, humbling himſelfe to the meaneſt and moſt vile perſons, deſerueth great reproach. Where *Craſſus* in this reſpect ſhewed himſelfe aſſuredly of a noble mind,not contending with men of ſmall account,as with *Cleon*, or *Hyperbolus*, but would giue no place to *Caſars* fame and glory,nor yet to *Pompeyes* three triumphes, but ſought to goe euen with them in power and authority:and had immediatly before exceeded *Pompeyes* power, in the dignity of Cenſor. For Magiſtrates, and Gouernors of the common weale, ſhould make themſelues to be honored, but not enuied, killing enuie by the greatnes of their power. But if it were ſo that *Nicias* preferred quietnes, and the ſafety of his perſon aboue all things elſe, and that he feared *Alcibiades* in the pulpit for orations, the LACEDÆMONIANS in the forte of Pyle, and *Perdiccas* in THRACIA: he had liberty & ſcope enough to repoſe himſelf in the city of ATHENS,& might haue forborne the dealing in matters,and (as Rhetoricians ſay) haue put a hoode of quietnes vpon his head very well. For doubtleſſe, concerning his deſire to make peace, it was a godly minde in him,and an act worthy of a noble perſon,to bring that to paſſe he did, appeaſing all warre: wherein *Craſſus* certainly was not to be compared to him,though he had ioyned all the prouinces to the empire of ROME, that reach vnto the Caſpian ſea, and to the great Occean of the INDIAS. But on the other ſide alſo, when one hath to deale with people that can diſcerne when a man ruleth according to equitie and iuſtice, and that he ſeeth he is in the prime of his credit and authoritie: he muſt not then for lacke of courage ſuffer wicked men to ſteppe in his roome, nor giue occaſion to preferre ſuch to authoritie in the common weale, as are vnworthy for that place and countenaunce: neither ſhould alowe ſuch any credit, as are altogether of no credit nor truſt, as *Nicias* did: who was the only occaſion that *Cleon*, being before but a pratling Orator, was choſen Generall. Neither do I alſo commend *Craſſus*, for that in the warre againſt *Spartacus*, he made haſt to giue him battell, more raſhely then ſafely or conſiderately. For his ambition ſpurred him forward, becauſe he was afrayed leaſt *Pompeyes* comming ſhould take from him the glory of all that he had done in that warre: as *Mummius* tooke from *Metellus* the honor of the winning of CORINTHE. But beſides all this, *Nicias* fact therein was without the cõpaſſe of reaſon, and can no way be excuſed. For he did not reſigne his honor & office of Generall to *Cleon* his enemie,when there was hope of good ſucceſſe, or litle perill: but fearing the daunger of the iorney, he was contented to ſaue one, and tooke no care beſides for the common wealth. Which *Themiſtocles* ſhewed not, in the time of the warre againſt the PERSIANS. For he, to keepe *Epycides* an Orator (a man of no reckoning beſide his eloquence, and extreamely couetous) from being choſen generall of ATHENS, leaſt he ſhould haue ouerthrowne the common weale: ſecretly bribed him with money to leaue off his ſute. And *Cato* alſo when he ſawe the ſtate of ROME in greateſt danger, ſued to be tribune of the people for the common wealthes ſake. And *Nicias* in contrary maner,reſeruing himſelfe to make war with the city of MINOA, or with the Ile of CYTHERA, or with the poore vnfortunate MELIANS, if there fell out afterwards occaſion to fight againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, then away went his Captaines cloke,and he left the ſhippes,the armie, and munition to the charge and gouernment of *Cleons* raſhnes and ſmall experience of warre, when the neceſſitie of the ſeruice required the wiſeſt and moſt expert Captaine. The which he did not, deſpiſing the meanes to make him honored: but it was a plaine drawing backe, at time of need, to defend his countrie. Wherefore, afterwardes he was compelled againſt his will to be Generall, to make wars in SICILIA with the SYRACVSANS: becauſe the people thought he was not ſo earneſt to diſſwade the iorney, for that he thought it not meete for the common wealth, but becauſe through his ſloth and cowardlineſſe he would make his countrie loſe ſo good an oportunitie to conquer SICILE. Yet was this a great teſtimony of his honeſty and truſt they had in him: who though he euer hated warre, and did flie from the offices of honor and charge in the common wealth, his countrimen notwithſtanding did alwayes chuſe him, as the moſt experienced perſon, and meeteſt man of the citie. Now *Craſſus* in contrarie manner deſiring nothing elſe but to be Generall, could neuer attaine to it, but in the warre of the bondmen, and yet was it for lacke of another: (for *Pompey*, *Metellus*, and both the *Lucullus* were then abroade in the warres) although he was otherwiſe of great eſtimation and authority. Howbeit it ſeemeth to me, that his frends that loued him beſt, thought him (as the comicall Poet ſayeth)

*Nicias honeſtie.*

*A good man any way elſe, but in warres.*

*The diuerſitie betwixt Nicias and Craſſus*

His ambition notwithſtanding & couetous deſire of rule, did nothing benefit the ROMAINS. For the ATHENIANS ſent *Nicias* to the war againſt his will: but *Craſſus* led the ROMAINS thither againſt their willes. So that the common wealth fell into miſerie by the one, and the other through the common wealth was brought into miſerie: and yet therein there is rather cauſe to praiſe *Nicias*, then to blame *Craſſus*. For *Nicias* like a wiſe man, and a Captaine of great experiēce, could neuer ſo much as be brought to thinke they ſhould conquer SICILE: and therfore diſſwaded his countrimen from the iorney, & would giue no place to the vaine hope of the people of ATHENS. But *Craſſus* taking vpon him to make warres with the PARTHIANS, as though it had bene an eaſie matter to ouercome them, found himſelfe deceiued, yet did he aſpyre to great things. For as *Iulius Cæſar* had conquered and ſubdued to the Imperiall crowne of ROME, all the countries of the Weſt partes, to ſay the GAVLES, the GERMAINES, and ENGLAND: euen ſo did *Craſſus* deſire to go towards the Eaſt partes, to conquer all to the great weſt ſea of the INDIANS, and to ſubdue all the regions of ASIA, whereunto *Pompey* and *Lucullus* aſpyred, being both very noble perſonages, and ſuch as euer courteouſly behaued themſelues to all men: notwithſtanding, prouoked thereunto with the like deſire that *Craſſus* had. For when the charge of the warres in the Eaſt parts was aſſigned to *Pompey*, by decree and order of the people: the Senate vtterly miſliked it, and were againſt it all they could. When newes were brought to ROME that *Iulius Cæſar* in battell had ouerthrowne and ſlaine three hundreth thouſand GERMAINES, *Cato* perſwading with the Senate, was yet ſtill of this minde, that *Cæſar* ſhould be deliuered into the hands of his enemies whom he had ouercome, for to be puniſhed: thereby to turne the ſharpe reuenge and wrath of the gods from ROME, vpon him only, that was the vniuſt breaker of peace. This notwithſtāding, the people making none account of *Catoes* perſwaſions, made common feaſtes and proceſſions fifteene dayes together, and open ſacrifices to the gods with great ioy through the citie, to thanke thē for this famous victory. How gladde may we thinke would they haue bene, and how many dayes would they haue feaſted and ſacrificed, if *Craſſus* had written from BABYLON of his victory, and that he had conquered all the realmes of the MEDES, of the PERSIANS, of the HYRCANIANS, of SVSE, and of the BACTRIANS, and that he had made new gouernments and prouinces to the Empire of ROME?

*If a man will needes do wrong and iniuſtice,*

As *Eurypides* ſayeth to them, that cannot liue in peace, and be contented with their owne: he muſt not then ſticke at trifles, (as raiſing of a caſtell of Scandia, or of a citie of MENDA, or chaſing of the ÆGINETES being out of their own naturall countrie, and hiding themſelues like birdes without neaſts, in another birdes holes) but muſt deerely ſell the wrong he doeth, and not lightly contemne iuſtice, as a thing of ſmall account. For they that will commend the intent of *Alexander* the great in his voyage, for the conqueſtes he made in the Eaſt, and doe diſpraiſe *Craſſus* voyage: doe not well to iudge of the beginning, by the euents and ſucceſſe of the end. For executing of their offices, *Nicias* did many noble exployts. For he ouerthrew his

*Nicias actes commended.*

his enemies in diuerſe battels, and had almoſt taken the city of SYRACVSA: and ſure they cannot iuſtely blame him for all the misfortunes that chaunced in the warre of SICILIA, but partly the plague was a cauſe of it, and partly alſo the enuie of thoſe towardes him that remained at ATHENS. Where as *Craſſus* ranne into ſo many errors, and committed ſuch foule partes in all his voyage, that he gaue fortune no leaſure to do him good: ſo that I wonder not ſo much that his folly was ouercome by the power of the PARTHIANS, as that it could ouercome the good fortune of the ROMAINES. Sithens it ſo falleth out thẽ, that they both came to like vnfortunate end, *Nicias* prognoſticating before what things ſhould happen by arte and rule of diuination, and *Craſſus* contrarily diſdaining to obſerue any thing: ſure it falleth out hard in iudgment, which of them two proceeded with moſt ſafety. Yet according to the beſt approued opinions, a fault committed of feare is more excuſable, then of raſhnes and folly to breake any ancient lawe or cuſtome. For their deathes, *Craſſus* end deſerued leaſt reproach. For he againſt his will did yeeld himſelfe, and was neither bound nor mocked, but onely perſwaded by his friends, and through his enemies fraude and treaſon moſt traiterouſly deceiued: where *Nicias*, cowardly, and diſhonorably hoping to ſaue his life, truſting to the mercy of his enemies, made his death more infamous.

*Craſſus by his folly blemiſhed the happines of the Romaines.*

*Craſſus death more commendable then Nicias end.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Sertorius.*

PEraduẽture it is not to be maruelled at, if in long proces of time (fortune altering her effectes daily) theſe worldly euentes fall often out one like another. For whether it be that the varietie of things are infinite, fortune hath ſtore of matter apt enough to worke to likenes: or be it that worldly matters be cõprehended within determinate number: of neceſſitie one thing muſt fall out like an other, ſince they proceede from one cauſe, tyed to the ſame meanes it before did vſe. But becauſe men doe delight to compare ſuch chaunces together, as they haue ſeene or heard to haue happened ſo like, as if they had bene done of puropſe, the one by the example of the other: (as that of two men being both named *Attis*, both of them come of noble houſes, the one in SYRIA, and the other in ARCADIA, both the one and the other were ſlaine with a wilde bore. That of two called *Actaon*, the one

*Why chaunces of neceſſitie happen one like another.*

was torne in peeces by his dogs,the other by his louers. That of the two famous *Scipioes*, the CARTHAGINIANS were firſt ouercome by the one,and afterwards vtterly deſtroyed by the other. That the citie of TROYE was firſt taken by *Hercules*, for the horſes that *Laomedon* had promiſed him : the ſecond time by *Agamemnon*, by meanes of the great woodden horſe : and the third time by *Charidemus*,by means of a horſe that fell within the gate,& kept the TROYANS that they could not ſhutte it in time. And that of two ſweete ſmelling plantes, IOS, and SMYRNA,two cities were named, the one ſignifying the violet, and the other Mirre:it is ſuppoſed that the poet *Homer* was borne in the one, and that he died in the other) we may alſo adde to this example, that amongſt the auncient Captaines, the greateſt warriers, and that haue done the nobleſt exploytes by wit and warlike ſtratagemes, had but one eye : as *Philippe*, *Antigonus*, *Hanniball* and *Sertorius* alſo,whom we write of at this preſent. Whom we may truly reporte to haue bene more chaſt, than *Philippe* : more faithfull to his friend than *Antigonus* : more courteous to his enemies than *Hanniball*: and for wiſdome and iudgment to giue place to none of them,but in good fortune to them all. The which, though ſhe ſhewed her ſpight more to him, than to his enemies that were all great men : yet in experience he was equall with *Metellus*,in prowes and valiancie with *Pompey*,and in fortune with *Sylla*. So that being baniſhed his country, a ſtranger in another realme, and hauing to gouerne a barbarous nation, he notwithſtanding maintained wars for a time, againſt the power of the ROMAINS. Me thinkes therefore,that of all the GRECIAN Captaines I can liken none ſo well vnto him as *Eumenes* the CARDIAN. For both of them knew how to command, both were very valiant & politicke in wars, both were baniſhed men out of their countrie, both were Captaines ouer ſtraungers,and both of them were traiterouſly and villainouſly ſlaine by them, through whom they had before ouercome their enemies. Now for *Sertorius*, he came of worſhipfull parents, & was borne in the citie of NVRSIA in the coūtry of the SAMBINES. His father left him a very childe with his mother, who carefully brought him vp, and whom he ſingularly loued and reuerenced. Her name as they ſay was *Rhea*. His firſt riſing and beginning grew by pleading matters in law, which he could handle very well : inſomuch as being a young man he came to ROME,and wanne ſome name by his eloquence. Howbeit,the honor and eſtimation he atchieued afterwardes by his valiant actes, made him imploy all his ſtudie and ambitious care,to armes and warres. The firſt time of his ſouldierfare was,when the CIMBRES & TEVTONS inuaded GAVLE with a mighty army:where, whē the ROMAINS had bene ouercome vnder the leading of *Cæpio*, his horſe being ſlaine vnder him, and himſelfe hurt,he notwithſtanding ſwam ouer the riuer of Rone, with his corſelet & target vpon him, breaking the fury and rage of the riuer with meere ſtrength, ſo able and luſty a body he had to brooke all paines and hardnes. The ſecond time that theſe barbarous CIMBRES returned with an infinite number of fighting men,and with proude and dreadfull threates:the ROMAINES were thē ſo afrayd that they thought him a ſtout man that had but the courage to keepe his ranke, and obey his Captaine. At that time was *Marius* Generall of the ROMAINES armie, and then did *Sertorius* vndertake to goe and diſcouer the enemies campe. And for the purpoſe,apparelled himſelfe like a GAVLE, and learned the common wordes and phraſes of their language, to ſalute one another when they mette,and in this ſorte went among them : and hauing partly by ſight and reporte learned that he ſought for, he returned to *Marius*, who then gaue him ſuch honorable reward,as was due to his deſerte. All the time of the warres after, he did ſuch valiant actes and deedes of armes, that his Captaine had him in great eſtimation, and committed the chiefeſt matters to his charge. Whereupon the warres being ended with the TEVTONS & CIMBRES, *Sertorius* was ſent into SPAYNE, vnder *Didius* the Pretor,with charge of a thouſand footemen, with whom he wintered in the city of CASTVLO, in the marches of the CELTIBERIANS: where the ſouldiers finding plentie of victuals,fell to gluttonie and drunckennes, and committed great inſolencie, being ouercome with wine. Inſomuch as the barbarous people of the city grew to ſuch a miſliking and diſdaine of them,that they ſent one night to their nexte neighbours the GYRISENIANS for aide, and as they came by the ROMAINS lodgings,ſlue a great number of them. *Sertorius* hearing the noiſe, went immediatly out of the city with a few of his men,and gathering them together alſo that fled one after an

other

*The townes where Homer was borne and dyed.*

*Foure famous Captaines that had but one eye a peece.*

*The praiſe of Sertorius.*

*The parentage of Sertorius.*

*Rhea the mother of Sertorius.*

*Sertorius eloquent.*

*Sertorius firſt ſouldierfare.*

*Sertorius ſouldierfare vnder Marius*

*Sertorius Colonell of a 1000 footmen.*

*Caſtulo a citie of the Celtiberians.*

ther to ſaue themſelues, went round about the walles of the citie, and finding the gate open where the GYRISÆNIANS came in, there entered he alſo: who being more carefull than they had ſhewed themſelues, left the gates, and all the parts of the city well garded, and then put all to the ſword within that were of age to carrie weapon. Nowe when he had executed this reuenge, he commaunded all his ſouldiers to leaue off their owne apparell and weapons, and to take theſe of the barbarous people whom they had ſlaine, and to follow him to the city of the GYRISÆNIANS, from whence they came that had on ſuch a ſodaine aſſailed thẽ in the night. The GYRISÆNIANS ſeing the garments and weapons of their ſuppoſed men farre off, thinking certainly they had bene they: opened their gates, and a number of people went out, as to meete their friendes and cittizens, whom they thought had happely ſped of their purpoſe. Thus were a maruellous number of them ſlaine by the ROMAINES, euen hard at the gates of their citie: and the reſt putting themſelues to *Sertorius* mercy, he ſolde for ſlaues. After this exploit, *Sertorius* wanne great fame through all SPAINE, and returning to ROME, was made Queſtor or treaſuror generall of GAVLE, on this ſide of the mountaines, by the riuer of Po. A happy chaunce for ROME: for euen at that very preſent time fell out the warres of the confederates and allies of ITALIE, called the MARSIANS warre, in the which he had cõmiſſion to preſt ſouldiers, and to make armor. And therein he ſhewed ſuch diligence and expedition for quicke diſpatch of that ſeruice, in reſpect of the long delaye and careleſſe regarde other young men had of the ſame before: that he won the name to be a carefull man of his charge, and one that afterwardes would atchieue great enterpriſes. Furthermore, when he came to be a Captaine himſelfe, he would not let to venture his perſon as valiantly, as any other priuate ſouldier whatſoeuer, but did maruellous actes with his owne handes, euen in greateſt perilles and conflicts: inſomuch as at the length he loſt one of his eyes in fight. Whereof he was nothing aſhamed, but continually gloried in it: for others, ſayed he, do not alwaies carie the markes about them of their valiant ſeruice, but leaue them otherwhiles at home, as their chaines, carconets, iauelings, and crownes, giuen them by their Captaines for teſtimonie of their valiancie: howbeit that he alwaies caried the marks about him (whereſoeuer he went) of his ſeruice, ſo that ſuch as ſaw the bleamiſh of his eye, did therewithall witnes his valiantnes and courage. The people alſo did honor him as became them. For when he came into the Theater, they welcomed him with clapping of their hands, and great praiſes, which the ROMAINS did ſcantly vſe vnto their oldeſt Captaines, and which were moſt honored for their great and noble ſeruice. Neuertheleſſe, when he ſued to be Tribune, he was reiected by *Syllaes* practiſe who hindered him: whereupon grew as it ſeemeth, that grudge & malice which he euer after bare vnto *Sylla*. For after that *Marius* was fled being ouercome by *Sylla*, and that *Sylla* was gone out of ITALIE to make warre with *Mithridates*, and that of the two Conſuls, *Octauius* tooke part with *Sylla*, and *Cinna* the other Conſul (which ſought chaunge and alteration) was gathering men together to ſet vp *Marius* faction, that was in manner vnder foote: *Sertorius* tooke his parte, becauſe he ſaw that *Octauius* was but a ſlow and lither man, and did not beſides truſt any of *Marius* friends. So was there a cruell conflict betwene them, euen in the market place within the city ſelfe, where *Octauius* had the vpper hand: and *Cinna* and *Sertorius* ſcaped by flying, hauing loſt few leſſe then ten thouſand men in this only ouerthrowe. Neuertheleſſe, afterwardes through practiſe and policie, they got thoſe ſouldiers together againe that were diſperſed here and there through ITALIE, ſo as in ſhort time they made their power equall with *Octauius* force. *Marius* alſo being aduertiſed of the ſame, tooke the ſea incontinently, & returned into ITALIE out of AFRICKE, and came to *Cinna* to ſerue as a priuate ſouldier, vnder his Captaine and Conſul. Now they all liked wel, that *Marius* ſhould be receiued, ſauing *Sertorius*, who was againſt him all he could: fearing that either his credit and eſtimation ſhould diminiſh, *Cinna* hauing a worthier Captaine then himſelfe to ſerue him, or elſe that *Marius* cruelty and ſeuerity (who pardoned none offence) would marre altogether, hauing no ſtay in his anger, but bent vtterly to all kinde of crueltie to his enemies, if *Cinna* fortuned to haue the victory. And thereunto he added this further: that now they had the victory in maner in their hands, if they once receiued *Marius* vnto them, he would rob them of all the honor of ending this warre, and being alſo in authority, he was neither to be truſted

*Sertorius ſtratageme.*

*Sertorius treaſuror Generall of Gaule about the Po.*

*Padus fl.*

*Sertorius loſt one of his eyes by fight.*

*The occaſion of Sertorius malice vnto Sylla.*

*Sertorius tooke part with Cinna.*

*Sertorius diſſwaded Cinna to receiue Marius.*

nor commaunded. Whereunto *Cinna* anſwered thus: that he thought the wordes he had alleadged to be true, howbeit that he was aſhamed, and beſides, could not ſee with honeſty how he might refuſe *Marius*, or ſend him back, ſithence he had purpoſely ſent for him, to commit parte of the charge of theſe warres vnto him. *Sertorius* againe replied. Sure I thought *Marius* had come of his owne goodwill vnſent for, & therfore (as for the beſt in mine owne opinion) I gaue aduiſe not to receiue him: but ſithence it is ſo that you ſent for him before, and that he is now come vpon your commandement, you were much to blame to aske counſell whether you ſhould nowe receiue him or not. And therfore you muſt needes accept his ſeruice, that is come vpon your word: for, the bond of your promiſe paſt you, doth now cut off all counſell or other reſolution. Thereupon *Marius* was called for: and when he came, they deuided their whole army into three partes, and then beganne to charge vpon their enemies of all handes, ſo as they obteined victorie. Howbeit *Cinna* and *Marius* committed as horrible cruelty in this victory, as could poſſibly be ſhewed: inſomuch as the ROMAINS thought all the miſeries they had endured in time of this warre nothing, and but a play as it were, in reſpect of the great calamities they fell into afterwardes. Now *Sertorius* on the other ſide neuer cauſed man to be ſlaine for any priuate malice or quarrell he had with any perſon, neither did he hurte any man when he had ouercome, but was much offended with *Marius* inſolency & cruell murthers: and when he had good oportunity to ſpeake with *Cinna* apart, he did qualifie him the beſt he could, and made him more milde and tractable through his perſwaſion. In fine, *Sertorius* ſeeing *Marius* garded with a great number of bondmen for lacke of other ſoldiers in this warre, whom he vſed as executioners of his ſlaughter and butchery, alwayes attending about his perſonne as a garde, and ſuffering them alſo to make themſelues rich, partly with that he gaue them, or commaunded them to ſpoyle, and partely alſo with that they violently tooke without his commaundement of their own maſters, killing them when they had done, rauiſhing their miſtreſſes, & defiling their children: he could no longer abide ſuch wickednes and villainy, but made them all to be ſlain in their campe where they lay together, being no leſſe then foure thouſand perſons. Afterwards when he ſaw that the elder *Marius* was dead, and that ſoone after *Cinna* was ſlaine, the younger *Marius* his ſonne (againſt his counſell, and contrary to the lawes of ROME) had by force made himſelfe conſull: and that *Carbo*, *Scipio*, and *Norbanus* (which had bene ouercome by *Sylla*) were come out of GRECE to ROME wards, partly through the cowardlines of their captaines, and partely alſo becauſe they were betrayed and ſolde of their owne men: and further, conſidering therewithall, that his perſon could do no good in thoſe affaires which waxed worſe and worſe, by meanes of the authoritie of ſuch as had leaſt wit and vnderſtanding, and ſpecially alſo ſeing *Sylla* campe hard by *Scipio*, making much of him, and feeding him with hope of a good peace, whilſt vnderhand he wanne his ſouldiers from him, notwithſtanding that he was certainly warned and told of it before: *Sertorius* then vtterly deſpairing of ROMES proſperitie and welfare, departed from ROME to go towards SPAINE, thinking that if he could get the firſt poſſeſſion and gouernment of that realme, it would at the leaſt be a refuge and receite for all thoſe of their tribe, that ſhould chaunce to be baniſhed out of their country. Howbeit in his voyage thitherward, he met with fowle and rough weather: and paſſing through a cōtry of mountains, the barbarous people inhabiting the ſame, demaunded tribute of him, for licence to paſſe through their territories. Therat the ſoldiers of his company were maruellouſly offended, ſaying: that it were too much ſhame and diſhonor for a Proconſull of ROME, to pay tribute to vile barbarous people. Notwithſtāding, *Sertorius* paſſed not for the ſhame they ſayd it would be to him but anſwered them thus: that he bought time, which thing he ſhould moſt reckon of, that aſpireth to haughtie enterpriſes: and ſo pleaſed the barbarous people with money. And thus he made ſuch ſpeede, as he quickly recouered SPAINE, which he founde greatly repleniſhed with people, and ſpecially of young men able to weare armor. But now *Sertorius* perceiuing that they had bene hardly dealt withall before, through the inſolencie, pride, and couetouſnes of the ROMAINE gouernors, whom they ordinarily ſent from ROME, and that therfore they hated all manner of gouernment: firſt of all ſought to winne the good willes of all the whole countriemen one and other. Of the noblemen, by being familiar and conuerſant with them:

*Sertorius temperance.*

*Sertorius ſlew Marius gard of bondmen.*

*Sertorius went into Spaine.*

and of the common people, by eaſing them of their taxe and ſubſidies. But that which bred him moſt loue of all men generally was this: that he diſpenſed with them for lodging of ſouldiers, and receiuing of any garriſon within their cities, compelling his ſouldiers to ſet vp their tentes, and to make their cabines without the ſuburbes of great cities to winter there, & cauſing alſo his owne pauillion to be firſt ſet vp, and lay in it himſelfe in perſon. This notwithſtanding, he pleaſed not theſe barbarous people in all things to win their fauor: for he armed all the ROMAINE citizens of age to cary weapon that dwelt in SPAINE, and made them make all ſortes of engines for batterie, and a number of gallies beſides, ſo that he had all the cities at commandement, being very courteous to them in matters of peace, but in warlike munition, very dreadfull to his enemies. After *Sertorius* vnderſtoode that *Sylla* kept ROME, and that the moſt part of the tribe of *Marius* & *Carbo* was vtterly ouerthrowen, miſtruſting that it would not be long before they ſent ſome Captaine with a great armie againſt him: he ſent *Iulius Salinator* betimes to keepe the mountaines Pirenei, with ſixe thouſande men well armed. Immediatly after *Caius Annius* alſo came thither, ſent by *Sylla*: who ſeeing no poſsibilitie to diſtreſſe *Salinator* in a place of ſuch aduantage, was driuen to ſtay at the foote of the mountaine, not knowing what to determine. But by misfortune, one *Calphurnius* ſurnamed *Lanarius*, traiterouſly ſlew *Salinator*: whereupon his ſouldiers foorthwith forſooke the toppe of the mountaines, and by this meanes *Annius* had eaſie paſſage with his armie which was very great, and ouerthrew them that reſiſted his farther comming on into the country. *Sertorius* finding him ſelfe not ſtrong enough to fight with him, marched away with three thouſand men vnto the citie of new CARTHAGE, and there tooke ſea: from thence he coaſted ouer into AFRICKE, and fell with the coaſt of the MAVRVSIANS, where his ſouldiers landed immediatly for freſh water, diſperſing themſelues without keeping any order. Thereupon the barbarous people gaue a charge vpon them, & ſlew numbers of them: inſomuch as *Sertorius* was driuen to imbarke againe, and to take his courſe towards SPAINE, where he was kept from landing. Then was he driuen to take certaine pirates botes of the CILICIANS, and to ſaile towardes the Ile of PITYVSA, where he landed in deſpight of *Annius* garriſon, and put them to diſtreſſe. But ſhortly after came *Annius* thither himſelfe with a good number of ſhippes, and fiue thouſande fighting men in them. Him *Sertorius* determined to abide, and to fight withall by ſea, though he had but ſmall barkes, purpoſely made for ſwift ſailing, & of no ſtrength for fight. But now the Weſt winde riſing very bigge, did ſwell the ſea in ſuch ſort, that it caſt the moſt part of *Sertorius* ſhippes (being weake and very light) vpon rockes in the ſea, and himſelfe with a few being kept from land by his enemies, and from the ſea by ſtorme was driuen to ride ten daies together at anker, working ſtill for life againſt the danger of the ſurging waues & boiſterous windes, which continued rough all that time: yet in the end when it calmed againe he wayed anker, and ranne into certaine deſolate Iles, where was no water to be had. Then hoyſing ſaile from thence, he paſſed the ſtraight of Gilbratar, and turning on his right hande, landed vpon the coaſt of SPAINE, lying towardes the great Weſterne ſea, a litle aboue the mouth of the riuer of Bætis, the which falling into the ſea Atlanticum, gaue name in olde time to that part of SPAINE, which was called HISPANIA BÆTICA. There certaine ſailers met with him that were newly arriued from the Iles of the Ocean Atlanticum, which the aunciemts called, the fortunate Ilands. Theſe two Ilands are not farre one from an other, being but a litle arme of the ſea betweene them, and are from the coaſt of AFRICKE only tenne thouſand furlongs. They haue raine there very ſeldome, howbeit a gentle winde cōmonly that bloweth in a litle ſiluer dew, which moiſteth the earth ſo finely, that it maketh it fertile and luſtie, not onely to bring forth all that is ſet or ſowen vpon it, but of it ſelfe without mans hand it beareth ſo good frute, as ſufficiently maintaineth the inhabitants dwelling vpon it, liuing idlely, and taking no paines. The weather is faire and pleaſant continually, and neuer hurteth the body, the climate and ſeaſons of the yeare are ſo temperate, and the aire neuer extreame: becauſe the windes that blow vpon that land from the other ſide of the coaſt oppoſite to it, as the North & Eaſterly winde comming from the maine, what with their long comming, and then by diſperſing themſelues into a wonderfull large aire and great ſea, their ſtrength is in maner ſpent and gone before their comming thither. And for the windes that blow from the ſea (as the South and

*Sertorius courteſie to the Spaniards.*

*Sertorius flieth out of Spaine into Africke.*

*The Ile of Pityuſa.*

*The fortunate Ilandes.*

Weſterly) they ſometime bring litle ſhowers with them which commonly doe but moiſt the ground a litle, and make the earth bring forth all things very trimmely: inſomuch as the very barbarous people themſelues doe faithfully beleeue, that there are the Elyſian fieldes, the abode of bleſſed creatures, which *Homer* hath ſo much ſpoken of. *Sertorius* hearing report of theſe Ilandes (vpon a certaine deſire now to liue quietly out of tyranny and wars) had ſtraight a maruellous mind to go dwell there. But when the pyrates of CILICIA (who were no men of peace, but giuen altogether to ſpoile & pillage) heard that: they by and by forſooke *Sertorius*, & went into AFRICK, to reſtore *Aſcalius* the ſonne of *Iphtha* to his realme of MAVRITANIA againe. *Sertorius* quailed not for all their departure from him, but determined to aide them that made war againſt *Aſcalius*, and al to the end that his ſouldiers ſeeing matter of new hope and meanes to be imployed, ſhould not ſo leaue him, being faced afterwardes to be diſcharged of very neceſſity. The MAVRVSIANS being very glad of his arriualll, he preſently went on with his enterpriſe, ouercame *Aſcalius* in battell, and beſieged the citie whereinto vppon the ouerthrowe of his armie he was fled for refuge. *Sylla* being aduertiſed thereof, ſent *Paccianus* thither with an army to aide *Aſcalius*. *Sertorius* gaue him battell, ſlew him in the field, & wan the reſt of his army, which yeelded vnto him: then tooke he the citie of TINGIS, whereinto *Aſcalitus* was fled with his brethren. The LIBYANS write that *Antæus* is buried there. But *Sertorius* giuing no credite to the tales of the barbarous people of that countrie, by reaſon of the greatneſſe of the tombe they ſhewed: made it to be broken open round, and finding there the bodie of a man (as they ſay) of threeſcore cubits long, he maruelled at it, and ſo finiſhing his ſacrifice to honor the memory thereof, cauſed the tombe to be well cloſed vp againe. By this acte he did greatly increaſe the honour of *Antæus* memory, which the citie did vnto him, and thereby confirmed the countrymens report of *Antæus*. For the TINGIANS doe report, that after *Antæus* death, his wife *Tinga* lay with *Hercules*, and had a goodly ſonne by him called *Sophax*, who was king of that country, and there built this citie, giuing it his mothers name. Furthermore, it is ſaid alſo that this *Sophax* had a ſonne called *Diodorus*, who conquered the moſt part of AFRICKE with an army of the GRECIAN OLEIANIANS and MYCENIANS, which *Hercules* brought thither to inhabite thoſe partes. We were willing to imbrace the occaſion offered vs to ſpeake of this matter as we went, for the honor of *Inba*, the nobleſt hiſtoriographer that euer came of royall bloud: for it is thought his aunceſtors were lineally diſcended from *Sophax* & this *Diodorus*. *Sertorius* as conquerour now, hauing the whole country in ſubiection, did in no wiſe hurt them that yeelded vnto him, & put truſt in him, but reſtored them their goods, cities, and gouernment againe, contenting himſelfe with that they offered him of their good wils. But then ſtanding doubtfull what way to determine: the LVSITANIANS ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him, to intreate him to be their chiefetaine. For they ſtoode in great neede of a worthy perſonage, and a man expert in warres to defende them againſt the furie of the ROMAINES: and therefore they only truſted him, hearing of his honorable behauiour by them that were conuerſant with him. Whoſe qualities as we finde written, were theſe. He was neuer greatly moued, with feare nor ioy: but as he was a reſolute man without feare in moſt danger, ſo was he moſt temperate in greateſt proſperitie. In valiantneſſe inferiour to no Captaine of his time, and very quicke of execution in euery imminent danger. For where any preſent exploit was to be done, any ſtrong place of aduantage to lodge or fight in to be taken, or that he was to paſſe ouer any riuer, or ſcape any inſtant danger, where it ſtoode vpon ſpeedy execution, and to ſhewe ſome ſtratageme or policie in time and place to ſupplant the enemie: in thoſe matters he paſſingly excelled. Furthermore, he was both bountifull in rewarding good ſeruice, and mercifull in puniſhing of offenders: but this notwithſtanding, the foule murther he did in his latter daies vppon certaine young children that were pledges with him (which doubtleſſe was an act of great cruelty and anger that could not forgiue) doth manifeſtly proue, that he was neither mercifull nor courteous of nature: but that he many times did finely counterfaite it, when both the time and the warres did ſo require it. But for mine opinion, ſure I am perſwaded that no misfortune can haue power to make perfect vertue, grounded vpon good reaſon, to worke in any ſort contrarie to it ſelfe: neither doe I thinke it impoſſible alſo, but that mens good willes and gentle natures being iniured without cauſe,

*The Elyſian fieldes.*

*Sertorius wan the citie of Tingis.*

*Antæus tombe and greatneſſe.*

*Iuba, of a kings ſtocke.*

*Sertorius was ſent for by the Luſitanians to be their Captaine.*

*Sertorius vertues and qualities.*

*Sertorius bountie and clemencie.*

cauſe, may peraduenture change their naturall diſpoſitions. Which then proued true in *Sertorius*, who finding fortune contrary vnto him, and his good happe changed into ill, grew ſo crabbed and fierce of nature, that he would take cruell reuenge of them which had villanouſly betraied him. But now to our matter where we left. *Sertorius* departed out of AFRICK vpon the LVSITANIANS offer, who choſe him for their generall, giuing him abſolute power and authoritie: and ſo ſoone as he arriued, he ſtraight leauied men of warre, and with them ſubdued the people of SPAINE fronting vppon their marches, of which the more part did willingly ſubmit themſelues, vpon the brute that ranne of him to be mercifull and courteous, and a valiant man beſides in preſent danger. Furthermore, he lacked no fine deuiſes and ſubtilties to winne their good willes: as among others, the pollicie and deuiſe he had of the hynde, which was this. There was a poore man of the countrie called *Spanus*, who meeting by chance one day with a hynde in his way that had newly calued, flying from the hunters: he let the damme goe not being able to take her, and running after her calfe tooke it, which was a young hynde, and of a ſtrange haire, for ſhe was all milke white. It chaunced ſo, that *Sertorius* was at that time in thoſe partes, who was alwaies very glad when any man offered him ſuch maner of preſentes: as frutes, foule, or veniſon, and would make very much of them that brought them to him, and alſo reward them well for the ſame. So, this poore man preſented *Sertorius* with his young hynde, which he gladly receiued, and which with time he made ſo tame, that ſhe would come to him when he called her, and follow him where euer he went, being nothing the wilder for the daily ſight of ſuch a number of armed ſouldiers together as they were, nor yet affraid of the noyſe and tumult of the campe. Inſomuch as *Sertorius* by litle & litle made it a miracle, making the ſimple barbarous people beleeue that it was a gift that *Diana* had ſent him, by the which ſhe made him vnderſtande of many and ſundrie things to come: knowing well enough of himſelfe, that the barbarous people were men eaſily deceiued, and quickly caught by any ſubtill ſuperſtition, beſides that by Art alſo he brought them to beleeue it as a thing very true. For when he had any ſecret intelligence giuen him, that the enemies would inuade ſome part of the countries and prouinces ſubiect vnto him, or that they had taken any of his fortes from him by any intelligence or ſodaine attempt: hee ſtraight tolde them that his hynde ſpake to him as he ſlept, and had warned him both to arme his men, and put himſelfe in ſtrength. In like maner if he had heard any newes that one of his Lieutenantes had wonne a battell, or that he had any aduantage of his enemies, hee would hide the meſſenger, and bring his hynde abroad with a garlande and coller of noſegayes: and then ſay it was a token of ſome good newes comming towardes him, perſwading them withall to be of good cheare, and ſo did ſacrifice to the goddes, to giue them thankes for the good tidings he ſhould heare before it were long. Thus by putting this ſuperſtitiō into their heads, he made them the more tractable and obedient to his will, inſomuch as they thought they were not now gouerned any more by a ſtranger wiſer than themſelues, but were ſtedfaſtly perſwaded that they were rather led by ſome certaine god: and ſo much the more, becauſe that his deedes confirmed their opinions, ſeeing his power ſo daily to increaſe beyonde the hope and expectation of man. For with two thouſand fiue hundred ſouldiers, which he called ROMAINES (although the moſt of them indeed were AFRIKANS, which came ouer with him out of AFRICKE into SPAINE) & foure thouſand LVSITANIANS, with ſeuen hundred horſemen alſo, he made warre againſt foure great Captaines of ROME, which had the leading of ſixe ſcore thouſand footemen, two thouſand archers and ſlingmen, with a world of cities and countries beſides. Where *Sertorius* at the firſt had not aboue twentie at the moſt: and yet with this ſmall power to maintaine this warre withall, he did not only conquere great countries and many goodly cities, but tooke ſome of the Captaines priſoners alſo, whom the ROMAINES ſent againſt him. Of which company *Cotta* was one, whom he ouerthrew in battell by ſea, not farre from the citie of MELLARIA. He alſo ouercame *Fidius* in battell, being gouernor of SPAINE BAETICA, by the riuer of Bætis, where he ſlew two thouſand ROMAINES. By his treaſurer likewiſe he ouercame *Lucius Domitius*, Proconſull of the other prouince of SPAINE. And another time he diſcomfited *Toranius* an other Captaine, one of *Metellus* Lieutenants, whom he ſlew in fight with all his army. And *Metellus* ſelfe, being taken at that time

*Sertorius fained lie of the hynde.*

*Sertorius army.*

*The army of the Romaines led by foure Captaines.*

*Sertorius victories.*

for one of the moſt expert men of warre, and chiefeſt Captaines among the ROMAINES: him he put alſo ſo oft to diſtreſſe, that *Lucius Lollius* was fain to come out of GAVLE NARBONENSIS (now *Languedocke*) to aide. And they were furthermore driuen to ſend Pompey the great with all ſpeed from ROME with a new army. Becauſe *Metellus* knew not what courſe to take, hauing to fight with a moſt valiant man, & one whom he could neuer either bring to any ſet battell, nor yet entrappe in the plaine fielde (ſo eaſily could he caſt himſelfe into all kinde of formes) by reaſon of the dexteritie and ſwiftneſſe of his ſpaniſh ſouldiers being lightly armed. Where he cleane contrary, was wont to fight a pitched field, without remouing a foote, and to leade an army heauie armed, which could keepe their ranckes, and fighting ſteadily could ouerthrow their enemies with handſtrokes, and march vpon their bellies. But to clime vp the mountaines, and to be continually (as they were) charged in the rereward with theſe men armed as light as the winde, and to purſue them in chaſe that fled ſtill, and neuer kept place: it was vnpoſſible for them to do it, and much leſſe to abide hunger and thirſt, to liue without a kitchin and fire, and likewiſe to lie on the bare ground without tentes or pauillions, as *Sertorius* ſouldiers did. Furthermore *Metellus* being growen an old man (hauing ſpent all his youth in ſeruice of the warres, and taken and ſuffred great paines and troubles, giuing himſelfe now to quiet and pleaſure) was matched with *Sertorius*, being then euen at his beſt age, and luſtieſt of body, beſides that nature had made him both ſtrong, actiue, and temperate withall. For he was neuer giuen to his belly, nor to be a great bibber, when he was at moſt quiet, and out of warres, he was likewiſe acquainted with paines & hardnes from his youth, could away with long iorneies, watch many daies and nightes without ſleepe, eate litle, and content himſelfe with any meate that came to hand. And had he neuer ſo litle leaſure, he would continually be on horſebacke, riding a hunting vp and downe the fieldes, which made him very readie and expert to know how to winde himſelfe out of danger when he was diſtreſſed, and contrarily alſo to compaſſe in his enemie vpon any aduantage: and beſides, to ſee where he might enter, & where not. For this cauſe was *Metellus* driuen (who was ſtill deſirous to fight) to abide the loſſes & diſcommodities which they ſuffer that be vanquiſhed: and *Sertorius* on the other ſide refuſing battell, and flying before him, had all the vantage of him that they haue, which chaſe their enemies whom they haue ouercome. For hee cut off his victualles on euery ſide, tooke away his water, and kept him in from foraging. When he thought to march further forward, *Sertorius* ſtaied him. And when he lay ſtill in his campe, *Sertorius* came and gaue him alarums, and draue him to diſlodge. If *Metellus* laide ſiege to any place, *Sertorius* ſtraight beſieged him for want of victuals. So that his ſouldiers were euen weary of altogether. Wheruppon, when *Sertorius* challenged the combat of *Metellus*: oh, well ſaid, cryed all the ſouldiers, let Captaine fight againſt Captaine, and ROMAINE againſt a ROMAINE. Howbeit *Metellus* refuſed him, and the ſouldiers laughed him to ſcorne. Neuertheleſſe he did but ſmile at them, and therein ſhewed himſelfe a wiſe man: for as *Theophraſtus* ſaith, a Captaine muſt die as a Captaine, not like a priuate ſouldier. Furthermore, *Metellus* conſidering that the LANGOBRITES (who gaue great aide vnto *Sertorius* in all ſeruices) were eaſie to be taken for lacke of water (hauing but one only well in all their city) and that whoſoeuer did beſiege that ſame, ſhould ſtraight be maſter of all the ſpring heades of the ſuburbes about it, hoping thereby to make the citie yeelde vnto him within two dayes at the vtmoſt: he commaunded his ſouldiers to victuall themſelues for fiue daies only. But *Sertorius* hauing intelligence thereof, gaue good direction and ſpeedy order to preuent him. For he cauſed two thouſand goates skinnes to be filled with water, and promiſed round ſummes of money for euery skinne brought thither. Many SPANYARDS and MAVRVSIANS ſtraight tooke vpon them the enterpriſe. Therupon *Sertorius* chooſing the luſtieſt men among them, ſent them away through the mountaine, commaunding them withall, that when they deliuered their goates skinnes with water vnto the citizens, they ſhould cauſe them foorthwith to put out all their idle people, that the water might laſt them the longer which defended the city. *Metellus* receiuing aduertiſement hereof, was much agrieued withall, becauſe his ſouldiers victuals were well neere ſpent, which they had brought according to his commandement: and therefore he ſent *Aquinus* one of his Lieutenantes, with ſixe thouſand men to get victuals. *Sertorius* hauing intelligence of his purpoſe,

*This place may well be taken two waies, and either of both allowable: and according to the other it might be ſaid, to leade Romaine citizens to the wars, fighting like valiant men.*

*Sertorius warlike vertues.*

*Metellus practiſeth to beſiege the Langobrites, and to take their citie for lacke of water.*

*Sertorius finely deceiued Metellus, at the ſiege of the Langobrites.*

preſently laide an ambuſh for his returne in a valley full of wodde, and beſtowed there three thouſande men to ſet vppon the rereward, whileſt he himſelfe gaue charge on the vowarde. Thus made he *Aquinus* flie, ſlew the moſt part of his men, and tooke the reſt priſoners. Howbeit *Aquinus* ſelfe the Captaine hauing loſt his weapons and horſe, by flying recouered *Metellus* campe: who thereupon was driuen with ſhame to raiſe his ſiege, being mocked of all the SPANYARDS. For theſe valiant deedes, was *Sertorius* wonderfully beloued and honored of all the barbarous people, and ſpecially becauſe he had made them good ſouldiers, brought them from their former rude and beaſtly fight, and had taught them to be armed after the ROMAINE faſhion, to keepe their ranckes when they fought, to follow their enſigne, & to take the ſignall and word of the battell: inſomuch as he made them then appeare a goodly army, well taught and trained, being before a confuſed multitude of theeues and robbers. Furthermore, he deuided great ſtore of gold and ſiluer among them, ſhewing them how they ſhould gilde their headpeeces, ſet out their ſhieldes and targettes with fine workemanſhippe, and alſo brauely apparell themſelues with rich clokes and ſleeueleſſe caſſockes vppon their armour, teaching them to be fine, and furniſhing them with money, whereby he maruellouſly wanne the heartes of the barbarous people. Yet did he farther binde them vnto him, by that he did vnto their children. For he ſent generally for all the noble mens young ſonnes, through all the countries and prouinces ſubiect vnto him: and brought them to the goodly citie of OSCA: where he prouided them of ſchoolemaſters to teach them the Greeke and Latine tongue: bearing their parentes in hande, that it was to no other end, but to make them (when they came to be men) meete to be imployed in the ſeruice of the common weale, albeit in deede it was but a fine deuiſe of him, to haue them as hoſtages for their faith and loyaltie towardes him. Then were the fathers of theſe children glad men to ſee their ſonnes apparelled like ROMAINES, in faire long gownes garded with purple, to goe ciuilly to the ſchooles: that *Sertorius* payed for their learning: and that oftentimes hee went thither to appoſe them, to ſee how they profited: and how he gaue rewardes vnto them that were the beſt ſchollers, hanging iewels about their necks, which the ROMAINES call Bulla. Inſomuch, that they hauing a cuſtome at that time in SPAINE, that ſuch as were about the Prince or their Chieftaine ſhould die with him when he died, that cuſtome of voluntarie vow to die with their Lorde, being called by the barbarous people, deuotion: there were very fewe of their followers and familiars that would vow to die with other Captaines, but on the other ſide, thouſandes commonly folowed *Sertorius*, hauing vowed to looſe their liues with him. And for proofe hereof it is reported, that when his army on a time was ouerthrowen by a certaine citie of SPAYNE, the enemies egerly purſuing him: the SPANYARDS not regarding their owne liues to ſaue his, tooke him vp on their ſhoulders, and ſo paſſed him from man to man vpon them, till they put him into the citie, who being ſafe & out of danger, they then looked by running to ſaue them ſelues the beſt they could. Thus was *Sertorius* not only beloued of the SPANYARDS, but of other ſouldiers alſo that came out of ITALIE. For when *Perpenna Vento*, being of the ſame faction, arriued in SPAINE full of mony & with a good number of ſouldiers, intending to make warre in his behalfe againſt *Metellus*: his ſouldiers fell out with him, and had none other talke in his campe but of *Sertorius*. The which ſpighted *Perpenna* to the hart, being proud & ſtately by meanes of his wealth and eſtate, comming of a noble houſe. Newes being come that *Pompey* was paſt ouer the mountaines Pyrenei, the ſouldiers armed themſelues, and plucked vppe their enſignes that were faſt in the ground, and cried out vpon *Perpenna* to lead them to *Sertorius*, threatning him that if he would not, they would leaue him alone, and ſeeke them a Captaine that could both ſaue himſelfe and them. So was *Perpenna* forced againſt his will to followe their mindes, and to leade the three and fiftie enſignes he had with him, to ioyne with *Sertorius* force. Thus became *Sertorius* army very great, and ſpecially after all the cities on this ſide the riuer of Ebrus had yeelded vnto him. For then came ſouldiers to him out of all partes, howbeit they were a raſh confuſed multitude of Omnigatherum together, hauing no reaſon nor patience to abide time, but cryed out in furie, to ſet vpon their enemies. This troubled *Sertorius* much, ſeeking firſt to quiet them by reaſon and perſwaſion. But when he ſawe they fell to mutinie, and would needes haue their wils, and both without reaſon and all good

*Sertorius ouerthrew Aquinus.*

*Sertorius taught the Spanyards the manner of the Romaines.*

*The citie of Oſca.*

*Sertorius ſubtill policie.*

*The Spanyards deuotion.*

*The Spanyards loue to Sertorius.*

*Perpenna ioyned with Sertorius.*

*Ebrus fl.*

*A fine deuiſe of Sertorius to teach men the benefite of time and perſeuerance.*

*Sertorius words to his ſouldiers, declaring the intent of his deuiſe.*

*The Characitanians what people they be. Tagus fl.*

*Sertorius wonderfull deuiſe againſt the barbarous people, called the Characitanians*

order would ſo goe ſet vpon their enemies : he gaue them the head , and let them goe as they would, knowing well enough they would pay for their follie,but yet tooke ſuch order and direction, as they ſhould not vtterly be caſt away, hoping after that to haue them the more obedient vnto him. And indeede they had their paiment as he coniectured : notwithſtanding he went to reſcue them,and ſo brought them ſafe into his campe. Now to take away the feare & perplexitie from them , which this ouerthrow perhappes had ſtriken into them : immediatly after he cauſed his whole armie to aſſemble , as purpoſing to vſe ſome ſpeech vnto them. At which time he cauſed two horſes to be brought and ſet in the middeſt among them,the one an old and feeble iade,and the other a goodly luſtie horſe,which beſides other things, had a maruellous faire thicke taile. Behind the old leane iade, he ſet a luſty tall fellow : and behinde the goodly horſe alſo,he placed a litle weariſh man,& ſeeming to ſight to haue but ſmall ſtrength. Now vpon a ſigne giuen them which he had made them priuy to , the ſtrong man tooke the leane horſe by the taile with all his might, as if he would haue pluckt it off by the ſtumpe : and the other weariſh man fell to plucking off haire by haire from the great horſe taile. So when the ſtrong man had tugged and ſwet a great while in vaine at the leane horſe taile, thinking to haue plucked it off,and in the end did nothing elſe but make the lookers on laugh: and that the weariſh wretch on the other ſide in a ſhort ſpace (and at eaſe)had left the great horſe taile with neuer a haire on it : *Sertorius* then riſing vp , ſpake in this ſort to his ſouldiers. Doe ye not ſee (my friendes and companions) ſaid he, how time and perſeuerance exceedeth force ? and that things vnlikely at the firſt to be ouercome by force , are yet in time by litle and litle obtained. For continuance ouercommeth all things , and there is no force nor power , but proceſſe of time conſumeth and bringeth to nought , being a moſt certaine helpe to them that can take oportunitie, and abide time : as in contrariwiſe haſte and raſhnes is as dangerous an enemie as may be, to them that doe things of a head without regard. By theſe common deuiſes wherewith *Sertorius* daily acquainted the barbarous people, he taught them to abide the oportunitie of time. But of all the ſtratagemes he vſed in warre, that only exceeded all other,which he ſhewed vnto a people called the CHARACITANIANS. The people do dwell on the other ſide of the riuer of Tagus, and haue neither cities nor villages for their common abode,but only a great high hill, full of hollow caues and deepe holes among the rockes, looking towardes the North. At the foote of this mountaine the valley is a great ſlimie ground and ſo rotten, that it is not able to beare a man, but being troden on,crummeth like white lyme, & turneth to duſt vnder his feete. And therefore by meanes of the ſame, when thoſe people were affraide of anie enemies, or that they had conueyed the goods they had robbed and ſtolen from their neighbours into thoſe caues , they thought themſelues ſafe, if they were once gotten into them : for it was impoſſible to compell them to come out. Now it chaunced that *Sertorius* flying from *Metellus*,came and encamped hard by this hill which theſe barbarous people inhabited,who made no reckoning of him,imagining *Metellus* had ouerthrowen him. But *Sertorius* being in a rage with them,and becauſe he would ſhew that he fled not : tooke his horſe backe the next morning , and rode as neere to the hill as he could , to viewe the nature and ſituation of the place : and when he ſaw there was no way to bring a man into it, he fretted,and walked vp & downe, vainely threatning them to no purpoſe. Yet going and comming to and fro , he perceiued the winde raiſed a great duſt, of that brittle earth we haue ſpoken of, and caried it full into the CHARACITANIANS holes, the mouthes whereof as we ſaid before , lay full vpon the North. This Northen winde which ſome call Cæcias, is the only winde of all other that moſt keepeth in that quarter , and riſeth from the moores and mountaines thereaboutes , which be continually couered with ſnow , and then in the hart of ſommer is nouriſhed and inforced by the melting of the ice and ſnow,and ſo bloweth a iolly coole wind, which refreſheth the barbarous people and beaſtes all the day long. *Sertorius* marking this with himſelfe , and vnderſtanding by the inhabitants therabouts,that this winde blew commonly among them: commaunded his ſouldiers to gather a great quantitie of this light brittle earth together, & to raiſe a mount of it, right againſt the other hill. The barbarous people made a mockerie of it at the firſt,thinking *Sertorius* would haue made a mount to haue fought with them vpõ it: howbeit he went on with his worke till night came, and then brought his ſouldiers backe againe into his camp. The next morning by breake of day there was a prety litle wind ſturring, that onely blew off the top of his forced mount, and the higheſt part of that maſſe of earth, as chaffe when they winnow corne: and as the ſunne began to haue any power, the North winde alſo roſe, which forthwith filled all the hill with duſt. And withall, came *Sertorius* ſouldiers who threw downe the hill to the bottome, which they had gathered the day before, and brake all thoſe dry clots of clay in peeces. The horſemen on the other ſide, they ſtill mannaged their horſes vp and downe in it, to raiſe vp the greater duſt, which the winde caried as ſoone as it roſe, and blew into the caues of theſe barbarous people, full in their faces, through their holes and riftes of the rockes. So they hauing no other ventes nor ayre any way, but there where the winde blew in vpon them: it did ſo blindfold their eyes, and filled their caues with ſuch a hot ſtuffing ayre, that they were almoſt choked withall, not able to take breath. For when they ſhould draw their breathes, this ſtuffing ayre and duſt came in at their mouthes ſo faſt, that they had much a do to hold out two dayes, and on the third yeelded themſelues vnto *Sertorius* mercy: the which thing did not ſo much increaſe his power, as it wanne him honor, by policie to haue wonne ſuch an vnlikely conqueſt, which by force could neuer haue bene gotten, and where to fight was matter impoſsible. So long therefore as he made warre with *Metellus* alone, he commonly had the aduantage of him, becauſe *Metellus* was an old man and heauy, and could not reſiſt *Sertorius* luſty youth, that led a light army, like rather to a company of theeues and robbers, than to an army of men of warre. But afterwardes when P*ompey* was come ouer the mountaines Pyrenei, and that both of them being encamped ech before other, and that P*ompey* had ſhewed him all the ſtratagemes and policies of warre poſsible for a good Captaine to deuiſe, & he the like vnto *Pompey*: and found that *Sertorius* had the better of him, both in laying his ambuſhes, & alſo in foreſeeing to intrappe him: then grew the fame of *Sertorius* to be ſo great, that euen in ROME it ſelfe he was thought to be the nobleſt Captaine, & of beſt conduction of any man in his time. Yet was P*ompey* at that time of great fame and reputation, which afterwardes alſo waxed greater, by the noble actes he did vnder *Sylla*, who gaue him the ſurname of P*ompey* the great, for that he had deſerued honour of triumphe, before his beard was growen. So, when he was come thus into SPAYNE, diuers townes and cities ſubiect vnto *Sertorius*, were halfe in minde to yeeld vnto P*ompey*: but afterwardes they altered againe, vpon the chaunce that happened vnto the citie of LAVRON, beyond all expectation. For *Sertorius* being gone to lay ſiege to it, P*ompey* in haſt went thither with his army to raiſe the ſiege. Neare vnto the citie there was a litle hill very commodious to lodge a camp in, and alſo to diſtreſſe them of the city: whereupon the one made haſt to get it, and the other to keepe him from it. Notwithſtanding, *Sertorius* was the firſt man, and got the hill: and P*ompey* came euen as he had taken it, who was very glad it had ſo fallen out, thinking to haue made *Sertorius* ſure at that time, being kept in on the one ſide with the citie of LAVRON, and with his armie on the other. Thereupon he ſent vnto the citizens, and bad them care for nothing, more then to ſtand vpon their walles at their pleaſure, to ſee *Sertorius* ſtraightly beſieged, who thought to haue beſieged them. This meſſage being brought to *Sertorius*, he ſmiled at it, and ſayd, that he would teach *Syllaes* young ſcholler (for ſo in mockerie he called P*ompey*) that a wiſe Captaine ſhould rather ſee behind then before him: and therewithall he ſhewed the LAVRONITANS ſix thouſand footemen well armed, which he had left in his camp when he came to take the hill where he was, to the end that if P*ompey* came by chance to aſſaile him, they ſhould giue a charge vpon his rereward. P*ompey* hauing found this too late, durſt not offer *Sertorius* battell, fearing to be compaſſed in behind: and on the other ſide he was aſhamed to forſake the LAVRONITANS, whom he was driuen in the end to ſee vtterly ſpoyled and deſtroyed before his eyes, and durſt not once ſturre to helpe them. The barbarous people of the contrarie part ſeeing no hope of aide by him, yeelded ſtraight vnto *Sertorius*, who did not onely pardon them, but alſo ſuffered them to go whither they would. Howbeit he burnt the citie, for no anger or crueltie (being a Captaine that neuer ſhewed crueltie in anger) but to ſhame P*ompey* withall, and to ſtoppe their mouthes that made ſuch account of him: and that this brute might runne among the barbarous people, that P*ompey* himſelfe being preſent, and might in manner haue warmed him by the fire that burnt a goodly citie of his confederates,

*Sertorius deales againſt Pompey.*

*Sertorius goeth to lay ſiege to the citie of Lauron.*

*Sertorius worthy ſaying of a Captaine.*

*Sertorius burnt the citie of Lauron in Pompeyes ſight.*

neither durſt nor could helpe them. Indeede *Sertorius* in continuance of this warre ſuſteined much loſſe and great hurt, howbeit it was alwayes through the fault of his Lieutenants: for, as touching himſelfe, he was neuer ouerthrowen, not thoſe he led. And yet he euer wanne more honor in recouering of thoſe battels which his Captaines loſt, than his enemies did that had put them to the worſe. As in the battell he wanne againſt *Pompey*, by the city of SVCRON: and in an other he wanne againſt *Pompey* and *Metellus* both, by the citie of TVTTIA. And as for the ouerthrow of SVCRON, it is thought it came through *Pompeyes* ambition, making the more haſt for feare *Metellus* ſhould be partaker of the honour of his victorie: and that was the thing *Sertorius* looked for, to fight before *Metellus* came to ioyne with him, and therefore he fought the battell with *Pompey* towardes night, ſuppoſing the darkeneſſe of the night would trouble his enemies much, be a helpe to ſaue themſelues if they were ouercome, and alſo to chaſe the enemies if ſo it happened they had the vpper hand, becauſe they were ſtraungers, and knew not the country. When both battels came to giue charge, *Sertorius* at the firſt was not directly againſt *Pompey*, but againſt *Afranius*, who led the left wing of *Pompeyes* battell, and himſelfe was in the right wing of his owne battell. Howbeit *Sertorius* being aduertiſed that the left wing of his owne army againſt the which *Pompey* fought, was in ſuch diſtreſſe as they gaue backe, and could abide no longer, if they were not preſently aided: ſtraight left the leading of the right wing, which he aſsigned ouer to other of his Captaines, and ranne with all ſpeede poſsible vnto the left wing, which were then euen as good as flying. And firſt he gathered them together againe which had turned their backes, and after put thoſe alſo in good order that were yet a fighting: and ſo hauing encouraged them both with his wordes, and the preſence of his perſon, he gaue a new charge againe vpon *Pompey*, more couragiouſly than before, (who thinking he had already wonne the field, was then a chaſing ſuch as fled) and came ſo fiercely vpon him, that he put all the whole army of the ROMAINES to flight: in ſomuch as *Pompey* himſelfe eſcaped killing in the field very hardly being ſore hurt, & ſaued by a ſtraunge meane. For the AFRIKANS of *Sertorius* hauing taken *Pompeyes* horſe (which was richly trapped with harneſſe of gold & other pretious furniture) falling out among themſelues, and fighting for diuiſion of the ſame: in the meane time let *Pompey* go, and neuer followed after him. *Afranius* againe on the other ſide, whileſt *Sertorius* was gone to helpe the other wing of his battell, made them flye all that ſtood before him, and followed killing of them euen into the trenches of their camp, entring in amongſt them that fled, and ſpoyled the camp being darke night, knowing nothing of *Pompeyes* ouerthrow, neither could he withdraw his men from ſpoile. *Sertorius* alſo comming thither vpon the inſtant, finding *Pompeyes* men in diſorder, ſlue a number of them: & the next morning betimes armed his men againe, and brought them out into the field, to fight once more with *Pompey*. But receiuing intelligence that *Metellus* was at hand, he ſounded the retreate, and diſloged from the place he encamped, ſaying: had not that old woman come, I would haue whipped that young boy to ROME with rods. Now was *Sertorius* very heauy, that no man could tell him what was become of his white hynde: for thereby all his ſubtiltie and fineſſe to keepe the barbarous people in obedience was taken away, and then ſpecially, when they ſtood in neede of moſt comfort. But by good happe, certaine of his ſouldiers that had loſt themſelues in the night, met with the hynde in their way, & knowing her by her colour, tooke her, and brought her backe againe. *Sertorius* hearing of her, promiſed them a good reward, ſo that they would tell no liuing creature that they brought her againe, and thereupon made her to be ſecretly kept. Then within a few dayes after, he came abroad among them, and with a pleaſaunt countenaunce told the noble men and chiefe Captaines of theſe barbarous people, how the goddes had reuealed it to him in his dreame, that he ſhould ſhortly haue a maruellous good thing happen to him: and with theſe wordes ſate downe in his chaire to giue audience. Whereupon they that kept the hynde not farre from thence, did ſecretly let her go. The hynde being loſe, when ſhe had ſpied *Sertorius*, ran ſtraight to [illegible] chaire with great ioy, and put her head betwixt his legs: and layed her mouth in his rig[illegible] hand, as ſhe before was wont to do. *Sertorius* alſo made very much of her, and of pur[illegible]e appeared maruellous glad, ſhewing ſuch tender affection to the hynde, as it ſeemed [illegible] water ſtood in his eyes for ioy. The barbarous people that ſtood thereby and beheld

the

*Sertorius of himſelfe inuincible.*

*Battell betwixt Sertorius and Pompey.*

*Pompey fled Sertorius at Sucron.*

*Sertorius mocke to Pompey.*

the ſame, at the firſt were much amazed therewith: but afterwardes when they had better bethought themſelues, for ioy they clapped their handes together, and waited vpon *Sertorius* to his lodging with great and ioyfull ſhouts, ſaying, and ſtedfaſtly beleeuing, that he was a heauenly creature, and beloued of the goddes: whereupon they were maruellouſly pleaſed in their mindes, and certainely hoped that their affaires ſhould proſper dayly better and better. An other time hauing ſtraighted his enemies with ſcarcitie of victuals, in the territorie of the SAGVNTINES, he was by force compelled to fight againſt his will, for that they ſent great troupes of men to forrage the country, to get victuals. Vpon the encounter it was valiantly fought of either ſide, where *Memmius* was ſlaine, (the valianteſt Captaine P*ompey* had) couragiouſly fighting in the middeſt of the battell. *Sertorius* finding himſelfe the ſtrõger, followed his firſt wing, making great ſlaughter of thoſe that withſtood him, vntill he came vnto *Metellus* ſelfe, who taried his comming, defending himſelfe more valiantly then was either hoped, or looked for, in a man of his yeares: in ſomuch as he was at the laſt hurt with a partiſan. Which was ſuch a diſhonor to the ROMAINES, not vnto thẽ onely that ſaw it, but vnto ſuch alſo as heard of it, that being all aſhamed to forſake their Captaine, and turning their ſhame into anger againſt their enemies: they couered *Metellus* round about with their ſhieldes and targets, and getting him out of the preſſe and furie of the fight, gaue ſuch a fierce onſet, as they draue the SPANYARDS to flie. Thus fortune chaunging the victory, *Sertorius* to giue his ſcattered men time to ſaue themſelues, and leaſure alſo for a new ſupplie (which he cauſed to be preſently leauied) to come at their pleaſure: fled of purpoſe into a citie of the mountaines of ſtrong ſituation, and there ſetting a good face of the matter repayred the rampers, and fortified the gates, thinking nothing leſſe then to abide there to be beſieged, but onely to lay a baite for his enemies, comming to beſiege the citie, hoping they ſhould eaſily winne it, and in the meane time left purſuing of the barbarous people which had thereby good leaſure giuen them to ſaue themſelues. Furthermore, they tooke no order to ſuppreſſe the new ſupplie that was comming to *Sertorius*, who had ſent out his Captaines to the next cities and ſhyres adioyning, to leauie men, with expreſſe commaundement, that when they had muſtered a conuenient number together, they ſhould ſend them vnto him, as they did. So when he vnderſtood of their comming, he eaſily paſſed through his enemies to meete them, and with them ſodainly came backe againe, and harried his enemies worſe then before: ſometime cutting their victuals from them by land, through his ambuſhes and continuall ſubtle policies, being quickely in euery place whither they thought to go, with his light army: and on the ſea alſo with certaine pyrats pinneſes, with the which he ſcoured all the coaſt vpon the ſea ſide. By this meanes, both the Captaines his enemies were compelled to ſeuer themſelues farre one from the other, inſomuch as *Metellus* went to winter in GAVLE, P*ompey* remained in SPAYNE, (in great ſcarcitie of all things for lacke of money) to winter in the territories of the VACCEIANS, and wrote to the Senate at ROME, that he would returne with his army into ITALIE, if they ſent him not money out of hand, for that he had ſpent all his own dayly fighting for the defence of ITALIE. Thus it was certainly thought at ROME, that *Sertorius* would be in ITALIE before P*ompey*; becauſe he had through his valiancie and great skill brought two of the moſt famous Captaines of their time, to great extremitie and diſtreſſe. Then did *Metellus* ſhew how much he feared *Sertorius*, and how he thought him a great and dreadfull enemie. For he proclaimed by ſound of trumpet, that if any ROMAINE could kill him, he would giue him an hundred ſiluer talents, and twentie thouſand Iugera of land: and if he were a baniſhed man, he promiſed he ſhould be reſtored to his country and goods againe, buying his death by treaſon, whom he could not ouercome by force. And furthermore, being his chaunce once to winne a battell of *Sertorius*, he was ſo ioconde and proud for this victorie, that he would needes therefore be called Imperator, to ſay, Prince, or ſoueraine Captaine: and was contented the people ſhould ſet vp aulters and do ſacrifices vnto him in euerie citie where he came. And it is furthermore reported of him, that he wore garlandes of flowers on his head, and would be bidden to diſſolute banquets, ſitting at the table in a triumphing robe: and they made images of victory go vp and downe the hall, moued by certaine ſecret engines carying triumphes of gold, and crownes and garlandes of triumphe, and daunſers of goodly young

*Sertorius ſlue Memmius, Pompeyes Lieutenant.*

*Shame turned into anger.*

*Sertorius beſieged of Pompey.*

*Metellus feared Sertorius.*

*Metellus made himſelfe be called Imperator.*

*Metellus vanitie.*

boyes and fayre girles following of them, with ſongs of triumphe in his prayſe. Wherein doubtleſſe he deſerued to be laughed at, ſhewing himſelfe ſo much caried away with ioy and vaine glorie, for one ouerthrow giuen vnto him, whom himſelfe was wont to call *Syllaes* fugitiue, & the remnant of the baniſhed men of *Carbo*. On the other ſide, *Sertorius* noble courage was eaſily diſcerned, firſt, for that he called the baniſhed mẽ which were eſcaped from ROME, and come to him Senatours: and hauing them about him, called them the Senate, making ſome of them Treaſurers, others Pretors, directing and ordering all things according to the manner of his country. And in this alſo, that making warres with the ſouldiers of the cities of SPAYNE, and defraying the ſame at their owne charges, yet he neuer gaue them any authoritie, ſo much as in word, but ruled them alwayes with ROMAINE officers & Captaines: ſaying ſtill, that he fought for the libertie of the people of ROME, and not to increaſe the glorie and power of the SPANIARDS, to the hurt and diſhonour of the ROMAINES. For to ſay truly of him, he euer loued his country well, & longed much to be ſent for home againe; and yet in his greateſt troubles, when things thwarted him moſt, then was his minde greateſt, yeelding no manner of ſhew or appearance to his enemies, of any faint hart or diſcouragement in him. Againe, when he was in beſt proſperitie, and had moſt aduantage of his enemies, he ſent vnto *Metellus* and P*ompey* both letting them vnderſtand that for his part he was contented to lay armes aſide, and to liue at home like a priuat man, ſo that he might be lawfully reſtored and called home by edict: and that he had rather be counted the meaneſt citizen in ROME, then being a baniſhed man out of his country, to be called Emperour of the world. And it is ſayd, that one of the chiefeſt cauſes which made him deſire ſo much to be called home againe, was the tender loue he bare vnto his mother (that had brought him vp from the time of his fathers death) vpõ whom he caſt all his loue & delight: in ſomuch as after that his friends in SPAYNE had ſent for him to come to be their Captaine, and that he had bene a while among them, receiuing newes that his mother was departed out of the world, it ſo ſtrake him to the hart, that he had almoſt dyed for ſorrow. For he lay ſeuen dayes together continually on the ground weeping, & neuer gaue his ſouldiers the watch word, nor would be ſeene of any of his friends: vntill that the other noble men and Captaines of his owne eſtate, came to him to his tent, and were ſo importunate of him by intreatie and perſwaſion, that they got him out of his tent to ſhew himſelfe to his ſouldiers, to ſpeake to them, and to take order for his affaires which proſpered very well. By theſe ſignes many haue iudged, that he was of a curteous and pityfull nature, and that naturally he was giuen to be quiet and peaceable: howbeit, that he was forced of neceſsitie to take charge of men of warre, becauſe he could not otherwiſe liue quietly nor ſafely, being purſued by his enemies, which would neuer let him reſt, and thereupon entred into warre, for his owne gard and ſafetie. The treatie ſelfe he made with king *Mithridates*, argued his noble minde. For when *Mithridates* whom *Sylla* had ouercome, was recouered gaine (like a wreſtler that being ouerthrowen getteth vp on his feete to try an other fall with his enemy) and tooke vpon him to inuade ASIA: *Sertorius* fame was then ſo great, that he was ſpoken of through the world, by marchaunts comming from the Weſt, who blew abroad the report thereof all the Eaſt parts ouer, euen into the realme of PONT, like to marchandiſes which the went to ſeeke for in ſtrange countryes. Whereupon *Mithridates* being perſwaded by the vaine vaunts of his fauoured courtiers, who compared *Sertorius* to *Hanniball*, and him ſelfe vnto king P*yrrus*, ſaying that the ROMAINES being ſet vpõ by thẽ both, could not withſtand two ſuch excellent natures, and great powers together, when the nobleſt Captaine of the world ſhould be ioyned with the greateſt and moſt puiſſant Prince that euer was: ſent thereupon his Ambaſſadours into SPAYNE vnto *Sertorius*, with full power and commiſsiõ to promiſe him money and ſhippes towardes the maintenaunce and charge of this warre, in recompence whereof he deſired that *Sertorius* would redeliuer him the poſſeſsion of ASIA againe, the which he had ſurrendred vp vnto the ROMAINES vpon the peace made betwixt him and *Sylla*. *Sertorius* hereupon called his councell together (which he termed the Senate) to conſult vpõ this matter. And when they were all of opinion that he ſhould accept *Mithridates* offers, and were exceedingly glad of the ſame, conſidering that they asked them nothing but a title in the ayre, and a name of things which were not in their power, offring them therfore things

preſent,

*Sertorius noble minde.*

*Sertorius honorable reſpect vnto his country.*

*Sertorius mind greateſt in aduerſitie.*

*Sertorius affection to his country.*

*Sertorius naturall loue to his mother.*

*Mithridates ſent Ambaſſadours vnto Sertorius in Spayne.*

preſent, whereof they had greater neede, yet would *Sertorius* neuer agree thereunto. Notwithſtanding, thus much he granted *Mithridates*, that he ſhould enioy CAPPADOCIA & BITHYNIA, which had euer bene countryes ſubiect vnto kings, and whereunto the ROMAINES had neuer any right, excepting this ſpecially: that he would neuer ſuffer him to vſurpe any country, vnto the which the ROMAINES had any iuſt title, & the which he had loſt in warres by force of armes vnto *Fimbria*, and had afterwardes alſo willingly ſurrendred by agreement made betwixt him and *Sylla*. For he ſaid he would enlarge the Empire of ROME through his victories, but not impayre or hurt it by his conqueſtes. For, a valiant man (ſayd he) ſhould couet to conquer with honour, but in no wiſe deſire life with diſhonour. His aunſwere being reported vnto king *Mithridates*, did much amaze him: & ſome haue written, that he then ſayd vnto his familiars. What would *Sertorius* commaund vs then, if he ſate among them in the Senate at ROME, who being an exile now, & remaining in the fartheſt part of the world by the ſea Atlanticum, doth take vpon him to bound the certaine confines of our kingdome, threatning vs alſo with warres, if we attempt any thing againſt ASIA? All this notwithſtanding, they were agreed vpon othes takē betweene them, that *Mithridates* ſhould enioy the countryes of CAPPADOCIA and BITHYNIA, and that *Sertorius* ſhould ſend him one of his Captaines with aide of men of warre, and that vpon performance thereof, the king ſhould giue him the ſumme of three thouſand talents, and fortie ſhippes of warre. So *Sertorius* ſent thither one of his Captaines called *Marcus Marius*, a Senator of ROME, who fled to him for ſuccour: with whom *Mithridates* diſtreſſed certaine cities of ASIA. And when *Marius* entred into them, with his ſergeaunts carying the bundles of roddes and axes before him, as before a Proconſull of the ROMAINES: *Mithridates* gaue him the vpper hand, as his better and followed after him. Furthermore, *Marius* did ſet certaine cities at libertie, and wrote vnto others, declaring vnto them, that *Sertorius* of his grace and goodneſſe did releaſe them of their taxe and cuſtomes they payed: ſo that poore ASIA which had bene oppreſſed by the couetouſneſſe of the Treaſurers and farmers of the ROMAINES, and alſo by the pride & inſolencie of the ſouldiers which lay in garriſon among them, began to haue ſome hope of chaunge, and to deſire the alteration of gouernemēt, which *Sertorius* offered. But on the other ſide, the Senators of ROME that were in SPAYNE as baniſhed men in *Sertorius* armie, and of the like dignitie and eſtate that himſelfe was of, they hearing ſay that all was well again at ROME, and perſwading them ſelues that they ſhould be ſtrong enough for their enemies, hauing no cauſe to feare any more daunger: began then to enuie *Sertorius* greatneſſe and authoritie, but *Perpenna* ſpecially among other, who by reaſon of his nobilitie being puft vp with a vaine preſumption and ambitious ſelfe will, practiſed to make himſelfe chiefe of all the armie, and to that end threw forth amongſt his friendes and familiars ſuch kinde of ſeditious wordes. What curſed fortune (quoth he) my friendes doth dayly haunt vs worſe then other, making vs that were vnwilling to obey *Sylla* (commaunding at this day both land and ſea at his will) to chooſe rather to forſake our landes and country? And now being come hither in hope to liue at libertie, we willingly make our ſelues ſlaues, becomming *Sertorius* garde for defence of his perſon in his exile: who to requite vs withall, payeth vs with fayre wordes, calling vs the Senate, whereat euerie man laugheth to heare vs ſo called, and in fine we muſt abide this diſhonour to be at his commaundement, and drudge and take as much paines, as the SPANYARDS and LVSITANIANS do themſelues. Hereupon the more part of them being caried away with theſe mutinous wordes, durſt not yet ſhew themſelues in actuall rebellion againſt *Sertorius*, being afeard of his authoritie: howbeit ſecretly vnderhand they ouerthrew his doings, by ſhewing extreme crueltie vnto the barbarous people, by pretext of iuſtice, impoſing great payments vpon them, giuing it out it was *Sertorius* commaundement. By which their lewd practiſes, many cities reuolted againſt him, and put themſelues into his enemies hands: and they dayly alſo raiſed new mutinies and rebellions vpon him. Furthermore, thoſe whom he ſent to pacifie the tumultes did handle themſelues in ſuch ſort, that where they ſhould haue quieted the grudges and rebellions of the people, they ſet them farther out, and procured new tumultes. Hereupon was *Sertorius* gentle nature and former goodneſſe ſo altered, that he committed a moſt cruell act vpon all the noble mens children of that land, which

*Sertorius noble and worthie aunſwere to Mithridates requeſtes.*

*Sertorius worthie ſaying.*

*Sertorius league with Mithridates.*

*M. Marius ſent vnto Mithridates.*

*King Mithridates gaue M. Marius Proconſull, the vpper hand.*

*The enuie of Perpenna vnto Sertorius.*

*The ſeditious words of Perpenna againſt Sertorius.*

*Sertorius ſlue the Spanyards ſonnes.*

*The treaſon of Perpenna and his accomplices againſt Sertorius.*

*The treaſon deuiſed againſt Sertorius.*

*Sertorius modeſtie at his table.*

*The murther of Sertorius.*

*Perpenna taken by Pompey.*

*Pompeys wiſedome in burning Sertorius letters.*

*Perpenna and his conſpiratours put to death by Pompey.*

he brought vp at ſchoole in the citie of OSCA: for ſome of them he put to death, and others he ſold as ſlaues. Thus P*erpenna* hauing many aſſociates in his wicked conſpiracie againſt *Sertorius*, brought into his confederacie alſo one called *Manlius*, who had chiefeſt charge in all the army. This *Manlius* loued a yoũg boy exceedingly, & becauſe he would let him know he loued him well, he told him on a time the whole plot of this conſpiracy, willing him not to reckon any more of others loue but of his, and to loue him onely: for he ſhould ſee him a great man before it were long. The young boy louing an other better then him, called *Aufidius*, went & reuealed vnto him all that *Manlius* had told him. *Aufidius* maruelled to heare the boy made priuie to it, ſeeing himſelfe alſo was of the confederacie, and knew not yet that *Manlius* was one of them And when the boy alſo named *Perpenna*, *Græcinus*, & ſome other whom *Aufidius* knew well to be of coũſell, he was worſe afrayed then before, but yet ſeemed to make litle of it, and told the boy: for that matter it was nothing, and counſelled him not to credit *Manlius* wordes, who was but a vaine man, and boaſted of that which was not true, and did it onely but to deceiue him. This notwithſtanding, departing thence, he went forthwith vnto P*erpenna*, and told him how their practiſe was diſcouered, declaring further what daunger they were in, if it were not ſpeedily put in execution. All the confederates agreed it was true that he ſayd, & thereupon they deuiſed this treaſon. They had ſuborned a meſſenger to bring counterfeite letters to *Sertorius*, feyning in the ſame that one of his Lieutenaunts had wonne a great battell, in the which he had ſlaine a maruellous number of his enemies. *Sertorius* being very glad of the good newes, made ſacrifice vnto the goddes to giue them thankes. Whereupon, *Perpenna* taking the preſent oportunity inuited *Sertorius* to ſupper to him, and all other his friends that were preſent (euery one of the conſpiracie with him) and was ſo importunate with *Sertorius*, that in the end he promiſed him to come. Now *Sertorius* did euer vſe great modeſtie at the bourd, and would ſuffer no diſſolute talke nor light partes at his meate, and had acquainted them alſo that vſed his table, to talke of graue and wiſe matters, and yet one to be honeſtly mery with an other, without any playing or vncomely talke. In the middeſt of ſupper, they that ſought occaſion of quarell, began to ſpeake lewd wordes, counterfeiting to be drunke, and to play many vile partes of purpoſe to anger *Sertorius*. Whereupon *Sertorius*, whether it was that he could not abide to ſee thoſe villainous partes, or that he miſtruſted their ill will towards him by ſumbling of their words in their mouthes, and by their vnwonted irreuerent maner ſhewed vnto him: fell backewardes vpon the bed where he ſate at meate, ſeeming no more to marke what they did or ſayd. P*erpenna* at that inſtant tooke a cup full of wine, and making as though he dranke, let it fall of purpoſe. The cup falling downe made a noyſe, and that was the ſigne giuen among them. There withall *Antonius* that ſate aboue *Sertorins* at the table, ſtabbed him in with his dagger. *Sertorius* feeling the thruſt, ſtroue to riſe: but the traiterous murtherer got vp on *Sertorius* breſt, & held both his handes. And thus was *Sertorius* cruelly murthered, not able to defend himſelfe, all the conſpiratours falling vpon him. *Sertorius* death being blowen abroad, the moſt part of the SPANYARDS ſent Ambaſſadours immediatly vnto P*ompey* and *Metellus*, and yeelded themſelues vnto them: and P*erpenna* with thoſe that remained with him, attempted to do ſome thing with *Sertorius* army and preparation. But all fell out to his vtter deſtruction and ruine, making the world know that he was a wicked man, who could neither commaund, nor knew how to obey. For he went to aſſaile P*ompey*, who had ouerthrowen him ſtraight, and was in the end taken priſoner. And yet in that inſtant of his calamitie, he hid not vſe himſelfe like a valiant minded man, and one worthy to rule: for, thinking to ſaue his life, hauing *Sertorius* letters and writings, he offered P*ompey* to deliuer him all *Sertorius* letters ſent him from the chiefeſt Senators of ROME, written with their owne handes, requeſting *Sertorius* to bring his armie into ITALIE, where he ſhould finde numbers of people deſirous of his comming, and that gaped ſtill for chaunge of gouernement. But here did P*ompey* ſhew himſelfe a graue and no young man, deliuering thereby the citie of ROME from great feare and daunger of chaunge and innouation. For he put all *Sertorius* letters and writings on a heape together, and burnt them euery one, without reading any of them, or ſuffering them to be red. And moreouer, he preſently put P*erpenna* to death, fearing he ſhould name ſome, which if they were named, would breed new occaſion of trouble & ſedition. And as for the other conſpirators, ſome of thē afterwards were brought to *Pompey*, who put them all to death: and the reſt of them fled into AFRICKB where they were all ouerthrowne by them of the countrie, and not a man of them ſcaped, but fell vnfortunately vpon the edge of the ſworde, *Aufidius* only except, *Manlius* companion in loue. Who, either becauſe he was not reckoned of, or elſe vnknowne, died an olde man in a pelting village of the barbarous people, poore, miſerable, and hated of all the world.

# THE LIFE OF

## *Eumenes.*

*Eumenes parentage.*

*How Eumenes came to preferment by the kings of Macedon.*

D*Vris* the Hiſtoriographer writeth, that *Eumenes* was borne in the city of CARDIA in THRACIA, being a cariers ſonne of the ſame country, (who for pouerty earned his liuing by carying marchandiſes too and fro) and that he was notwithſtanding honeſtly brought vp, aſwell at ſchoole, as at other comely exerciſes. And furthermore, how that he being but a boy, *Phillip* king of MACEDON chancing to come throgh the city of CARDIA, where hauing nothing to do, he tooke great pleaſure to ſee the young men of the citie handle their weapons, and boyes to wreſtle: and among them, *Eumenes* ſhewed ſuch actiuitie, & performed it with ſo good a grace withall, that *Philip* liked the boy well, and tooke him away with him. But ſure their report ſeemeth trueſt, which write that *Philip* did aduance him for the loue he bare to his father, in whoſe houſe he had lodged. After the death of *Philip*, *Eumenes* continued his ſeruice with king *Alexander* his ſonne, where he was thought as wiſe a man, and as faithfull to his maiſter, as any: and though he was called the Chancellor or chiefe ſecretary, yet the king did honor him as much as he did any other of his chiefeſt friends & familiars For he was ſent his Lieutenant generall of his whole army, againſt the INDIANS, and was *Perdiccas* ſucceſſor in the gouernement of his prouince, *Perdiccas* being preferred vnto *Hephæſtions* charge after his death. Nowe becauſe *Neoptolemus* (that was one of the chiefe Squiers for the body vnto the king) after the death of *Alexander* tolde the Lords of the councell of MACEDON, that he had ſerued the king with his ſhield and ſpeare, and how *Eumenes* had followed with his pen and paper: the Lordes laughed him to ſcorne, knowing that beſides many great honors *Eumenes* had receiued, the king eſteemed ſo well of him, that he did him the honor by mariage to make him his kinſman. For the firſt Lady that *Alexander* knew

*Barſine, the wiſe of Eumenes.*

in ASIA, was *Barſine Artabazus* daughter, by whom he had a ſonne, & called his name *Hercules*: & of two of her ſiſters he maried the one of them called *Apama* vnto *Ptolomye*, & her other ſiſter alſo called *Barſine*, he beſtowed vpon *Eumenes*, when he diſtributed the PERSIAN ladies among his Lords and familiars to marrie them. Yet all this notwithſtanding, he often fell in diſgrace with king *Alexander*, and ſtood in ſome danger by means of *Hephæſtion*. For *Hephæſtion* following *Alexanders* courte on a time, hauing appointed *Eurus* a phiphe player a lodging, which *Eumenes* ſeruants had taken vp for their maiſter: *Eumenes* being in a rage, went with one *Mentor* vnto *Alexander*, crying out that a man were better be a phiphe & a commō plaier of Tragedies, then a ſouldier, ſithence ſuch kinde of people were preferred before men of ſeruice that ventured their liues in the warres. *Alexander* at that preſent time was as angrie as *Eumenes*, & roundly tooke vp *Hephæſtion* for it: howbeit immediatly after hauing changed his mind, he was much offended with *Eumenes*, becauſe he thought him not to haue vſed that francke ſpeech ſo much againſt *Hephæſtion*, as of a certaine preſumptuous boldneſſe towards himſelfe. And at an other time alſo, when *Alexander* was ſending *Nearchus* with his army by ſea to cleere the coaſts of the Ocean, it chanced the king was without money: whereupon he ſent to all his friends to take vp money in preſt, and among others, vnto *Eumenes*, of whom he requeſted three hundred talents. *Eumenes* lent him but a hundred, and ſaid he had much a doe to get him ſo much of all his tenants. *Alexander* ſaid nothing to him, neither would he ſuffer them to take his hundred talents: but commaunded his officers to ſet *Eumenes* tent a fire, becauſe he would take him tardy with a lie, before he could giue order to cary away his golde and ſiluer. Thus was his tent burnt downe to the ground, before they could make ſhift to ſaue any thing: the which *Alexander* repented afterwards, and was ſorie it was burnt, becauſe all his letters and writings were burnt withall. Howbeit, after the fire was quenched, they found in niggots of gold and ſiluer mingled together, aboue a thouſand talents, and yet *Alexander* tooke none of it away: but more then that, he ſent vnto all his Lieutenants, Captaines, and Gouernors of countries, whereſoeuer they were, that they ſhould ſend him copies of all the letters which they before had ſent vnto him, becauſe all thoſe which he had were burnt, and commanded *Eumenes* to take them againe. After that, *Eumenes* and *Hephæſtion* fell at variance againe, by reaſon of a gifte that was giuen him, inſomuch as very foule words paſſed betwixt *Hephæſtion* and him: yet did not the king giue *Eumenes* any ill countenance at that time. Notwithſtanding, ſhortly after *Hephæſtion* was dead, the king taking his death greeuouſly whom he loued ſo dearely, gaue no good countenance (and was very briefe beſides) vnto thoſe whom he knew bare any grudge to *Hephæſtion* whiles he liued, & that he thought were glad of his death, but ſpecially vnto *Eumenes* of all other, whoſe malice towards *Hephæſtion* was knowne to him well enough: inſomuch as he would oft twit him withall, remembring him of the iniuries he had offred *Hephæſtion*. But *Eumenes* being very wiſe, and one that could take his time, procured his helpe by the ſelfe ſame meane that did him hurte: and deuiſed (to further *Alexanders* deſire, ſeeking to honor *Hephæſtions* funerall with all pompe poſſible) new inuentions to ſet forth the ſame, of more magnificence then had before bene ſeene, ſparing for no coſt, laying on money bountifully, to make him a rich and ſtately tombe. Againe, when *Alexander* was dead, there fell out great variance betwixt the MACEDONIAN footmen, and the noble men that had bene neereſt about him: and in that quarrell, *Eumenes* in good will ſtucke to the Lords, but in words he ſeemed a newter and friend to both parts: ſaying, it was not for him being a ſtranger, to thruſt himſelfe into the quarrels of the MACEDONIANS. And when the other Lordes were departed from BABYLON, *Eumenes* tarying behinde pacified the greateſt part of the ſouldiers, and made them more tractable and ready to agree with the Lordes. Whereupon, after the Lordes and Captaines had conſulted together, and taken order for thoſe contentions, they deuided the gouernement of the prouinces among them which they called Satrapaes: in which partition *Eumenes* had CAPPADOCIA, PAPHLAGONIA, and all that coaſt vpon Mare Ponticum, vnto the city of TRAPEZVNTE, the which at that time was not ſubiect to the empire of MACEDON, for *Ariarathes* kept it then as king. Howbeit it was ſaid, that *Leonatus* and *Antigonus* would put him in poſſeſſion of it, with a great and puiſant armie. And make him Gouernour there. Yet afterwards *Antigonus* made

*Eumenes made Gouernor of the countries of Cappadocia & Paphlagonia.*

none account of *Perdiccas* letters vnto him, putting him in the head of great imaginations to conquer all, deſpiſing all other. And *Leonatus* alſo came downe into PHRYGIA, and vndertooke the iorney of this conqueſt for *Eumenes* ſake. But when he was in iorney thitherwards, *Hecatæus*, tyrant of the CARDIANS, went to him to his army, & praied him rather to go helpe *Antipater* & the other MACEDONIANS, which were beſieged in the citie of LAMIA. So *Leonatus*, being willing to take ſea, and go thither, went about to perſuade *Eumenes* alſo to like of it, and to reconcile him with *Hecatæus*: for they were not friends one with another, by reaſon of a quarrell that *Eumenes* father had with this *Hecatæus*, about the gouernment of their citie. Beſides that, *Eumenes* had many times complained of him openly vnto king *Alexander*, ſaying, that he was a tyrant, and beſought the king that it would pleaſe him to ſet the CARDIANS at libertie. And therefore *Eumenes* refuſing that iourney againſt the GRECIANS, alleaging that he was afraide of *Antipater*, who had bene his enemy of long time, doubting that for the olde grudge he bare him, & alſo to gratifie *Hecatæus*, he would put him to death: *Leonatus* then reuealed himſelfe and his purpoſe to him, and how he made as though he would paſſe ouer the ſea to aide *Antipater*, where in deed his meaning was to take the kingdom of MACEDON. Thereupon he ſhewed him letters ſent him from *Cleopatra*, willing him to come to the citie of PELLA, and there ſhe would mary him. When *Eumenes* was made priuy to his purpoſe: either becauſe he feared *Antipater*, or els for that he had no great good opinion of *Leonatus*, knowing him to be a fonde man, and very raſhe and vnconſtant in his doings, he ſtale away from him by night, with thoſe few men he had (being about three hundred horſemen, and two hundred footmen well armed) taking all his golde with him, which amounted to the ſumme of fiue thouſand talents, and fled with them vnto *Perdiccas*, vnto whom he bewrayed all *Leonatus* intent and minde: whereupon he was immediatly of great credit about him, and called to counſell. Shortly after, *Perdiccas* brought him into CAPPADOCIA, with a great armie which he himſelfe did leade. Where *Ariarathes* was taken priſoner, and *Eumenes* eſtabliſhed Gouernour of the countrie, who deliuered the charge of the great cities vnto his friends, and left them there Captaines of garriſons which he appointed, placing euery where, Iudges, Receiuers, Gouernours, and all ſuch other officers neceſſarie as he thought meete, *Perdiccas* medling with nothing at all. Notwithſtanding, *Eumenes* went away with *Perdiccas* againe, as well to waite vpon him, as alſo becauſe he would euer be about the kings. But *Perdiccas* thinking with himſelf that he alone could wel enough performe the enterpriſe he went about, and conſidering alſo that the realme he left behinde him ſtood needfull of a wiſe and ſkilful Gouernor, whom he might truſt with the ſafety of his ſtate: when they were in CILICIA, returned *Eumenes* back againe, vnder colour to ſend him to his gouernment, but in deed to keepe the realme of ARMENIA in obedience, the which confined vpon the fronters of his countrie whereof he was Gouernor, becauſe *Neoptolemus* did vnder hand practiſe ſome alteration. Now though *Neoptolemus* was a proude and inſolent perſon, yet *Eumenes* ſtill deuiſed to hold him in, and kept him from attempts, by gentle and faire words. Furthermore, perceiuing alſo that the regiment of the MACEDONIAN footmen were growne exceeding ſtout & inſolent: he for a ſtrength & defence againſt them, ſet vp a company of horſmen, and to bring it to paſſe, releaſed all the countrymen from paying of tribute or taxe, being meete to ſerue a horſebacke, and bought a great number of horſe of ſeruice, which he gaue amongſt them that were about him, in which he put his moſt truſt and affiance, making them coragious, by honors and gifts he gaue to them that ſerued well, and ſo by continuall exerciſe and often remouing them from place to place, made them very ready and ſeruiceable. Thus were the noble men of MACEDON, ſome much amazed, ſome others very glad when they ſawe how by this diligence *Eumenes* had in ſo ſhort a time gotten about him ſuch a number, as ſix thouſand three hundred horſemen. About that time, *Craterus* and *Antigonus* hauing ſubdued the GRECIANS, came on with their army into ASIA to ouerthrowe *Perdiccas* greatneſſe and power: and newes alſo, that ſhortly they would inuade CAPPADOCIA. Wheruppon *Perdiccas* being otherwiſe occupied in warres, fighting againſt *Ptolomey*, made *Eumenes* his Lieutenant generall, and gaue him commiſſion and full authoritie ouer all his ſouldiers that were for him, either in CAPPADOCIA, or in ARMENIA: and wrote letters vnto *Neoptolemus* and *Alcetas*, commanding them by the ſame that they ſhould be obedient vnto *Eumenes*, and ſuffer him to order all matters according to his diſcretion. Nowe for *Alcetas*, he flatly anſwered, that he would not be at this warre: for the MACEDONIANS vnder his charge were aſhamed to take armes againſt *Antipater*, and moreouer they would not fight againſt *Craterus*, but contrarily were bent to receiue him for their Captaine, ſo much good will they bare him. *Neoptolemus* on the other ſide, was as ready to play the traitor, and to do *Eumenes* a ſhrewde turne, as *Alcetas* was. For being ſent for by *Eumenes* to come to him, where he ſhould haue obeyed him, he ſet his men in battell ray to fight with him. There did *Eumenes* reape the firſt fruite of his wiſe foreſight of the horſemen, which he had ſet vp to make head againſt the footmen of the MACEDONIANS. For when his owne footmen were broken and ouerthrowne, he ouercame *Neoptolemus*, and put him to flight with his horſmen, and tooke all his cariage. Then he made thē march in order of battell againſt the MACEDONIANS, who were diſperſed euery where, following the chaſe of his footmen, whom they had ouerthrowne. Thus cōming vpon them in this diſorder, he draue them to throwe away their weapons, and to yeelde vnto him: and moreouer, euery man to take his othe to ſerue him faithfully in this warre, whereſoeuer he would lead them. Now *Neoptolemus* gathering a few together that fled, went with them vnto *Craterus* and *Antipater*: who ſent vnto *Eumenes* to pray him to take their part, with condition that he ſhould not only enioy the countries and prouinces ſtill which he had in gouernment, but furthermore that they would giue him others vnto them, and make him ſtronger then euer he was: beſides that by the acceptation of the offer, he ſhould be taken for *Antipaters* good friend, where before he was euer reckoned his enemy. Whereunto *Eumenes* made aunſwer: that hauing alwaies bene *Antipaters* enemy, he could not of a ſodaine become his friend, ſpecially ſeeing him vſe his friends as enemies: howbeit otherwiſe that he was very willing to make *Craterus* peace with *Perdiccas*, and to reſtore him againe to his fauour, vpon reaſonable & indifferent conditions. And furthermore, that if he ment to aſſaile him, that then he would aide him ſo long as he had any breath in his bodie, and would loſe his life before he would breake his promiſe. This anſwer being brought vnto *Antipater*, they fell to conſult at leiſure what was to be done. In the meane ſpace, *Neoptolemus* that fled vpon his ouerthrowe, was come vnto them: who tolde them how the battell was fought, and beſought them both very inſtantly, (but *Craterus* chiefly) to giue him aide if it were poſſible. For the MACEDONIANS were ſo farre in loue with him, that if they did but ſee his hatte, and heare him ſpeake, they would all arme themſelues and follow him. For, to ſpeake a troth, *Craterus* was had in great eſtimation among the MACEDONIANS: inſomuch as after *Alexanders* death, he was more deſired of the common ſouldiers, than any other Captaine, remembring how often he had for their ſakes incurred *Alexanders* diſgrace and diſpleaſure, becauſe he went about to perſuade him to leaue the king of PERSIAES maner, whereunto *Alexander* by litle and litle gaue himſelfe: and alſo for that he maintained & defended the cuſtomes of the country of MACEDON, the which euery man through pride and exceſſe began to forſake and contemne. At that time therefore *Craterus* ſent *Antipater* into CILICIA, and he himſelfe with *Neoptolemus*, went againſt *Eumenes* with the beſt part of his army, hoping to take him tardy and altogether vnprouided, ſuppoſing he would giue himſelfe to pleaſure and paſtime, after ſo late a victorie. But *Eumenes* like a wiſe and vigilant Captaine had taken ſuch order, that he heard news time enough of his enemies comming, and had thereupon prepared his men in readineſſe to reſiſt him. Yet was not this the chiefeſt point of his ſkill in warre. For he looked ſo preciſely to his doings, that he did not onely keepe his enemies from knowledge of any thing that he did, but making his men alſo to kill *Craterus* in battell, before they knew againſt whom they ſhould fight, & to keepe alſo ſo dreadfull an enemie from their knowledge: that of all others ſhewed the paſſing ſkill of an expert Captaine. And to worke this feate the better, this was his policy. Firſt, he made a rumor to be ſpred in his hoaſt, how *Neoptolemus* & *Pigres* were againe come againſt him, with certaine horſemen of all ſortes gathered together, CAPPADOCIANS and PAPHLAGONIANS. And when he thought to haue remoued in the night, a great deſire of ſleepe came vpon him, in the which he had a maruellous ſtrange dreame. For it ſeemed vnto him that he ſaw two *Alexanders* preparing to fight one with an other, either of them leading a

*Eumenes ſkill in warre.*

*Eumenes dreame.*

battell of footmen, ranged after the MACEDONIAN faſhion: who comming to giue charge the one vpon the other, came the goddeſſe *Minerua* to aide the one, and *Ceres* likewiſe to aide the other. Then him thought that after they had fought a long time together, he whom *Minerua* aided was ouerthrowne, and that *Ceres* had gathered eares of corne and made a crowne of them, to giue him that had wonne the field. Hereupon *Eumenes* perſuaded himſelfe that this dreame made for him, and promiſed him victorie, for that he fought for a fertile countrie of corne, where was great plenty of it. For all the fields were ſowne with corne in euery place, that it was a pleaſure to behold it, ſhewing the benefit of long peace, to ſee all the corne fieldes how greene they looked. But when he vnderſtood that the enemies had giuen their ſouldiers for the ſignall of battell, *Minerua* and *Alexander*: then was his firſt imagination confirmed more then before. Whereupon, he gaue *Ceres* and *Alexander* for ſignall of the battell to his ſouldiers, and commaunded euery man to make them a garland of wheate eares to weare on their heads, and that they ſhould wreath flowers and noſegayes about their pikes. He was in a minde many times to make his truſtieſt Captaines priuie againſt whome they ſhould fight, and not alone to truſt himſelfe withall, to keepe ſo neceſſary a thing as that ſecret: yet in fine, he kept his firſt reſolution, thinking it the ſafeſt way, not to commit this danger, but to himſelfe. Now when he came to giue battell, he would place neuer a MACEDONIAN directly againſt *Craterus*, but ſet two companies of men of armes that were ſtrangers againſt him, the which *Pharnabazus* (*Artabazus* ſonne) and *Phœnix Tenidian* did lead. Then he ſpecially commanded, that ſo ſoone as they ſawe the enemies before them, they ſhould ſtraight giue charge, giuing them no leaſure to ſpeake nor retire, neither to hearken to any Heraulde or trumpet that they ſhould ſend vnto them: for he feared much that the MACEDONIANS would turne againſt him, if they once came to know *Craterus*. Now for himſelfe, he led the right wing of his battell, with a troope of three hundred men at armes, the chiefeſt men of all his armie, where he ſhould meete full with *Neoptolemus* fronte. When they had paſſed a litle hill that ſtood betweene both battels, *Eumenes* horſemen following his commandement, ranne with full cariere to ſet vpon their enemies. *Craterus* ſeeing that, was amazed withall, and banned and curſed *Neoptolemus* that had deceiued him in that ſorte, informing him that the MACEDONIANS would turne of his ſide, if they might but once ſee him: notwithſtanding, he praied them that were about him, to ſhew themſelues like valiant men that day, and therewithall fiercely ſet ſpurres to his horſe to meete with his enemies. The encounter was very cruell on either ſide, and their ſtaues being broken, they fell ſtraight to their ſwords: but that day did not *Craterus* diſhonor the memory of *Alexander*, for he ſlue many of his enemies round about him, valiantly repulſed them that did aſſaile him, and many times ouerthrew them. Yet in fine one of the men of armes of THRACIA gaue him ſuch a blowe on the ſide, that he turned him off his horſe, and when he was downe, many paſſed ouer him. But *Gorgyas*, one of *Eumenes* Captaines knowing him, lighted from his horſe, and appointed men about him to guarde him: howbeit it was too late, for he was drawing on, and euen in the very pangs of death. *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus* on the other ſide, which had bene mortall enemies of long time, being a fire with an old malice, they ſought vp & downe the one for the other. So at the two firſt courſes they could not one light vpon the other, but at the third meeting, when they knew one an other, then they ſet ſpurres to their horſes, their ſwords drawne, and with great cries gaue charge vpon each other. And their horſes met ſo fiercely together, as if two armed gallies had met with their prowes: and both the Captaines laying the bridles in their horſe necks, cloſed together, and with both hands ſtriued to plucke off each others headpeece, and to rent their polrons from their ſhoulders. Whileſt they were thus tearing each other, their horſes ran from them, and they fell to the ground, one holding the other faſt as if they had wreſtled together. *Neoptolemus* got vp firſt: but as he roſe, *Eumenes* cut the hamme of his legge, and raiſed him ſelfe vp withall. *Neoptolemus* ſtaying himſelfe vpon one knee, his other legge being very ſore hurt, defended himſelfe on the ground the beſt he could, from *Eumenes* that was on his feete, but he could giue him no deadly wound: neuertheleſſe himſelfe had a blow on the necke, that laide him flat on the grounde. Then *Eumenes* inflamed with choller againſt him, went about to ſtrippe him, and fell a reuiling of him, and being in that furious moode, remem-

*Battell betwixt Eumenes and Craterus.*

*Craterus death.*

bred not that *Neoptolemus* had his ſword yet, who hurt him vnder his curaces, euen about his groine, not farre from his priuie partes: howbeit the wounde made *Eumenes* worſe afraide, then there was cauſe of hurt, for that *Neoptolemus* ſtrength was gone before the ſtroke came, dying preſently vpon it. *Eumenes* hauing ſtripped him found himſelfe very ill, (by reaſon of his wounds) on his armes and legs, which had many a ſore gaſhe: notwithſtanding, he got vp on his horſe againe, and rode towards the other wing of his battell, thinking his enemies had bene fighting ſtill. But there being tolde that *Craterus* had his deaths wound, he went ſtraight to the place where he lay, and found him yet aliue, not paſt knowledge. Then *Eumenes* lighted from his horſe, and wept, and taking him by the right hand, accurſed *Neoptolemus* that had brought him to that pittifull ſtate, and had alſo forced him to be in battell againſt one of his deereſt friends, to make him the inſtrument of his vtter vndoing. This ſecond battell *Eumenes* wanne ten dayes after the firſt battell obtained, which got him great honour, for that he had diſcomfited one of his enemies through wiſedome, and the other by valiantneſſe. But yet this bred him much ill will, not onely of his enemies, but of his friends alſo that tooke his parte, when they bethought them, that he being a ſtranger, had with the weapons and power of the MACEDONIANS themſelues, ſlaine the greateſt and moſt famous Captaine among them. Now if *Perdiccas* had bene ſo happie, as to haue liued and receiued the aduertiſement of *Craterus* death: no doubt he had bin the greateſt perſon of all the MACEDONIANS. But as ill luck would haue it, within two dayes after that *Perdiccas* was ſlaine in a mutinie of his men in EGYPT, newes came to his army of *Eumenes* victorie, and alſo of the death of *Craterus*. Wherevpon the MACEDONIANS were ſo offended with *Eumenes*, that incontinently they condemned him to die, & gaue *Antigonus* and *Antipater* commiſſion to execute the reuenge. When *Eumenes* paſſing by mount Ida (where the king kept a race and breed of horſes) had takẽ away with him as many horſes as he would, and had ſent letters of aduertiſement thereof to the kings riders: *Antipater*, as it is reported, ſmiled, and in mockerie ſaid, that he maruelled to ſee *Eumenes* great care, to thinke that he ſhould either giue or receiue any account of the kings goods. So *Eumenes* thought good to fight in the great plaines of LYDIA, eſpecially neere vnto the chiefe citie of SARDIS, becauſe he was the ſtronger in horſemen, and for that he would make *Cleopatra* ſee the power of his armie. Howbeit, being intreated by her (who feared blame of *Antipater*) he went further into high PHRYGIA, and wintered in the citie of CELÆNES. But there *Polemon*, *Alcetas*, and *Docimus*, fell in contention with him for leading of the army, ſaying, that they had as much right to leade the armie as he. *Eumenes* anſwered them, truly here is euen the common ſaying vp and downe: deſperate men regard no danger. Now *Eumenes* hauing promiſed his ſoldiers pay within three daies, to keep his promiſe, ſold them all the farmes and caſtels of that country, together with the men and beaſts of the ſame, whereof the prouince was fully repleniſhed. Thereupon his Lieutenants of the bands hauing bought certaine of them, went and tooke them perforce, through *Eumenes* engines of batterie which he ſuffered them to cary with him: and hauing taken them, they went and deuided the ſpoile, paying euery ſouldier ratably his wages due. This deuiſe brought him againe in fauour among his ſouldiers. For certaine papers being found in his campe caſt abroade by his enemies, promiſing great offices, and a hundred talents beſides to any man that killed *Eumenes*: the MACEDONIANS that ſerued vnder him were ſo offended withall, that they preſently ſet downe an order, that from that time forward a thouſand of the beſt ſouldiers among them (which alſo had charge vnder them) ſhould alwaies garde his perſon, keeping watche euery night about him, as fell out by turnes one after another. Whereunto they all agreed: and *Eumenes* gaue them thoſe honors and rewards, which the kings of MACEDON were wonte to giue vnto their friends, and which they gladly receiued. For through their graunt he had authoritie to giue purple clokes and hats to whome he thought good, which was the honourableſt gift the king of MACEDON could giue. It is true that proſperitie maketh ſimple men high minded, whereby they ſeeme (though they be not) very honorable, but ſpecially when fortune hath raiſed them to honor & wealth. But indeed he that is of a noble minde and ſtout courage is beſt diſcerned in aduerſitie: for he neuer yeeldeth to any troubles, as appeareth by *Eumenes*. For whẽ he had loſt a battell among the ORCYNIANS, in the realme of CAPPADOCIA,

*Neoptolemus ſlaine.*

*Eumenes victory of Craterus and Neoptolemus.*

*Sardis, the chiefe city of Lydia.*

*The conſtancy of Eumenes in aduerſity.*

CIA, through the treaſon of one of his ſouldiers: he being purſued, yet neuer gaue the traitour any leyſure to flie to his enemies for ſafety, but tooke him and truſſed him vp. And after he had fled for a time, he turned his horſe head vpon a ſodaine, and leauing his enemies ſide hand of him that had him in chaſe, he cloſely ſtale by them without their knowledge, and held on iornying ſo long, vntill he came to the ſelfe ſame plaine, where the battell was fought. There he camped, and gathering vp the dead bodies, (the Captaines by them ſelues, and the ſouldiers apart) he burnt them with the dores, gates, & windowes of all the villages and townes thereabouts that he could get together: and in ſtead of tombes for them, he raiſed vp great heapes of earth. Inſomuch as *Antigonus* comming thither immediatly after, he wondred much at his valiantneſſe and inuincible courage. Remouing thence, he met with *Antigonus* cariage, and might eaſily without danger haue taken a number of priſoners, as well free as bond, and haue gotten all the riches and treaſure which they had ſpoiled in ſo many ſundry wars, townes, and countries: howbeit he was afraied that if his ſouldiers were loden with that ſpoile, it would make them more heauy to march, and vnable to flie, but ſpecially more tender to abide to run from place to place a long time together, being the only meane wherein he truſted to come to end this war. For he made account that *Antigonus* in the end would be weary in following him ſo long a time, and therfore that he would turne ſome other way. Moreouer he perceiued that it was vnpoſſible for him by his authority to keepe the MACEDONIANS from taking ſo rich a prey, as offered it ſelfe vnto them: whereupon he commanded them to ſtay a while, and baite their horſe firſt, and then that they ſhould go ſtraight to ſpoile the enemies cariage. But in the meane time he ſecretly ſent a meſſenger to *Menander* (who had the charge and conduct of all the cariage) to will him to flie with all ſpeede out of the plaine, and to get him to the hanging of a hill not far from thence, and ſafe from horſmen, where they could not be enuironned, and there to fortifie him ſelfe: ſending him word alſo, that he ſent him this aduertiſement, for the old friendſhip and acquaintaunce that had bene betweene them afore. *Menander* hearing what danger he was in, made his men truſſe vp their cariage ſtraight. Thereupon *Eumenes* openly ſent certaine light armed men to diſcouer, and to bring him news: and therwithall commanded them to arme, and bridle their horſes, as if he had ment to haue led them againſt the enemies. His skouts were now returned, and told him that it was vnpoſſible either to diſtreſſe or take *Menander*, for that he was fled into a place of ſuch ſtrength, & therefore he was not to be come by. *Eumenes* ſeemed to be very ſory for it, howbeit he led his army from thence notwithſtanding. *Menander* afterwardes reported this matter to *Antigonus*, & the MACEDONIANS that were in his army, who did greatly commend *Eumenes*, & after that loued him better then euer they did before: becauſe that hauing their childrẽ in his hands whom he might haue made ſlaues, and their wiues alſo whom he might haue defiled, he ſpared them all. Howbeit *Antigonus* to put them out of this humor, told them, ye are deceiued, my friends: for it was not for your ſakes, nor yet to pleaſure you, that *Eumenes* tooke not your wiues, your children, and your goods, but only for the feare he had to haue ſhackles on his heeles, to let him from ſpeedy flying. So *Eumenes* departing from thence, fled ſtil before *Antigonus*, & wandring vp & down, did him ſelfe wiſh his ſouldiers to get them ſomewhere elſe: either in deed for that he was careful of them, or for that he was vnwilling to haue ſuch a number about him, being too few to fight a battel, and too many to hide his flying. In fine, he went to a ſtrong place of ſituation called Nora, in the confines of LYCAONIA and CAPPADOCIA, with fiue hundred horſmen, and two hũdred footmẽ well armed. And when he was come thither alſo, he gaue euery one leaue to depart that asked him licence, becauſe they could not haue abiddẽ the diſcommodity of the place, which was very ſtraight, and the lacke of neceſſary victuals which they muſt needs haue wanted, if the ſiege did continue long: and thus departed from them with very good wordes and louing countenance. Shortly after came *Antigonus* before the fort, but would not beſiege it, before he ſent for *Eumenes* to come to him vpon his word. *Eumenes* anſwered him, that *Antigonus* had many of his friends about him, that after him might come to be the heades of his tribe, and that him ſelfe on the other ſide had not a noble man for whom he fought. And therfore if *Antigonus* would haue him come and ſpeake with him, that he ſhould ſend him one of his chiefeſt frends in hoſtage. Againe, *Antigonus* being earneſt with him, & telling him it was

*Eumenes ſtratageme.*

reaſon he ſhould come to him, for that he was the better man, and of greater power: *Eumenes* aunſwered him, I will acknowledge none better then my ſelfe, ſo long as I can hold my ſword in my hand. In the end, *Antigonus* (according to *Eumenes* requeſt) ſent his owne nephew *Ptolomy* into the fort, and then came *Eumenes* out. At their meeting they both embraced and ſaluted each other, as friendes of old acquaintance and familiarity: and ſo fell in talke of diuerſe matters: but all this while *Eumenes* neuer once made requeſt to depart in ſafety, neither yet demaunded pardon, but only deſired the confirmation of his charge and gouernment, and that he might be reſtored to that which was giuen him. They that were preſent at their meeting maruelled much at *Eumenes*, & greatly commended his ſtoutnes. Now whileſt they were thus in talke together, the MACEDONIANS came out of all partes of the campe, to ſee what maner of man *Eumenes* was: becauſe that after the death of *Craterus* there was no talke among the MACEDONIAN ſouldiers, of any Captaine, but of *Eumenes*. Neuertheleſſe, *Antigonus* fearing they would doe *Eumenes* ſome miſchiefe, commaunded them aloude to giue backe, and made ſtones to be throwen among them to keepe them off him. All this notwithſtanding he was faine in the end to put them off with his gard, and to take *Eumenes* in his armes, and had much a doe to deliuer him ſafely into his fort againe. After this imparlance, *Antigonus* compaſſed this fort of Nora round about with a wall, and left a ſufficient number of men to continue the ſiege, and ſo went his way with the reſt of his army. In the meane time *Eumenes* remained beſieged within this fort, where there was plenty of wheate, water, and ſalt, but of no other thing that was good to eate, nor ſweete of taſt, to ſuſtain them with their bread. Yet with ſuch as he had, he kept them in good liking that were in houſe with him. For he made them euery one after an other ſit at his bourd with him, and withall did faſhion out that manner of diet, with a certaine life and familiarity of pleaſaunt deuiſes to entertaine them at their meate. For beſides that he ſought to ſhew them as pleaſaunt a countenaunce as he could, yet naturally he had a ſweete faire face, not looking like a man of warre, that all the dayes of his life had bene trained vp in it: but like a freſh youth, being of ſuch a conſtitution of body, that the excellenteſt workeman that euer was could not better ſet out all the partes and proportion of a man, then were naturally to be ſeene in him. His ſpeach was not harſh nor churliſh, but very milde, and pleaſant, as appeareth by the letters he wrote. Now for the ſiege, there was nothing that more annoyed the beſieged, then the narrowneſſe of the fort wherein they were, which was not aboue two furlongs compaſſe about, and their houſes ſo litle and narrow, that they could ſcant turne them in them: and did eate and drinke without any manner of exerciſe for themſelues, or their horſe. Now *Eumenes* to take away the ſluggiſhneſſe that groweth by idleneſſe, a thing moſt hurtfull to them that are acquainted with trauell and paines) to keepe them in breath, and to make them the lighter to flie, if occaſion were offred: put his men into the longeſt and wideſt hall he had in his houſe, (being fourteene cubites long to wake vp and downe in) and taught them firſt of all to march fair and ſoftly, and then by litle and litle to haſten their pace. For the horſes he had, them he made to be girt before, one after an other, and then did ſoftly triſe them vp with long pulleyes faſtned to the beames: their hindmoſt feete ſtanding on the groũd, and their formoſt being aloft. The horſes being triſed vp in this maner, their riders came with loude cries behind them, and ſome with whippes in their handes to laſh them, that the horſe being mad withall, yerked out behinde, and ſprang forward with his formoſt legges to touch the ground, that they did but euen raſe it a litle, ſo as euery vaine and ſinew of them were ſtrained by this meanes, that they blue, and were all of a fome withall, ſo good an exerciſe to them it was, as well to put them in breath, as to keepe their legges ſupple to run. After that, they had their oats very cleane pickt and dreſſed, that they might digeſt them the ſooner. *Antigonus* hauing long continued this ſiege, newes came vnto him that *Antipater* was dead in MACEDON, and that the realme was in a great broile, through the factions of *Caſſander* & *Polyperchon*. *Antigonus*, whoſe head was ſtraight ful of great imaginatiõs, greedily coueting with him ſelfe the whole kingdome of MACEDON, thought good to make *Eumenes* his friend, that through his helpe he might attaine his deſired purpoſe. Thereupon he ſent *Hyeronymus* vnto him to treate of peace, and gaue him the forme of the othe which he would haue him ſweare vnto him. When *Eumenes* had ſeene it, he would not be ſworne in that maner, but corrected it

*Eumenes talke with Antigonus and magnanimity.*

*Eumenes beſieged in the fort of Nora.*

*Eumenes perſonage and pleaſauntnes.*

*Eumenes induſtry in the ſiege for martiall exerciſe.*

& ſayed: that he did refer himſelfe to the iudgment of the Macedonians which kept him beſieged, to iudge which of thoſe two formes was moſt meeteſt: that which *Antigonus* had ſent him, or the ſame which he had corrected. For in *Antigonus* forme of oth, there was a litle mention onely made at the beginning of the blood royall, but in all the reſt following, he bound *Eumenes* particularly to himſelfe. But *Eumenes* in his forme of oth, did firſt of all put *Olympias* the mother of king *Alexander*, and the kings his ſonnes afterwardes: and for the reſt, he ſware he would be friend of the friendes, and enemie of the enemies not of *Antigonus* onely, but of the kings, and of *Olympias*. The Macedonians being at the ſiege before Nora, did better like the forme of *Eumenes* oth, than they did that of *Antigonus*. So hauing giuen *Eumenes* his oth, & made him ſweare according to that forme: they raiſed their ſiege, and ſent alſo vnto *Antigonus* to take his oth. All this accompliſhed, *Eumenes* redeliuered the Cappadocians their hoſtages, (which he had kept in Nora with him) and they that came for them, gaue him in their ſteade, horſe of warre, beaſtes of cariage, tentes and pauilions. Thus he beganne to gather his men againe together, which were diſperſed abroade after his ouerthrowe, ſo that in few dayes he was aboue a thouſand horſmen, with whom he fledde, fearing yet *Antigonus*, and he did wiſely. For *Antigonus* had not onely commaunded them to ſhutte him vp againe ſtraighter then he was before: but beſides that wrote ſharpe letters and very angrily vnto the Macedonians, which had accepted the correction of the oth. Whileſt *Eumenes* wandred vp & downe flying ſtill, he receiued letters from certaine in Macedonia (fearing *Antigonus* greatneſſe) and ſpecially from *Olympias*: which ſent vnto him to come into Macedon, to take the charge and gouernment of her young ſonne *Alexander*, whom they ſought to put to death. Furthermore, he likewiſe receiued letters from *Polyperchon* and from king *Philippe*, who commanded him to make war with *Antigonus* with his armie he had in Cappadocia, and to put in his purſe of the kings fiue hundreth ſiluer talentes (which had bene taken from him before) which were in the citie of Cyndes, and beſides, to defraye the charges of the warres, as much as he thought meete. And therewithall alſo they wrote vnto *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, the two Captaines of the Argyraſpides: to wit, the ſouldiers with the ſiluer ſhieldes, or ſhieldes ſiluered, which were of the olde bandes of *Alexanders* armie. Theſe two Captaines hauing receiued theſe letters, did vſe *Eumenes* with very good wordes, and ſhewed him great countenance: yet a man by their lookes might eaſily coniecture that they enuied him, for either of them both thought themſelues men ſufficient, and worthy to commaunde *Eumenes*, not to aide him. Howbeit *Eumenes* behaued himſelfe very wiſely. For as touching their enuie, he pacified that, becauſe he tooke not the money which he was cõmaunded to take for his owne vſe, for that he had no need of it. And as for their ambition and preſumption, diſdaining to be commaunded by him, though they could neither tell howe to commaunde nor obey: he did reclaime them, by a ſuperſtition he layed before them, which was this. He made them beleeue that *Alexander* did appeare to him in his ſleepe, and that he ſhewed him a pauilion ſumptuouſly ſette out in the ſtate and magnificence of a king, in the which was a royall throne: and tolde him, that if they would keepe their councell place in that pauilion, he would be preſent among them, and ayde them in all their councels and conductes of their warres, ſo that they would alwaies begin by him. He eaſily perſwaded *Antigenes* and *Teutamus* to beleue that which he ſpake, who would not goe to him to conſult of any matters: neither did he thinke it honorable for himſelfe to be ſeene to go to other mens gates. Wherefore with all their conſents they incontinently ſet vp a goodly rich pauilion, which was called *Alexanders* pauilion: and there they kept their coũcels and aſſemblies for diſpatch of all their weightieſt cauſes. After this, they went towardes the hie countries and met with *Peuceſtas* on the way, (*Eumenes* very great frend) who ioyned with them, and other great peeres of the realme, with all their power beſides. This did greatly ſtrengthen the armie of the noblemen of Macedonia, as touching the number of men, and their braue armors and furniture: but for their owne perſons, becauſe they had no man to commaund them ſince the death of *Alexander*, they were growen ſelfe willed by diſſolute libertie, and effeminate in their manner of life: and moreouer they had gotten a tirannicall fierceneſſe, nouriſhed & increaſed by the vanities of the barbarous people. So that many

*This was Arideus, the ſon of Philip ye father of Alexander, whom they had ſurnamed Philippe.*

*Eumenes made king philippes Lieutenant of his army.*

*Argyraſpides Alexanders ſouldiers, ſo called, for thir ſiluered ſhields*

*Eumenes temperance.*

*Eumenes fained deuiſe.*

*Eumenes wilineſſe to winde him ſelfe out of danger.*

*Paſitigris fl.*

*Eumenes battell with Antigonus, and victorie.*

*Antigonus ſouldiers armed with gilt armors.*

of them being then together, could not be quiet one with an other, but ſhamefully flattered the olde bands of the MACEDONIAN ſouldiers, giuing them money, and making them banquets and feaſtes of ſacrifices. And thus in ſhort time, of a campe they brought it to be a diſſolute tauerne, where the noble men got the ſouldiers fauour that they might be choſen chieftaines of all the army: like as the common peoples voyces are bought in free cities (where the people doe rule) to be preferred to honourable ſtates and offices of the common wealth. Now *Eumenes* found ſtraight that theſe peeres of the realme diſdained one an other, howbeit that they all feared and miſtruſted him, and ſought but for oportunity to kill him. Wherfore to preuent this, he made as though he had occaſion to occupy money, and ſo borrowed a great ſumme of them ſpecially, whom he knew moſt hated him: to the end that from thenceforth they ſhould no more diſtruſt, but truſt him, ſtanding in feare to loſe the money they had lent him. And thereof followed a ſtraunge thing: for other mens money and goods, was the ſafety of his life. For where others giue money to ſaue their liues, he by taking of money ſaued his owne life. Now for the ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS, whileſt they ſaw they were without daunger of enemies to make them afraied, they ſtill hung vpon them that gaue them, being deſirous to be made Generalles: and came euery morning to their vpriſing to waite vpon them, and follow them whereſoeuer they went. But when *Antigonus* was come to camp hard by them with a great and puiſant army, and that their caſe required then a valiant Captaine and skilfull leader: not the ſouldiers alone, but all the peeres and ſtates beſides, (which in peace did braue it out) did then willingly (without motion made) ſubmit them ſelues vnto *Eumenes*, to be at his commaundement. For when *Antigonus* aſſaied all the wayes he could to paſſe ouer the riuer of Paſitigris, the peeres which were layed in diuers places to let him from paſſing ouer, heard nothing of it, ſo that there was none but *Eumenes* onely that reſiſted him, and fought with him: where he ſlew ſuch a number of his men, that he filled the riuer with them, and tooke foure thouſand of them priſoners. Againe, when *Eumenes* was ſicke, theſe olde bandes did more plainely ſhew what opinion they had of him, and of others: to wit, that they could banquet them, and make them good cheare at their houſes, yet that *Eumenes* onely of all other was worthieſt to be their Captaine, and to commaund them. For *Peuceſtas* hauing feaſted them in the kingdom of PERSIA, & giuen euery ſouldier a mutton to ſacrifice, thought he had won great fauor and credit among them. But ſhortly after, as the army marched againſt their enemies, *Eumenes* by misfortune fell dangerouſly ſicke, and therfore would needes be caried in a litter farre from the campe, to be out of the noiſe, becauſe he could take no reſt. But they had not gone farre, before they ſaw their enemies, which hauing paſſed ouer certaine litle hils betweene them, were comming downe into the valley. When the ſouldiers ſaw the gliſtering of the gilt armors of their enemies, that glared in the ſunne, and the good order they marched withall in battell ray, the Elephantes with the towers vpon their backs, and the men at armes with their purple coates vpon their armors: (which was the apparell they wore when they went to fight with their enemies) then the foremoſt ſtaied vpon it, and cried out, willing them to ſend for *Eumenes* to leade them, for they would elſe go no further if they had not him for their Generall. And therewithall they raiſed their pikes, and laid downe their ſhields at their feete, calling from one to another to ſtay, and to their priuate Captaines alſo: and tolde them plainly, that they would not ſturre a foote from thence, nor fight at all, vnleſſe *Eumenes* were among them to lead them. *Eumenes* hearing of it, came to them with great ſpeede, haſtening his ſlaues and littermen to bring him thither: and then opening his litter on euery ſide, he held out his right hand to the ſouldiers, and tolde them he was very glad of the good opinion they had of him. The ſouldiers alſo ſo ſoone as they ſawe him, ſaluted him in the MACEDONIAN tongue, and tooke vp their ſhields, clapping them againſt their pikes with a great ſhoute, bidding their enemies come when they would, they ſhould be fought withall, now that their Captaine was among them. *Antigonus* on the other ſide, being informed by certaine priſoners which his ſouldiers had taken in skirmiſh, that *Eumenes* was fallen very ſore ſicke, and by reaſon thereof was caried in a litter: thought nowe he ſhould haue no great a do to diſcomfit the reſt of the army, and therefore made all poſſible ſpeede he could to fight. But when he came ſo neere, that he might eaſily ſee the order and countenance of his enemies, who were ſet in ſuch good order of battell, that it could not any wayes be amended: he was much amaſed withall, and pawſed a great while, and in the meane time ſpied *Eumenes* litter a farre off, caried from one end of the battell to the other, whereat he laughed out aloude, as his manner was, and turning him ſelfe to his friends, ſayd. See, ſayd he, I beleeue it is that litter that maketh warre with vs, and doth offer vs battell. But with thoſe wordes, he ſounded the retreat, and brought his men backe againe into his campe. When this feare was a litle paſſed ouer, the MACEDONIANS fell to their old trade againe, the peeres to flatter the ſouldiers, and the ſouldiers to waxe braue and ſtoute againſt their Captaines: ſo that when they came to take their garriſons for the winter time, they deuided in maner among them the whole country of the GABENIANS, the firſt from the laſt being lodged almoſt a thouſand furlongs off. Which *Antigonus* vnderſtanding, determined to ſet vpon them, they miſtruſting nothing. And ſo went ſodainely towardes them, by a ſhorter way then that he had already come, but the worſer way a great deale, and where no water was to be had: in hope that if hee met them thus diſperſed a ſunder, their Captaines could not readily aſſemble them all together. But while he was in this his iourney, in the deſert crooked way, he was ſo ouertaken, and with ſuch boiſterous windes and extreame bitter cold, that his ſouldiers could go no further, but were forced to tary ſtil, to prouide them preſent remedy againſt the fury of the time. Now the onely remedy they had, was to make numbers of fires: and by them their enemies knew of their comming. For the barbarous people inhabiting the mountaines, towardes the deſert, being amaſed to ſee ſuch a number of fires in the valley, ſent preſently with ſpeede vppon two camels light loden, to aduertiſe *Peuceſtas*, who being neareſt vnto the mountaines was ſo ſcared with theſe newes, that he was at his wittes end, not knowing what to do. For, ſeeing his other companions as much afraied as him ſelfe, he fled vpon it, and caried all them with him which he met in his way. But *Eumenes* quieted this great feare, aſſuring them that he would ſtay the ſodaine attempt of their enemies, and that they ſhould come three daies later then they looked for: which they beleeued. Then did *Eumenes* ſend meſſengers into euery quarter to all the Captaines, commaunding them ſpeedily to put their men in readineſſe, and to meete him at a certaine place which he appointed. Him ſelfe in the meane time went with other Captaines to chooſe a fitte ground to lodge a campe, the which might eaſily be ſeene from the toppe of the mountaines, which they muſt paſſe that come from the deſert: and there fortified the ſame with trenches, and deuided it out into quarters, making fire in euery place, ſuch a diſtance off one from an other, as they vſe commonly to make in a campe. It was no ſooner done, but *Antigonus* came to the toppe of the mountaines, and ſaw theſe fires a farre off, which grieued him much: for he thought that his enemies had long before knowen of his comming, and that they came againſt him. Being afrayd therefore leaſt his enemies would compell him to fight, comming freſh vppon him, his owne men being weary and done with the paines they had abidden, comming through that deſert countrey: hee tooke his way to lead backe his army, not the neareſt way by the which he came, but through the country richly inhabited and repleniſhed with great cities and good townes, to refreſh his ouer-wearied people. Yet ſeeing he had none alaroms giuen, nor any skirmiſhes offered him, (as they vſe commonly when both armies are neare together) and that the valley men told him that they had ſeene none other army but his, ſauing that round about there was ſtore of fires: then he ſtraight miſtruſted that it was one of *Eumenes* ſtrategemes of warre, wherewith he had deceiued him. And therewithall he was in ſuch a rage, that he went ſtraight to the place where he thought to finde him, determining no more to ſteale vpon him, but to put all to the hazard of a battell. But in the meane time, the moſt part of the hoaſt was gathered about *Eumenes*, for the great eſtimation euery man had of his wiſdome and ſufficiency: inſomuch that they agreed and ordained, that he onely as their Lieutenant generall ſhould commaund the whole army. This ſpited the two Captains of the *Argyraſpides*, *Antigenes* & *Teutamus*, who bare him ſuch an inward grudge, that from that time forth, they practiſed his death: and aſſembling together with many of the ſtates & particular Captains, they ſat in councell to know when, & in what ſort they ſhould kill him. Howbeit the moſt voices aſſembled in this councell, were whole of opinion, that they ſhuld take the benefit of his ſeruice in leading the battell, & that immediatly

*Antigonus mocke to Eumenes.*

*Eumenes ſtratageme againſt Antigonus.*

*Enuy the cõpanion of vertue.*

*Eumenes death conſpired.*

after they ſhould put him to death. This being thus reſolued vpon, *Eudamus* Captaine of the Elephants, and an other called *Phadimus*, went ſecretly and told *Eumenes* what they had concluded vpon in the aſſembly againſt him, not for any good will that they bare him, or for that they ſought to pleaſure him, but onely becauſe they were afraied to looſe the money they had lent him. *Eumenes* gaue them great thankes, and commended their fidelity, and then reported it vnto his beſt friends, and told them: you ſee how I am enuironned with a troupe of wilde and brutiſh beaſtes. That done, he made his will, and tare all the letters and writings that had bene ſent him, becauſe he would not haue them ſuffer for him after his death, that had ſent him ſecret aduertiſements. Afterwardes when he had diſpoſed of all his priuate matters in this ſort, he ſtoode in a doubt whether hee ſhould loſe the battell giuing his enemies the victory, or whether it were better for him to flie into CAPPADÓCIA, through MEDIA and ARMENIA. Howbeit he reſolued of nothing before his friendes. But when the miſchiefe he was in had put diuers thoughts into his head, in fine he determined to fight, and did ſet his army in battell ray, perſwading the GRECIANS as well as the barbarous people to ſtand to it like men. And as for the old ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS, they ſo litle needed exhortation, that they them ſelues did exhort *Eumenes* to be of good corage, ſaying; that their enemies would neuer abide them, becauſe they were all the oldeſt ſouldiers, and of greateſt experience, that had bene in all the conqueſtes of king *Philippe*, and of his ſonne *Alexander*, and that it was neuer heard that they had bene ouerthrowen in any ſette battell, the moſt of them being three ſcore and tenne yeares olde, and the youngeſt no leſſe then three ſcore. Whereupon, when they ranne with great fury to giue charge vpon their enemies, they cried out aloude ſpeaking to the ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS that were vnder *Antigonus*: Ah wretches, come ye to fight with your fathers? And ſo aſſailing them with a luſty courage, and in a rage withall, in a ſhort ſpace ouerthrew the ſquadron of their enemies, and ſlue the moſt part of them in the field. Thus was *Antigonus* army cleane ouerthrowen on that ſide: but on the other ſide where his men of armes were, through *Peuceſtas* cowardlineſſe (that handled himſelfe very ill at that battell) he had the vpper hand, and wanne all their cariage, through his foreſight in the greateſt fury of the battell, and the ſtrength of the place where the battell was fought. For it was a maruellous great plaine of length, neither too deepe, nor yet too hard vnder foote, but couered ouer with a ſmall fine ſand, much like to the drie ſand the ſea caſteth vp, and leaueth vpon the ſhore. This ſand being ſcattered abroad by riding and going to and fro of ſo many thouſands of men and horſes during the time of the battell foughten, had raiſed ſuch a mighty duſt and white ſmoke in the element, as if they had ſturred or tempered white lime together, which troubled their ſight ſo ſore, as they could ſee nothing before them: in reſpect whereof *Antigonus* might eaſily ſeaze all their cariage, them ſelues being neuer a whit the wiſer. The battell being come to this paſſe you haue heard, *Teutamus* ſent preſently vnto *Antigonus*, to pray him to redeliuer them their cariage again, which he had taken and caried into his campe. *Antigonus* made him aunſwere, that he would not onely redeliuer the goodes vnto the ARGYRASPIDES, but would moreouer vſe them with all the fauor he could, ſo farre foorth as they deliuered *Eumenes* into his hands. Whereupon the ARGYRASPIDES tooke preſently a wicked reſolution, to deliuer him aliue into the handes of his enemies. And with that determination they came neare vnto him, not making any countenaunce as though they would lay handes on him, but rather ſeeming to guard and defend his perſon as their manner was: ſome of them lamēting that their goods were gone: others telling him that he cared not now that he had wonne the battell: and others accuſing the noble men of cowardlines, ſaying, that the fault was in them that they had not the whole victory. But in fine, one of thē hauing ſpied his time, flew to him, and tooke his ſword out of his hand: the others ſtraight layed hold of him, and bound both his hands behinde him with his owne girdle. *Antigonus* vnderſtanding it, ſent *Nicanor* thither to take him out of their handes, and to bring him to him. Then *Eumenes* hauing made requeſt vnto them to ſuffer him to ſpeake, as they brought him through the bandes of theſe old MACEDONIAN ſouldiers: it was graunted him with condition, that he ſhould make no motion vnto them to turne from that they were determinated to doe, but to tell them of things, which (as he ſayd) tended greatly to their benefite. Whereuppon ſilence

*Eumenes tare all his friends letters to keepe them out of trouble.*

*The old band of the Macedonians, were euery man 60. yeare old and moſt aboue.*

*Eumenes conflict with Antigonus.*

*Eumenes betrayed by the Argyraſpides.*

being made, he got vp vpon a litle hillocke, and there ſpake vnto them, putting forth his hands being bound. O wretched and faithleſſe men, the wickedeſt that euer MACEDON bred. What ſo great triumph or victorie, hath euer *Antigonus* wonne of you, hauing ſought it ſuch infinite waies: as you your ſelues doe now put into his handes, deliuering him your Captaine bound and manacled? Will not this be to your great ſhame, that being maſters of the fielde, you will grant the honor of the victory vnto your enemy, only for a litle couetouſnes of money and paltry ſtuffe which you haue loſt? And yet is not this all, but the worſt behinde: to ſend your Captaine as you do to pay the ranſome of your baggage. For my ſelfe, though now they leade me bound, yet do I remaine free vnouercome, vanquiſher of mine enemies, & ſold by them that ſhould be my friends. Well, yet this requeſt I only make vnto you, in the name of *Iupiter*, protector of armes, and for the honor of the goddes, (vnto whom all vowed othes ought faithfully to be kept) I pray and coniure you, to kill me your ſelues in this place. For all commeth to one end. To be ſlaine in *Antigonus* campe by the handes of mine owne enemies, will euer be counted your deede: and you may be aſſured he will not be angry withall, for he only deſireth *Eumenes* death, and not his life. If you will needes hold your hands from this attempt, vnloſe yet one of mine onely: that ſhall ſuffice to doe the feate. And if for feare ye will not put a ſword in my hande, throw me bound yet hands and feete vnto wild beaſtes: which if ye performe, then doe I diſcharge you of your othe taken betweene both my handes, which ye haue ſworne vnto your Captaine, as holily and perfectly performed. Vpon this ſpeech of *Eumenes*, all the reſt of the army had cõpaſſion of him, that they wept for tender affection. But the ARGYRASPIDES cried out to cary him away, and not to giue eare to his preaching: and that it was a good deede to puniſh this wicked CHERRONESIAN, according to his deſertes, conſidering that he had turmoyled the MACEDONIANS with endleſſe warre and battell. And moreouer, that it were too much ſhame that the worthieſt ſouldiers that euer ſerued King *Philip* and *Alexander*, ſo painfully in all their warres, ſhould for recompence of their ſeruice in their old age be turned a begging, their wiues hauing now lyen three nightes with their enemies. With thoſe wordes, they violently draue him on towardes *Antigonus* campe, who fearing leaſt the multitude of people that ranne to ſee him, would ſmother him in the preaſe, becauſe euery man ranne out of the campe: he ſent thither tenne of the ſtrongeſt Elephantes he had, and a good number of men of armes of the MEDES and PARTHIANS, to make way for him in the preaſe. When *Eumenes* was now come into *Antigonus* campe, his heart would not ſerue him to ſee him in that miſerable ſtate, for that they had once bene familiarly acquainted together. Whereupon, ſuch as had him in their cuſtodie, came to *Antigonus* to aske him, how he would haue him kept. Who anſwered them: like a Lyon, or an Elephant. Yet within a while after he tooke pitie of him, and diſcharged him of his weightieſt irons, & ſent one of his houſhold ſeruants to him to ſee him well vſed, and ſuffered his friends to come and bring him any thing he lacked. Thus did *Antigonus* deferre many daies before he would determine ought of *Eumenes*, hearing euery man ſpeake, & pondering their purpoſes & ſeuerall opinions. *Nearchus* CRETAN, and his owne ſonne *Demetrius* ſpake for *Eumenes*, and made ſute to ſaue his life, contrary to all the other Lordes & Captaines that were about *Antigonus*, who would in any caſe haue him die. *Eumenes* ſtanding in theſe termes, asked his keeper *Onomarchus* one day what *Antigonus* ment, that hauing his enemie in his hands, he did not quickly rid him out of his paine, or noblely deliuer him? *Onomarchus* churliſhly anſwered him againe, that the time was paſt now to ſhew his courage, as though he feared not death: and that he ſhould haue ſhewed it in the field at the battell. So helpe me *Iupiter* (quoth he) ſo haue I done, & if thou beleeueſt not me, aske them that ſet vppon me: for I neuer met with man yet more ſtrong then my ſelfe. *Onomarchus* replied againe: ſith now therefore thou haſt found a ſtronger than thy ſelfe, why then canſt thou not abide his pleaſure? In fine, when *Antigonus* had reſolued of his death, he commaunded them to giue him no more meate: and thus taking his ſuſtenance from him, *Eumenes* was three daies a dying. In the meane time came ſuch newes, that ſodainly the campe remoued: and therfore before their departure, a man was ſent to *Eumenes* to diſpatch him out of his paine. *Antigonus* licenced his friends to take his body and burne it, and then to gather his aſhes & bones to ſend them to his wife and children. *Eumenes* being ſlaine in this manner, the

*The oration of Eumenes to the traitors Argyraſpides his ſouldiers.*

*Antigonus anſwere for the keeping of Eumenes being priſoner.*

*The noble mind of Eumenes.*

*The death of Eumenes.*

*The iuſt reward of treaſon.*

gods appointed none other iudges to reuẽge the diſloyaltie and treaſon of the ARGYRASPIDES and their Captaines, for betraying of *Eumenes*, but *Antigonus* ſelfe: who deteſting them as cruell murderers, and periured perſons to the goddes, appointed *Ibyrtius* Gouernour of the prouince of ARACHOSIA, to kill them euery mothers ſonne what way he could, that none of them might euer ſee MACEDON againe, nor the Greekiſh ſea.

# THE COMPARISON OF
## *Eumenes with Sertorius.*

ΕΥΜΕΝΗΣ.
SERTORIVS.

*The gouernement of Eumenes and Sertorius.*

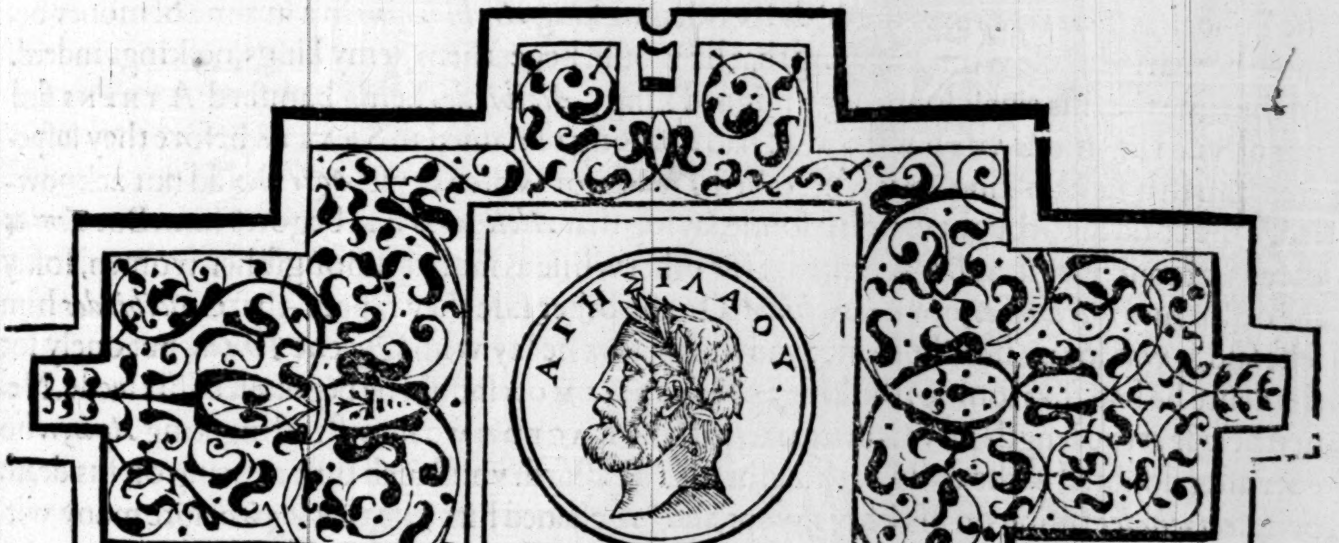
*The deedes and conditions of Eumenes and Sertorius compared.*

HEre haue we ſet downe the things worthie memory of *Eumenes* and *Sertorius*. Now to compare them together, in this they were both a like: that they being ſtrangers in a ſtrange countrie, and baniſhed out of their owne, had alwaies bene Captaines of diuers nations, and chiefetaines of great and warlicke armies. But this was proper to *Sertorius*, that all thoſe of his faction gaue him the chiefeſt place of authority, as the moſt ſufficienteſt man among them, and worthieſt to command: where *Eumenes* hauing many that contended againſt him for the chiefe rule and conduction of the armie, through his noble deedes, obtained the chiefe place and authoritie in the ſame. So that they obeyed the one, deſiring to be gouerned by a good Captaine: and for their owne ſafety gaue place to the other, ſeeing themſelues vnable to command. For *Sertorius* being a ROMAINE, gouerned the SPANIARDS and LVSITANIANS: and *Eumenes* a CHERRONESIAN, the MACEDONIANS. Of the which, the SPANIARDS of long time had bene ſubiect, to the Empire of ROME: and the MACEDONIANS at that time had ſubdued all the world. Furthermore, *Sertorius* being then of great eſtimation for that he was a Senatour of ROME, and had had charge of men of warre before, came to the dignity and eſtate to be chiefetaine of a great army. Where *Eumenes* came with ſmall reputation, diſdained for that he was but a ſecretarie: and when he began to come forwardes, had not only leſſe meanes to preferre him then *Sertorius* had, but greater lets & impediments alſo, to hinder his riſing and eſtimation. For many openly ſtood againſt him, and ſecretly conſpired his death: and not as *Sertorius*, whom no man contraried from the beginning, vntill his latter ende, when certaine of his companions ſecretly conſpired againſt him. Therefore *Sertorius* ende of all his dangers, was to ouercome his enemies: where *Eumenes* greateſt dangers came through his victories which he wanne of his owne men, through the malice of them that enuied his honour. Now for their deedes of armes, they are both in maner a like: but on the other ſide for their conditions, *Eumenes* naturally loued warre and contention: and *Sertorius* imbraced peace & quietnes. For, *Eumenes* that might haue liued in ſafetie with honor, if he would but haue giuen place to his betters, and forſaken the warres: liked better with the daunger of his life to followe martiall feates, with the greateſt perſonages of Macedon, and in the end ſo came to his death. *Sertorius* contrarily being vnwilling to come in trouble, was forced for the ſafetie of his perſon to take armes againſt them, that would not let him liue in peace. For had not *Eumenes* bene ſo ambitious and ſtout to ſtriue againſt *Antigonus* for the chiefeſt place of authoritie, but could haue beene contented with the ſeconde, *Antigonus* would haue bene right glad thereof: where *Pompey* would neuer ſo much as ſuffer *Sertorius* to liue in reſt. So, the one made voluntary warre onely to rule, and the other againſt his will was cōpelled to rule, becauſe they made wars with him. Whereby it appeareth that *Eumenes* naturally loued warre, preferring the couetous deſire of a better eſtate, aboue the ſafetie of his life, and the other as a right ſouldier, vſed the warres only for a meane to ſaue his life by valiant defence of armes. Furthermore, the one was ſlaine, miſtruſting no treaſon againſt him: and the other, looking euery houre for preſent death threatned him. Whereof the one argued a noble minde, not to miſtruſt them whom he thought his friends: and the other ſhewed a faint heart, being taken when he ment to flie. So *Sertorius* death diſhonored not his life, ſuffering that of his owne companions, which his deadly foes could neuer make him ſuffer. The other hauing no power to auoide his deſtinie before he was taken, and hauing ſought meanes to liue being in priſon and captiuitie: could neither patiently nor manfully abide his death. For, begging life at his enemies handes, he gaue him his heart with his body, who before had but his bodie in his power.

*Sertorius death more honeſt, then the death of Eumenes.*

# THE LIFE OF

## *Ageſilaus.*



*The parentage of Ageſilaus.*

ARchidamus the ſon of *Zeuxidamus*, hauing honorably raigned in Lacedæmon, left two ſons behind him: *Agis* which he begate of that noble lady *Lamprido*, & *Ageſilaus* a great deale yonger, which he had by *Eupolia*, *Meliſippidas* daughter. So the kingdom falling by ſucceſſion vnto *Agis* the elder, the yonger ſonne *Ageſilaus* remaining a priuate perſon, was brought vp after the Laconian maner, which was a ſtraight kind of life: but withal it taught childrē how to obey. Wherof it is thought the poet *Simonides* calleth Sparta, *Damaſimbrotos*: to wit, making men ciuil: for that by continuance of cuſtome, it frameth the citizens to be obedient to the lawes, as much or more than any other citie that euer was in

*The inſtruction of Ageſilaus.*

*Ageſilaus learned to obey, before he came to commaund.*

*The modeſtie of Ageſilaus.*

*Ageſi[illegible] lameneſſe.*

*Alcibiades committeth adulterie with king Agis wife.*

*Ageſilaus created king, through Lyſanders meanes.*

*A lame king.*

the world taming them from their childhood, as they doe young coltes. The law diſpenſeth with the heires apparant to the crowne, from that ſtraight ſubiection and hard life: but *Ageſilaus* had that excellencie in him aboue all others of his eſtate, that he came to the dignitie and honor to command, hauing from his youth learned to obey. The which vndoubtedly was the cauſe, that he knewe better than any other king, how to pleaſe and beare with his ſubiectes, helping his roiall eſtate & princely behauior grafted in him by nature, with that courteſie and familiaritie which he had attained by education. At that time when he went in company with the boyes which were brought vp together, *Lyſander* fell in loue with him, wondering at the modeſtie of his wit. For hauing better ſpirite, and being more conſtant in his opinion, then any of the other children, ſtriuing euer to excell in all things, with ſuch a vehemency he tooke all trauels in hande, that it was vnpoſſible to ouercome him, much leſſe to compell him. He was on the other ſide ſo milde & gentle, that euery curteous word wrought in him better obedience, than any feare could doe: becauſe it grieued him more to be reproued, then to take vpon him any paine or labor. And for the deformitie of his legge, the one being ſhorter than the other, in the flower of his youth, through his pleaſant wit, hee vſed the matter ſo pleaſantly and patiently, that he would merrily mocke himſelfe: which maner of merry behauiour did greatly hide the blame of the blemiſh. Yea further, his life & courage was the more commendable in him, for that men ſaw that notwithſtanding his lameneſſe, he refuſed no paines nor labour. Of his perſon we haue drawen no counterfaite, becauſe he would not in any wiſe haue it drawen, and did expreſſely commaund by his will, that they ſhould neither draw his picture nor make any mould or image of his body. Howbeit wee finde that he was of ſmall ſtature, whereby his preſence promiſed no great matters to them that beheld him. Yet for that he was euer merry & pleaſant, and neuer penſiue nor troubleſome in word nor looke, euen to the laſt end of his life he was better loued, than the moſt faire creature that liued. Notwithſtanding, the Ephori (as *Theophraſtus* writeth) did condemne king *Archidamus* in a ſumme of money becauſe he maried a litle woman: ſaying that he would beget them demy kings, no kings indeed. In the time that his eldeſt ſonne *Agis* raigned king, *Alcibiades* being baniſhed ATHENS fled out of SICILE into LACEDÆMON, & had not long remained in SPARTA before they ſuſpected him that he kept king *Agis* wife, called *Timæa*: for which cauſe *Agis* would not acknowledge the child ſhe brought to be his ſonne, ſaying that *Alcibiades* had begottē him. But *Timæa* cared not much for it, as *Duris* writeth: for otherwhile as ſhe ſate amongſt her women, ſoftly ſhe called him *Alcibiades*, not *Leotychides*. On the other ſide they report, that *Alcibiades* himſelfe ſaid, it was for no hurt he ment to any man, that he lay with Queene *Timæa*, but onely for the deſire he had that ſome of the kings of LACEDÆMON ſhould be begotten of his ſeede. Neuertheleſſe at the length he was driuen to forſake LACEDÆMON, miſtruſting king *Agis*, who euer after doubted of the child, & thought him a baſtard: vntill ſuch time as being on his death bed, *Leotychides* falling on his knees, wept, and ſo behaued himſelfe, that *Agis* before many witneſſes, ſaide he did acknowledge him for his ſonne. This notwithſtanding, when king *Agis* was dead, *Lyſander* that had then ouercome the ATHENIANS by ſea, and was more in credite and authority in the city of SPARTA, than any other: practiſed to put the crowne vpon *Ageſilaus* head, ſaying, that *Leotychides* had no intereſt vnto it, becauſe he was a baſtard. The like did diuerſe other citizens ſay of him, which loued *Ageſilaus* vertue, and liked him paſſingly, for that he had bene brought vp from his childhood among them. But on the contrary part alſo, there was a Soothſaier or wiſard in SPARTA called *Diopithes*, that had a number of old prophecies without booke, and was accounted a very skilfull man touching prophecies and diuinations. He maintained that it was not lawfull for any lame man to be king of SPARTA: and for proofe thereof he told this ancient oracle before the councell.

*As ſtately as thy ſtomacke is ô Sparta take good heede,*
*And ſtand vpon thy gard, and looke about thee I thee reede.*
*For halting one day downe will caſt thine Empire to the ground,*
*By meane of warres and troubles great that ſhall incloſe thee round.*

*Lyſander* replied againſt it, ſaying, that if the SPARTANS were affraide of this oracle, they ſhould rather beware of *Leotychides*. For the goddes cared not, if any man lame of a foote aſpired to be king: but rather if he were a baſtard,& not lineally deſcended of the race of *Hercules*. For that, ſaid he, were to make the kingdome halt. *Ageſilaus* furthermore alleaged, that the god *Neptune* himſelfe had witneſſed, that *Leotychides* was a baſtard: for he draue *Agis* by an earthquake, to runne out of his wiues chamber, and that tenne monethes after that, and more, *Leotychides* was borne. So was *Ageſilaus* vpon theſe allegations not onely proclaimed king of SPARTA, but he had giuen him moreouer, as lawfull heire, all his brother *Agis* goods, and *Leotychides* reiected as a baſtard. Notwithſtanding, conſidering that his parentes by his mothers ſide were very poore, (yet honeſt men) he left them the moytie of all the goods: by which act, *Ageſilaus* wonne all their good willes, where elſe they had enuied him for his ſucceſſion in the kingdome. And (as *Xenophon* ſaith) by obeying his countrie, he grew to ſuch power that he might do whatſoeuer he would. The Ephori and Senators at that time bare all the ſway and gouenment of the common wealth, the Ephores office changing yearely, the other being for life: the which Ephori were only ordained to bridle the inſolency of the kings, for that they ſhould not (as we haue more amply written in *Lycurgus* life) haue abſolute power in their handes. Vppon this occaſion, the kings that ſucceeded in the gouernement, had (as it were) by inheritance, a preſent grudge and malice againſt them. This notwithſtanding, *Ageſilaus* tooke a contrary courſe to all his predeceſſors. For where others preſently quarelled with the Ephori and Senatours, *Ageſilaus* did honor and reuerence them, and would neuer diſpatch any matter without their priuity, but was alwaies readie to goe when they did ſend him. When he was ſet in his chaire of ſtate to giue audience, if any of the Ephori chanced to come in, he would riſe vp vnto them: and at the election of any new Senatour, he would for honors ſake preſent him a gowne and an oxe. And thus cunningly ſeeming to honor and increaſe the dignitie of the Senators, winning their good wils, he made his power great, and the realme much greater. Furthermore, his behauiour towards the reſt of his coūtrimen was ſuch, as his enmity was leſſe faulty then his friendſhip. For he did neuer hurt his enemies without iuſt cauſe, but he aided his friends euen in vniuſt cauſes. And wheras he thought it a ſhame not to honor enemies, whē they had done well: he could not find in his hart to rebuke his friends when they did amiſſe, but rather gloried in ſuccouring & helping of them in their euil doings. For he thought it no ſhame to ſerue his friendes turne, howſoeuer it were. Againe, when any of his aduerſaries offended, he was as ſorie for it as any man, and as ready to beare with it if he were intreated: whereby he allured and wanne the hearts of all men. The Ephori ſeeing that, and fearing his power, puniſhed him in money for that he made the common loue of his countrie priuate to himſelfe. For, as naturall Philoſophers holde opinion, that if contention and ſtrife were taken out of nature, it would come to paſſe that the heauenly bodies ſhould ſtand ſtill, and alſo that the generation of all things ſhould be at a ſtay, by reaſon of the mutuall agreement betweene the world and them: euen ſo, the lawmaker of LACEDÆMON ſeemeth to haue allowed ambition & ſtrife in the common wealth, as a ſpurre to vertue by procuring alwaies ſome contention and emulation among great perſons. And his reaſon was that this baſe and effeminate fauour, in winking one at an other when men are to be rebuked, ought not of right to be called by the name of concord. And ſure ſome thinke that *Homer* alſo ſaw the ſame, for he would neuer elſe haue made *Agamemnon* to haue reioyced to ſee *Vlyſſes* and *Achilles* at great wordes together, if he had not bene of opinion, that enuy and contention among great men, were very auaileable for the common wealth. Yet is not this thus ſimply to be allowed: for contentions are hurtfull to cities, where they are violent: and doe bring great dangers with them. Now when *Ageſilaus* was entred into his kingdome of LACEDÆMON, newes were brought him out of ASIA, that the king of PERSIA prepared a great nauy to conquer the LACEDÆMONIANS ſigniory by ſea. *Lyſander* being glad of this occaſion, longing to be ſent againe into ASIA to ſuccour his friends whom he had left there as Gouernors & Lieutenants of cities & prouinces (of the which, ſome of them were driuen away by their citizens, others alſo put to death for abuſing of their authority & ruling ouer cruelly:) perſwaded *Ageſilaus* to goe into ASIA, to make warre vpon this barbarous king, farre from GRECE, before his army were gathered together. And to cōpaſſe this the eaſilier, he wrote vnto his friends in ASIA that they ſhould ſend vnto SPARTA to require *Ageſilaus* for their Captaine, and ſo they

*Ageſilaus proclaimed king, and Leotychides a baſtard.*

*Ephori were certaine officers authoriſed to controule the kings inſolenxie and iniuſtice if any were by them vſed.*

*Ageſilaus, an vprighter enemy than a friend.*

*whether contention among the nobilitie be profitable in a commonwealth* did. Thereupon *Ageſilaus* going to the aſſembly of the people, accepted the charge, with condition that they would giue him thirtie Captaines of the SPARTANS to be counſellers & aſſiſtants to him in theſe warres, two thouſand free ILOTES, and ſix thouſand of the confederates of LACEDÆMON. All this was immediatly granted through *Lyſanders* friendſhippe towards him, and he was ſent away ſtraight with the thirtie Captaines which he had requeſted: of the which *Lyſander* was the chiefeſt, not only for his riches and authority, but alſo for the good will he bare vnto *Ageſilaus*: who thought himſelf more beholding to him for procuring him this charge, than for his friendſhip he ſhewed him in bringing him to be king.

*Ageſilaus iorney into Aſia.*

Now *Ageſilaus* army being aſſembled at the hauen of Gereſtæ, himſelfe with certaine of his friends went vnto the citie of AVLIDE, where in his ſleepe he dreamd that one ſaid vnto him: O king of the LACEDÆMONIANS, thou knoweſt that neuer none but *Agamemnon*, and now thy ſelfe, was choſen Generall of all GRECE, conſidering therefore that thou commaundeſt the ſame people he did, that thou makeſt warres with the ſelfe ſame enemies, departing from the ſelfe ſame place to goe thither, it is reaſon that thou make the ſelfe ſame ſacrifice vnto the goddeſſe, the which he made at his like departure.

*Ageſilaus dreame in Aulide.*

*Ageſilaus* ſtraight vpon this viſion, remembred that *Agamemnon* through the perſwaſion of the Soothſaiers did ſacrifice his owne daughter in the ſame place. Yet this made him not affraid, but the next day he told it to his friends, and ſaide he would ſacrifice that vnto the goddeſſe, which he thought would pleaſe her well enough, and that he would not followe that cruell deuotion of this auncient Captaine *Agamemnon*. And with that, he brought a hynde crowned with a garland of flowers, and commanded his Soothſaier to ſacrifice her: and would not ſuffer him to haue the honour to doe the ſacrifice, that was appointed for the ſame purpoſe by the Gouernors of BOEOTIA, according to the cuſtome of that place. The Gouernors of BOEOTIA vnderſtanding it, were much offended, and ſent their officers to will *Ageſilaus* not to doe any ſacrifice there, contrary to the lawe and cuſtome of their countrie. The officers that were ſent, performed their commiſſion: and finding that the beaſt was ſlaine, & the quarters of it vpon the aulter, they tooke and flong them off the aulter euery way. This vexed *Ageſilaus* being readie to imbarke, and departed thence in choler againſt the THEBANS, and miſtruſted much his good ſucceſſe by this vnluckie prediction, which ſeemed to prognoſticate vnto him, that he ſhould not preuaile according to his deſire.

*Lyſanders glorie diminiſhed.*

Furthermore, when he was arriued at EPHESVS, he preſently miſliked the honor he ſaw done vnto *Lyſander*, and the great traine that waited on him. For all the countrimen there repaired continually to his houſe, that when he came abroade, they all followed him whereſoeuer he went: as though *Lyſander* had in deede bene in authority to do what he would, and that *Ageſilaus* only had but the name to be general, ſo appointed by the law of LACEDÆMON. For in truth there was neuer GRECIAN Captaine in thoſe partes that had won him ſuch eſtimation, nor that was more feared than he: nor there was neuer man that was more beneficiall to his friends, neither alſo that was more hurtfull to his enemies. All theſe things being freſh in memorie, the countriemen of that country perceiuing the ſimplicity of *Ageſilaus*, and how he was giuen to pleaſe the people, and caried no great maieſtie nor countenance with him, and obſeruing in *Lyſander* that wonted roughnes and ſharpe ſpeech wherewith they had bene acquainted before: euery man obeyed him, and nothing was done but what he commanded. This firſt of all made the other SPARTANS angrie, for that it appeared they were come as it were to ſerue *Lyſander*, and not as to counſell the king: but after that, *Ageſilaus* himſelfe alſo grew miſcontented, although of his owne nature he was not enuious nor ſorie to ſee others honored beſides himſelfe.

*Ageſilaus grudge vnto Lyſander.*

Yet being a man ambitiouſly giuen, and of a noble courage, fearing if he ſhould doe any noble exploit in this warre, that they would impute it vnto *Lyſander*, for the great eſtimation he was of: he firſt beganne to deale in this ſort with him. Firſt he contraried all his counſels: and what matters ſoeuer he preferred, which he was deſirous ſhould haue taken effect, *Ageſilaus* would none of that, but tooke ſome other in hand. Furthermore, if any of *Lyſanders* followers came to make ſute to him for his fauor, perceiuing that they did leane vnto *Lyſander*: he ſent them away without any thing done for them. In like caſe alſo in matters of iudgements, if *Lyſander* were againſt any, they were ſure to haue the matter paſſe on their ſide. On the contrarie part alſo, if *Lyſander* bare good will to the partie, and fauored the cauſe to gratifie him: they hardly eſcaped from ſetting a fine on their heades. *Ageſilaus* continuing theſe ſhewes ordinarily of purpoſe, not by chaunce to one or two, but indifferently to all: *Lyſander* looking into the cauſe, diſſembled not with his friendes, but told them plainly that it was for his ſake they had thoſe repulſes and wronges, and therefore did counſell them to wait vpon the king, and thoſe that had more credit then himſelfe. Now *Ageſilaus* ſuppoſed he gaue that aduiſe to make euery man to malice him: wherefore, to deſpite him the more, he made him diſtributer of his victuals, (& hauing done ſo) ſome ſay that he ſpake theſe words in open preſence of many: now let them go and honour my fleſh diſtributer. *Lyſander* being grieued witall, ſayd vnto the king: my Lord, you know how to oppreſſe your friendes. And ſo do I, ſayd *Ageſilaus*, how to keepe them vnder, that would be greater then my ſelfe. It may be yet replied *Lyſander*, I haue not done as your grace doth ſay: yet if you ſo conceiue of me, put me I beſeech you in ſome place of charge or office, where I may do you good ſeruice without offence. After this talke between thē, *Ageſilaus* ſent him into Helleſpont, where by practiſe he tooke priſoner a noble man a Perſian, called *Spithridates*, out of *Pharnabazus* prouince whereof he was gouernour, & brought him to *Ageſilaus* with a great ſumme of gold and ſiluer, and neare about two hundred horſemen with him. All this notwithſtanding, he forgate not his grudge to *Ageſilaus*, but being offended ſtill, ſought oportunitie and meanes to defeate the two houſes of the priuiledge of the kingdome, and to bring it in common to all the other houſes of Sparta: and ſurely he had made great broyle (in my opinion) in the city of Sparta, had he not bene preuēted by death, in a iourney he made into Bœotia. Thus we ſee, that ambitious mindes obſeruing no meane, are in a common weale oft times more hurtfull, then beneficiall. For though *Lyſander* was indeede intollerable, to ſhew himſelfe ſo ambitious, and out of time: yet was not *Ageſilaus* ignoraunt neither, that there were diuers other meanes leſſe reprochfull to puniſh ſuch a noble man, that offended onely by greedineſſe of honour. But to tell you my opinion, they were both blinded with one ſelfe paſsion: the one not to know his Princes power, & the other not to beare with his friends imperfection. Now *Tiſaphernes* at the firſt being afrayed of *Ageſilaus*, made league with him, colourably letting him vnderſtand that the king would be content to ſet the cities of Grece in Aſia at liberty. Notwithſtanding, when he thought he had gathered force ſufficient to fight with him, he proclaimed warre. *Ageſilaus* was very well content withall: for the expectation was great of him through all Grece, that he would do ſome noble exploit in this iourney. Moreouer he thought himſelfe diſhonored for euer, that the ten thouſand Grecians which were returned backe from the fartheſt part of Aſia, euen vnto the ſea Maior (vnder the conduct and leading of *Xenophon* their Captaine) had ouercome the king of Perſiaes army as oft as they liſted themſelues: and that he which was the Lieutenant generall of the Lacedæmonians (who at that time commaunded both ſea and land) ſhould not do ſome deede worthy memorie among the Grecians. Preſently therefore to reuenge *Tiſaphernes* periurie by iuſt deceit, he made a countenaunce as though he would firſt inuade the country of Caria. Whereupon, this barbarous perſon *Tiſaphernes*, gathered all his power together. But *Ageſilaus* on a ſodaine returned backe againe, and entred into Phrygia, tooke there many cities, and wanne great ſpoyle, making his men ſee by experience, that to infringe & breake a league made & auowed by oth, was a ſacriledge, and contemning of the goddes. On the other ſide alſo, that to beguile his enemies, it was not onely iuſt and honorable: but alſo profitable and pleaſant. Now *Ageſilaus* being weaker in horſemen then his enemy, and finding the liuers of the beaſtes which he had ſacrificed, without heades, returned into the citie of Epheſus, and there gathered horſemen together, letting the richmen vnderſtand (which would not themſelues ſerue in perſon) that he did diſpenſe with their perſons, ſo that they did ſet out a horſe and man furniſhed for ſeruice in their place. Many of them tooke that courſe, & by this meanes *Ageſilaus* within few dayes had leauied a great number of men of armes, in ſtead of footemen that could do ſmall ſeruice. For they that were vnwilling to go to the warres, did hier them that were willing to ſerue in their place: and ſuch alſo as would not ſerue a horſebacke, did giue them pay that were deſirous to ſerue in their ſteades. In this he wiſely followed king *Agamemnons* example, who did diſpenſe with the perſon of a rich coward for going to the warres, by taking a good

*See the life of Lyſander.*

*Ambitious heades are very daungerous in a common wealth.*

*Ageſilaus deedes in Aſia, and the falſehood of Tiſaphernes.*

*Ageſilaus craft.*

mare of him. Then *Ageſilaus* had commaunded them that ſold the priſoners by the drumme taken in the warres, that they ſhould ſtrippe them naked, & ſo ſell them: which they did. And ſundry perſons willingly bought their ſpoyles and rayment, but they ſcorned their bodies, becauſe they ſaw them white skinned, ſoft, and delicate: ſo that few men would out bid the price for them, for that they thought thoſe men vnprofitable and good for nothing. *Ageſilaus* alſo being preſent at this ſale of purpoſe, ſayd thus vnto his men. See, my friends, quoth he: theſe be the men againſt whom ye are to fight, and here be the ſpoyles for the which ye ſhall fight. Time being come now to put himſelfe into the field, and to inuade his enemies country againe, he gaue it out that he would enter LYDIA, not meaning to deceiue *Tiſaphernes* againe, but *Tiſaphernes* deceiued himſelfe. For he being deceiued before by *Ageſilaus*, gaue no credit to this ſecond rumour, but perſwaded himſelfe that doubtleſſe *Ageſilaus* ment then to enter into CARIA, & the rather for that it was a woddie country, very ill for horſemen, in the which he was the weaker. This notwithſtãding, *Ageſilaus* inuading (as he had giuen it out) the champion country, in the which ſtood SARDIS, the capitall city of LYDIA: *Tiſaphernes* was cõpelled to come to reſcue it in haſt, and being come thither with great ſpeede with his horſemen, he ſtale vpon many of his enemies whom he found ſtraggling out of order, ſpoyling the country, & put the moſt of them to the ſword. *Ageſilaus* hauing intelligence of this, imagined with himſelfe that the footemen of his enemy could not yet be arriued, and conſidering alſo that he had his army whole about him: thought it beſt forthwith to bid him battell, rather then to delay time any longer. Therupon he thruſt in among the horſemen his light armed footemen, & commaunded them ſtraight to charge the enemy, whileſt he cauſed the heauier armed men to follow at their heeles, as they did. But the barbarous people fled vpon it immediatly: & the GRECIANS luſtily following the chaſe, tooke their camp, and made great ſlaughter of them that fled. After this field foughten, they had leaſure enough not onely to ſpoyle & ouerrun the kings country at their pleaſure, but alſo to ſee the reuenge taken of *Tiſaphernes*, that was a vile man, and a cruell enemy to the GRECIANS. For the king of PERSIA made an other his Lieutenaunt immediatly in his roome, called *Tithrauſtes*: who ſtrake off *Tiſaphernes* head, and ſent vnto *Ageſilaus* to pray him to take peace with them, and to offer him ſtore of gold and ſiluer to depart out of his country. Thereto *Ageſilaus* aunſwered, that for peace, it was not in him to make it, but in the LACEDÆMONIANS: and that for his owne part, it was an eaſier matter to enrich his ſouldiers, than himſelfe. And furthermore, that the GRECIANS thought it diſhonor to them, to take any gift of their enemies, other then ſpoyles. This notwithſtanding, to gratifie *Tithrauſtes* ſomewhat, for that he had taken reuenge of a common enemy of all the GRECIANS: for the ſumme of thirtie talents giuen him to defray his charges, he withdrew his army out of LYDIA, & went into PHRYGIA. In his iourney he receiued from the councell of LACEDÆMON, the Scytala, or ſcrolle of parchement wreathed about, aduertiſing him that the citizens had made him alſo their Generall by ſea, as he was by land. *Ageſilaus* onely of all men obtained this honour, who without compariſon was of all other the worthieſt man of fame in his time, as *Theopompus* witneſſeth: & yet gloried rather to be commended for his vertue, then for the greatnes of his authority. In this notwithſtanding he was to be blamed, when he made choyſe of one *Piſander* his wiues brother, to be Lieutenant of the nauy, and forſooke other Captaines of better experience and elder yeares: ſeeking rather to pleaſe his wife, and to aduaunce one of his kinne, then to regard the weale and ſafety of his country. Afterwardes he led his army into *Pharnabazus* country which he had in charge, where he found not onely plenty of all ſortes of victuals, but gathered together alſo a wonderfull maſſe of money. From thence he went into the realme of PAPHLAGONIA, and made league there with king *Cotys*: who for his vertue and conſtant fidelitie, was very deſirous of his friendſhip. The like did *Spithridates*, forſaking *Pharnabazus*, and came vnto *Ageſilaus*: and after he was come to him, he neuer went from him, but alwayes followed him whereſoeuer he went. *Spithridates* had a young ſonne that was paſsing fayre, called *Megabetes*, (of whom *Ageſilaus* had great liking) & likewiſe a fayre young woman to his daughter, of age to be maried, whom *Ageſilaus* cauſed king *Cotys* to mary. So, taking of king *Cotys* a thouſand horſemen and two thouſand footemen light armed, he returned backe into PHRYGIA, and there deſtroyed *Pharnabazus* country

*Sardis, the chiefe citie of Lydia.*

*Ageſilaus victorie of Tiſaphernes.*

*Ageſilaus made Generall of all the Lacedæmonians nauie.*

*Cotys king of Paphlagonia, became Ageſilaus friend.*

which he had in gouernement, who durſt not meete him in the field, nor truſt to his holdes, but ſtill fled from him, carying all his chiefeſt things with him, flitting from place to place: vntill that *Spithridates*, accompanied with *Erippidas* the SPARTAN, followed him ſo neare, that he tooke his camp, and all his treaſure in it. But there did *Erippidas* ſhew himſelfe ſo hard and cruell, ouerſtraightly ſearching out part of the ſpoyle that had bene imbeaceled, compelling the barbarous people to deliuer it againe, ranſacking euery corner for it: that *Spithridates* was ſo offended withall, that on a ſodaine he tooke the PAPHLAGONIANS with him, & went backe vnto the citie of SARDIS. This more grieued *Ageſilaus*, thē any thing that happened to him in all his iourney: for that he had loſt ſo valiant a man as *Spithridates*, and ſuch a number of good ſouldiers as he caried away with him. Moreouer, he was afrayed leaſt they would detect him of miſerable couetouſneſſe, a thing which he euer was carefull to auoid, not only in his own perſon, but alſo to keepe al his countrymen from it. But beſides theſe knowen cauſes, the loue he bare to *Spithridates* ſonne pinched him nearely: though when the boy was with him, he ſtriued with his owne nature to ſubdue that naughty affection and deſire he had of him. For when *Megabates* on a time came to make much of him, & to kiſſe him: *Ageſilaus* turned his face from the boy. The boy being aſhamed of the repulſe, durſt no more come ſo familiarly, but ſaluted him aloofe of. *Ageſilaus* then repenting him that he had not ſuffered *Megabates* to kiſſe him, made as though he maruelled why he did not kiſſe him as he was wont to do. Then aunſwered ſome of his familiars about him: your ſelfe, O king, is in fault, becauſe you durſt not tarie, but were afrayed to kiſſe ſo fayre a boy. For if he knew your minde, he would come againe, ſo that you turned your face no more away. When *Ageſilaus* had heard them, he pawſed a while, and ſayd neuer a word, but in fine aunſwered them: It ſhall not neede you ſay any thing to him, for it would do me more good I could refuſe ſuch an other kiſſe againe, then if all that I ſee before me were gold. Thus was *Ageſilaus* diſpoſed whē *Megabates* was with him: but in his abſence he did ſo loue him, that I dare ſcātly ſay, that if the boy had come againe into his preſence, he would haue refuſed a kiſſe at his hands. After that, *Pharnabazus* ſought to ſpeake with him, and one *Apollophanes* a CYZICENIAN brought them together, that was a friend vnto them both. *Ageſilaus* was the firſt that met at the place appointed with his friends, and tarying for *Pharnabazus* comming, he layed him downe vpon the deepe graſſe in the ſhadow, vnder a fayre great tree. *Pharnabazus* alſo came thither, & they ſpread ſoft ſkinnes long haired, and tapeſtry excellently wrought of diuers colours, for him to ſit on vpon the ground. But being aſhamed to ſee *Ageſilaus* layed on the bare ground in that ſort, he alſo lay downe by him, though he had vpon him a maruellous rich gowne, of excellent tiſſue and paſsing colour. Now when they had embraced one an other, *Pharnabazus* began firſt to ſpeake, and lacked no good perſwaſions & iuſt complaints, for that he hauing bene (as he was) a friend vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS in the warre againſt the ATHENIANS, was then ſpoyled and ſacked by them. *Ageſilaus* then finding that the SPARTANS that were about him at that meeting, hung down their heads for ſhame, not knowing how to aunſwere him, conſidering that *Pharnabazus* had iniury offered him: began to ſpeake in this manner. Heretofore whē we were friends with the king (my Lord *Pharnabazus*) we haue vſed his goods like friends, but now that we are his enemies, like enemies we vſe them: and ſince we ſee that thou wilt needes be a ſlaue of his, maruell not though we hurt thee for his ſake. But when thou ſhalt like rather to be a friend of the GRECIANS, then a ſlaue to the king of PERSIA: then make account, that all theſe ſouldiers, this armour, our ſhips, and all we are to defend thy goods and libertie againſt him, without which, nothing that is honeſt can be looked for of mortall men. Thereupon *Pharnabazus* told him his minde plainly: ſurely, ſayd he, if the king do ſend hither any other Captaine to be his Lieutenant, be ſure I will then take your part ſtraight. But on the other ſide, if he make me his Lieutenant in this warre, truſt to it, I will do him the beſt ſeruice I can againſt you. This aunſwere paſsingly pleaſed *Ageſilaus*, who taking him by the hand, and riſing vp with him, ſaid vnto him. I would wiſh (my Lord *Pharnabazus*) hauing ſo noble a minde as thou haſt, that thou were rather our friend, then an enemy. So *Pharnabazus* departing from thence with his men, his ſonne being left behind, ranne to *Ageſilaus*, and ſmiling told him. King *Ageſilaus*, I will make thee my friend: & therewith gaue him a dart he

*Ageſilaus draue Pharnabazus out of his tents.*

*The meeting of Ageſilaus and Pharnabazus.*

*Ageſilaus wordes vnto Pharnabazus.*

had in his hand. *Ageſilaus* tooke it of him, and liking well the beautie of the young youth, and the curteſie he had offred him, looked about him if any man in his company had any proper thing that he might beſtow on him. At the laſt he ſpied his ſecretarie *Adæus* horſe, which had a rich capariſſon on: he ſtraight tooke it from him, and gaue the horſe & furniture to this liuely youth *Pharnabazus* ſonne, who neuer after forgate it. For it chaunced afterwardes that being driuen out of his country by his brethren, and flying into PELOPONNESVS, *Ageſilaus* made very much of him, and did not ſticke to further him in his loue abroad. For he had a great fancie and liking to a boy of ATHENS, whom they brought vp in wreſtling, one day to play for the beſt games. But when he was growen a bigge man and ſtrong, and that he came to offer himſelfe to be billed with them that ſhould wraſtle at the games Olympicall, being in ſome perill to be vtterly refuſed: this PERSIAN that loued him, went vnto *Ageſilaus*, and beſought his helpe, that this wraſtler might not receiue the ſoyle to be reiected. *Ageſilaus* being deſirous to pleaſure him, performed his requeſt with ſome difficultie. Thus *Ageſilaus* in all things elſe was a ſtraight obſeruer of the law: but in his friendes cauſes to be ſtraight laced in matters of iuſtice, he ſayd that was but an excuſe for them that would do nothing for their friendes. To this effect, they finde a letter of his written vnto *Idrian*, Prince of CARIA, for the deliuerie of his friend. If *Nicias* haue not offended, let him go: if he haue offended, then pardon him for my ſake. But howſoeuer it be, let him go. This was *Ageſilaus* manner in the moſt part of his friends cauſes. Notwithſtanding, occaſions fell out oftentimes, that he rather inclined to the benefit of the common wealth. As appeared one day when he was driuen to remoue in haſt on a ſodaine, and to leaue one ſicke behind him whom he loued dearely: the ſicke man calling him by his name as he was going his way, beſought him that he would not forſake him. *Ageſilaus* (as *Hieronymus* the Philoſopher reporteth) turned backe againe, and ſayd: O how hard is it both to loue, and to be wiſe. Now had *Ageſilaus* ſpent two yeares in this warre, and was ſpoken of throughout ASIA, being maruellouſly commended to the king himſelfe, for his great honeſtie, his continencie, his curteſie and plaine dealing. For when he rode out into the country with his owne trayne onely, he would euer lye in the holyeſt temples of the goddes: becauſe he would the goddes themſelues ſhould be witneſſes of his priuate doings, whereas commonly we are loth that men ſhould ſee what we do. Furthermore, amongſt ſo many thouſand ſouldiers as were in his camp, there could hardly be found a worſe mattriſſe, then that himſelfe did lye vpon euery night. And as for heate and cold, he could as eaſily away with either of both, as if by conſtitution of body he had bene borne to abide any weather and ſeaſon. But aboue all, it was a pleaſant ſight to the GRECIANS that dwelt in ASIA, when they ſaw the great Lords, the kings Lieutenaunts of PERSIA, (which before were proud, cruell, rich, and giuen to all luſt and pleaſure) to honour and feare a man that went vp and downe in a poore cape, being afrayed of euery ſhort word that he ſpake like a LACONIAN: in ſomuch as many of them called to minde *Timotheus* the Poetes verſes, who ſayd,

*Ageſilaus to his friendes, was without reſpect a friend.*

*Ageſilaus letter in the behalfe of his friend.*

*Other read to haue pitie, and to be wiſe. Ageſilaus ſaying.*

*Ageſilaus vertues.*

*As Mars hath no mercy, ſo Greece ſcorneth gold.*

Now all ASIA being vp and in garboile, they willingly yeelding to him in euery place, after he had taken order with the cities, and had eſtabliſhed the libertie of their common weale, without any bloudſhed, or baniſhment of any perſon: he determined to go further, into the land, and tranſporting the warres from the ſea coaſtes of GRECE, to fight with the king of PERSIA in proper perſon, and with the wealth and happineſſe of the ECBATANIANS and the SVSIANIANS, and by that meanes to take his leaſure from him, who ſitting ſtill before, made the GRECIANS make warre one with an other, by force of money, corrupting the gouernours of euery city. In the meane time came *Epycidas* LACONIAN vnto him, and brought him newes how SPARTA was grieuouſly troubled with warres, enforced on them by the other GRECIANS: and that therefore the Ephori did ſend for him home, and commaunded him to returne to defend his country.

*Ageſilaus ſent for out of Aſia.*

*Ah wretched Greece, how cruell ſlaughters haſt*
*Thou brought vpon thee, for to lay thee waſt?*

For how ſhould a man otherwiſe call this enuie, treaſon, and ciuill conſpiracie among the

GRECIANS? Who ouerthrew their good fortune that made thẽ happy before, turning their warres againſt the barbarous people, out of GRECE, and now to bring it againſt themſelues. I am not of *Demaratus* opinion the CORINTHIAN, that ſayd the GRECIANS delight was taken from them, which ſaw not *Alexander* the great ſitting in *Darius* royall throne: but rather I would thinke they ſhould haue wept, to haue left this honor vnto *Alexander* & the MACEDONIANS, fondly loſing ſo many famous Captaines of GRECE, at the battels of LEVCTRES, of CORONEA, of CORINTHE, and of ARCADIA. Neuertheleſſe, *Ageſilaus* neuer did better acte in his life, nor euer ſhewed better example of obedience and iuſtice due to his country, then he did in his returne home. For ſith *Hanniball* that began to haue ill ſucceſſe in his warres, being in manner driuen out of ITALIE, thought neuer (but compelled) to returne againe into his country, to obey his countrymen, which called him home to defend the warre the ROMAINES made at their owne doores: and that *Alexander* the great alſo being ſent for home vpon the like occaſion did not onely refuſe to returne into MACEDON, but made a ieſt at it, when newes was brought him of the great battell which his Lieutenaunt *Antipater* had fought with king *Agis*, ſaying, me thinkes when I heare theſe newes, whileſt we are ouercomming of king *Darius* here, there hath bene a battell of rattes fought in ARCADIA. Sith then (I ſay) theſe two famous Captaines haue made ſo litle account of their country, may we not thinke the citie of SPARTA bleſſed to haue had ſuch a king, that ſo much reuerenced his country and obeyed the law as receiuing onely a litle ſcrolle of parchement commaunding him to returne, he forſooke a world of goodes and wealth that he quietly enioyed (with aſſured hope and certaintie of more) and imbarked forthwith, leauing all the alies and confederates of his country very ſorowfull, for that he had giuen ouer ſo noble an enterpriſe, which he had ſo happely begun? Yes ſure. Nay furthermore, he paſſed not for the ſaying of *Demoſtratus* PHÆACIAN, who ſayd, that the LACEDÆMONIANS in publicke matters were the worthieſt men, and the ATHENIANS in priuate cauſes. For as he had ſhewed himſelfe a good king and an excellent Captaine to the common wealth: ſo was he alwayes curteous priuately to his familiar friends. And becauſe the PERSIAN coyne was ſtamped on the one ſide, with the print of an archer: *Ageſilaus* being ready to depart, ſayd, that ten thouſand archers draue him out of ASIA. For ſo much was brought vnto THEBES and ATHENS, and diſtributed among the Oratours and Gouernours there, who through their Orations made both thoſe great cities to riſe, and make warre againſt the SPARTANS. In his returne, *Ageſilaus* hauing paſſed the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, tooke his way through the coũtry of THRACIA, and neuer intreated barbarous king nor people to ſuffer him to paſſe, but onely ſent vnto them to know whether they would he ſhould paſſe through the countryes as a friend, or an enemy. All countryes and nations elſe receiued him very honorably to their power, ſaue the people called the TROCHALIANS, vnto whõ king *Xerxes* himſelfe gaue preſents that he might paſſe friendly through their country: who ſent vnto *Ageſilaus* to demaund a hundred ſiluer talents, and a hundred women to ſuffer him to paſſe through their country. But *Ageſilaus* laughing them to ſcorne, aunſwered againe: why, how chaunceth it that they came not themſelues to receiue them? So there withall he marched forward againſt theſe barbarous people who were ranged in battell ray to ſtoppe his paſſage: howbeit he ouerthrew them, and ſlue a great number of them in the field. The like demaund he made vnto the king of MACEDON, whether he ſhould paſſe through his country as a friend, or an enemie. The king made him aunſwere, he would conſider of it. Well, let him thinke of it, quoth *Ageſilaus*: we will go on in the meane time. The king then wondering at his great boldneſſe, and fearing leaſt he would do him ſome hurt as he went: ſent to pray him that he would paſſe through his country as a friend. Now it chanced ſo that the THESSALIANS at that time were in league with the enemies of the LACEDÆMONIANS: therefore as he paſſed through their countrey, he did ſpoyle and forrage it as his enemies country, and ſent *Xenocles* & *Scytha* to the citie of LARISSE, hoping to perſwade them to take part with the LACEDÆMONIANS. Theſe two Ambaſſadours were retained there as priſoners. The SPARTANS were maruellouſly offended withall: & thought good that *Ageſilaus* ſhould beſiege LARISSE with his army. But he aunſwered them, he would not loſe one of thoſe men, to winne all THESSALIE:

*Ageſilaus obedience to his country.*

*Ageſilaus darke ſpeaches.*

*Ageſilaus deſpiſing & deceiuing the barbarous people, returned home through their coũtryes.*

and therefore found meanes that he redeemed them againe by compoſition. Peraduenture this is not to be maruelled at in *Ageſilaus*, that newes being brought him on a time, that in a great battell fought by the citie of CORINTHE, where were many worthy and valiant Captaines ſlaine of the enemies, and but few of the SPARTANS: he ſeemed not to reioyce at it, but rather to fetch a grieuous ſigh, ſaying. O poore GRECE, how vnfortunate art thou to haue ſlaine with thine owne handes ſo many valiant Captaines of thine owne people, as ioyning together, might at one field haue ouercome all the barbarous people. The PHARSALIANS harying and troubling the rereward of *Ageſilaus* army, he put forth fiue hundred horſemen which gaue them ſo luſty a charge, that he ouerthrew them by force. For this victorie, he ſet vp tokens of triumph vpon the mountaine called Narthacium, and this victory pleaſed him aboue all the reſt, becauſe with the ſmall number of horſemen which he had gotten together of himſelfe, he had ouerthrowen the glory and pride of the enemies horſemen in battell, whereof they had vaunted many yeares before. Thither came *Diphridas* one of the Ephores vnto him, ſent of purpoſe from SPARTA, to commaund him immediatly to inuade BOEOTIA with his armie. Now though *Ageſilaus* intended ſome other time with a greater power to enter BOEOTIA, yet becauſe he would not diſobey the counſels commaundement of SPARTA: he told his men ſtraight, that the battell for the which they returned out of ASIA, was at hand, and therefore he ſent for two companies of them which lay in camp by CORINTHE. The LACEDÆMONIANS that were at SPARTA, to honour *Ageſilaus* for that he had obeyed their commaundement ſo readily: proclaimed in the citie, that as many young men as were deſirous to go aide the king, ſhould come and enter their names. Notwithſtanding, they onely choſe but fiftie of the valianteſt among them, and ſent them vnto him. In the meane time, *Ageſilaus* paſſed through the country of THERMOPYLES, and coaſting ouer the land of PHOCIDE, confederates to the LACEDÆMONIANS, he entred into BOEOTIA, and camped by the citie of CHÆRONEA: where immediatly after his arriuall, he ſodainly ſaw the ſunne eclipſed, and darkened in the faſhion of a new moone. Euen withall, came the newes of the death of *Piſander* vnto him, who was ſlaine in a battel which he loſt by ſea, fighting againſt *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*, hard by the Ile of GNIDOS. Theſe newes were very heauy vnto him, both for reſpect of the perſon his kinſeman whom he loſt, as alſo for the great loſſe that happened to the common wealth. Neuertheleſſe, fearing his ſouldiers would be diſcouraged with the newes, and become faint harted, being ready to ioyne battell: he commaunded them that came from the ſea, to brute abroad a contrary tale to that they told him, and he himſelfe to make good their ſpeach, came out among them, with a garland of flowers on his head, and did ſacrifice to the goddes, as thanking them for the good newes, ſending to euery one of his friends a peece of fleſh ſacrificed, as he commonly vſed to do, in any publike cauſe of ioy. Then marching forward, he ſtraight diſcouered his enemies farre off, & they likewiſe him: and thereupon put his men in battell ray, & gaue the left wing vnto the ORCHOMENIANS, leading himſelf the right wing. The THEBANS on the other ſide, placed themſelues in the right wing of their army, & gaue the left vnto the ARGIVES. *Xenophō* being at that battel on *Ageſilaus* ſide, writeth that he neuer knew of the like field fought. At the firſt onſet, the conflict was not great between both, neither held long, becauſe the THEBANS brake the ORCHOMENIANS ſtraight, and *Ageſilaus* the ARGIVES. But when either ſide vnderſtood that the left wings of their battels were in great diſtreſſe, and that they turned their backes: they returned ſodainly againe. And where *Ageſilaus* might eaſily haue had the victory without any daunger, if he had ſuffred the ſquadron of the enemies to paſſe by him, & afterwards to haue charged them in the rereward: of a noble courage to ſhew his valiantneſſe, he gaue charge vpon the voward, to haue honour in ouercomming them. The THEBANS on the other ſide no leſſe valiantly receiued him, and fought luſtily on all handes: but the cruelleſt fight was about *Ageſilaus* perſon, with the fiftie young men that were ſent to gard him, who ſhewed themſelues very valiant. *Ageſilaus* was ſore hurt, notwithſtanding their valiant reſiſtance, his armour being paſſed through with their pikes & ſwordes in ſundry places: whereupon they enuironned him round amongſt them, and kept him from the enemies, killing a great number of thē, & many of themſelues alſo being killed. In fine, finding the THEBANS too ſtrōg in the voward they were forced to do that which they

*Ageſilaus ouercame the Pharſalians.*

*Narthacium mons.*

*The eclipſe of the ſunne.*

*Piſander, Generall of the nauie ſlaine in battell.*

*The Ilande of Gnidos.*

*Ageſilaus battell with the Thebans.*

refuſed at the firſt: and opening themſelues, gaue them paſſage thorow them. So when they were paſſed them, the Spartans perceiuing how loſely and diſorderly they marched, as thinking themſelues out of all danger, followed them, and gaue charge vpon ther flancke. But all this could not make the Thebans flie: for they reioycing for their victorie at this battell, retired faire and ſoftly vnto the mountaine Helicon. But *Ageſilaus*, notwithſtanding he was very ſore hurt, with many a grieuous wound, would not go into his pauillion to be dreſſed before he had bene firſt at the place where the battell was fought, and had ſeene his men that were ſlaine brought away in their armors. As many of his enemies as were fled into the temple of *Minerua Itonian*, which was not far from thence: (where alſo were ſet vp tokens of triumphe offred vnto her long time before by the Thebans, when they had ouercome the armie of the Athenians, vnder the conduct of *Sparton* their Captaine, and had ſlaine alſo *Tolmides* their Captaine in the field) he commanded his men they ſhould let them go where they would. The next morning by breake of day, *Ageſilaus* deſirous to ſee if the Thebans had any courage to come downe to fight againe: commanded his ſouldiers to put garlands vpon their heads, and his muſitians to ſound their ſhalmes or pipes, whileſt he did ſet vp a token of triumph as victorious. Moreouer, his enemies ſending to him to aske leaue to take away their dead men, he granted them truce for the time, and thereby confirmed his victorie. After that, being caried to the citie of Delphes, where the Pythian games were plaide, he made a ſolemne proceſſion and common ſacrifice vnto *Apollo*, and offered him the tenth parte of all his ſpoiles which he had brought out of Asia, which amounted to the ſumme of an hundred talents. This thing done, he returned into his countrie, where he was greatly honored and eſteemed of all his citizens and countrimen, for his orderly life and noble behauiour: for he was no changeling, but the ſelfe ſame man in ſtate & condition that he was before he tooke his iorney. He transformed not himſelfe into ſtrangers maners, as commonly other Captaines do, that returne out of a farre countrie where they haue made warres: neither did he ſcorne his countrie faſhions, or ſhewed himſelfe diſobedient to the lawes thereof, but alwaies kept and obſerued them, without any manner of alteration in his meate or drinke, in waſhing or bathing, in his wiues apparell, in his armory, or any way elſe in his houſhold ſtuffe, as if he had neuer paſſed ouer the riuer of Eurotas. Yet further, he left his olde gates ſtanding that were of ſo great continuance, that they were thought to be thoſe which *Ariſtodemus* had ſet vp. *Xenophon* alſo ſaith, that his daughters Canathrum was nothing more ſumptuous than any others were. A Canathrum in Lacedæmon, is a kinde of coche or charret after the likeneſſe of griffins, harts, or goates: vpon the which they caried young wenches in ſolemne proceſſions in the citie. *Xenophon* wrote not what was the name of this daughter of *Ageſilaus*: and *Dicæarchus* alſo was much offended, that they neither knew *Ageſilaus* daughters name, nor yet the mother of *Epaminondas*. Yet we finde in the Laconian Chronicles, that *Ageſilaus* wiues name was *Cleora*, one of his daughters called *Apolia*, and the other *Prolyta*. Moreouer, *Ageſilaus* ſpeare is ſeene to this day in the citie of Sparta, euen like vnto others, and no manner of difference. Now *Ageſilaus* perceiuing certaine citizens of Sparta to ſtand vpon their reputation, and eſteeming themſelues aboue others, becauſe they kept horſe in their ſtable: perſuaded his ſiſter *Cyniſca* to ſend her coche and coche horſes to the Olympian games to runne for the beſt priſe, only to let the Grecians ſee that it was no act of any vertue, but ſimply of riches and coſt. Furthermore hauing *Xenophon* the Philoſopher about him, whome he loued and made great account of, he perſuaded him to ſend for his ſonnes to Lacedæmon, that they might be brought vp there, where they ſhould learne the nobleſt ſcience that men could poſſibly learne, to wit, to obey, and to commaund. When *Lyſander* was dead, *Ageſilaus* at his returne out of Asia, found a great faction and conſpiracie raiſed by his meanes againſt him in Sparta: and becauſe it might appeare what manner of citizen *Lyſander* was when he liued, he was likely to haue openly ſhewed and declared an Oration which he found among his writings (the which the Orator *Cleon Halicarnaſſeus* had written for him, and *Lyſander* ſhould haue cunned without booke, to haue ſpoken in open aſſembly) that was to ſtirre innouation, and in manner haue made a change of the whole gouernment of the commonwealth of Lacedæmon. Howbeit there was a graue counſeller that hauing red the oration, and doubting

*Helicon mons.*
*The worthines of Ageſilaus.*

*The temple of Minerua Itonian.*

*The conſtancie of Ageſilaus.*

*Canathrum, what it is.*

*Cleora, the wife of king Ageſilaus.*
*Apolia, and Prolyta Ageſilaus daughters*

*Xenophon, great about Ageſilaus.*

*The practiſe of Lyſander about alteration of gouernment.*

the apparant reaſons and perſuaſions alleaged, tolde him, that he would wiſh him not to pluck vp the dead againe out of his graue, but rather to burie this oration together with his bodie. *Ageſilaus* liked the counſell, and proceeded no further. And for them that either were, or had bin his enemies, he did them no hurt openly: but found the means to make ſome of them to be ſent as Lieutenant of armie, or otherwiſe to haue charge in the wars. In fine, he made it openly knowne, what couetous and wicked men they had bene in their charges: ſo that when they were accuſed of it before the councell, he would then helpe & intreate for them. By this means he made them againe his friends, where they had bene his enemies: inſomuch as in the ende, he had not one enemie at all. For the other king *Ageſipolis* his colleague, whoſe father had bin baniſhed: he being a very young man, and of gentle nature, medled not greatly with gouernment of the commonwealth. Neuertheleſſe, he ſo behaued himſelfe vnto *Ageſilaus*, that he made him his verie good friend: for both the kings when they were in the citie, did eate together in one hall. Then *Ageſilaus* knowing that *Ageſipolis* (as himſelfe) was giuen to loue, would euer miniſter talke to him of the goodly young boyes of the citie, intiſing him to loue ſome one of them, which he himſelfe did loue: and therein he was both his companion and helper. For in theſe LACONIAN loues there was no manner of diſhoneſtie offered, but a true affection and honeſt regarde to frame the boy beloued vnto vertue and honeſt conditions: as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Lycurgus*. *Ageſilaus* by this meanes, hauing the whole authoritie (aboue all men in the citie) in his hands: made his halfe brother *Teleutias* Generall by ſea, and himſelfe with the armie by land went to beſiege the citie of CORINTHE, where with his brothers helpe by ſea he tooke the long walles of the ſame. The ARGIVES which kept CORINTHE at that time, at *Ageſilaus* arriuall there were ſolemnizing the feaſt of the Iſthmian games: who made them flie, euen as they came from ſacrificing vnto the god *Neptune*, driuing them to leaue all their preparation and ſolemnitie. Then diuerſe baniſhed men of CORINTHE that were in his armie, beſought him that he would keepe theſe Iſthmian games. But he denied them, yet was contented they ſhould themſelues ſolemnize them, and ſo himſelfe remained there, during the time of the feaſt, for their ſafety. Afterwards when *Ageſilaus* was gone thence, the ARGIVES returned, and did celebrate the Iſthmian games, and there were ſome of them which hauing wonne the game at the firſt, did alſo winne it at the ſecond time: and others that were victours before, were this ſecond time ouercome. Whereupon *Ageſilaus* ſaid, that the ARGIVES ſhewed themſelues rancke cowards, that eſteeming ſo much (as they did) theſe plaies and ſacrifices, they durſt not once offer to fight with him for defence of the ſame. For himſelfe, touching ſuch like ſportes and games, he euer thought it good to keepe a meane, and not to be too curious. For he was contented to honour ſuch ſolemne aſſemblies and common feaſts with his preſence, as were commonly vſed in SPARTA, and tooke great pleaſure to ſee the ſports betweene the young boyes and girles of SPARTA: howbeit touching the games, he ſeemed not to be acquainted with ſome of them, wherein others had great delight. As we read, that *Callipides* an excellent ſtage plaier (wonderfully eſteemed of among the GRECIANS for a ſingular man in that arte) meeting *Ageſilaus* on a time, at the firſt did his dutie to him, and then arrogantly thruſt himſelfe among them that walked with him, thinking the king would haue made much of him: but perceiuing he made no countenance to him, in the end he asked him: O king *Ageſilaus*, doe you not knowe me? *Ageſilaus* looking vpon him, aunſwered: what, art not thou *Callipides* the ſtage plaier? And ſo made no further account of him. An other time being deſired to heare a man that naturally counterfeited the nightingalls voice: he would not heare him, ſaying, I haue oftentimes heard the nightingall it ſelfe. Another time alſo when *Menecrates* the Phiſitian (hauing by good fortune cured a deſperate diſeaſe) called himſelfe *Iupiter*, and arrogantly vſurped that name, preſuming in a letter he wrote vnto *Ageſilaus*, to ſubſcribe it in this manner, *Menecrates Iupiter*, vnto king *Ageſilaus*, greeting: *Ageſilaus* wrote againe vnto him, *Ageſilaus* vnto *Menecrates** health. So, whileſt *Ageſilaus* was in the territorie of CORINTHE (where he had taken the temple of *Iuno*) beholding his ſouldiers forraging and ſpoiling the countrie rounde about: Ambaſſadours came to him from THEBES, to pray him to make peace with the THEBANS. But he that alwaies hated the THEBANS, and beſides that thought it then very requiſite for the good

ſucceſſe

*The wiſe counſell of a Senatour at Sparta.*

*The policie of Ageſilaus to win his enemies.*

*Ageſilaus & Ageſipolis, kings of Lacedæmon.*

*Teleutias, Ageſilaus halfe brother, made Generall of the army by ſea.*

*Certaine Apothegmes of Ageſilaus.*

**Meaning that he was not well in his wits to be ſo preſumptuous.*

ſucceſſe of his doings, to make light of it: ſeemed as he neither heard nor ſaw them that ſpake vnto him. But euen at that very inſtant, as by diuine reuenge to crie quittance, there fell a great miſhap vpon him. For before the Ambaſſadors were gone from him, he had newes that one of their bandes called the mothers, were ſlaine euery man by *Iphicrates*: which was the greateſt loſſe that they in long time before had ſuſtained. For they loſt a great number of valiant ſouldiers, all naturall LACEDÆMONIANS: who being well armed euery man, were ſlaine by naked or light armed hirelings. Thereupon *Ageſilaus* went ſtraight into the field with hope to ſaue them, or at the leaſt to be reuenged. But receiuing certaine intelligence by the way that they were all ſlaine, he returned againe to the temple of *Iuno* from whence he came, and then ſent for the Ambaſſadors of the BOEOTIANS, to giue them audience. But they, to requite his former diſdaine vnto them, made no manner of ſpeach of peace, but onely requeſted him to ſuffer them to enter into CORINTHE. *Ageſilaus* being offended, aunſwered them: if it be to ſee your friends triumphe of their victorie, yee may ſafely do it to morrow. Thereupon the next morning taking the Ambaſſadors with him, he deſtroied the CORINTHIANS country, euen to the walles of their citie. And when he had made the Ambaſſadors ſee, that the citizens of CORINTHE durſt not come out into the field to defend their countrie: he gaue them leaue to depart. Then taking the remaine of that band that was ouerthrowne, which by flight had eſcaped: he brought them into LACEDÆMON againe, alwaies remouing his campe before day, and neuer encamped till darke night, becauſe the ARCADIANS (their mortall enemies) ſhould not reioice at their loſſe. After this voiage, to gratifie the ACHAIANS, he entred in with them into the countrie of ACARNANIA, and brought great ſpoiles from thence, after he had ouercome them in battell. Moreouer, when the ACHAIANS beſought him to remaine with them all the winter, to keepe their enemies from ſowing of their ground: he made them anſwer he would not. For, ſaid he, they will be afraide of warre the next yeare, when all their fields ſhall be ſowne with corne: & ſo indeed it came to paſſe. For the army returning againe they made peace incontinectly with the ACHAIANS. About that time, *Pharnabazus* & *Conon*, with the king of PERSIAES army, being Lords of the ſea without let of any, deſtroyed and ſpoiled all the coaſt of LACONIA. Moreouer, the city of ATHENS did reare vp her wals again by helpe of *Pharnabazus* money, wherewith he had furniſhed them. Thereupon the LACEDÆMONIANS thought good to make peace with the king of PERSIA, and to that ende ſent *Antalcidas* Ambaſſadour vnto *Tiribazus*, moſt ſhamely and cruelly betraying to the king, the GRÆCIANS inhabiting in ASIA, for whoſe libertie *Ageſilaus* had made warres with him before. So, it was *Ageſilaus* hap not to be ſoiled with any part of his ſhame: for *Antalcidas* that was his enemie, ſought all the meanes he could to conclude this peace, for that he ſaw warre did daily increaſe the authoritie, honor, and fame of *Ageſilaus*. Notwithſtanding, he anſwered one then, that reproued him for that the LACEDÆMONIANS did fauor the MEDES: no, ſaid he, they do not ſo, but the MEDES do play the LACEDÆMONIANS. Neuertheles, threatning warre to all the GRECIANS, which would not agree to the conditions of this peace: he compelled them to yeeld vnto that the king of PERSIA liked. But ſurely he did this chieflie for reſpect of the THEBANS, to the end that they being enforced by the capitulations of the peace, to ſet the country of BOEOTIA at libertie againe, ſhould be ſo much the weaker. This plainly appeared ſoone after by that that followed. For *Phœbidas* hauing committed a fowle act, in open peace to take the caſtell of the citie of THEBES, called *Cadmea*, offending therby all the other GRECIANS (and the SPARTANS themſelues alſo not being very well pleaſed withall, & thoſe ſpecially which were *Ageſilaus* enemies) *Phœbidas* being asked in great anger, at whoſe commandement he had done that ſodaine enterpriſe: to lay all the ſuſpition of the fact vpon him: *Ageſilaus* for *Phœbidas* diſcharge, letted not openly to ſay, that the qualitie of the fact was to be conſidered of, whether it were profitable for the commonwealth or not: and that it was well done of him, the thing falling out profitable for his country to do it of his own head without commandement. All this notwithſtanding he was wont to ſay in priuate talke, that iuſtice was the chiefeſt of all vertues, and therfore that valiantnes without iuſtice was of no validity, & that if all men were iuſt, valiantnes were of no eſtimation. And to them that told him, the great king will haue it ſo: Why, ſaid he, and wherein is he better then my ſelfe, if he be

*Ageſilaus ouercame the Acarnanians.*

*Antalcidas peace.*

*Phœbidas poſſeſſeth the caſtel of Cadmea.*

*Ageſilaus praiſe of iuſtice.*

not iuſter? Iudging very wiſely therein,that they ſhould eſteeme a king (whether he were of great or ſmall power) by his iuſtice, as by the beame of princely ballance. When peace was concluded,the king of PERSIA hauing ſent him a priuate letter deſiring his friendſhip, *Ageſilaus* refuſed it,ſaying:that common friendſhip was enough betwixt them,and that they ſhould neede none other, ſo long as that was kept. But this notwithſtanding, when it came to the point of performance,he went from his firſt good opinion, and gaue place to his will and ambition,ſpecially againſt the THEBANS, at that time when he did not onely ſaue *Phœbidas*, but alſo procured the citie of SPARTA to take the fault vpon them which he had committed,and to iuſtifie it, by keeping the caſtle of Cadmea ſtill, and making *Archias* and *Leontidas* Gouernors of the citie of THEBES,by whom *Phœbidas* came by the caſtel of Cadmea,and poſſeſſed it. Thereupon euery man thought ſtraight,that *Phœbidas* was he that had put the matter in execution,and that *Ageſilaus* gaue the counſell to do it:as things falling out afterwards,did manifeſtly proue the ſuſpition true. For,after that the THEBANS had driuen the garriſon of the LACEDÆMONIANS out of the caſtell of Cadmea, and reſtored their citie againe to libertie, burthening them that they had traiterouſly ſlaine *Archias* and *Leontidas* (who indeed were tyrants,though in name Gouernours) he made warre with them: and *Cleombrotus*,raigning then king with him after *Ageſipolis* death,was ſent before into BŒOTIA with an armie, *Ageſilaus* was diſpenſed with by lawe for going any more to the warres, by reaſon of his age, for that he was fortie yeare olde from the firſt growth of haire on his face,and therefore went not that iorney: being aſhamed,that the THEBANS ſhould now ſee him fight to reuẽge the tyrants deaths, who had but a litle before taken armes for the baniſhed men,againſt the PHLIASIANS,

*Sphodrias practiſe to take the hauen of Piræa at Athens.*

At that time there was a LACONIAN called *Sphodrias*,of the contrarie faction vnto *Ageſilaus*: and was then gouernor in the citie of THESPIES,a valiant and ſtout man of his hands,but euer fuller of vaine hope,than of good iudgement. He deſiring fame, and ſuppoſing that *Phœbidas* came to dignitie and great eſtimation through his valiant enterpriſe at THEBES: perſuaded himſelfe that he ſhould win much more honor, if of himſelfe he tooke the hauen of Piræa ſodainly ſtealing vpon the ATHENIANS by land,cutting them off by that meanes from all trade by ſea. It was thought commonly that this was a practiſe deuiſed by *Pelopidas* and *Gelon*, Gouernors of BŒOTIA,who had allured certaine men to faine themſelues very deuout & friendly to the LACEDÆMONIANS. Theſe men praiſing and extolling *Sphodrias* to his face,put him in the head that they knew none ſo worthie as himſelf alone,to take in hand ſo noble an enterpriſe. Thus by their perſuaſions they trained him on to this attempt,which for vilenes was nothing inferior vnto that tretcherous winning of the caſtell Cadmea at THEBES: although it was attempted with leſſe hardineſſe & diligence. For day was broken when he was yet in the plaine of Thriaſium, where he made account to haue bin at the walles of Piræa by night. Furthermore it is reported, that the men he brought with him ſeeing certaine fires from the temples of the citie of ELEVSIN,were all afraide & amazed: yea he himſelfe alſo fainted perceiuing he was diſcouered,& ſo returned back with ſhame & diſhonor to the city of THESPIES, without any exploit done, ſauing only a litle ſpoile taken.

*Sphodrias accuſed of treaſon.*

Thereupon accuſers were ſtraight ſent from ATHENS vnto SPARTA, who vpon their arriuall found that they needed not to accuſe him,for that the councell and Gouernours of the citie had already ſent for him to come vnto them,to condemne him of high treaſon. But he durſt not returne to SPARTA,fearing the furie of his countriemen, thinking indeed that they would ſeeme as though the wrong had bene done to them, becauſe it ſhould not be thought that they had cauſed it to be done. This *Sphodrias* had a ſonne called *Cleonymus*,a very faire boy, with whome *Archidamus* (*Ageſilaus* ſonne) was farre in loue: who then was maruelous ſorie to ſee this boy he loued, in ſo great danger to loſe his father,and yet durſt not be ſeene to helpe him, becauſe *Sphodrias* was one of *Ageſilaus* aduerſaries. Notwithſtanding, *Cleonymus* making his mone to him with the teares in his eyes,and praying him to pacifie his father *Ageſilaus* (whom they feared aboue all men elſe) *Archidamus* followed his father three or foure daies together, and durſt not breake the matter to him: in fine, the day of the next ſeſſion being at hand,when iudgement ſhould be giuen of *Sphodrias*,he boldly ventured to tell him, how that *Cleonymus* had praied him to be an humble ſuter to him touching his fathers fact. *Ageſilaus* vnderſtanding that his ſonne loued

*How Sphodrias was ſaued from death.*

*Cleonymus*, would not withdrawe him from louing of him, becauſe the boy euen from his childhood gaue alwaies good hope that one day he would ſure make as honeſt a man as any other whatſoeuer: neither made he any countenance to his ſonne, as though he would do any thing at his ſute, but onely anſwered him, for that, he would do as became him in ſuch a caſe. Whereupon *Archidamus* being baſhfull, left comming any more to *Cleonymus*, where before he would ſee him oftentimes in a day. This made *Sphodrias* friends deſpaire of his life more then before, vntill *Etymocles*, one of *Ageſilaus* familiars talking with them, tolde them that for the fact it ſelfe, *Ageſilaus* thought it a ſhamefull deede, and as much miſliked it as might be: but for *Sphodrias* ſelfe, that he tooke him for a valiant man, and ſaw that the commonwealth had neede of men of ſuch ſeruice. This was *Ageſilaus* common talke to pleaſe his ſonne, when any man came to ſpeake to him of *Sphrodias* accuſation. Inſomuch that *Cleonymus* found ſtraight that *Archidamus* had dealt as faithfully and friendly for him as might be, and then *Sphodrias* friends alſo tooke heart againe vnto them, to ſolicite his cauſe, and to be earneſt ſuters for him. *Ageſilaus* among other had this ſpeciall propertie, that he loued his children deerly: and a tale goeth on him, that he would play with them in his houſe when they were litle ones, and ride vpon a litle cocke horſe, or a reede, as a horſeback. Inſomuch as a friend of his taking him one day with the maner, playing among his children: he praied him to ſay nothing, till he had litle children himſelfe. In fine, *Sphodrias* was quit by his iudges. The Athenians vnderſtanding it, ſent to proclaime warre with the Lacedæmonians. Whereupon *Ageſilaus* was much reproued, becauſe that to pleaſe the fonde affection of his ſonne, he had hindered iuſtice, and brought his citie to be accuſed among the Græcians for ſuch grieuous crimes. *Ageſilaus* perceiuing that king *Cleombrotus* his companion went with no very good will to make warre with the Thebans, he breaking the order ſet downe for leading of the army, which was kept before, went to the warres himſelfe in perſon, and ſo inuading Boeotia he both receiued and did great hurt. Wherupon *Antalcidas* ſeeing him hurt one day, now truly (ſaid he) the Thebans haue paide you your deſerued hire, for teaching them againſt their willes to be ſouldiers, that neither had will nor ſkill to fight. For in deed they ſay the Thebans became better ſouldiers and warriours than they were before, being daily trained & exerciſed in armes through the continual inuaſions of the Lacedæmonians. Lo, this was the reaſon, why the olde father *Lycurgus* in his lawes called Rhetra, did forbid them to make war too oft with one ſelfe people, becauſe that by compulſion they ſhould not be made expert ſoldiers. For this cauſe did the confederats of Lacedæmon hate *Ageſilaus*, ſaying, that it was not for any knowne offence to the ſtate, but for very ſpight and priuate malice of his own, that he ſought to vndo the Thebans in this maner: & that to follow his humor, they conſumed themſelues going yearly to the warres one while this way, an other while that way, without any neceſſitie at all, following a few Lacedæmonians, themſelues being alwaies the greater number. Thē it was, that *Ageſilaus* deſiring to make thē ſee what number of men of war they were, vſed this deuiſe. On a time he commanded all the allies to ſit downe together one with an other by themſelues, and the Lacedæmonians alſo by themſelues. Then he made a herauld proclaime that all potmakers ſhould ſtand vp on their feete. When they were vp, he made him crie to the braſiers to riſe alſo. After them in like maner, the carpenters: then the maſons, and ſo conſequently all occupations one after an other. So that at the length the confederats obeying the proclamation, were all in maner on their feete. The Lacedæmonians, not one of them roſe: becauſe all baſe mechanicall crafts were forbidden them to occupie. Then *Ageſilaus* laughing at them, loe, my friends ſaid he: do ye not ſee now that we bring moe ſouldiers to the field, than ye do? At his returne from this iourney of Thebes, paſſing by the city of Megara, as he went vp into the councell houſe within the caſtell, there ſodainly tooke him a great crampe in his left legge, that ſwelled extreamly, and put him to great paine, men thinking that it was but bloud which had filled the vaine: a Phiſitian of Syracusa in Sicile being there, ſtraight opened a vaine vnder the ankle of his foote, which made the paine to ceaſe: notwithſtanding there came ſuch abundance of bloud, that they could not ſtanche it, ſo that he ſounded oft, and was in great danger of preſent death. In fine, a way was found to ſtop it, and they caried him to Lacedæmon, where he lay ſicke a long time, ſo that he was paſt going to the warres any

*Ageſilaus cockering his children too much.*

*Ageſilaus iorney into Bœotia.*

*Antalcidas ſaying.*

*Rhetra, of Lycurgus.*

*Ageſilaus ſubtile deuiſe to ſhew the weakneſſe of the allies.*

*Ageſilaus fell ſodainly ſicke of a dangerous diſeaſe.*

more. The SPARTANS in the meane time receiued great ouerthrowes both by ſea and land, and among other, their greateſt ouerthrow was at the battell of LEVCTRES, where the THEBANS ouercame and ſlue them in plaine battell. Then the GRECIANS were all of one minde to make a generall peace, and thereupon came Ambaſſadors and the Deputies from all the cities of GRECE, and met at LACEDÆMON to that ende. One of theſe Deputies was *Epaminondas*, a notable learned man, and a famous Philoſopher, but as yet vnskilfull in warres. He ſeeing how the other Ambaſſadors curried fauor with *Ageſilaus*, only he of the reſt kept his grauity to ſpeake freely, and made an Oration, not for the THEBANS alone, but for all GRECE in generall, declaring to them all, how warres did only increaſe the greatneſſe and power of the city of SPARTA, and contrarily did miniſh and decay all other cities and townes of GRECE: and for this cauſe, that he did counſell them all to conclude a good and perfect peace indifferently for all, to the end it might continue the longer, when they were all alike. *Ageſilaus* perceiuing then that all the GRECIANS preſent at the aſſemblie gaue him good eare, and were glad to heare him ſpeake thus boldly of peace: asked him openly, if he thought it meete and reaſonable, that all BOEOTIA ſhould be ſet cleere at libertie againe? *Epaminondas* preſently & boldly againe asked him: if he thought it iuſt and requiſite to ſet all LACONIA cleere again at liberty? *Ageſilaus* being offended therwith, ſtood vpon his feet, and commanded him to anſwer plainly whether they would ſet all BOEOTIA at libertie or not? *Epaminondas* replied vnto him with the ſelf ſpeach again, & asked him whether they would ſet al LACONIA at liberty or not? That nettled *Ageſilaus* ſo, that (beſides he was glad of ſuch a cloke, for the old grudge he euer bare vnto the THEBANS) he preſently put the name of the THEBANS out of the bill of thoſe, which ſhould haue bene compriſed within the league, and cried open warres vpon them in the market place. For the reſt, he licenſed the other Deputies & Ambaſſadors of the people of GRECE to depart, with this concluſion: that they ſhould louingly take order among themſelues for the controuerſies betwixt them, if they could peaceably agree together, & they that could not fall to ſuch agreement, that then they ſhould trie it by wars, for that it was a hard thing to take vp all quarrels among them. King *Cleombrotus* by chaunce was at that time in the countrie of PHOCIDE with his armie, vnto whom the Ephori wrote that he ſhould forthwith ſpoile the THEBANS countrie: and therewith alſo they ſent to all their confederates to come and aide them, which had no great fanſie to the iorney, and were loth to make war with them, but yet durſt not refuſe to go, nor diſobey the LACEDÆMONIANS. And notwithſtanding that there were many ſignes preſaging ill luck, as we haue written in the life of *Epaminodas*, & that *Prothous* LACONIAN was againſt the enterpriſe of this warre all that he could: *Ageſilaus* would needs forward, hoping he had now found oportunitie to be reuenged of the THEBANS, ſith all GRECE beſides was in peace and at libertie, themſelues onely exempted from treatie of peace. If there had bene no other thing in it but the very ſhortneſſe of time, that made it manifeſt enough that this warre was begun in a geere, without any manner of reaſon. For the generall peace amongſt the GRECIANS was concluded at SPARTA the fourteenth of May, and the LACEDÆMONIANS were ouercome at the battell of LEVCTRES the fifteene of Iune: ſo as there was but twenty daies betwene them. There were ſlaine a thouſand LACEDÆMONIANS with their king *Cleombrotus*, and the choiſeſt of the valianteſt SPARTANS about him. Amongſt them was alſo ſlaine that goodly young man *Cleonymus*, *Sphodrias* ſonne, of whom we ſpake before: who hauing bene beaten downe thriſe at the kings foote, three times got vp againe, but at the length was ſlaine, valiantly fighting againſt the THEBANS. This great ouerthrowe chancing to the LACEDÆMONIANS vnlooked for, and withall ſo glorious a victorie vnto the THEBANS, as GRECIANS fighting with GRECIANS had neuer the like: the vãquiſhed citie of SPARTA notwithſtanding deſerued no leſſe honour and commendation for her fortitude and worthineſſe, than did the victorious citie of THEBES. For as *Xenophon* writeth, that as amongſt good men euen in table talke, and in their ſportes and mirth there falleth out euer ſome thing of wit worth the noting and bearing away: euen ſo in like caſe, no leſſe, but rather more, ought noble mens words to be weyed, and their countenances marked as well in aduerſitie as in proſperitie. At that time by chance there was a common feaſt day in the citie of SPARTA, which was full of ſtrangers that came to ſee the daunces and ſportes of them

that

*Epaminondas the Theban, ſent Ambaſſador vnto Lacedæmon.*

*The ſtrife betwixt Ageſilaus and Epaminondas for the libertie of Bœotia.*

*The Lacedæmonians ſlaine at the battell of Leuctres. Cleombrotus king of the Lacedæmonians ſlaine. Cleonymus, the ſonne of Sphodrias, ſlaine at Cleombrotus foote.*

*Xenophons ſaying.*

that ſhewed naked in the Theater, when as the meſſengers arriued that brought the newes of the battell loſt at Levctres. The Ephori knowing then that the rumor ſtraight ranne all about, that they were all vndone, and how they had loſt the ſignory and commaundement ouer all Greece: would not ſuffer them for all this to breake off their daunce in the Theater, nor the city in any thing to change the forme of their feaſt, but ſent vnto the parents to euery mans houſe, to let them vnderſtand the names of them that were ſlaine at the battell, they them ſelues remaining ſtill in the Theater to ſee the daunces and ſportes continued, to iudge who caried the beſt games away. The next morning when euery man knew the number of them that were ſlaine, and of thoſe alſo that were eſcaped: the parentes and friends of them that were dead, met in the market place, looking chearefully of the matter, and one of them embraced an other. On the other ſide, the parents of them that ſcaped, kept their houſes with their wiues, as folke that mourned. If any of them alſo had occaſion to go abroad out of their houſes, for any matter of neceſſity: ye ſhould ſee him looke ſo heauily and ſad, that he durſt not talke with you, lift vp his head, nor looke ye in the face. Beſides all this, euen amongeſt the women there was greater difference. For the mothers of them that kept their ſons which came from the battell, were ſad and ſorrowfull, and ſpake not a word. Contrarily, the mothers of them that were ſlaine, went friendly to viſite one an other, to reioyce together. Now when the people ſaw that their confederates beganne to forſake them, and did daily looke that *Epaminondas* glorying in his victory, would inuade Peloponnesvs: then they beganne to bee pricked in conſcience about the oracles of the goddes, thinking that this misfortune came to their city, for that they had thruſt out of the kingdom a man perfect in lims, to place an impotent perſon, being ſpecially warned by the gods to beware of that aboue all things. This notwithſtanding, they had him in ſuch veneration for his valiantnes, and his authority was ſuch thereby, that they did not only vſe him in war, as their king and ſoueraigne Captaine: but in ciuill cauſes alſo wherein there roſe any queſtion, they euer vſed his counſell and aduiſe. As they did, when they durſt not puniſhe them (according to the penall lawes) that fled from the battell, whom they call at Sparta Treſantas, (being a great number of them, and men of the nobleſt houſes and of greateſt power within the city) leaſt they ſhould moue ſome ſturre or commotion among them. (For by law, they can beare no office in the common wealth. It is ſhame and reproch to giue them any wiues, and alſo to mary any of theirs. Whoſoeuer meeteth them may lawfully ſtrike them, and they muſt abide it, and not giue them a word againe. They are cōpelled to weare poore tattered cloth gowns patched with cloth of diuers colours: and worſt of all, to ſhaue the one ſide of their beards, and the other not.) Whereupon, finding the daunger great to deale with them, to execute the law according to the infamy they deſerued, ſpecially then ſtanding in neede of a great number of men of warre: they referred themſelues altogether vnto *Ageſilaus*, to take ſuch order in it as he thought good. But *Ageſilaus* then, without changing or altering any thing of the law, ſaid in open aſſembly at Lacedæmon: that for that day they ſhould let the law alone, notwithſtanding, that afterwards it ſhuld ſtand in force. By this policy he kept the law inuiolate, and ſaued alſo the honor of thoſe poore men: and withall, to put theſe youths againe in heart, being amazed with this feare, he led the army into the countrey of Arcadia, and would giue no battell, but onely tooke a ſmall city of the Mantinians, and foraged the country. This againe did a litle reuiue the city of Sparta with ſome hope, to make that it ſhould not vtterly deſpaire. But ſhortly after, *Epaminondas* inuaded the countrey of Laconia, with forty thouſand footemen well armed, beſides an infinite number of others light armed, and naked people, that followed his campe for the ſpoile: ſo that in all, there were about three ſcore and tenne thouſand fighting men that came in with him to inuade Laconia. It was well neare ſixe hundred yeares ſith the Dorians poſſeſſed Lacedæmon, and in all that time til then they neuer ſaw enemies in their country that durſt inuade them: but then they ſacked and burnt all that came in their way, euen vnto the riuer of Eurotas, and hard adioyning vnto Sparta, and no man durſt come out to reſiſt them. For *Ageſilaus* (as *Theopompus* writeth) would not ſuffer the Lacedæmonians to go out to fight againſt ſuch a tempeſt and fury of warre, but hauing fortified the middeſt of the city, and garded euery end of the ſtreetes with ſouldiers, hee patiently bare all the bragges and threates

*The conſtancy and fortitude of the Spartans*

*The fortitude of the Spartan women.*

*Treſantas be cowardes, or faint hearted men.*

*Puniſhment at Sparta, for cowardly ſouldiers.*

*Epaminondas inuadeth Laconia with three ſcore and ten thouſand men.*

of the Thebans, which challenged him out to fight, and bad him come into the field to defend his countrey, that only was the cauſe of all theſe their calamities, hauing him ſelfe procured this war. If this went to *Ageſilaus* heart, no leſſe grieuous were theſe troubles to him that roſe within the city. As the cries and running to and fro of the old men, which were mad to ſee that they did before their eies: and of ſeely women alſo, which no ground nor place could hold, but ranne vp and downe, as ſtraught of their wits, to heare the noiſe the enemies made, and to ſee the fire which they raiſed all the fieldes ouer. Much more ſorrowfull alſo did this make him, when as he bethought him ſelfe, that entring into his kingdome at ſuch time as the city of Sparta was in the greateſt proſperity that euer it was, he now ſaw his honor eclipſed, and the glory of his kingdome ouerthrowen: and the rather, for that him ſelfe had often auanted, that Laconian women had neuer ſeene the ſmoke of any enemies campe.

*Certaine witty aunſwers.*

And as they ſay of *Antalcidas* one day, that he anſwered an Athenian that contended with him about the valiantneſſe of one an others nation, alledging for himſelfe, that the Athenians had often driuen the Lacedæmonians from the riuer of Cephiſus. It is true, ſaid the Laconian: but we did neuer driue you from the riuer of Eurotas. The like anſwer made a meane man of Sparta, to one of the Argiues that caſt him in the teeth, there are diuers of your Laconians buried in the countrey of Argolide: ſo are there none of yours, ſaid he, buried in Laconia. It is reported, that *Antalcidas* being one of the Ephori at that time, did ſecretly ſend his children into the Ile of Cithæra, fearing leaſt the city of Sparta ſhould be taken. *Ageſilaus* perceiuing that the enemies forced to paſſe ouer the riuer, to enter the city: he ſtood to defend the middle part of the city, being the higheſt place of the ſame, and there had his men ſet in order of battell. Now at that time, by chaunce the riuer of Eurotas was ſwelled greater then of ordinary, by reaſon of the ſnow waters that fell abundantly: which troubled more the Thebans with the coldnes, then roughnes of the ſame, in paſſing it ouer. Some ſhewing *Ageſilaus* how *Epaminondas* marched formoſt before his battell, he beheld him a great while, and his eye was neuer off him, ſaying neuer a word but this onely: Oh, what a noble fellow is that? *Epaminondas* hauing done all that he could poſſible to giue the Lacedæmonians battell, euen within the city ſelfe of Sparta, that he might there haue ſet vp ſome tokens of triumph, he could neuer intiſe *Ageſilaus* to come out of his fort: wherefore he was driuen in the end to depart thence, and ſo went to deſtroy all the reſt of the country.

*Conſpiracies at Lacedæmon vnder Ageſilaus. Iſſorium the temple of Diana.*

There fell out a conſpiracy of two hundred men in Sparta, who of long time had had an ill meaning with them, and tooke that quarter of the city where the temple of *Diana* ſtood, called Iſſorium, a place of ſtrong ſituation, and ill to diſtreſſe. Hereupon the Lacedæmonians in fury would ſtraight haue ſet vpon them. But *Ageſilaus* fearing great mutiny and ſtur vpon it: commaunded that no man ſhould ſtur: and him ſelfe vnarmed, in a poore gown went thither, crying out to them that had taken that ſtrength: Sirs, yee haue not obeied my commaundement.

*A fine deuiſe to apprehend the traitors.*

This is not the place I appointed you to aſſemble in, neither all of you in one place: for I willed you to diſperſe your ſelues, ſome one way, ſome an other way, ſhewing them the quarters of the city. The traitors hearing theſe words, were glad, as thinking that their intent was not bewraied: and ſo leauing that ſtrength, went into thoſe partes of the city that he had ſhewed them. *Ageſilaus* then bringing others thither, poſſeſſed the fort of Iſſorium, and tooke fifteene of thoſe conſpiratours, and put them to death the next night following. Howbeit then there brake out an other conſpiracy farre greater then the firſt, of the Spartans them ſelues which were ſecretly gotten together into a houſe, to make ſome ſodaine ſturre and garboile, and to puniſh them in ſo great a trouble, it was hard: on the other ſide to neglect it, the conſpiracy was ouer dangerous. *Ageſilaus* hauing conſulted with the Ephori, did put them all to death, without any iudgement of law, neuer Spartans before them ſuffering death, without due order of law. Againe, whereas diuers of their neighbors, and of the *Ilotes* them ſelues, (whom they had billed in their bandes for ſouldiers) ſtale away, and ranne to their enemies, which did much diſcorage them that remained: he warned his men that they ſhould euerie day goe to their couches where they lay, and that they ſhould take away their armour that were fled, and hide it, becauſe they ſhould not know the names of them that were fled in this ſort.

*The departure of the Thebans out of Laconia*

Now for the departure of the Thebans, ſome ſay that they went out of Laconia by reaſon of the winter that came on, whereuppon the ARCADIANS diſcharged their bandes, and euery one departed his way in diſorder. Others alſo hold opinion, that they continued there three moneths together, during which time they deſtroyed the moſt part of the countrey. *Theopompus* writeth notwithſtanding, that the Captaines of the THEBANS hauing determined to depart, there came one *Phrixus* a SPARTAN vnto them, ſent from *Ageſilaus*, who brought them tenne talents that they ſhould depart out of their countrey. Thus had they money giuen them to defray their charges homewardes, to doe that, which they them ſelues had long before determined to hane done. And yet doe I wonder, how it is poſſible that all other hiſtoriographers knew nothing of this, and that *Theopompus* onely could tell of it. All doe acknowledge truely, that *Ageſilaus* onely was the cauſe that the city of SPARTA was ſaued: who leauing his ambition and ſelte will, being paſſions borne with him, did wiſely foreſee their ſafety. Neuertheleſſe, after this great ouerthrow, hee could neuer raiſe SPARTA againe to her former greatneſſe. For like as a whole body, which hauing acquainted it ſelfe continually with a moderate diet, with the leaſt diſorder doth ſurfet preſently, and ſo putteth all in daunger: euen ſo *Lycurgus* hauing framed a perfect ſtate of gouernment in the common wealth of SPARTA, to make her citizens liue in peace and amity together: when they did enlarge it by great kingdomes and realmes, the which the good law-maker thought vnmeete to continue happy life: they were ſtraight ouerthrowen and all went to wracke. By this time *Ageſilaus* was growen olde, and could no more goe to the warres for very age: but his ſonne *Archidamus*, with the aide which *Dionyſius* the tyraunt of SYRACVSA ſent vnto them, wanne a battell againſt the ARCADIANS, called the teareleſſe battell: for there died not one of his men, and they ſlue a great number of their enemies. This victory plainely ſhewed the great weakeneſſe and decay of the city of SPARTA. For in former times it was ſo common a thing vnto them to ouercome their enemies in battell, that they did ſacrifice nothing elſe to the goddes in token of thankes, within the city, but a poore cocke: and they that had fought the battell made no boaſt of it: neither did they that heard the news reioice greatly at it. For when they had wonne that great battell at the city of MANTINEA, which *Thucydides* deſcribeth: the Ephori only ſent the meſſenger that brought the newes for reward, a peece of powdered meate, and no other thing. But then, when newes was brought of this victory, and that they vnderſtoode *Archidamus* came home victorious: neither man nor woman could keepe the city, but the father him ſelfe went firſt of all to meete him, with the teares in his eies for ioy, and after him all the other Magiſtrates and officers of the city, and a ſwarme of old folke both men and women came downe to the riuers ſide, holding vp their handes to heauen, and thanking the goddes, as if their city had redeemed and recouered her ſhame and loſt honour, and beganne now to riſe againe, as before it did. For vntill that time, ſome ſay, that the husbandes durſt not boldly looke their wiues in the faces, they were ſo aſhamed of their great loſſes and miſerable eſtate. Now the city of MESSINA being by *Epaminondas* reedified and repleniſhed with people, he called home againe out of all partes, the naturall inhabitants of the ſame. The SPARTANS durſt not fight with him (nor to hinder his purpoſe) though it ſpighted them to the hearts, and were angry with *Ageſilaus*, for that in his raigne they had loſt all that territory, which was as great as all LACONIA ſelfe, and that for goodnes and fertility compared with the beſt parts of all GREECE, the which they had quietly poſſeſſed many yeares before. And this was the cauſe why *Aegſilaus* would not agree to the peace, which the THEBANS ſent to offer him: and all becauſe he would not relinquiſh that in words, which the enemies kept in deedes. Therefore being wilfully bent once more to fight with them, he went not only without recouering the thing he looked for, but had in manner alſo loſt the city of SPARTA by a warlike ſtratageme, in the which he was deceiued. For the MANTINIANS being newly reuolted again from the alliance of the THEBANS, and hauing ſent for the LACEDÆMONIANS: *Epaminondas* receiuing intelligence that *Ageſilaus* was departed from SPARTA with all his power to aid the MANTINIANS, matched away ſecretly by night from TEGEA, without the priuity of the MANTINIANS, and went ſtraight to SPARTA, the which he had almoſt ſurpriſed on the ſodaine (going an other way then *Ageſilaus* came, (being in manner without men to defend it. Howbeit a THESPIAN called *Euthynus*, as *Calliſthenes* ſayeth, (or as *Xenaphon*

*Ageſilaus ſaued the city of Sparta.*

*The teareleſſe battell of Archidamus, ouercomming the Arcadians.*

*The Lacedæmonians were not wont to reioyce much at any victory.*

*Meſſina reſtored againe by Epaminondas.*

*Epaminondas ſecond iourney vnto Sparta.*

*Ageſilaus repulſed Epaminondas from Lacedæmon.*

*The fortitude of Archidamus*

*The valiantnes of Iſadas a Spartan.*

*Iſadas rewarded and amerced.*

*The death of Epaminondas.*

*Macheriones why ſo called.*

*Ageſilaus greedy of wars.*

writeth, a Cretan,) brought *Ageſilaus* newes of it: who diſpatched a horſeman ſtraight to aduertiſe them of the city of Sparta, and marching forward him ſelfe to returne, ſtayed not long after before he arriued. He was no ſooner come, but incontinently alſo came the Thebans, who paſſing ouer the riuer of Eurotas, gaue aſſault to the city. Then *Ageſilaus* perceiuing that there was no more place nor time of ſecurity as before, but rather of deſperation and courage: he valiauntly defended it, more then an olde mans yeares could beare. Thus, through courage and deſperate minde, whereto he was neuer brought before, neither did euer vſe it, he put by the daunger, and ſaued the city of Sparta from *Epaminondas* handes, ſetting vp markes of triumphe for repulſing of the enemies, and making the women and children of Sparta to ſee the Lacedæmonians how honorably they rewarded their nurſe and countrey for their good education: but *Archidamus* chiefely of all other, fought wonderfully that day, running into euery part of the city, with a few about him, to repulſe the enemies whereſoeuer the daunger was greateſt. It is ſayed alſo that at that time there was one *Iſadas* the ſonne of *Phœbidas*, that did maruellous ſtraunge things to behold, both in the face of his enemies, as alſo in the ſight of his friendes. He was of goodly perſonage, and at that time in the prime of his youth: and being ſtarke naked, and vnarmed, his body nointed with oyle, hauing in one hand a boreſtaffe, and in the other a ſword, in this manner he went out of his houſe, and ranne amongeſt them that fought, killing and ouerthrowing his enemies that withſtoode him, and was not once hurt, either for that the goddes preſerued him for his manhoodes ſake, or elſe becauſe men thought him more then a man. The Ephori immediatly gaue him a crowne, in honor and reward of his valiantneſſe: but withall they ſet a fine on his head to pay a thouſand ſiluer Drachmas for his raſhe attempt, to hazard him ſelfe in battell, vnarmed for defence. Shortly after they fought an other great battell before the city of Mantinea. There *Epaminondas* hauing ouerthrowen the firſt rancks of the Lacedæmonians, and coragiouſly diſtreſſing the reſt, valiantly following the chaſe: there was one *Anticrates* a Laconian, who receiuing him (as *Dioſcorides* writeth) ſlue him with his boreſpeare. The Lacedæmonians to this day notwithſtanding, do call the offſpring of this *Anticrates*, *Machæriones*: as much to ſay, as ſwordmen, as though he had ſlaine him with a ſword. The Lacedæmonians did eſteeme this *Anticrates* ſo much, for that deadly ſtroke he gaue (becauſe they were afrayd of *Epaminondas* while he liued) that they gaue him that ſlue him, great honors and dignities, and diſcharged all his offſpring and kindred from paiment of ſubſidy and common contributions, which priuiledge one *Callicrates*, a kinſeman of this *Anticrates* enioyed euen in our time. After this battell and death of *Epaminondas*, the Grecians hauing taken peace generally amongſt them, *Ageſilaus* would needes exclude the Meſſinians from being ſworne to this peace, ſaying: that they neede not ſweare, becauſe they had no city. Now, foraſmuch as all the Grecians elſe did receiue them as amongſt the number, and tooke their oth vnto this peace: the Lacedæmonians brake off from this generall peace, and none but they only made war, in hope to recouer the Meſſenians country, and all through the allurement of *Ageſilaus*, who for this cauſe was thought of the Grecians a cruell and vnſatiable man for warres, to deale ſo craftily, and all to breake this generall league. Againe, hee brought him ſelfe in diſcredit with all men, being compelled to make his city bare of money, borrowing of them ſtill, and raiſing ſundry contributions amongeſt them: whereas in deede it had beene his beſt way to haue ended all thoſe miſeries, hauing ſo happy an occaſion offered at that time, and not to haue loſt ſo great an Empire of ſo many townes and cities, both by ſea and land, and all to plague his countrey, to winne the land and riches of the Meſſenians. But yet was this moſt ſhame vnto him of all other, when he gaue him ſelfe vnto one *Tachos*, a Captaine of the Egyptians, euery man thinking it a ſhamefull part of him, that ſuch a perſonage as he ( reputed the chiefeſt man of all the Grecians, and the which had filled the world with report of his fame and glory) ſhould for money let out his perſon to hire, and the glory of his name, vnto a barbarous perſon, a traitour and rebell to his king and maiſter, to become a mercenary Captaine and ſouldier to doe him ſeruice. And moreouer, he being now foure ſcore yeares of age and vpwardes, his body all mangled with woundes, though he had vndertaken this honourable charge for the recouery of the liberty of the GRECIANS, yet had his ambition deſerued ſome blame: for noble acts haue their time, yea rather the good and ill doe nothing differ from other, but in meane and mediocrity. But *Ageſilaus* had no regard of all this, and thought no manner of ſhame in ſeruice, ſpecially for benefite of the common wealth, but perſwaded him ſelfe that it was a diſhonor to him to liue idlely in a city and doe nothing, till death ſhould come and make his ſummons: thereuppon therefore he leuied men of warre through all GREECE with the money *Tachos* ſent vnto him, and with them tooke ſea, hauing thirty SPARTANS counſellers and aſſiſtants to him, as he had in his firſt iourney. Now *Ageſilaus* being arriued in EGYPT, all the chiefe Captaines and Gouernours of king *Tachos* came to the ſea ſhore, and honourably receiued him: and not they only, but infinite numbers of EGYPTIANS of all ſorts (that were maruellous deſirous of him, for the great ſame that went abroad of *Ageſilaus*) came thither from all partes to ſee what manner of man he was. But when they ſaw no ſtately traine about him, but an olde gray-beard layed on the graſſe by the ſea ſide, a litle man that looked ſimply of the matter, and but meanely apparrelled in an ill fauored threed bare gowne: they fell a laughing at him, remembring the mery tale, that the mountaines ſhould bring forth, and was deliuered of a mouſe. Beſides all this, they wondered when they ſaw men bring him preſentes to welcome him, that he tooke meale, calues, and geeſe, and ſuch groſſe things: and refuſed all confections, perfumes and other delicacies, praying them that offered thoſe dainty things to him, to giue them to the ILOTES his ſlaues. *Theophraſtus* writeth, that he delighted maruellouſly in the ruſhe Papyrus, and liked the garlandes they made of them, for their fineſſe and the handſomneſſe, the which he caried home with him when he departed thence. Hauing ſpoken at that time with *Tachos*, who was aſſembling his army to goe on his iorney: hee was not made chieftaine generall, as he looked he ſhould haue bene, but was appointed onely Colonell of all the ſtraungers, *Chabrias* Generall of all the army by ſea, and the chiefe of all the reſt was *Tachos* himſelfe in perſon. This at the firſt grieued *Ageſilaus* to the heart, being driuen whether he would or not, to beare with the vanity and pride of this EGYPTIAN. So he ſayled with him into PHENICE, againſt the PHENICIANS, imbaſing him ſelfe againſt his noble diſpoſition and minde, and gaue him place, vntill he ſaw time of reuenge. It chaunced that one *Nectanebos* a nephewe of this *Tachos*, hauing the leading of part of this army, rebelled againſt him, and being choſen king by the EGYPTIANS, he ſent vnto *Ageſilaus*, and prayed him to come and take his part. The like he did alſo vnto *Chabrias*, and prayed him to ioyne with him, promiſing great rewardes vnto them both. *Tachos* vnderſtanding that, beſought them both that they would not forſake him. *Chabrias* for his part alſo did likewiſe intreate *Ageſilaus*, and perſwade him what he could, to continue friendſhip with *Tachos*. *Ageſilaus* aunſwered him, for thee, *Chabrias*, thou cameſt of thine owne good will, and therefore mayeſt doe what thou thinkeſt good: but ſo is it not with me. For I am ſent hither a Captaine by my countrey, to ſerue the EGYPTIANS, and therefore it were no honeſty for me to make warre with them, whom I am ſent to ſerue and aide: were it not that they them ſelues which ſent me, doe now commaund me the contrary. This aunſwer being made, he ſent certaine of his men to SPARTA to accuſe *Tachos*, and to commend *Nectanebos*. Both they alſo for their parts ſent to intreate the councell of LACEDÆMON: the one as being alwaies their friend and confederate, and the other promiſing to be their faithfull friend thenceforth. The LACEDÆMONIANS hauing heard the requeſts of both, anſwered them openly, that *Ageſilaus* ſhuld conſider of his matter: and wrote ſecretly to him, that he ſhould do what he thought beſt for the common wealth of SPARTA. So *Ageſilaus* taking with him the mercenary ſouldiers which he had brought out of GREECE, went vnto *Nectanebos*, cloking his departure, that it was for the benefite of his countrey, to bewray a wicked thing: but in deede taking away the viſard to benefite his countrey, they might by a better name rightly haue tearmed it treaſon. Howbeit the LACEDÆMONIANS placing the chiefeſt point of honor, to conſiſt in the benefit of their country: did acknowledge nothing to be iuſtice, but that which they thought might ſerue for the aduauncement of the glory of SPARTA. *Tachos* ſeeing him ſelfe forſaken thus by his mercenary ſtraungers, fled. But now on the other ſide, there roſe an other king in the city of MENDES, againſt this *Nectanebos*, who hauing leauied to the number of a hundred thouſand fighting men, came to fight

*Ageſilaus derided of the Egyptians.*

*Ageſilaus deſpiſed all daintie things.*

*Ageſilaus forſaketh Tachos, and goeth vnto Nectanebos.*

*In whom ſtratagems take moſt effect.*

with *Nectanebos.* But he thinking to encorage *Ageſilaus*, told him, that in deede they were a great number of men of all ſorts together, and ſpecially men of handy craft, and therefore that they were not to be feared, becauſe they knew not what warre ment. But *Ageſilaus* anſwered him againe: it is not their number that I feare, but their rudeneſſe and vnskilfulneſſe, which is hardeſt of al to deceiue. For warlike ſtratagems doe moſt preuaile againſt men that haue greateſt feare and experience: and therefore they foreſee one thing rather then an other. But men of no iudgement nor experience, neither feare danger, nor haue forecaſt, and therefore do giue him no more aduantage that ſeeketh to deceiue them, then the wraſtler by ſleight is able to ouerthrow him, whom he can not ſturre nor remoue. Afterwards the MENDESIAN king him ſelfe ſent vnto *Ageſilaus*, to winne him if he could. *Nectanebos* then beganne to be afraid. For when *Ageſilaus* counſelled him to try it by battell as ſoone as he could, and not to prolong this warre againſt ignoraunt men that had no skill to fight, but yet for their ouer-multitude, might intrench him round about, and preuent him in diuerſe things: then he beganne to feare and ſuſpect him more, and thereupon retired into a great city well walled about, and of great ſtrength. *Ageſilaus* being offended that he miſtruſted him thus, tooke it inwardly: but being aſhamed to turne againe vnto the third, and alſo to depart without any exploite done, he followed him, and encloſed him ſelfe within thoſe walles. The enemies purſuing him hard, came vnto the city, and beganne to entrench it round, to keepe him in. Then the EGYPTIAN *Nectanebos* fearing a long ſiege, determined to giue them battell. Thereto the hiered GRECIANS gaue conſent, as deſiring no better match, and the rather alſo for that there was but ſmall ſtore of corne within the city. But *Ageſilaus* perſwading the contrary, would in no wiſe conſent to it: whereuppon the EGYPTIANS thought worſe of him then before, and plainely called him traitor to their king. Howbeit he did patiently beare all their accuſations, expecting time to performe an exploite he entended, which was this. The enemies had caſt a deepe trenche without to compaſſe them in. When this trench drew neare to end, and that both endes lacked not much of meeting, tarrying till night came on, he commaunded the GRECIANS to arme, and to put them ſelues in readineſſe: then he came vnto the EGYPTIAN, and ſayed vnto him. Lo here is an excellent occaſion preſented to ſaue thee, which I would not acquaint thee withall til I ſaw it brought to the perfection I looked for, fearing leaſt otherwiſe we ſhuld haue loſt it. Now ſith the enemies them ſelues haue with their owne handes giuen vs the way to ſaue our ſelues by this trench they haue caſt, the which as much as is finiſhed thereof doeth hinder their great multitude to helpe them ſelues, and that which is yet left vnfiniſhed doth giue vs oportunity to fight with them of euen hand: determine to ſhew thy valure, and following vs, ſaue thy ſelfe and thy people. For the enemies which we ſhall aſſaile before vs, ſhall neuer be able to abide vs: and the other by meanes of the trenche which defendeth vs on our ſide, can no way hurt vs. *Nectanebos* hearing his words, wondered at his great wiſdome, and ſo thruſting in among the GRECIANS, did aſſaile the enemies: the which were ſoone ouerthrown and put to flight, as many as durſt reſiſt and make head againſt them. *Ageſilaus* hauing wonne *Nectanebos* againe to truſt him, he once againe deceiued his enemies with the like ſubtilty wherewith he had firſt beguiled them, and which they knew not how to auoide. For one while he made as though he fled, and intiſed them to follow him: ſodainely againe he would turne this way and that way. In fine, he brought all this great multitude into a ſtraight ſluce, walled about of either ſide, with great broad ditches full of running water: ſo that when they were euen in the middeſt of it, he ſodainely ſtopped their paſſage with the front of his battell, which he caſt to the breadth of the ſluce, and thus made his number of fighting men equall with the multitude of his enemies, which could neither compaſſe him in behinde, nor flanke him on the ſides. They hauing in this ſort made ſome ſmall reſiſtaunce, in the end turned their backes and fled, and left a great number ſlaine in the field: the reſidue after that laſt ouerthrow forſooke their Captains, and fled ſtraglingly here and there. Thus the affairs of this EGYPTIAN king after that time had good ſucces, and was quietly ſtabliſhed in his kingdom, making much of *Ageſilaus*: and doing him all honour poſſible, prayed him to tary with him all that winter. Howbeit he would needes haſten home to his countrey, which was in warre with others, knowing that his city of SPARTA was without money, becauſe they

*The ſtratagem of Ageſilaus againſt the Egyptians.*

were driuen to giue pay vnto ſtrangers. Thereupon *Nectanebos* in the end tooke his leaue of him very honorably, preſenting him a gift (beſides all other honors he did him) of two hundred and thirtie ſiluer talents in readie mony, to defray the charges of the warre in his country. Howbeit the ſea being rough in the winter quarter, he died by the way, hauing notwithſtanding recouered land with his ſhips in a deſert place of the coaſt of LYBIA, which was called the hauen of *Menelaus*, after he was foureſcore and foure yeare old: of the which he had raigned one and forty yeares king of SPARTA, and thirtie yeares thereof and more he was alwaies taken and reputed for the greateſt perſon, and in manner Chiefetaine generall of all GRECE, vntill the battell of LEVCTRES. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing a cuſtome to burie the dead bodies of their citizens that died out of their country, in the ſame place where they departed: (the bodies of their kings excepted) the SPARTANS which were at that time about *Ageſilaus*, annointed his bodie with waxe for lacke of honny, and caried him home to SPARTA in this manner. His ſonne *Archidamus* ſucceeded him in the kingdome, whoſe iſſue ſucceſſiuely raigned continually after him, vnto the time of *Agis* (who was the fifth king in ſucceſſion after *Ageſilaus*) whom in deede *Leonidas* put to death, becauſe he ſought to reſtore the LACEDÆMONIANS ancient diſcipline and forme of life.

*The liberalitie of king Nectanebos vnto Ageſilaus.*

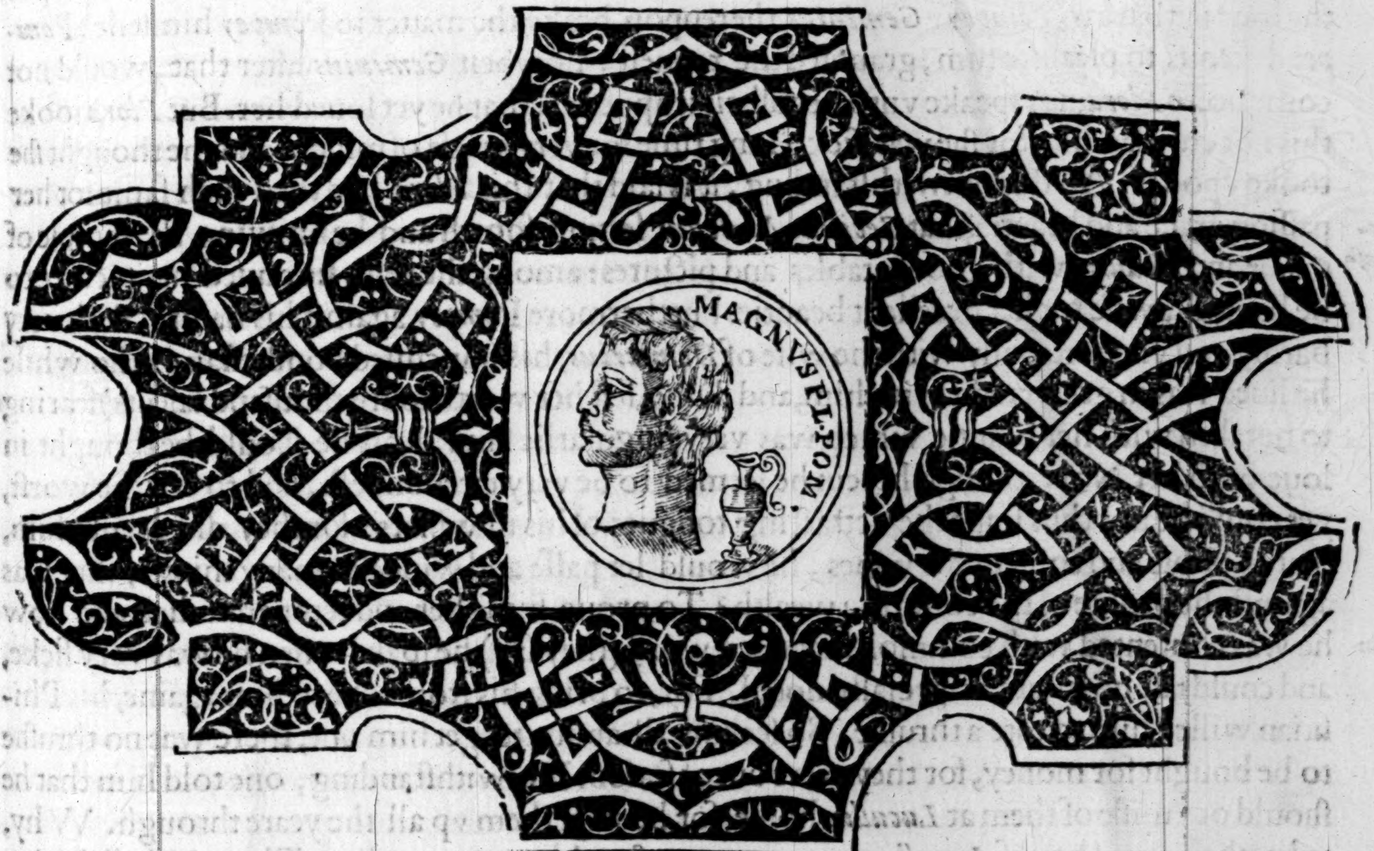
*The death of Ageſilaus.*

*The raigne of Ageſilaus.*

*Ageſilaus body nointed with waxe for lacke of honny.*

*The end of the life of Ageſilaus.*

# THE LIFE OF *Pompey*.


MAGNVS PI. POM.

THe ROMAINS ſeeme to haue loued Pompey from his childhood, with the ſelfe affection that *Promotheus* in the tragedy of *AEſchylus* appeareth to haue borne vnto *Hercules*, after that he was deliuered by him: when he ſaied,

*So great a hate I bare not to the father,*
*But that I loue the ſonne of him much rather.*

For the ROMAINES neuer ſhewed more bitter hate againſt any other Captaine, then they did vnto *Strabo* Pompeys father. Truly ſo long as he liued, they feared his greatneſſe obtained by armes, for in deed he was a noble Captaine: but being ſtriken with a thunderbolt, and dead, they tooke him from

*The father of Pompey hated in Rome.*

*Strabo, the father of Pompey*

*The loue of the Romaines vnto Pompey.*

*The fauour of Pompey.*

*Flora the curtiſan loued Pompey.*

*Flora the curtiſan, was paſſing faire.*

*The temperance of Pompey in diet.*

*The treaſon of Lucius Terentius against Pompey.*

the beare whereon his bodie lay as they caried him to buriall, and did thereto great villanie. Contrariwiſe, neuer any other ROMAINE (but *Pompey*) had the peoples earneſt goodwilles ſo ſoone, nor that in proſperitie and aduerſity continued longer conſtant, than vnto *Pompey*. One only cauſe procured the fathers hate, and that was: an vnſatiable and greedy deſire of money. But *Pompey* his ſonne, was for many occaſions beloued. As, for temperance of life, aptneſſe to armes, eloquence of tongue, faithfulnes of word, and curteſie in conuerſation: ſo that there was neuer man that requeſted any thing with leſſe ill will then he, nor that more willingly did pleaſure any man when he was requeſted. For he gaue without diſdaine, and tooke with great honor. Furthermore, being but a childe, he had a certaine grace in his looke that wan mens good willes before he ſpake: for his countenance was ſweete, mixed with grauitie, and being come to mans ſtate, there appeared in his ieſture and behauiour a graue and princely maieſtie. His haire alſo ſtoode a litle vpright, and the caſt and ſoft mouing of his eyes, had a certaine reſemblance (as they ſaid) of the ſtatues and images of king *Alexander*. And becauſe euerie man gaue him that name, he did not refuſe it himſelfe: inſomuch as there were ſome which ſportingwiſe did openly call him *Alexander*. Wherupon *Lucius Philippus* a Conſull, was not aſhamed to ſay openly in an oratiō he made in *Pompeys* fauour, that it was no maruell if he being Philip, did loue *Alexander*. It is reported alſo, that when *Flora* the curtiſan waxed old, ſhe much delighted to talke of the familiaritie which ſhe had with *Pompey* being a young man: telling that after ſhe had lyen with him, ſhe could not poſſiblie riſe from him, but ſhe muſt needes giue him ſome ſweete quippe or pleaſaunt taunte. She would tell alſo howe one of *Pompeys* familiars and companions called *Geminius*, fell in loue with her, & was a maruellous earneſt ſuter to obtaine her goodwill: and that ſhe aunſwered him flatly, ſhe would not, for the loue ſhe bare to *Pompey*. *Geminius* thereupon brake the matter to *Pompey* himſelfe. *Pompey* deſirous to pleaſure him, graunted the requeſt: howbeit *Geminius* after that, would not come neere *Flora*, nor ſpeake vnto her, albeit it appeared that he yet loued her. But *Flora* tooke this not curtiſan like, for ſhe was ſick a long time for very griefe of minde, and the thought ſhe tooke vpon it. All this notwithſtanding, it is ſaid that this *Flora* had then ſuch fame for her paſſing grace and beautie, that *Cecilius Metellus* ſetting foorth and beautifying the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, with goodly tables and pictures: among the reſt, he cauſed her picture to be liuely drawne for her excellent beautie. Furthermore *Pompey*, againſt his nature, dealt very hardly and vncourteouſly with the wife of *Demetrius*, his franchiſed bondeman (who while he liued was in great credit with him, and dying, left her worth foure thouſand talents) fearing to be taken with her beautie which was very ſingularlie faire, leaſt he ſhould be thought in loue with her. Now, though herein he ſeemed to be very circumſpect, and to caſt the worſt, yet could he not thus ſcape the detracting tongues of his ill willers: for they did accuſe him, that to pleaſe and content his wiues, he would let paſſe and winke at many things, that was againſt the profite of the common wealth? To proue his ſober and temperate diet, and how he was contented with common meates: a word (they ſay) he ſpake when he was very ſicke, and could taſt no meate, is ſpecially noted. For, to bring his ſtomacke to him againe, his Phiſitian willed him to eate a thruſhe. So ſeeking all about to get him one, there was no thruſhe to be bought for money, for they were out of ſeaſon. Notwithſtanding, one told him that he ſhould not miſſe of them at *Lucullus* houſe, for he kept them vp all the yeare through. Why, what then, ſayed he: if *Lucullus* ryot were not, ſhould not *Pompey* liue? Therewithall, letting his Phiſitians counſell alone, he made them dreſſe ſuch meate as was euery where common. But of that we will ſpeake more hereafter. Now *Pompey* being a young man, and in the fielde with his father, that was in armes againſt *Cinna*: there lay with him in his tent a companion of his, called *Lucius Terentius*, who being bribed with money, had promiſed *Cinna* to kill him, and other confederators alſo had promiſed to ſet their Captaines tent a fire. This conſpiracy was reuealed vnto *Pompey* as he ſate at ſupper, which nothing amated him at all, but he dranke freely, and was merrier with *Terentius* then of cuſtome. So when it was bed time, he ſtale out of his owne tent, and went vnto his father to prouide for his ſafety. *Terentius* thinking the hower come to attempt his enterpriſe, roſe with his ſword in his hand, and went to *Pompeys* bed where he was wont to lie, and gaue many a thruſt into the mattereſſe. After he had done that all the campe ſtraight was in an vprore for the malice they bare vnto their Captaine, and the ſouldiers in all haſte would needes haue gone and yeelded to their enemie, beginning alreadie to ouerthrowe their tentes, and to truſſe away bagge and baggage. The Captaine for feare of this tumult, durſt not come out of his tent: notwithſtanding *Pompey* his ſonne ranne amongſt the mutinous ſouldiers, and humbly beſought them with the teares in his eyes, not to doe their Captaine this villanie, and in fine threwe himſelfe flatling to the ground ouerthwart the gate of the campe, bidding them march ouer him, if they had ſuch a deſire to be gone. The ſouldiers being aſhamed of their follie, returned againe to their lodging, and chaunging minde, reconciled themſelues with their Captaine, eight hundred onely excepted, which departed. But immediatly after that *Strabo*, *Pompeys* father, was departed out of the worlde, *Pompey* being his heire, was accuſed for the father, to robbe the common treaſure. Howbeit he confeſſed and auowed, that it was *Alexander* one of his fathers infranchiſed bondmen that had ſtolen the moſt part of it, and brought him in before the Iudges. Notwithſtanding, he was accuſed himſelfe, for taking away the toyles and arming cordes of hunters nettes, and bookes that were taken at Aſculum. He confeſſed the hauing of them, and that his father gaue him them when the citie was taken: howbeit that he had loſt them ſince, when *Cinna* returned vnto ROME with his ſouldiers, who breaking into his houſe by force, ſpoyled him of all that he had. His matter had many dayes of hearing before definitiue ſentence, in which time *Pompey* ſhewed himſelfe of good ſpirite and vnderſtanding, more then was looked for in one of his yeares: inſomuch he wanne ſuch fame and fauor by it, that *Antiſtius* being Prætor at that time, and iudge of his matter, fell into ſuch a liking with him, that ſecretly he offered him his daughter in mariage. Then that matter being by friends broken to *Pompey*, he liked of the match, & the parties were ſecretly aſſured. This was not ſo cloſely conueyed, but the people perceiued it, by the care and paines *Antiſtius* tooke to fauour his matter. Inſomuch, when the Iudges gaue iudgement, and cleered him: all the people together, as if they had bene agreed, cried out with one voice, Talaſſio, Talaſſio, being the vſuall and common crie they vſed of olde time at mariages in ROME. This cuſtome by reporte of auncient folke came vp in this manner. At what time the chiefeſt peeres and Lordes of ROME did rauiſh the SABINES daughters, which came to ROME to ſee common ſportes plaied: there chanced a fewe raſcalles (as hoggeheards or neatheards) to cary away a goodly faire woman. They fearing ſhe ſhould be taken from them, cried out in the ſtreetes as they went, Talaſſio, as if they would haue ſaid, ſhe is for *Tallaſſius*. This *Tallaſſius* was a young gentleman well knowne, and beloued of moſt men: ſo that ſuch as heard him but named onely, did clap their hands for ioy, and cried out with them, Talaſſio, commending the choice they had made for him. So, hereof they ſay came this cuſtome, that euer ſince they haue cried this worde Talaſſio vnto them that are newly maried, becauſe the mariage of that faire young maide proued fortunate, and happy vnto *Talaſſius*. And this me thinkes ſoundeth neareſt to the troth of that they report of this wedding crie of Talaſſio. Shortly after this iudgement giuen, *Pompey* maried *Antiſtia*. After that, going vnto *Cinnaes* campe, they wrongfully accuſed him for ſomewhat, whereupon he being afraied, ſecretly ſtale away. Now when they could not finde him in *Cinnaes* campe, there ran ſtraight a rumor abroad, that *Cinna* had put him to death. Thereuppon, they that of long time had maliced *Cinna*, did ſet vppon him for this occaſion. But he thinking to ſaue him ſelfe by flying, was ſtraight ouertaken by a priuate Captaine that followed him with his ſword drawen in his hand. *Cinna* ſeeing him, fell downe on his knees before him, and tooke his ſeale from his finger wherewith hee ſealed his letters, which was of great price, and offered it him. Tuſh, ſayed the Captaine, I come not to ſeale any couenaunt, but to chaſtiſe a villaine and cruell tyraunt: and therewithall thruſt his ſword through him, and ſlue him preſently. *Cinna* being ſlaine in this ſort, *Carbo* ſucceeded him, and tooke the gouernment in hand, being a more cruell tyraunt then the firſt. Shortly after came in *Sylla*, being wiſhed for, and deſired of the moſt part of the ROMAINES, for the grieuous oppreſſions and miſeries they endured, that they thought them ſelues happy to change Gouernour: for their city was brought into ſuch miſery, as hoping no more to ſee ROME recouer her loſt liberty, they deſired yet a more tollerable bondage. Now *Pompey* at that time was in a place

*Pompey accuſed for robbing the common treaſure.*

*The cauſe of the crie of Talaſſio at mariages in Rome.*

*Pompey maried Antiſtia.*

*The death of Cinna.*

of ITALY called PICENVM (now the marches of ANCONA) where he had certaine inheritance, but much more, great loue and good will of the cities for his fathers ſake. He ſeeing that the nobleſt men of ROME forſooke their houſes and goods, to flie from all partes vnto *Syllaes* campe, as vnto a place of ſafetie: would not goe to him as a fugitiue and caſt away to ſaue himſelfe, without bringing him ſome power to increaſe his army, but would honorably goe thither with an armie, as he that ment firſt to doe himſelfe pleaſure. So he felt the good will of the PICENTINES, who willingly tooke his part, and reiected them that were ſent by *Carbo*. Among them there was one *Vindius*, that ſtepping forth, ſaid: that *Pompey* which came from ſchoole the laſt day, muſt now in haſte be a Captaine. But they were ſo offended with his ſpeech, that they ſtraight diſpatched him, and killed him out of hand. After that time, *Pompey* being but three and twentie yeare olde, tarying to receiue no authoritie from any man, tooke it vpon him himſelf, and cauſing a tribunall to be ſet vp in the midſt of the market place of AVXIMVM, a great populous city: he commanded the two brethren called the *Ventidians* (being the chiefeſt men of the citie, and they that for *Carboes* ſake withſtoode his doings) without delay foorthwith to auoide the citie, and ſo beganne to leauie men, and to appoint Captaines, ſergeantes of bandes, Centeniers, and ſuch other officers as appertaine to martiall diſcipline. Then he went to all the other cities of the ſame marches, and did the like. They that tooke part with *Carbo*, fled euery man, and all the reſt willingly yeelded vnto him: whereby in ſhorte ſpace he had gotten three whole legions together, munition to entertaine them, cartes, and all manner of beaſts for cariage. In this ſort he tooke his iourney towards *Sylla*, not in haſt, as a man affraide to be met with by the way, but by ſmall iourneys, ſtaying ſtill where he might hurt his enemy, cauſing the cities euery where as he came to reuolt from *Carbo*. Neuertheleſſe, three Captaines of the contrarie part, *Carinna*, *Cælius*, and *Brutus*, all three did ſet vpon *Pompey* together, not all in a fronte, nor of one ſide, but in three ſeuerall places they compaſſed him with their armies, thinking to haue made him ſure at the firſt onſet. This nothing amazed *Pompey*, but putting his force together in one place, he firſt marched againſt *Brutus*, hauing placed his horſemen (among the which he was himſelfe in perſon) before the battell of his footemen. Now the men of armes of the enemie which were GAVLES, comming to giue charge vpon him, he ranne one of the chiefeſt among them through with his launce, and ſlue him. The other GAVLES ſeeing him ſlaine, turned their backes, and brake their owne footmen: ſo that at length they all fled for life. Thereupon the Captaines fell out among themſelues, and ſome fled one way, ſome an other way, the beſt they could. Then the townes round about, thinking that they were diſperſed for feare: came all in to *Pompey*, and yeelded themſelues. Afterwards *Scipio* the Conſull comming againſt *Pompey* to fight with him, when both battels were in maner ready to ioyne: before they came to throwing of their dartes, *Scipioes* ſouldiers ſaluted *Pompeys* men, and went on their ſide. So was *Scipio* driuen to flie. And in fine, *Carbo* him ſelfe hauing ſent after him diuerſe troups of horſemen by the riuer of Arſis: *Pompey* made towards them, and did ſo fiercely aſſaile them, that he draue them into ſuch places, as was almoſt impoſſible for horſemen to come into. Whereupon, they ſeeing no way to ſcape, yeelded them ſelues, horſe and armour, all to his mercy. *Sylla* all this while heard no newes of theſe ouerthrowes: wherefore, as ſoone as he vnderſtoode of it, fearing leaſt *Pompey* ſhould miſcary, being enuironned with ſo many Captaines of his enemies, hee made haſt to march towardes him for to aide him. *Pompey* vnderſtanding of his approach, commaunded his Captaines to arme their men, and to put them in battell ray, that their Generall might ſee them brauely appointed when he ſhould preſent them vnto him: for he looked that *Sylla* would do him great honor, and in deed he did him more honor, then *Pompey* looked for. For, when *Sylla* ſaw him a farre off comming towardes him, and his army marſhalled in ſo good order of battell, and ſuch goodly men, that ſo brauely aduaunced them ſelues, being couragious for the victory they had obtained of their enemies: hee lighted a foote. When *Pompey* alſo came to doe his duety to him, and called him Imperator: (as much as Emperour, or ſoueraigne Prince) *Sylla* reſaluted him with the ſelfe name, beyonde all mens expectation preſent, litle thinking that he would haue giuen ſo honourable a name, vnto ſo yong a man as *Pompey*, who had not yet bene Senator: conſidering that he him ſelfe did contend for that

title

*Pompeys firſt Captaineſhippe vnder Sylla.*

*Pompey was Chiefetaine of an army at 23. yeares of age.*

*The citie of Auximum.*

*Pompey goeth vnto Sylla.*

*Pompeys victories of the Marians.*

*Pompey ioyned with Sylla.*

*Pompey called Imperator of Sylla.*

title and dignitie, with the faction of ***Marius*** and ***Scipio***. Furthermore, the entertainment that *Sylla* gaue him euery way, was anſwerable to his firſt kindnes offered him. For when *Pompey* came before him, he would riſe and put off his cappe to him, which he did not vnto many other noble mẽ about him. All this notwithſtanding, *Pompey* gloried nothing the more in him ſelfe. Wherfore when *Sylla* would ſtraight haue ſent him into GAVLE, becauſe ***Metellus*** that was there, was thought to haue done no exploit worthy of ſo great an armie as he had with him: *Pompey* anſwered him againe, that he thought it no reaſon to diſplace an ancient Captaine that was of greater fame and experience than himſelfe. Yet if ***Metellus*** of himſelfe were contented, and would intreate him: that he would willingly goe and helpe him to ende this warre. ***Metellus*** was very glad of it, and wrote for him to come. Then *Pompey* entring GAVLE did of himſelfe wonderfull exploites, and did ſo reuiue ***Metellus*** old courage and valiantneſſe to fight, which now beganne to faint, like boyling copper that being poured vpon the colde and hard copper, doth melt and diſſolue it, as faſt or faſter, than fire it ſelfe. For like as of a wreſtler, who hath bene counted very ſtrong, and the chiefeſt in all games, hauing euer borne the prize away where he hath wreſtled, they neuer recorde among them his childiſh victories and wreſtlings, as things of no account: euen ſo I am affraide to ſpeake of the wonderfull deedes that *Pompey* did in his childhoode, becauſe they are obſcured in reſpect of the infinite great warres and battels which he had wonne afterwards. For I am affraid that whileſt I ſhould go about particularly to acquaint you with his firſt beginnings, I ſhould too lightly paſſe ouer his chiefeſt actes and moſt notable enterpriſes, which do beſt declare his naturall diſpoſition and ſingular wit. Now when *Sylla* had ouercome all ITALIE, and was proclaimed Dictator: he did rewarde all his Lieutenants and Captaines that had taken his parte, and did aduance them to honorable place and dignity in the commonwealth, franckly granting them all that they requeſted of him. But for *Pompey*, reuerencing him for his valiantnes, and thinking that he would be a great ſtay to him in all his warres: he ſought by ſome meanes to allie him to him. ***Metella*** his wife being of his opinion, they both perſuaded *Pompey* to put away his firſt wife ***Antiſtia***, and to marrie *Æmylia* the daughter of ***Metella***, and of her firſt husband, the which alſo was an other mans wife, and with childe by her husband. Theſe mariages were cruell and tyrannicall, fitter for ***Syllaes*** time, rather then agreeable to *Pompeys* nature and condition: to ſee *Æmylia*, this new maried wife taken from her lawfull husband, to marie her great with childe, and ſhamefully to forſake ***Antiſtia***, who not long before had loſt her father, and for reſpect of her husband that did put her away. For ***Antiſtius*** was murthered within the very Senate houſe, being ſuſpected to take parte with *Sylla* for his ſonne in lawe *Pompeys* ſake: and her mother voluntarily put her ſelfe to death, ſeeing her daughter receiued ſuch open wrong. By theſe apparant cauſes, theſe vnfortunate mariages fell out into a miſerable tragedie, by meanes of the death of ***AEmylia***, who ſhortly after miſerably died with childe in *Pompeys* houſe. Then came newes to *Sylla*, that ***Perpenna*** was gotten into SICILE, and that he had made all that Iland at his deuotion, as a ſafe place to receiue all ***Syllaes*** enemies: that ***Carbo*** alſo kept the ſea thereabouts with a certaine number of ſhippes: that ***Domitius*** alſo was gone into AFRICKE: and diuers other noble men that were baniſhed, that had ſcaped his proſcriptions and outlawryes, were all in thoſe partes. Againſt them was *Pompey* ſent with a great army. Howbeit he no ſooner arriued in SICILE, but *Perpenna* left him the whole Iland, and went his way. There he fauorably dealt with all the cities, which before had abidden great trouble and miſery, and ſet them againe at liberty, the MAMERTINES onely excepted, which dwelt in the city of MESSINA. They deſpiſing his tribunall and iuriſdiction, alledged the auncient order and priuiledge of the ROMAINS, ſet downe in times paſt amongſt them. But *Pompey* aunſwered them in choller: what doe ye prattle to vs of your law, that haue our ſwords by our ſides? It ſeemeth alſo that *Pompey* dealt too cruelly with ***Carbo*** in his miſery. For ſith he muſt needes die, as there was no remedy but he ſhould: then it had bene better they had killed him when he was taken. For then they would haue imputed it to his malice, that ſo had commaunded it. But *Pompey* after he was taken, made him to bee brought before him that had bene thriſe Conſull at ROME to be openly examined, and he ſitting in his chaire of ſtate or tribunall condemned him to die in preſence of them all: to the great offence and miſliking of

*The honor Sylla did vnto Pompey.*

***Pompey went to aide Metellus in Gaule.***

*Wonderfull victories of Pompey.*

***Pompey put away his wife Antiſtia, and maried AEmylia, the daughter of Metella, Syllaes wife.***

***The death of Antiſtius.***

*Pompey ſent from Sylla into Sicile.*

*Law muſt giue place to armes.*

euery one that was preſent. So *Pompey* bad them take him away, and carie him to execution.

*The death of Carbo.*

When *Carbo* came to the ſcaffold where he ſhould be executed, and ſeeing the ſword drawne that ſhould ſtrike off his head: he praied the executioners to giue him a litle reſpit and place to vntruſſe a point, for he had a paine in his bellie.

*The death of Q. Valerius.*

*Caius Oppius* alſo (one of *Iulius Cæſars* friends) writeth, that he dealt very cruelly in like maner with *Quintus Valerius*. For *Pompey*, ſaid he, knowing that he was excellently well learned, as any man could be, and fewe like vnto him: when he was brought vnto him, he tooke him a ſide, and walked a fewe turnes about: then when he had queſtioned with him, and learned of him what he could, he commaunded his guard to carie him away, and to diſpatche him. Howbeit we may not giue too light credit to all that *Oppius* writeth, ſpeaking of *Iulius Cæſars* friends or foes. For *Pompey* in deed was compelled to make away the greateſt perſonages of *Syllaes* enemies that fell into his hands, being notoriouſly taken: but for the reſt, all thoſe that he could ſecretly ſuffer to ſteale away, he was contented to winke at it, and would not vnderſtand it: and moreouer did helpe ſome beſides to ſaue themſelues. Nowe *Pompey* was determined to haue taken ſharpe reuenge of the citie of the HIMERIANS, which had ſtoutly taken the enemies part. But *Sthenis*, one of the Gouernours of the citie, crauing audience of *Pompey*, tolde him he ſhould do them wrong and iniuſtice, if he ſhould pardon him that committed all the fault, and ſhould deſtroy them that had not offended. *Pompey* then asking him, what he was that durſt take vppon him to father the offence of them all.

*The bold ſpeach of Sthenis.*

*Sthenis* aunſwered ſtraight, that it was himſelfe that had perſwaded his friends, and compelled his enemies to do that which they did. *Pompey* being pleaſed to heare the franke ſpeech and boldneſſe of this man, firſt forgaue him the fault he had committed, and conſequently all the other HIMERIANS.

*Pompey ſealed vp his ſouldiers ſwords.*

*Pompey* vnderſtanding that his ſouldiers did kill diuers men in the high wayes, he ſealed vp all their ſwords, and whoſe ſeale ſoeuer was broken, he was well fauoredly puniſhed. *Pompey* being buſie about theſe matters in SICILE, receiued letters & commiſſion from *Sylla* and the Senate, to depart thence immediatly into AFRICKE, to make warre vpon *Domitius* with all his power, who had leauied already more men of war, than *Marius* had, not long before, when he came out of AFRICKE into ITALIE: & had there ouerthrowne all the ROMAINES doings, being become of a fugitiue outlaw, a cruell tyrant.

*Pompeys iorney into Africke vnder Sylla againſt Domitius.*

*Pompey* thereupon hauing ſpeedily put himſelfe in readineſſe to take the ſeas, left *Memmius* his ſiſters husband Gouernor of SICILE: and ſo himſelfe imbarked, & hoiſed ſaile with ſix ſcore gallies, and eight hundred other ſhippes or bottomes, to tranſport their victuals, munition, money, engines of batterie, and all other cariage whatſoeuer. After he was landed with all his fleete, part at VTICA, and part at CARTHAGE: there ſtraight came to him ſeuen thouſand ſoldiers from the enemies, and yeelded themſelues, beſides ſeauen whole legions that he brought with him. They ſay moreouer, that at his arriuall, he had a pleaſant chance happened vnto him to be laughed at: for it is reported, that certaine of his ſouldiers ſtumbled on a treaſure by chance, and got thereby a great maſſe of money. The reſidue of the armie hearing that, thought ſure that the field where this treaſure was found, was full of golde and ſiluer, which the CARTHAGINIANS had hidden there long before in time of their calamitie. *Pompey* hereupon, for many dayes after, could haue no rule of his ſouldiers, neither could he chooſe but laugh, to ſee ſo many thouſand men digging the grounde, and turning vp the fielde: vntill in the ende they wearied themſelues, and came and prayed him then to leade them where he thought good, for they had payed well for their follie.

*Domitius camped by Pompey with his armie.*

*Domitius* came to *Pompey* with his armie ſet in battell ray. Howbeit there was a certaine quamire before him that ran with a ſwift running ſtreame, verie ill to get ouer: beſides that, from the verie breake of day it had poured downe and rained ſo faſt, and was ſo great a winde withall, that *Domitius* thinking all that day they ſhould not fight, commaunded his people to truſſe away, and remoue. *Pompey* on the other ſide, finding this an excellent fit occaſion for him, ſodainly made his men to marche, and paſſed ouer the valley. The enemies perceiuing that, being altogether out of order: were maruelouſly amazed, and in that hurly burly would haue made reſiſtance. But they were neither all together, nor yet euenly ſet in battell ray, and had beſides the winde beating the raine full in their faces. So did the ſtorme much hurt vnto the ROMAINES alſo, for they coulde not one ſee an other: inſomuch as *Pompey* himſelfe was in great danger of being killed by one of his owne ſouldiers, who not knowing him, asked him the worde of the battell, and was ſomewhat long before he anſwered him. In fine when he had ouerthrown his enemies with great ſlaughter: (for they ſay, that of twenty thouſand of them, there were but three thouſand ſaued) *Pompeyes* ſouldiers ſaluted him by the name of Imperator. But he anſwered them, that he would not accept the honour of that name, ſo long as he ſaw his enemies campe yet ſtanding: and therefore, if it were ſo they thought him worthy of that name, that firſt they ſhould ouerthrow the trench and fort of the enemies, wherein they had intrenched their campe. The ſouldiers when they heard him ſay ſo, went preſently to aſſault it. There *Pompey* fought bare headed, to auoide the like daunger he was in before. By this meanes they tooke the campe by force, and in it ſlue *Domitius*. After that ouerthrow, the cities in that countrey came and yeelded them ſelues, ſome willingly, and others taken by force: as alſo they tooke king *Iarbas*, that had fought for *Domitius*, and his realme was giuen to *Hiempſall*. But *Pompey*, being deſirous further to employ his power, and the good fortune of his army, went many daies iourney into the maine land, and ſtill conquered all where he came, making the power of the ROMAINS dreadfull vnto all the barbarous people of that country, the which made but ſmall account of them at that time. He ſayed moreouer, that the wilde beaſtes of AFRICKE alſo ſhould feele the force and good ſucceſſe of the ROMAINES: and thereupon he beſtowed a few daies in hunting of Lions and Elephantes. For it is reported, that in forty daies ſpace at the vttermoſt, he had ouercome his enemies, ſubdued AFRICKE, and had ſtabliſhed the affaires of the kings and kingdoms of all that countrey, being then but foure and twenty yeare old. So when he returned vnto the city of VTICA, letters were brought from *Sylla*, willing him to diſcharge all his army, and to remaine there with one legion only, tarying the comming of an other Captaine that ſhould be ſent to ſucceede him in the gouernment of that countrey. This commaundement, grieued him not a litle, though he made no ſhew of it at all: but his ſouldiers ſhewed plainely that they were offended. For when *Pompey* prayed them to depart, they began to giue out broad ſpeeches againſt *Sylla*, and told directly that they were not determined (whatſoeuer became of them) to forſake him, & they would not that he ſhould truſt vnto a tyrant. *Pompey* ſeeing that he could not perſwade them, by any reaſon to be quiet, roſe out of his chaire, and retired into his tent weeping. But the ſouldiers followed him, and brought him againe to his chaire of ſtate, where he ſpent a great part of the day, they intreating him to remaine there and commaund them, and he deſiring them to obey *Sylla*, and leaue their mutinies. But in fine, ſeeing them importunate to preſſe him to it, he ſware he would kill him ſelfe, rather then they ſhould compell him: yet they ſcant left him thus. Hereupon it was reported vnto *Sylla*, that *Pompey* was rebelled againſt him. *Sylla* when he heard that, ſaied to his friends: well, then I ſee it is my deſtiny, in mine olde daies to fight with children. He meant ſo, becauſe of *Marius* the younger, who had done him much miſchiefe, and had beſides put him in great danger. But afterwards vnderſtanding the troth, and hearing that all generally in ROME were determined to goe and meete *Pompey*, and to receiue him with all the honour they could: becauſe he would goe beyond them all in ſhew of good will, he went out of his houſe to meete him, and embracing him with great affection, welcomed him home, and called him Magnus, to ſay great, and commaunded all them that were preſent to giue him that name alſo. This notwithſtanding, ſome ſay, that it was in AFRICKE this name was firſt giuen him by a common crie of al his whole army, and that afterwards it was confirmed by *Sylla*. In deed it is true that *Pompey* himſelf being ſent Proconſull into SPAINE, long time after that, was the laſt that ſubſcribed all his letters and commiſſions with the name of *Pompey* the great: for this name then was ſo commonly knowen and accepted, as no man did enuy it. And therefore rightly is the wiſedome of the ancient ROMAINS, to be both commended & had in admiration: which did not only reward ſeruice in the field with ſuch honorable names and titles, but ciuil ſeruice and good gouernment alſo in peace at home. For there were two whom the people at ROME called Maximi, to ſay, very great: of the which *Valerius* was the one, for that he made peace and agreement betwixt the people and Senate. The other was *Fabius Rullus*, for that he put from the Senate certaine bondmen infranchiſed, who through their riches and fauor had obtained that place. After that, *Pompey* required the honor of triumphe, but *Sylla* denied it, allea-

*Pompeyes victory of Domitius.*

*Domitius ſlaine.*

*Pompey tooke king Iarbas.*

*Pompeis conqueſts at 24. yeares of age.*

*The loue of the ſouldiers vnto Pompey.*

*Pompey called Magnus, by Sylla.*

*The wiſdom of the Romaines commended for rewarding forraine and home ſeruice.*

*Valerius and Rullus called Maximi in Rome.*

ging that none could enter in triumph into ROME, but conſulles or Prætors. For ſith *Scipio* the firſt who in SPAINE had ouercome the CARTHAGINIANS, neuer deſired this honour of triumphe, being neither Conſull nor Prætor: much leſſe ſhould he ſtand vpon demaund of triumph into ROME, when that through his young yeares he was not yet a Senator: and beſides, it would purchaſe him enuie of his honor and greatnes. Theſe reaſons did *Sylla* aleadge againſt *Pompey*, and told him plainly that if he were bent to ſtand in it, he would reſiſt him.

*Pompeyes ſtout anſwer vnto Sylla.*

All this blanked not *Pompey*, who told him frankly againe, how men did honor the riſing, not the ſetting of the ſunne: meaning therby, how his owne honor encreaſed, and *Syllaes* diminiſhed. *Sylla* heard him not very perfectly what he ſayed, but perceiuing by their countenances that ſtoode by, that they wondered at it, he asked what it was he ſayed. When it was told him, he maruelled at the boldnes of ſo young a man, and then cryed out twiſe together, let him then triumph a goddes name.

*Pompey not being Senator, triumpheth againſt the law.*

Many being offended therewith, *Pompey* (as it is reported) to anger them more, woulde needes be brought in in triumphant chariot drawen with foure Elephants: for he had taken many of them from thoſe kings and princes which he had ſubdued. Howbeit the gate of the citie being too narrow, he was driuen to leaue the Elephantes, and was contented to be drawen in with horſes. Now his ſouldiers that had not all things as they looked for, and which was promiſed them, going about to trouble and hinder his triumphe: he ſayed he paſſed not for it, and that he would rather let alone all his preparation of triumph, then once to yeeld to flatter them. Whereupon, there was a famous man at that time called *Seruilius*, who at the firſt was one of the chiefeſt againſt *Pompeyes* triumph, who ſayd openly: now I know that *Pompey* indeed is great, and deſerueth triumph: being euident enough, that if he would, he might then haue eaſily bene made Senator: he ſued not for that, but as they ſay, ſought honor by a ſtranger mean leſſe honorable. For if he had bene made Senator, ſo young, it had not bene ſo great a matter: but to haue ſuch honor before he was Senator, that was maruellouſly to be noted. But this wan him the more fauour and good will ſtill amongſt the common people: for they were glad when after his triumph they ſawe him in companie amongſt the ROMAIN Knights. On the other ſide it ſpighted *Sylla* to ſee him come ſo faſt forward, and to riſe to ſo great credit: notwithſtanding, being aſhamed to hinder him, he was contented to keep it to himſelfe, vntill that *Pompey* by force & againſt *Syllaes* will, had brought *Lepidus* to be Conſull, by the helpe & good will of the people that furthered his deſire.

*Marcus Lepidus created Conſull.*

Theruppon *Sylla* ſeing *Pompey* returning ouerthwarte the market place from the election, with a great traine of followers to honor him, he ſayd vnto him: ô young man, I ſee thou art glad of this victory, and ſo haſt thou cauſe, for it is a goodly thing out of doubt to haue had ſuch fauor of the people, as for thy ſake to haue made *Lepidus* Conſull (the vileſt perſon of all men) before *Catulus* the honeſteſt man of the citie. But I will tell thee one thing, ſee that thou ſleep not, and looke well to thy buſines, for thou haſt aduanced a dangerous enemie to thy ſelfe.

*Sylla fallen from the loue of Pompey*

Now the chiefeſt thing wherein *Sylla* diſcouered moſt his ill will vnto *Pompey*, was in his laſt will and teſtament: for he gaue legacies vnto euery one of his friendes, and ſome of them he made tutors and ouerſeers of his ſon, but he made no mention of *Pompey* at all. This notwithſtanding, *Pompey* tooke it well enough. And where *Lepidus* and ſome other would haue kept *Syllaes* body from buriall in the field of *Mars*, and that his funeralles ſhould not be openly ſolemnized: he contrariwiſe brought him very honorably and ſafely to the ground. Shortly after *Syllaes* death, his wordes of prophecy vnto *Pompey* concerning *Lepidus*, proued true.

*Lepidus moueth ciuil war.*

For *Lepidus* vſurping the authoritie which *Sylla* had before, not colourably, but openly entred ſtraight in armes, ſturring vp againe thoſe of *Marius* faction, whom *Sylla* could not be reuenged of, and which lay lurking a long time, ſpying for occaſion to riſe againe. True it is that his colleague, and fellow Conſull *Catulus* (whom the beſt and ſoundeſt part of the people followed) was thought a maruellous honeſt man, both iuſt and modeſt: howbeit, a better gouernor in peace, then a good man of warre, inſomuch as time required *Pompeyes* ſkill and experience. So *Pompey* ſtood not doubtfull which way he would diſpoſe himſelfe, but tooke part ſtraight with the nobility and honeſteſt men, and was preſently choſen Captain of their army againſt *Lepidus*: who had already wonne the greateſt parte of ITALIE, and with an army vnder the conduct of *Brutus*, kept GAVLE on this ſide the mountaines called GALLIA CISAL-

PINA. And for the reſt *Pompey* eaſily ouercame it: howbeit he lay a long time before MODONA, beſieging of *Brutus*. In the meane ſeaſon *Lepidus* came to ROME, & being hard at the wals demaunding the ſecond Conſulſhip, made them afrayed in the citie with the great numbers of men he had about him, gathered together of all ſortes. Howbeit this feare was cooled ſtraight, by a letter which *Pompey* ſent to ROME, aduertiſing how he had ended this warre without any bloodſhed: for *Brutus*, either betraying his army, or being betrayed of it, yeelded himſelfe vnto Pompey, who gaue him a certen number of horſemen that conducted him vnto a litle towne vpon the riuer of Poe: where the next day after, *Geminius* being ſent by Pompey, ſlue him. But hereof Pompey was greatly blamed, for that he had written letters to the Senate from the beginning of the chaunge, how *Brutus* had put himſelfe into his handes: and afterwards wrote letters to the contrary, which burthened him for putting of him to death. This *Brutus* was father of that *Brutus*, which afterwardes by the helpe of *Caſsius* ſlue *Iulius Cæſar*: howbeit he ſhewed not himſelfe ſo like a coward, neither in warres nor in his death, as his father did. As we haue declared more at large in his life. Furthermore *Lepidus*, being driuen to forſake ITALIE, fled into SARDINIA, where he died (as it is reported) of a ſickneſſe that he had, not for any ſorrow or griefe of his owne affaires, but for a letter that was brought him which went to his hatt, knowing therby that his wife had played the harlot. There remained at that time *Sertorius* in SPAYNE, who was another maner of warrier then *Lepidus*, & that kept the ROMAINS in great awe: for that all the fugitiues of the late ciuill warres were fled to him as from the laſt diſeaſe of the warres. He had already ouerthrowen many inferior Captaines, & was now wreſtling with *Metellus* Pius, that in his youth had bene a noble ſoldier, but now being old, made warres but ſlowly, and would not coragiouſly take preſent occaſions offered him, which *Sertorius* by his nimblenes and dexterity tooke out of his hands. For he would euer houer about him, when he thought leaſt of him, like a Captaine rather of theeues then of ſouldiers, and would ſtill lay ambuſhes in euery corner, and round about him: where the good old man *Metellus* had learned to fight in battell raye, his men being heauie armed. Hereupon *Pompey* keping his army alway together, practiſed at ROME, that he might be ſent into SPAIN to aide *Metellus*. But *Catulus*, notwithſtanding that he commanded him to diſperſe his armie, *Pompey* ſtill kept them together by colour of new deuiſes, & was continually about ROME in armes, vntill that by *Lucius* Philippus meãs he had obtained the gouernment of that cõtry. They ſay that one of the Senators maruelling to heare *Philip* propound that matter to the Senate, asked him: how now *Philip*, doeſt thou then think it meet to ſend *Pompey* Proconſull (to ſay, for a Conſull) into SPAINE? no truly ſayed Philip, not Proconſull onely, but *Pro conſulibus*: (to ſay, for both Conſulles) meaning, that both the Conſulles for that yeare were men of no value. Now when Pompey was ariued in SPAINE, men begã ſtraight to be caried away, (as the maner is commonly where new gouernors be) with the hope of a thing that they had not before. Thereupon *Sertorius* gaue out proud and bitter wordes againſt Pompey, ſaying in mockery, he would haue no other weapon but roddes to whippe this young boy, if he were not afrayed of this olde woman: meaning *Metellus* the old man. But notwithſtanding theſe gallant bragges, he ſtood better vpon his gard, and went ſtronger to fight than he did before, being afrayed of Pompey. For *Metellus* was very diſſolute of life (which no man would haue iudged in him) and was giuen ouer too much to ryot and pleaſure: howbeit they ſaw in him a maruellous ſodaine change both of his honor and glory which he vſed before, as alſo the cutting off of his ſuperfluous expence. That thing, beſides that he did honour Pompey greatly by it, wan him alſo much more the goodwill of the people, when they ſaw that he drew himſelfe downe to a ſtraighter life. And this was no great paine to him for of his owne diſpoſition he was a graue man, and temperatly giuen for his deſires. In this warre fortune changed diuerſly, as it is commonly ſene in warres: but nothing grieued *Pompey* more then *Sertorius* winning of the citie of LAVRON. For he thinking to haue ſhut him in, & had giuen out ſome glorious words of the matter: wondered when he ſaw himſelfe ſtraight compaſſed in, that he could not ſturre out of the campe where he laye, and was driuen beſides to ſe the citie burnt before his face. This notwithſtanding, afterwards at a ſet battell by the citie of VALENTIA, he ſlue *Herennius* and *Perpenna*, both notable ſouldiers and *Sertorius* Lieutenantes, and with them ten

*Brutus the father ſlaine by Pompey.*

*The death of Lepidus.*

*The valiantnes of Sertorius in Spayne*

*Pompeyes iorney into Spaine againſt Sertorius.*

*Metellus giuẽ to riot and pleaſure.*

*Sertorius wan the citie of Lauron in the ſight of Pompey.*

*Pompey ſlue Herennius and Perpenna.*

thouſand men. This victory ſo encoraged **Pompey**, that he made haſt to fight with **Sertorius** alone, becauſe **Metellus** ſhould haue no part of the honor of the victory. So they both met by the riuer of Sucron, about ſunne ſet, both fearing **Metellus** comming: the one that he might fight alone, & the other with one alone. In fine, the victory fell out doubtfull in the end of the battell: for either of their wings had the vpper hand. Betwene the two Captaines, **Sertorius** had the greater honour: for he alone ouercame all them that ſtoode before him. And as for **Pompey**, there was a great man of armes that being on foot, came and ſet vpon him, & hauing both their ſwordes in their handes, they both lighted vpon their handes, but not both in one ſort: for **Pompeyes** hand was but a litle hurt, and the man of armes had his hand cleane cut off. Then **Pompeyes** men fell vpon him, all his own fellowes on that ſide being fled from him: notwithſtanding, beyond all hope, he ſaued himſelfe after a ſtrange ſorte, by caſting vp his horſe among his enemies, that was richly trapped with gilt harnes, hauing a capariſon of great value: and in the meane time, while they were buſie deuiding this booty among them, and fighting for it: he eſcaped their handes. The next morning by breake of day, both of them againe brought their bandes into the field, to confirme the victory, which either of them ſuppoſed they had gotten. But **Metellus** came to **Pompey** at that preſent time, whereupon **Sertorius** went his way, and diſperſed his army: for his campe was eaſily broken, & ſodainly gathered againe together. For **Sertorius** would ſometime wander the fieldes alone, and at another time againe he would haue a hundreth and fifty thouſand fighting men together in the fielde, like a vehement ſtreame that ſometime is dried vp, and that ſodainly againe is all of a flood. **Pompey** after this battell going to welcome **Metellus**, when they came neere one another, he commaunded his ſergeantes and officers to put downe their bundell of roddes and axes which they caried before him to honor **Metellus** withall, who was a better man than himſelfe. But **Metellus** would not ſuffer them, but ſhewed himſelfe equall with him in that, and in all things elſe, not reſpecting his ſeniority, nor that he had bene Conſull, and **Pompey** not, ſauing when they camped together, **Metellus** gaue the watchword to all the campe. Notwithſtanding, commonly they camped aſunder, for their enemy that was ſo flitting from place to place, and was ſeene in ſo ſundry places in ſo ſhort time, compelled them to be a ſunder to foreſee the worſt, drawing them ſodainly from one purpoſe to another: ſo that in fine, cutting them off from victuals euery way, ſpoyling their country, and keping the ſea ſide, he draue them both out of the prouinces of their charge which they had in SPAYNE, and did compell them to goe ſome other where, for lacke of victuals. **Pompey** in the meane time hauing ſpent the moſt part of his goods in this warre, ſent to ROME for money to pay his ſouldiers, threatning the Senate, that if they ſent him no money, he woulde returne with his armie into ITALIE. **Lucullus** then being Conſull, though **Pompeyes** enemy, procured they ſhould ſend him money: for he practiſed to be ſent Captaine againſt king **Mithridates**, and therfore was afrayed to giue **Pompey** any occaſion to returne, who deſired nothing more then to leaue **Sertorius**, to bend his force againſt **Mithridates**, whoſe ouerthrow ſhould be more honorable to him, and alſo leſſe dangerous. In the meane ſpace, **Sertorius** died, being betrayed by thoſe whom he thought his friendes, among the which **Perpenna** was the chiefe man, that after **Sertorius** death would needes counterfeate his doings, hauing the ſame meanes, the ſame furniture, and the ſame power that he had: howbeit he lacked his wit and ſkill to employ them. **Pompey** therefore marching directly towards him, and finding how ignorant **Perpenna** was in his affayres: he layed a bayte for him of ten cohorts which he ſent to prey in the fieldes, commanding them to diſperſe themſelues abroade as farre as they could, one from another. **Perpenna** ſtraight tooke the occaſion, and gaue them charge, and had them in chaſe. But **Pompey** tarying him at the ford, was readie for him with all his armie ſet in order: he gaue him battell, obtained the victory, and ended all this warre, becauſe the moſt of the Captaines were ſlaine in the field, and **Perpenna** the chiefe of all taken priſoner, whom he preſently put to death. But herein **Pompey** was not to be condemned of ingratitude nor obliuion (as ſome do burden him) of **Perpennaes** frendſhip ſhewed him in SICILIA, but rather deſerued praiſe to haue determined ſo wiſely for the benefit of the common wealth. For **Perpenna** hauing in his cuſtody all **Sertorius** writings, he ſhewed letters of the greateſt noblemen of ROME, (which were deſirous of change of gouernment) willing

*Battell betwixt Pompey and Sertorius. Sucron fl.*

*The modeſtie of Pompey and Metellus.*

*Pompey ouercame Perpenna, and ſlue him.*

him to returne into ITALIE. *Pompey* vpon ſight of theſe letters, fearing leaſt they would breed greater ſedition & ſtur in ROME, then that which was already pacified: put *Perpenna* to death as ſoone as he could, and burnt all his papers and writings, not reading any letter of them. Then *Pompey* remaining in SPAINE a certaine time, till he had pacified all commotions and tumultes maruellouſly out of order: he brought his armie back againe into ITALIE, and arriued there when the warre of the bondmen and fenſers led by *Spartacus*, was in greateſt furie. Vpon his comming therefore, *Craſſus* being ſent Captaine againſt theſe bondmen, made haſt to giue them battell, which he wan, and ſlue twelue thouſand, three hundreth of theſe fugitiue ſlaues. Notwithſtanding, fortune meaning to giue *Pompey* ſome part of this honor, fiue thouſand of theſe bondmen eſcaping from the battell, fell into his hands. Whereupon he hauing ouercome them, wrote vnto the Senate that *Craſſus* had ouercome the fenſers in battell, and that he had pluckt vp this war by the rootes. The ROMAINS receiuing *Pompeyes* letters, were very glad of this newes for the loue they bare him. But as for the winning of SPAINE againe, and the ouerthrow of *Sertorius*, there was no man, although it were in ſporte, that euer gaue any man elſe the honor, but vnto *Pompey* only. For all this great honor and loue they bare vnto *Pompey*, yet they did ſuſpect him, and were afrayed of him, becauſe he did not diſperſe his army, that he would follow *Syllaes* ſteppes, to rule alone by plaine force. Hereuppon as many went to meet him for feare, as there were that went for good will they bare him. But after he had put this ſuſpition quite out of their heads, telling them that he woulde diſcharge his armie after he had triumphed: then his ill willers could blame him for nothing elſe, but that he was more enclined vnto the people then to the nobilitie, and that he had a deſire to reſtore the Tribuneſhip of the people which *Sylla* had put downe, onely to gratifie the common people in all he could: the which indeed was true. For the common people at ROME neuer longed for thing more, than they did to ſee the office of the Tribune ſette vp againe. Yea, *Pompey* himſelfe thought it the happieſt turne that euer came to him, to light in ſuch a time, to doe ſuch an acte. For, had any other man preuented him of that, he coulde neuer haue founde the like occaſion poſſiblie to haue requited the peoples good willes vnto him, ſo much as in that. Nowe therefore this ſeconde triumphe and firſt Conſulſhippe being decreed by the Senate: that made him nothing the greater, nor better man. And yet was it a ſhewe and ſignification of his greatneſſe, the which *Craſſus* (the richeſt man, the eloquenteſt and greateſt perſon of all them that at that time dealt in matters of ſtate, and made more eſtimation of himſelfe then of *Pompey* and all the reſt) neuer durſt once demaunde: before he had craued *Pompeyes* good will. *Pompey* was very glad of his requeſt, and had ſought occaſion of long time to pleaſure him: and thereupon made earneſt ſute vnto the people for him, aſſuring them he would as much thanke them for making *Craſſus* his colleague and fellow Conſull, as he would, for making himſelfe Conſull. All this notwithſtanding, when they were created Conſulles, they were in all things contrarie one to another, and neuer agreed in any one thing while they were Conſuls together. *Craſſus* had more authoritie with the Senate but *Pompey* had more credit with the people. For he reſtored them the office of the Tribune, and paſſed by edict, that the Knightes of ROME ſhould haue full power againe to iudge cauſes ciuill and criminall. It was a pleaſant ſight alſo vnto the people, when he came vnto the Cenſors in perſon, to pray that he might be diſpenced with for going to the warres. For it was an auncient cuſtome in ROME, that the Knightes of ROME hauing ſerued a certaine time in the warres appointed by their order, ſhould bring their horſe in the middeſt of the market place before the two Cenſors, declaring euery Captaine vnder whom they had ſerued, in what iornies and countries they had bene, and hauing alſo deliuered account of their good behauior and ſeruice, they then prayed to be diſmiſſed from the warres. Now if it appeared that they had done good ſeruice, there were they honourablie rewarded: or otherwiſe openly ſhamed and puniſhed. At that time, *Gellius* and *Lentulus* the two Cenſors, being honorably ſet in their tribunall or iudgement ſeate, taking viewe of all the ROMAINE Knightes that muſtered before them, to be ſeene and examined, they maruelled when they ſawe *Pompey* comming at the farther ende of the market place, hauing all the markes of a Conſull borne before him, and himſelfe leading his horſe in his hande by the bridle. When

*Pompey burnt Sertorius letters: the like alſo did Iulius Cæſar when he ouercame Pompey.*

*Pompey ouercame the reſt of the bondmẽ.*

*Pompey and Craſſus firſt Conſulſhippe.*

*The cuſtom of the knightes of Rome.*

*Pompey as a knight of Rome ſueth to be diſcharged from the warres.*

*Pompey ſubmitteth himſelfe to the Cenſors.*

*Pompey* came neerer, and that they ſawe it was he, he commaunded his ſergeauntes that caried the axes before him, to make roome for him to paſſe by the barres with his horſe, where the Cenſors ſate. Then the people flocked about him, wondering and reioycing, being verie ſilent. The Cenſors themſelues alſo were maruellous glad to ſee him ſo obedient to the lawe, and did him great reuerence. In fine the elder of the Cenſors did examine him in this ſorte. *Pompey* the great, I pray thee tell mee if thou haſt ſerued ſo long time in the wares, as the lawe doeth appoint? Then anſwered *Pompey* aloude: yes verily that I haue, and vnder no other Captaine then my ſelfe. The people hearing this aunſwer, made an open ſhoute for ioy, they were ſo gladde to heare it: and the Cenſors them-ſelues came from their iudgement ſeate, and went to accompanie *Pompey* home to his houſe, to pleaſe the great multitude of people that followed him, clapping of their hands, with great ſignes of ioy. At the ende of their Conſulſhippe, when miſliking increaſed further betwene *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, there was one *Gaius Aurelius*, of the order of Knighthood, who till that time neuer ſpake in open aſſembly, but then got vp into the pulpit for orations, and tolde the people openly: how *Iupiter* had appeared to him in the night and had commaunded him to tell both the Conſulles from him, that they ſhould not leaue their charge and office, before they were reconciled together. For all theſe wordes *Pompey* ſturred not. But *Craſſus* firſt tooke him by the hand, and ſpake openly to him before the people. My Lordes, I thinke not my ſelfe diſhonored to giue place to *Pompey*, ſith you your ſelues haue thought him worthy to be called the great, before he had any haire on his face, and vnto whom you graunted the honor of two triumphes before he came to be Senator.

*Pompey and Craſſus made friendes.*

When he had ſayed his minde, they were made friends together, and ſo ſurrendred vp their office. Now for *Craſſus*, he held on his former manner of life which he had begun. *Pompey* as neere as he could gaue ouer to plead mens cauſes any more, & began litle and litle to withdrawe himſelfe from frequenting the market place, and matters of iudgement, comming ſeldome abroad, & when he did he had alwaies a great traine following him.

*Pompeys pride and glory.*

It was a rare thing alſo to ſee him any more come out of his houſe, or talke with any man but he was euer accompanied with a great number, & he reioyced to himſelfe, to ſee that he had alwaies ſuch a traine after him: for that made him to be honored the more, & gaue him greater countenance to ſee him thus courted, thinking it diſhonor to him to be familiar with meane perſons. For men that riſe by armes, are eaſily deſpiſed, when they come to liue like priuate citizens: becauſe they cannot faſhion themſelues to be companions with the common people, (who citizen-like vſe a common familiarity together) but looke to be their betters in the city, as they are in the field. Yea & contrarily, they that doe acknowledge themſelues to be their inferiors in warres: will thinke foule ſcorne if they be not their ſuperiors in peace. And by this meanes when they haue a noble warrier among them that followeth publike cauſes (which hath triumphed for many victories and battelles he hath obtained) they obſcure his glory, and make him an vnderling vnto them: whereas they doe not otherwiſe enuie any ſouldiers, that are contented equally to giue them place and authoritie, as plainly appeared ſhortly after, by *Pompey* himſelfe.

*The beginning of the pirats warre.*

By ſuch an occaſion, the power of pirats on the ſea, tooke beginning in the coũtry of CILICIA, which was not reckoned of at the firſt, becauſe it was not perceiued, vntill they grew bold and venturous in king *Mithridates* wars, being hired to do him ſeruice. And afterwards the ROMAINS being troubled with ciuill warres, one fighting with another euen at ROME gates, the ſea not being looked to all this while: it ſet them a gog, and made them go farther then euer they did before. For they did not onely rob & ſpoile all marchant venturers by ſea, but rifled alſo all the Ilandes & townes vpon the ſea coaſt: inſomuch as then there ioyned with them, men of great wealth & nobilitie, and of great wiſdom alſo, & entred into their fellowſhippe, as into a commendable faculty.

*The power and inſolencie of the pirats.*

Now they had ſet vp arſenalls or ſtore houſes in ſundry places, they had ſundry hauens and beacons on the land, to giue warning by fire all alongſt the ſea coaſt, and thoſe well kept and watcht: moreouer, they had great fleetes of ſhips ready furniſht with excellent good galliots of ores, ſkilfull pilots & mariners, their ſhippes of ſwift ſaile, & pinnaſes for diſcouery, but withall ſo glorioſly ſet out, that men leſſe hated their exceſſe, then feared their force. For the poopes of their galliots were all guilt, the couerings of the ſame all of purple ſilke, delighting only to make a glorious ſhew of their pillage. All the ſea coaſt ouer, there was no ſight of any thing but muſicke, ſinging, banqueting, and rioting, priſes of Captaines, and men of great quality, & ranſomes of a thouſand priſoners: and all this was to the ſhame & diſhonor of the ROMAINES. Their ſhips were about a thouſand in number, & they had taken aboue 400. townes. They had ſpoiled & deſtroied many holy temples that had neuer bene touched before. As the temple of the twins in the Ile of CLAROS, the tẽple of *Samothracia*, the temple of Earth in the citie of HERMION, & the temple of *Æſculapius* in EPIDAVRVM: the temples of *Neptune* in ISTHMOS, TÆNARIA, and CALABRIA: and the temples of *Apollo* in ACTIVM, in the Ile of LEVCADES: the temples of *Iuno* in SAMOS, in ARGOS, & in LVCANIA. They had alſo many ſtrange ſacrifices & certain ceremonies of religion amongſt themſelues, in the mount Olympus, & among other, the miſterie of *Mithres*, which is the ſunne: and remaineth yet in being vnto this day, being firſt ſhewed by them. But beſides all theſe inſolent parts and iniuries they did the ROMAINES vpon the ſea, they went a land, & where they found any houſes of pleaſure vpon the ſea coaſt, they ſpoiled and deſtroyed them: and on a time they tooke two ROMAINE Prætors, *Sextilius* & *Bellinus*, being in their purple robes, with their ſergeants & officers attending on them, & caried them quite away. An other time alſo they ſtale away the daughter of *Antonius* (a man that had receiued honor of triumph) as ſhe went a walking abroad in the fields, and ſhe was redeemed for a great ſumme of money. But yet the greateſt ſpight & mockery they vſed to the ROMAINES, was this. That when they had taken any of them, and that he cryed he was a citizen of ROME, and named his name: then they made as though they had bene amazed, and affraide of that they had done. For they clapped their hands on their thighes, and fell downe on their knees before him, praying him to forgiue them. The poore priſoner thought they had done it in good earneſt, ſeeing they humbled themſelues as though they ſeemed fearefull. For ſome of them came vnto him, and put ſhooes on his feete: others clapt a gowne on the backe of him after the ROMAINE faſhion, for feare (ſaid they) leaſt he ſhould be miſtaken an other time. When they had plaied all this pageant, and mocked him their bellies full: at the laſt they caſt out one of their ſhip ladders, and put him on it, and bad him go his way, he ſhould haue no hurt: and if he would not go of him ſelfe, then they caſt him ouer the bord by force, and ſent him packing. Theſe rouers and ſea pirates had all the ſea Mediterraneum at commandement: inſomuch there durſt not a marchant looke out, nor once traffique that ſea. And this was the onely cauſe that moued the ROMAINES (fearing ſcarſity of victuals, and a great dearth) to ſend Pompey to recouer the ſigniory againe of the ſea from theſe pirates. The firſt man that moued it might be decreed, that *Pompey* ſhould not be only Admirall, or Generall by ſea, but ſhould haue abſolute power to command all manner of perſons as he thought good, without any account to be made of his doings in his charge: was *Gabinius*, Pompeys friend. The ſumme of this decree gaue him full power and abſolute authoritie of all the ſea from *Hercules* pillers, and of the maine land, the ſpace of foure hundred furlongs from the ſea. (For the ROMAINES dominions at that time in fewe places went further then that: notwithſtanding, within that compaſſe were many great nations and mightie kings.) Furthermore, it gaue him power to chooſe of the Senate fifteene Lieutenants, to giue vnto euery one of them, ſeuerall prouinces in charge, according to his deſcretion: and alſo to take money out of the treaſure, of the Generall receiuers of the ſtate, to defray the charges of a fleete of two hundred ſaile, with full power beſides to leauie what men of warre hee thought good, and as many galliots and mariners as he liſted. This law when it had bene read once ouer among them, the people confirmed it with very good will. Yet the noble men and chiefe of the Senate thought that this authority did not only exceede all enuie, but alſo that it gaue them apparant cauſe of feare, to giue ſuch abſolute power vnto a priuate perſon. Whereupon, they were all againſt it but *Cæſar*, who fauoured the decree, not ſo much to pleaſure Pompey, as the people, whoſe fauor he ſought. The noble men fell maruellouſly out with Pom*pey*: and at the length one of the Conſuls was very hotte with him, and told him he looked to follow *Romulus* ſteps, but peraduenture he would come ſhort of that end he made. Thereupon the people thought to haue killed him. After that, *Catulus* ſtoode vp to ſpeake againſt this edict. The people at the firſt heard him quietly, becauſe he was a worthy man. Then he began without any ſhew of enuy, to ſpeake many goodly things in the praiſe of Pompey, and in fine,

*The pirates nauie, a thouſand ſhips.*

*The pirates ſcorning of the Romaines, when they were taken.*

*Gabinius law for Pompeys authoritie againſt the pirates.*

*At the voice of the people, a crow flying fell downe.*

*Pompeys preparation againſt the pirates.*

*The courteſie of Pompey vnto Piſo.*

aduiſed the people to ſpare him, and not to venture in ſuch dangerous warres (one after another) a man of ſo great account, as they ought to make of him. If yee chance to looſe him, ſaid he: whom haue you then to put in his place? The people then cried out: your ſelfe. Then perceiuing that he loſt his labour, ſeeking to turne the people from their determination: he left it there, and ſaide no more. *Roſcius* roſe next after him to ſpeake, but he could haue no audience. When he ſawe that he could not be heard, he made a ſigne with his fingers, that they ſhould not giue P*ompey* alone this authoritie, but ioyne an other with him. The people being offended withall made ſuch an outcrie vppon it, that a crow flying ouer the market place at that inſtant, was ſtriken blind and fell downe amongſt the people. Whereby it appeareth that foule falling out of the aire to the ground, doe not fall for that the aire is broken or pierced with any force or furie: but becauſe the very breath of the voice (when it commeth with ſuch a violence, as it maketh a very tempeſt in the aire) doth ſtrike and ouercome them. Thus for that day, the aſſembly brake vp, and nothing paſt: and at the day appointed when this decree ſhould paſſe by voices of the people, *Pompey* went abroad into the country. There being aduertiſed that the decree was paſt for the confirmation of his charge, he returned againe that night into the citie, becauſe he would auoide the enuie they would haue borne him to haue ſeene them run out of all parts of the citie vnto him, to haue waited on him home. The next morning he came abroad, and ſacrificed to the goddes: and audience being giuen him at an open aſſembly, he handled the matter ſo, that they gaue him many things beſides to enlarge his power, almoſt doubling the preparation ſet downe and appointed at the firſt decree. For he ordained that the common wealth ſhould arme him fiue hundred ſhippes, and they leauied for him ſixe ſcore thouſand footemen, and fiue thouſand horſemen, and choſe beſides foure and twentie Senators, which had euery one of them bene Generals of armies, and two generall Treaſurers alſo. While things were thus a preparing, the price of victuals fell by chance: which reioyced the people ſo much, that they ſtucke not to ſay, that the name of *Pompey* only had alreadie ended this warre. This notwithſtanding, he deuided all the ſea betwene the lands into thirteene regions, and in euery of them he appointed a certaine number of his ſhippes, and moreouer, one of his Lieutenantes ouer them. Thus hauing diſperſed his power all abroad, he brought all the pirates ſhippes that were in a fleete together, within his daunger: and when had taken them, he brought them all into a docke. Nowe for them that had diſperſed themſelues betimes, or that otherwiſe could ſcape his generall chaſe: they fled all into CILICIA, as bees into the beehiue, againſt whom he would needes goe himſelfe in perſon with threeſcore of his beſt ſhippes. Howbeit he cared not though he went not before he had ſcoured all the THVSCANE ſea, the coaſtes of LYBIA, SARDINIA, SICILE, and of CORSICA, of all theſe theeues which are wont to keepe thereabouts: and this he did within fortie dayes ſpace, taking infinite paines, both himſelfe and his Lieutenants. Now when one of the Conſuls called *Piſo* did all the beſt he could to hinder P*ompeys* preparation, and had diſcharged his ower men, for that he enuied P*ompeys* proſperitie: *Pompey* ſent his ſhippes before to make towardes ITALIE to arriue at the citie of BRVNDVSIVM. He in the meane time, went through THVSCANE to ROME, where, ſo ſoone as his comming was knowen, all the people ran out to meete him, as if he had bene abſent a long time: and that which made the people more ioyfull to ſee him, was the ſodaine change of victuals vnlooked for, that daily came to the towne out of all partes. But P*iſo* went neere to be depriued of his Conſulſhip: for *Gabinius* had the decree written, and ready to preſent to the people. But P*ompey* would not ſuffer it. So, hauing gentlely brought all to paſſe as he deſired, he went vnto the city of BRVNDVSIVM, and there tooke ſea, and hoiſed ſaile. Now though his haſtie voyage, and ſhortneſſe of time made him paſſe by many good cities without comming into them: notwithſtanding, he would not ſo paſſe by the citie of ATHENS, but landed there, and after he had ſacrificed to the goddes, returned to imbarke againe. At his going out of the citie, he read two writings that were made in his praiſe, the one within the gate which ſaid thus.

*The humblier that thou doſt thy ſelfe as man behaue,*
*The more thou doſt deſerue, the name of god to haue.*

And the other writing was without the gate, which ſaid:

*VVe wiſht for thee, we waite for thee,*
*VVe worſhip thee, we waite on thee.*

Now becauſe *Pompey* hauing taken certaine of theſe rouers by ſea that kept together, did vſe them gentlely when they required pardon, and hauing their ſhippes and bodies in his power, did them no hurt at all: their other companions being in good hope of his mercy, fled from his other Captaines and Lieutenants, and went and yeelded themſelues, their wiues and children into his handes. *Pompey* pardoned all them that came in of themſelues, and by that meanes he came to haue knowledge of the reſt, and to followe them where they went, whom hee tooke in the ende: but knowing that they deſerued no pardon, they hid themſelues. Yet the moſt part and the richeſt of them, had conueyed their wiues, children and goods, and all other their family vnmeete for warres, into ſtrong caſtles and litle townes vppon mount Taurus: and ſuch men as were able to carie weapon, imbarked, and lay before a citie of CORACESIVM, where they taried *Pompey*, and gaue him battell, firſt by ſea, and there were ouercome, and afterwardes they were beſieged by lande. Howbeit ſhortly after, they prayed they might be receiued to mercie, and thereuppon yeelded their bodies, townes, and Ilandes which they had fortified, and were hard to haue taken and worſe to haue approached. Thus was this warre ended, and all the pirates in leſſe then three monethes driuen from the ſea whereſoeuer they were. He wanne alſo a great number of other ſhippes, beſides foure ſcore and tenne gallies armed with copper ſpurres. And touching the men whom they had taken (who were in number aboue twentie thouſand perſons) he did not only conſider whether he ſhould put them to death, but alſo thought it no wiſe part on the other ſide to let them goe at libertie, to gather force againe, being ſo great a number of them as in deede they were, and all poore men and ſouldiers. Therefore, weying with himſelfe that man by nature is not borne a wild or ſauage beaſt, but contrarily becommeth a brute beaſt changing nature, when he falleth to vice: and againe is made tame and ciuill in time, changing place and manner of life: (as brute beaſtes that being wilde by nature doe alſo become gentle and tractable, with gentler vſage by continuance) he determined to draw theſe pirats from the ſea into the vpland and to make them feele the true and innocent life, by dwelling in townes, and manuring the ground. Some of them therefore he placed in certaine ſmall townes of the CILICIANS, that were ſcant inhabited, and were very glad of them, giuing them land to keepe them with. The citie of the SOLIANS alſo, that not long before had bene deſtroied by *Tigranes* the king of ARMENIA, being deſirous to repleniſh that againe, he placed many of them there. He beſtowed diuerſe alſo in the citie of DYMA in the countrie of ACHAIA, which at that time lacked inhabitants, and had great ſtore of very good land. Now therfore his enemies reproued him greatly: and for that he did in CRETA, they that were his beſt and greateſt friendes miſliked him. For *Metellus* that gentle perſon (a coſen to that *Metellus* which was his colleague, and made warres in SPAYNE with him againſt *Sertorius*) was ſent Prætor into CRETA, before *Pompey* was choſen Generall againſt the pirates. This CRETA, next vnto CILICIA, was euen a ſecond denne of pirates. *Metellus* finding there a great number of theſe theeues, tooke many of them and put them to death, euen all that came to his handes. Then, ſuch as had ſcaped from him, being ſtraightly beſieged, ſent vnto *Pompey* to pray him of pardon, and to take them to mercie: declaring vnto him, that the Ile of CRETA was within the precinct of his charge, becauſe all partes of that region from the ſea came iuſt within the compaſſe limited him on the lande. *Pompey* pardoning them vpon their ſubmiſſion, wrote vnto *Metellus*, and commaunded him to leaue off his warre, and therewithall charged all the cities, that they ſhould not obey *Metellus* commaundements. After that he ſent *Lucius Octauius*, one of his Lieutenantes, who entred into the townes *Metellus* beſieged, and fought for the pirates. This made *Pompey* not only hated and enuied, but derided alſo: for that vnder his name he had protected ſuch vile theeues, that had neither God nor law, and giuen them his authoritie to ſaue their liues, for a litle enuie and emulation he bare vnto *Metellus*. And therefore they rightly reproue *Achilles* and ſay that he ſhewed not the part of a wiſe man, but of a young foole beſides himſelfe, for deſire of glorie, making a ſigne to the GRECIANS, forbidding them to ſtrike at *Hector*, to the end that as *Homer* ſaid:

*The victorie of Pompey vpon the pirates.*

*How men are tamed.*

*Pompeys lewd fact againſt Metellus.*

*Achilles diſhoneſt fact.*

*Leaſt he too late ſhould to the battell runne,*
*VVhen others had the honor of it wonne.*

But Pompeys fact was worſe than this. For he fought for the common enemies of the world, & only to depriue a ROMAINE Prætor of triumph, who had done great good ſeruice to haue deſtroyed them. This notwithſtanding, *Metellus* left not off his warre for *Pompeys* letters, but hauing taken the pirates by aſſault, he put them to death: and afterwardes hauing done *Octauius* open ſhame through his campe, he let him goe. When newes came to ROME, that the pirates warre was brought to good end, & that *Pompey* hauing no other ſeruice in hand, went viſiting the cities vp & downe: one *Manilius* a Tribune of the people, put forth an other decree vnto them of this effect. That *Pompey* taking all the army *Lucullus* had, & the prouinces vnder his gouernment, with al BITHYNIA, which *Glabrio* kept: ſhould go make war vpon the kings *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, keeping in his hands notwithſtanding al his iuriſdiction and army by ſea, in as royall maner as he had it before. In fine, this was euen to make one man Monarch and abſolute Prince of all the ROMAINE Empire. For by this ſecond decree, he had all theſe countries not named in his former commiſſion, added to amplifie his authority, as PHRYGIA, LYCAONIA, GALATIA, CAPPADOCIA, CILICIA, high COLCHIDA & ARMENIA, with al the armies and forces with the which he had ouercome thoſe two mightie Kings. Then the Senate ſtucke not ſo much at the iniurie that was offered vnto *Lucullus*, depriuing him of the honor of his doings, to giue it to an other, that ſhould rather ſucceede him in honour of triumph, than in danger of warres, knowing that they did him too manifeſt iniury, and ſhewed themſelues too vnthankefull: but that which moſt grieued them, was to ſee *Pompeys* power eſtabliſhed in a plaine tyranny. Hereupon therefore, one of them perſwaded and encouraged an other, ſtoutly to withſtand this edict, and not to ſuffer their libertie to be loſt in this ſort. Notwithſtanding, when the day came that the decree ſhould paſſe, they were ſo affraide to anger the people, that their hearts failed them, & none durſt ſpeake againſt it but *Catulus* onely: that earneſtly inueyed againſt the paſſing of it a long time together, and greatly blamed the people. At the length, perceiuing he had wonne neuer a man to take his part, he oftentimes cried out to the Senate, that they ſhould looke to ſeeke out ſome mountaine or high rocke to retire ſafely vnto to defend their libertie, as their anceſters had done in old time before them. All this preuailed not, for the decree paſſed by the voices of all the tribes, as it is reported. And thus was Pompey in his abſence made Lorde almoſt of all that, which *Sylla* by force of armes and great effuſion of bloud (hauing made himſelfe Lord of ROME) had before in his power. When *Pompey* had receiued letters from ROME, aduertiſing him what the people had paſt in his behalfe: ſome ſay that at the receite of them (in the preſence of his familiar friendes that were about him, and reioyced with him for congratulation) he knit his browes, and clapped on his thigh, as though it grieued him maruellouſly to haue ſuch great offices and charge laid vpon him, one in the necke of an other, and burſt forth in theſe wordes. O goddes, ſhall I neuer ſee an ende of ſuch a world of troubles as I haue? Had it not beene better for me to haue bene a meane man borne and vnknowen, than thus continually to be in warre with armor on my backe? What, ſhall I neuer ſee the time, that breaking the neckes of ſpight and enuy againſt me, I may yet once in my life liue quietly at home in my country with my wife & children? When *Pompey* ſpake thoſe wordes, his familiar friends could not abide to ſee his deepe diſſimulation, knowing that beſides his naturall ambition and couetous deſire to rule, he was glad in his hart that he had this charge, for the contention that was betwixt him and *Lucullus*: which his deedes forthwith bewrayed. For he preſently ſent out precepts into euery quarter, commanding all ſortes of ſouldiers to come to him immediatly, and made alſo all the Princes and kings within precinct of his charge to come vnto him, and going through the countries, altered and changed all that *Lucullus* had eſtabliſhed before. Furthermore, he did releaſe the penalties enioyned them, and tooke from them alſo the giftes that *Lucullus* beſtowed of them. In fine, this was all his purpoſe and deſire: to make them that honored *Lucullus* know, that he had no further power & authority to doe any thing. *Lucullus* finding himſelfe hardly handled by *Pompey*, the friends of either ſide thought good they ſhould meete & talke together: which came ſo to paſſe, for they met in the country of GALATIA. And becauſe they both were great

*Pompey appointed Lucullus ſucceſſor.*

*The boldnes of Catulus in diſſwading Manilius law.*

*Pompeys great diſſimulation.*

*Quarrell betwixt Pompey and Lucullus.*

*Pompey and Lucullus meeting in Galatia.*

Captaines of the ROMAINE armies, and had done many famous acts, they had their ſergeants & officers that caried the bundels of rods before them, wreathed about with laurell boughes. When they met, *Lucullus* came out of a cloſe & woddy country, all couered with greene trees, & *Pompey* on the other ſide had paſſed through a great ſandy plaine, where no tree was growing. Thereupon *Lucullus* ſergeantes ſeeing the laurell boughes drie and withered away, which *Pompeys* ſergeantes caried, they gaue them of their greene and freſh boughes to beautifie the roddes and axes. This was a plaine token that *Pompey* came to take *Lucullus* honor from him. In truth *Lucullus* had bene Conſull before *Pompey*, & ſo was he alſo older man than he: yet the dignity of *Pompey* was greater, becauſe he had triumphed twiſe. At their firſt meting, their entertainment & diſcourſe was with great ceremony and courteſie as might be, one highly praiſing the others deedes, reioycing at ech others good ſucceſſe: but at parting, they fell to hotte wordes together, *Pompey* vpbrayding *Lucullus* auarice, and *Lucullus Pompeys* ambition, ſo that their friendes had much a doe to part them. *Lucullus* departing thence, deuided the landes in GALATIA, which he had conquered, and beſtowed them & other gifts, on ſuch as he thought good. *Pompey* on the other ſide camping hard by him, ſpecially commaunded the people in euery part to obey him in nothing whatſoeuer he did: and beſides, he tooke all his ſouldiers from him, leauing him only ſixteene hundred, which he ſuppoſed were ſuch, as for diſdaine and ill will they bare him, would do him but ſmall ſeruice. Furthermore, to blemiſh the glory of his doings, he told euery body *Lucullus* had fought with the pompe & ſhadow only of theſe two kings, and that he had left him to fight with all their whole force and power, *Mithridates* being then prepared for warres, with ſhieldes, ſwordes, and horſes. *Lucullus* for reuenge on the other ſide ſaid, that *Pompey* went to fight but with a ſhadow of warre, like a cowardly buſzard that preyeth vpon dead bodies, which others haue ſlaine: and to cut a ſunder the remaine of this warre ended by an other, as he had done before, attributing the honour of the ouerthrowe of *Sertorius*, *Lepidus*, and *Spartacus*, to himſelfe, where indeede *Metellus*, *Craſſus*, and *Catulus* did ouercome them. And therfore it was no maruell, that he ſought the glory and honor to triumph for the kingdomes of PONTVS and ARMENIA: ſith that through his ſubtill practiſes he had obtained triumph for a fewe ſlaues and fugitiues. *Lucullus* being nowe gone his way, *Pompey* ſent good garriſons vnto all the coaſtes vppon the ſea, from the prouince of PHOENICIA, vnto the realme of BOSPHORVS. That done, he tooke his iorney by lande towardes *Mithridates*, who had in his campe thirtie thouſand footemen, and two thouſande horſemen, and yet durſt not offer battell, but camped firſt vpon a mountaine of great ſtrength, and hard to get vp on: notwithſtanding ſhortly after, he forſooke it for lacke of water. He was no ſooner gone thence, but forthwith *Pompey* tooke it. Who, coniecturing by the nature of the plantes and trees in that place which were very greene, and alſo by diuers holes he found, that for reaſon thereabouts ſhould be ſome ſprings: he commaunded them to digge welles in euery corner, ſo that in a very ſhort time all his campe had water enough, and he wondred at *Mithridates*, that he could not find that out in all the time he lay there. In the end, he went and camped rounde about *Mithridates*, and intrenched him with a wall within his owne campe: who after he had abidden the ſiege fiue and forty daies, fled away with all the choice of his army, vnknowing to *Pompey*, hauing firſt ſlaine al the ſicke and impotent perſons within his campe. After that, *Pompey* found him an other time by the riuer of Euphrates, and went and lodged hard by him. But fearing that *Mithridates* would paſſe ouer the riuer before he could preuent him in time, he raiſed his campe againe, & marched away at midnight. About that time, they ſay, that *Mithridates* ſawe that in a dreame, which did prognoſticate what ſhould happen. He thought, that hauing the winde in the poope of the ſhippe, he was vnder ſaile, in the middeſt of the ſea of *Mare Boſphorum*, and that he was maruellous glad of it, and reioyced with them that ſailed with him, thinking himſelfe certainely paſt all danger: yet ſodainly againe, that all this ioy left him, and that he floted vp and downe the waues of the ſea, vpon a litle peece of the ſhippe that was broken, truſting to the mercy of the windes. As hee was troubled with this ill fauored dreame, certaine of his familiars came to him and told him, that Pompey was come ſo neere, that there was no ſhift, but they muſt needes fight to defende their campe. Thereupon his Captaines ſtraight beganne to put his men in battell ray, readie

*Pompeys iorney againſt Mithridates.*

*Mithridates dreame.*

to fight. Pompey vnderſtanding they prepared to make defence, was in doubt to venter his men to fight in the darke, thinking it better to compaſſe them in to keepe them from flying, & then in the morning to ſet vpon them more eaſily, his men being the better ſouldiers. But Pompeys old Captaines were ſo earneſtly in hand with him to perſwade him they might fight, that in the end he was contented they ſhould giue charge. Now it was not ſo darke but they could ſomewhat ſee, for the moone that was very low and vppon her ſetting, gaue light enough to diſcerne the body of a man: yet becauſe the moone was very low, the ſhadow which gaue out further farre then their bodies, came almoſt euen to their very enemies, which did let thẽ that they could not certainely iudge what ſpace of ground was betwene them, but imagining that they were hard by them, they caſt their dartes at the ROMAINES, but they hurt neuer a man, for their bodies were a great way from them. The ROMAINES perceiuing that, ran vpon thẽ with great cries. But the barbarous people durſt not abide their charge they were ſo affraide, but turned their backes, and ranne away for life, ſo that they were ſlaine downe right. Thus were there tenne thouſande of the barbarous people ſlaine and more, and their campe alſo taken. As for *Mithridates* himſelfe, at the beginning of the onſet, he made a lane among the ROMAINES with eight hundred horſemen, & paſſed cleane through them. But incontinently his men diſperſed vpon it, ſome one way, ſome an other way, ſo that he was left alone but with three perſons only, whereof *Hypſicratea* was one of the number, which had euer bene valiant and had a mans heart: whereupon, for that cauſe *Mithridates* called her *Hypſicrates*. She at that time being arrayed like a man of armes of PERSIA, and mounted alſo on a horſe after the PERSIAN maner, was neuer weary with any long iorney the king made, nor neuer left to wait vpon his perſon, and to looke to his horſe: vntill ſuch time as the king came to a ſtrong caſtle called Inora, where was great ſtore of gold & ſiluer, and the kings chiefeſt treaſure. Then *Mithridates* tooke off his richeſt apparell he had there, & gaue it amongſt them that were about him at that time, and a deadly poiſon beſides to euery one of his friends to cary about them, becauſe they ſhould not (vnleſſe they would themſelues) fall into their enemies handes aliue. From thence he thought to take his iorney into ARMENIA vnto king *Tigranes*. Howbeit *Tigranes* ſent to let him, and further proclaimed by trumpet, that he would giue a hundred talentes to him that could kill him. Thereupon, paſſing by the head of the riuer of Euphrates, he fled through the country of CHOLCHIDE. In the meane time, *Pompey* inuaded the country of ARMENIA, at the requeſt of *Tigranes* the younger, who was reuolted againſt his father, & went to meete with *Pompey* at the riuer of Araxes, which hath his beginning almoſt about the head of Euphrates: but it runneth towards the Eaſt, and falleth into *Mare Caſpium*. So they both together marched on further into the country, receiuing ſuch townes as yeelded vnto them. But king *Tigranes* (that not long before had bene conſumed and deſtroyed by *Lucullus*) vnderſtanding that *Pompey* was of a milde and gentle nature, he receiued his garriſons into his ſtrongeſt fortes and royall houſes, and went himſelfe with his friends and kinſemen to meete *Pompey*, & to yeeld himſelfe vnto him. When he came hard to his campe, being a horſe back, there came out two ſergeants of *Pompeys*, and commanded him to light and go a foote, for there was neuer man ſeene a horſe back within the ROMAINES campe. *Tigranes* did not only obey them, but further plucked off his ſword and gaue it them: and in fine, when he came almoſt to *Pompey*, taking off his royall hat from his head, he would haue laid it at *Pompeys* feete, & falling downe moſt ſhamefully on the ground, imbaſed himſelfe to imbrace *Pompeys* knees. But *Pompey* himſelfe preuented him, and taking him by the hande, made him to ſit downe by him on the one ſide of him, and his ſonne on the other. Then he ſaide vnto them both; as for the other loſſes you haue ſuſteined heretofore, you muſt thanke *Lucullus* for them, who hath taken from you SYRIA, PHOENICIA, CILICIA, GALATIA, and SOPHENA: but for that you haue left you till my comming, I will let you enioy it, paying to the ROMAINES a fine of ſixe thouſand talents for the iniury you had done them, prouided alſo, that your ſonne haue the kingdome of SOPHENA for his part. *Tigranes* accepted the conditions of peace. The ROMAINES then ſaluted him king. He was ſo glad therof, that he promiſed to giue euery ſouldier halfe a Mina, euery Centener tenne Minas, and to euery Colonell of a thouſand men a talent. His ſonne was very angry withall: inſomuch as *Pompey* ſending for him to come to ſupper to him,

*Pompey ouerthrew Mithridates.*

*Hypſicratea, Mithridates concubine otherwiſe called Hypſicrates, for her valiantnes like a man.*

*Tigranes yeeldeth himſelfe vnto Pompey.*

*Tigranes laide his diademe at Pompeys feete.*

him, he aunſwered againe, that was not the friendſhip he looked for at *Pompeys* handes, for he ſhould finde many other ROMAINES that would offer him that curteſie. *Pompey* for his anſwere, clapped him vp as a priſoner, and kept him to be led in triumph at ROME. Shortly after, *Phraates* king of PARTHIA ſent Ambaſſadours to *Pompey* to demaund this young Prince, that was his ſonne in law, & to tell him that the riuer of Euphrates muſt be the vttermoſt confines of his conqueſtes. *Pompey* aunſwered againe, that *Tigranes* had more right to his ſonne, then the father in law: and as for limiting of his borders, that he would do it with iuſtice. So, leauing *Afranius* in ARMENIA to keepe the country, *Pompey* paſſed by other nations which inhabite about mount Caucaſus, hauing *Mithridates* in chaſe: of which nations, two of the chiefeſt & of greateſt power, are the ALBANIANS & IBERIANS. The IBERIANS do ſtretch out vnto mount Moſchium, and to the realme of PONTVS. The ALBANIANS lye towardes the Eaſt, & Mare Caſpium. Theſe men firſt ſuffered *Pompey* to paſſe through their country, vpon his ſending to thē. But winter hauing ſtolen vpon the ROMAINES while they were there, & they buſily occupied about *Saturnes* feaſts: the barbarous people hauing leauied aboue forty thouſand fighting men in one camp together, came and paſſed ouer the riuer of Cyrnus. (This riuer commeth from the mountaines of the IBERIANS, and receiuing the riuer of Araxes into it, which paſſeth through ARMENIA, diſperſeth it ſelfe into twelue ſeuerall mouthes, and ſo falleth into Mare Caſpium. Some notwithſtanding hold opinion, that Cyrnus receiueth not the riuer of Araxes into it, but that it runneth by it ſelfe, and falleth into the ſame ſea, neare vnto the mouthes of the other.) *Pompey* might if he had would haue kept them for comming ouer the riuer, yet did he ſuffer them quietly to paſſe ouer. When they were all ouer, he went againſt them, ouercame them in battell, and ſlue a great number of them in the field. Afterwardes he pardoned their king, ſubmitting himſelfe vnto *Pompey* by his Ambaſſadours, and made peace with him. Then from thence he went againſt the IBERIANS: who were no leſſe in number, then the ALBANIANS were at the firſt, and alſo better ſouldiers, and were reſolutely bent to do good ſeruice vnto *Mithridates*, and to driue out *Pompey*. Theſe IBERIANS were neuer ſubiect to the Empire of the PERSIANS, nor of the MEDES, and ſcaped alſo from being ſubiect to the MACEDONIANS, for that *Alexāder* neuer ſtayed in the country of HYRCANIA: whom alſo *Pompey* ouercame in a great and bloudy battell, hauing ſlaine nine thouſand in the field, and taken ten thouſand priſoners. From thence he went into the countrey of COLCHIDA. There *Seruilius* met him by the riuer of Phaſis, with the fleete of ſhippes with the which he kept all Mare Ponticum. Now to follow *Mithridates* further, who had hid himſelfe amongſt a people that were neighbours vnto the ſtraights of BOSPHORVS, and the mariſſes Mæotides, he found it a hard peece of worke. Furthermore alſo, he had newes that the ALBANIANS were rebelled againe, which drew him backe to be reuenged of them. Thereupon he paſſed againe ouer the riuer of Cyrnus, with great paine and daunger, becauſe the barbarous people had made a ſtrong defence a great way alongeſt the riuer ſide, with a maruellous number of great trees, feld and layed a croſſe one ouer an other. Furthermore, when he had with great difficulty paſſed through thē, he fell into an euill fauoured coūtrey, where he ſhould trauell a great way before he could come to any water. Thereupon he cauſed ten thouſand goates ſkinnes to be filled with water, and ſo went forward to meete with his enemies, whom he found by the riuer of Abas, being ſixe ſcore thouſand footemen, and twelue thouſand horſemen, but all (of the moſt of them) ill armed with wild beaſtes ſkinnes. Their Chiefetaine was *Coſis*, the kings owne brother, He, when the battell was begun, flew vpom *Pompey*, and threw a dart at him, and hurt him in the flancke. *Pompey* on the other ſide, ranne him through with his launce on both ſides, & ſlue him ſtarke dead. Some ſay alſo, that there were certaine AMAZONES at this battell, which fought of the barbarous peoples ſide, cōming frō the mountaines that runne alongeſt the riuer of Thermodon. For, after the ouerthrow giuen, the ROMAINES ſpoyling the dead, found targets, and buskinnes of the AMAZONES, but not a body of a woman among them. They alſo do inhabite on the ſide of the mountaine Caucaſus, that looketh towardes Mare Hyrcanium, and do not border vpon the ALBANIANS: but the GELES, and the LELEGES are betweene them, with whom they company two monthes onely euery yeare meeting together, by the riuer of Thermodon, and all the reſt of the yeare,

*Tigranes ſon a priſoner.*

*Ambaſſadours ſent from the king of Parthia vnto Pompey.*

*Caucaſus mōs.*

*Albani, and Iberes: what manner of people.*

*Cyrnus fl.*

*Pompey ouerthrew the Albanians.*

*Pompey ouercame the Iberians.*

*Phaſis fl.*

*The Albaniās rebell againſt Pompey.*

*Abas fl.*

*Pompey ſlue Coſis, the kings brother of the Albanians.*

*The Amazones.*

*Gele and Leleges, people that do companie with the Amazones.*

*Thermodon fl.*

*Stratonice, Mithridates chiefe harlot.*

*Pompeys abſtinence from taking of gifts.*

*Mithridates remẽbraunces.*

*Rutilius, an hiſtoriographer.*

*Pompeis fault.*

they liue a part by themſelues. After this laſt battell, *Pompey* going to inuade the countrey of Hyrcania, as farre as Mare Caſpium, he was compelled to go backe againe for the infinite number of deadly venemous ſerpẽts which he met with, being come within three dayes iourney of it. So he returned backe againe into Armenia the leſſe, and there receiued preſents which were ſent vnto him from the kings of the Elymians and the Medes, & wrote very curteouſly vnto them againe: howbeit he ſent *Afranius* with part of his armie againſt the king of the Parthians, who had inuaded the country of Gordiena, & harried & ſpoyled the king of *Tigranes* ſubiectes. Notwithſtanding, he draue him out, & followed him vnto Arbelitide. Furthermore, all the lemmans and cõcubines of king *Mithridates* being brought vnto *Pompey*, he would touch none of them, but ſent them all home againe, to their parents and friends, becauſe the moſt of them were either the daughters of Princes, of noble men, or of Captaines. Notwithſtanding, *Stratonice* that of all the reſt of his lemmans, had moſt credit about *Mithridates*, vnto whom he had left all the charge of his caſtell, where the greateſt part of his treaſure of gold and ſiluer lay, was a ſingers daughter, who as they ſayd, was not rich, but an old man. She hauing ſong one night before *Mithridates*, being at ſupper, he fell in ſuch fancie with her, that he would needes haue her lye with him the ſame night, and the old man her father went home offended, becauſe the king would not ſo much as giue him one gentle word. But the next morning when he roſe, he maruelled to ſee the tables in his houſe full of plate of gold and ſiluer, and a great company of ſeruing men, groomes of chamber and pages, and that they had brought him maruellous rich apparell, and a horſe ready at the gates brauely furniſhed, as the kings familiars did vſe when they went abroad into the citie: he thought it was done in mockerie, to haue made ſport with him, and therefore would haue runne his way, had not the ſeruing men kept him, and told him that they were a great rich mans goods that dyed of late, which the king had beſtowed on him, and that all this he ſaw, was but a litle portion in reſpect of the other goods and lands he gaue him. So the old man beleeuing them, at the length did put on this purple gowne they brought him, and got vp a horſe backe, and riding through the ſtreetes, cried, all this is mine, all this is mine. Certaine laughing him to ſcorne for it, he told them: maiſters, ye may not wonder to heare me thus crie out, but rather, that I throw not ſtones at them I meete, I am ſo mad for ioy. Such was *Stratonices* birth and parentage, as we haue told you. She did then deliuer this caſtell into *Pompeys* hands, and offered him many goodly rich preſents: but he would take none of them, other then ſuch as ſerued to adorne the temples of the goddes, and to beautifie his triumph, and left all the reſt with *Stratonice* her ſelfe, to diſpoſe as ſhe thought good. In like manner alſo, the king of the Iberians, hauing ſent him a bedſtead, a table, and a chaire of cleane gold, praying him to take it as a remembraunce from him: he deliuered it ouer vnto the Treaſurers cuſtodie, to be accountable for it vnto the ſtate. In an other caſtell called Cœnon, he found certaine ſecret letters ſent from *Mithridates*, which pleaſed him maruellouſly to read, becauſe thereby he plainly vnderſtood the kings nature and inclination. For in them were mentioned that he had poyſoned (beſides many other) *Ariarathes* his owne ſonne, and *Alcæus* the Sardianian, becauſe he had wonne the bell, at the horſe race before him. There was alſo interpreting of dreames, that either himſelfe or his wiues had dreamed, and alſo loue letters betwixt *Monime* and him. *Theophanes* writeth alſo, that there was found an oration of *Rutilius*, in the which he intiſed and perſwaded *Mithridates* to put all the Romaines to death that were in Asia. Howbeit in reaſon men thinke, that this was a ſhamefull lye, maliciouſly deuiſed by *Theophanes*, who hated *Rutilius*, becauſe he was but a counterfeit to him: or peraduenture to gratifie P*ompey*, whoſe father *Rutilius* in his hiſtories deſcribeth to be as wicked a man as euer liued. Thence P*ompey* departed towardes the citie of Amisvs. There his ambition brought him to commit ſuch factes, as he himſelfe did condemne before in *Lucullus*: for that his enemy being yet aliue, he tooke vpon him to eſtabliſh lawes, to giue giftes, and diſtribute ſuch honours, as Captaines that had obtained victorie were wont to do, when they had ended all warre and trouble. For he himſelfe (*Mithridates* being yet the ſtronger in the realme of Bosphorvs, and hauing a great puiſſant army about him) did all that which he reproued an other for, appointing prouinces, and geuing out giftes to euery man according as he deſerued: to gratifie twelue barbarous kings, with diuers other Princes, Lordes and Captaines, that came to him thither. Writing alſo to the king of PARTHIA, he diſdained to giue him that title, which others were wont to do in the direction of their letters, calling him hing of kings. Furthermore, he had a wonderfull great deſire to winne SYRIA, and to go through the country of ARABIA, euen vnto the red ſea, becauſe he might enlarge his conqueſtes and victories euery way, euen vnto the great ſea Oceanum, that compaſſeth all the whole earth. For in LIBYA, he was the firſt ROMAINE that conquered all to the great ſea. On the other ſide, in SPAYNE he enlarged the Empire of ROME, & brought the confines thereof vnto Mare Atlanticũ. And thirdly, hauing lately the ALBANIANS in chaſe, he came almoſt vnto Mare Hyrcaniũ. Thus he put himſelfe in iourney, intending his circuite vnto the red ſea, ſpecially becauſe he ſaw *Mithridates* ſo ill to follow, & worſe to ouercome by force when he fled, thẽ when he fought any battell: and that made him ſay, that he would leaue a ſharper enemy behinde him, then himſelfe: and that he ment, famine. For he appointed ſouldiers with ſufficient number of ſhippes, to lye in wait for the marchaunts that ſayled to the country of BOSPHORVS, to cary them any victuals or other marchaundiſes, prohibiting them vpon paine of death that ſhould attempt it. Then he went forward with the beſt part of his army, and in his way, found the bodies of dead ROMAINES which *Mithridates* had ouerthrowen vnder the leading of *Triarius* their Captaine, & were yet vnburied. So he cauſed them all to be taken vp, & honourably buried. *Lucullus* hauing forgotten, or otherwiſe neglected to do it, in my conſcience that was the chiefeſt cauſe why his men did hate him. *Pompey* now hauing by *Afranius* ſubdued the ARABIANS, dwelling about mount Amanus, went himſelfe in perſon into SYRIA, and made a gouernement & prouince of it, being won to the ROMAINE Empire, for that it lacked a lawfull king: and conquered all IVRIE alſo, where he tooke king *Ariſtobulus*, and builded certaine cities there, and deliuered others alſo from bondage, which by tyrants were forcibly kept, whom he chaſtiſed well enough. Howbeit he ſpent the moſt part of his time there, deciding of controuerſies, pacifying of contentions and quarels by arbiterment, which fell out betwixt the free cities, Princes and kings, and ſent of his friends into thoſe places where he could not come himſelfe. For on a time when he was choſen arbitratour betwixt the PARTHIANS & the ARMENIANS, touching the title of a country which both parties claimed: he ſent three commiſsioners thither to iudge definitiuely betwixt them both. If *Pompeys* fame & renowne were great, no leſſe was his vertue, iuſtice and liberalitie, which indeede did hide many faults, his friends and familiars about him did commit. For truely he was of ſo gentle a nature, that he could neither keepe them from offending, nor yet puniſh them when they had offended. Notwithſtanding, he did vſe them ſo well that complained vnto him, or that had to deale with him in any matter: that he made them contented, patiently to beare their couetouſneſſe and ſtraight dealing. One of his chiefeſt familiars about him whom he loued beſt, was called *Demetrius*, a bondman infrãchiſed, who otherwiſe was very diſcrete in his doings, but being ſomewhat too bold of his good fortune: of him they make this mention. *Cato* the Philoſopher being at that time a young man, yet of good iudgement and of a noble minde, in *Pompeys* abſence went to ſee the city of ANTIOCH. Now for himſelf, his maner was alwayes to go a foote, and all his friends beſides that did accompany him to honour him, were a horſebacke. He perceiuing a farre off, a great ſort of people comming towardes him all in white, and of one ſide of the ſtreete litle children, and on the other boyes, round about them as in a ring: at the firſt he was angry withall, thinking they had done it for his ſake to honor him, that they made this proceſsion, which he in no wiſe would haue had done. Thereupon he commaunded his friends to light from their horſes, and to go a foote with him. But when they came neare to the gate of the citie, the maiſter of the ceremonies that led this proceſsion, hauing a garland on his head, and a rod in his hand, came vnto them, and asked them: where they had left *Demetrius*, and when he would come? *Catoes* friends laughed to heare this queſtion: then ſayd *Cato*, alas poore citie, and ſo paſſed by it. Notwithſtanding, *Pompey* himſelfe was cauſe that *Demetrius* had the leſſe ill will borne him, then otherwiſe he ſhould haue had: becauſe they ſaw how boldly he would vſe *Pompey*, and how well he would take it without offence. It is reported, that when *Pompey* oftentimes had bidden ſome to dinner or ſupper,

*Pompeys iourney into Syria.*

*Pompey brought Syria into the forme and gouernement of a prouince.*

*Pompeys vertues.*

*The power and inſolencie of Demetrius Pompeys infranchiſed bendman.*

*Catoes exclamation againſt Demetrius Pompeys infranchiſed bondman.*

*Pompeys Theater.*

*The king of Arabia Petrea ſubmitted himſelſe to Pompey.*

*Mithridates death.*

*The value of Mithridates ſcaberd of his ſword.*

while he was entertaining and welcomming of them, and would tary till they were all come: *Demetrius* would be ſet at the bord, and preſumptuouſly haue his head couered euen to the very eares. And furthermore, before he returned into ITALIE out of this iourney, he had already purchaſed the goodlieſt houſes of pleaſure and fayreſt walkes that were about ROME, and had ſumptuous gardens alſo, the which the people commonly called *Demetrius* gardens: though his maiſter *Pompey* was but meanly houſed till his third Conſulſhip. Howbeit afterwardes, he built that famous ſtately Theater, called *Pompeys* Theater, and ioyned vnto that alſo an other houſe, as a penthouſe to his Theater, farre more ſumptuous and ſtately then the firſt, and yet no more then needed. In ſomuch as he that was owner of it after him, when he came into it, he maruelled, and asked where abouts it was, that *Pompey* dyned & ſupped. Theſe things are reported thus. Now, the king of the ARABIANS, that dwelt about the caſtell called Petra, hauing neuer vntill that time made any accompt of the ROMAINES army, was thē greatly afrayed of them, and wrote vnto *Pompey*, that he was at his deuotion, to do what he would commaunde him. *Pompey* thereupon to proue him, whether he ment as he ſpake: brought his army before this caſtell of Petra. Howbeit this voyage was not liked of many men, becauſe they iudged it was an occaſion found out to leaue following of *Mithridates*, againſt whom they would haue had him rather haue bent his force, being an auncient enemy to ROME, and that began to gather ſtrength againe, and prepared (as they heard ſay) to lead a great army through SCYTHIA & PANNONIA into ITALIA. But *Pompey* thinking he ſhould ſooner miniſh his power by ſuffering him to go on with warres, then that he ſhould otherwiſe be able to take him flying: would not toyle to follow him in vaine. And for theſe cauſes he would needes make warres in other places, and linger time ſo long, that in the end he was put by his hope. For when he was not farre from the caſtell of Petra, and had lodged his camp for that day: as he was riding and managing his horſe vp and downe the camp, poſtes came flinging to him from the realme of PONTVS, and brought him good newes, as was eaſily to be diſcerned a farre off by the heades of their iauelings, which were wreathed about with laurell boughes. The ſouldiers perceiuing that, flocked ſtraight about him: but *Pompey* would make an end of his riding firſt, before he read theſe letters. Howbeit they crying to him, and being importunate with him, he lighted from his horſe, and returned into his camp, where there was no ſtone high enough for him to ſtand vpon to ſpeake vnto them, and againe, the ſouldiers would not tarie the making of one after the manner of their camp, which men of warre do make themſelues, with great turues of earth, laying one of them vpon an other: but for haſt and earneſt deſire they had to heare what newes there was in the letters, they layed together a heape of ſaddles one vpon an other, and *Pompey* getting vp on them, told how *Mithridates* was dead, and had killed himſelfe with his owne hands, becauſe his ſonne *Pharnaces* did rebell againſt him, and had wonne all that which his father poſſeſſed: writing vnto him, that he kept it for himſelfe and the ROMAINES. Vpon theſe newes, all the camp ye may imagine, made wonderfull ioy, and did ſacrifice to the goodes, giuing them thankes, and were as mery, as if in *Mithridates* perſon alone, there had dyed an infinite number of their enemies. *Pompey* by this occaſion, hauing brought this warre more eaſily to paſſe then he hoped for, departed preſently out of ARABIA, and hauing ſpeedily in few dayes paſſed through the contrys lying by the way, he came at length to the citie of AMISVS. There he found great preſents that were brought vnto him from *Pharnaces*, and many dead bodies of the kings bloud, and amongſt the reſt, *Mithridates* corſe, which could not well be diſcerned by his face, becauſe they that had the carying of his body had forgotten to drie vp the braine: neuertheleſſe, ſuch as deſired to ſee him, knew him by certaine ſcarres he had in his face. For *Pompey* would in no wiſe ſee him: but to auoid enuie, ſent him away vnto the citie of SINOPE. He wondred much at the maruellous ſumptuous rich apparell and weapons that he ware. The ſcaberd of his ſword (which coſt foure hundred talents) was ſtolen by *Publius*, and ſold to *Ariarathes*. Alſo a hat of *Mithridates* of wonderfull workemanſhip, being begged of *Caius* his foſter brother, was ſecretly giuen to *Fauſtus*, the ſonne of *Sylla*, without *Pompeys* priuity. But afterwards when *Pharnaces* vnderſtood of it, he puniſhed the parties that had imbezelled them. *Pompey* hauing ordered all things and eſtabliſhed that prouince, went on his iorney homewards with great pompe and glory. So,comming vnto MITYLENE, he releaſed the citie of all taxes and payments for *Theophanes* ſake,and was preſent at a certaine play they yearely make for games, where the Poets report their workes,contending one with an other,hauing at that time no other matter in hand, but P*ompeys* actes and ieſtes. P*ompey* liked exceeding well the Theater where theſe playes were made, and drew a modell or platforme of it to make a ſtatelyer then that in ROME. As he paſſed by the citie of RHODES, he would needs heare all the Rethoritiãs diſpute,and gaue euery one of them a talent. P*oſidonius* hath written the diſputation he made before P*ompey*, againſt *Hermagoras* the Rethoritian,vpon the theame and propoſition P*ompey* ſelfe did giue them, touching the generall queſtion. P*ompey* did the like at ATHENS vnto the Philoſophers there. For he gaue towardes the reedifying of the city againe,fifty talents. So he thought at his returne home into ITALIE,to haue bene very honorably receiued, and longed to be at home,to ſee his wife & children,thinking alſo that they long looked for him: but the god that hath the charge giuen him to mingle fortunes proſperity, with ſome bitter ſoppe of aduerſity, layed a blocke in his way at home in his owne houſe, to make his returne more ſorowfull. For *Mutia* his wife had in his abſence played falſe at tables. But P*ompey* being then farre off, made no account of the reportes nor tales that were told him. Howbeit, when he drew neare into ITALIE, and that he was more attentiue to giue eare to the ill reportes he heard: then he ſent vnto her to tell her, that he refuſed her for his wife, writing nothing to her at that time,neither euer after told the cauſe why he had forſaken her. Notwithſtanding, in *Ciceroes* Epiſtles the cauſe appeareth. Furthermore, there were rumours ranne abroade in ROME which troubled them ſore, being giuen out that he would bring his armie ſtraight to ROME,and make himſelfe abſolute Lord of all the ROMAINE Empire. C*raſſus* thereupon,either for that he beleeued it indeede to be true, or(as it was thought) to make the accuſation true,and the enuie towardes P*ompey* the greater: conueyed himſelfe, his familie, and goodes, ſodainly out of ROME. So P*ompey* when he came into ITALIE,called all his ſouldiers together,& after he had made an oration vnto them,as time and occaſion required: he commanded them to ſeuer themſelues,and euery man to repaire home to apply his buſineſſe, remembring to meete at ROME together,at the day of his triũphe. His army being thus diſperſed, & ſtraight reported abroad for newes: a maruellous thing happened vnto him. The cities ſeeing P*ompey* the great without ſouldiers, hauing but a ſmall traine about him of his familiar friends onely: went all of thẽ to meete him,not as though he were returned home from his great conqueſtes, but from ſome iourney taken for his pleaſure. Such was the loue of the people to him, that they accompanied him to ROME,whether he would or not, with a greater power then that he had brought into ITALIE: ſo that if he had bene diſpoſed to haue made any innouatiõ in the common wealth, he had not needed his army. In thoſe dayes there was a law,that no man ſhould enter into ROME before his triumphe: whereupon *Pompey* ſent to the Senate, to pray them to deferre the chuſing of Conſuls for a few dayes,becauſe he might be preſent to further P*iſo*,who ſued for the Conſulſhip that yeare. They denied him his requeſt, by *Catoes* meanes that hindred it. *Pompey* maruelling to heare of his boldnes & plaine ſpeach,which he only vſed of all other to defend his iuſt cauſes: had a maruellous deſire to win him, & to make him his friend. So *Cato* hauing two neeces,*Pompey* deſired to marry the one himſelfe,& the other for his ſon. But *Cato* miſtruſting this deſire of P*ompeys*,that it was a colour only to win & corrupt him: denied him flatly. His wife & ſiſter on the other ſide,they were angry with him for refuſing to make alliãce with P*ompey* the great About that time it chãced, that P*ompey* being very deſirous to preferre *Afranius* to be Conſull, he cauſed certaine money to be giuen amongſt the tribes of the people, & the ſame was deliuered out to ſome,euen in his owne gardens. This thing being reported abroad in the city,euery man ſpake ill of *Pompey*: that he put the Conſulſhip to ſale for money,vnto thoſe that could not deſerue it by vertue, ſith himſelfe onely had obtained it by purchaſe,of many a noble and worthy deede. Then ſayd *Cato* to his wife & ſiſter: loe now,we had bene partakers of this fault too, had we matched with *Pompey*. Whẽ they heard it,they confeſſed he had reaſon to refuſe the match,for equitie & his honour. But now to his triumphe. For the ſtatelineſſe & magnificẽce therof,although he had two dayes ſpace to ſhew it, yet he lacked time: for there were many things prepared for the ſhew, that were not ſeene, which would

*Pompeys turne out of Aſia.*

*Mutia, the wife of Pompey.*

*Pompey forſooke his wife Mutia.*

*Pompey at his returne out of Aſia, diſcharged his ſouldiers.*

*Pompeys honorable returne to Rome out of Aſia.*

*A law for triumphe.*

*Cato refuſeth Pompeys alliance.*

*Pompeys third triumphe.*

*The countryes conquered by Pompey.*

haue ſerued to haue ſet out an other triumphe. Firſt there were tables caried, whereon were written the names and titles of all the people and nations for the which he triumphed, as theſe that follow. The kingdome of PONTVS, ARMENIA, CAPPADOCIA, PAPHLAGONIA, MEDIA, COLCHIS, IBERIA, ALBANIA, SYRIA, CILICIA, and MESOPOTAMIA: and furthermore, the people that dwell about PHOENICIA & PALÆSTINE, IVDÆA, & ARABIA: & all the pirats which he had ouercome both by ſea & by land, in all parts of the world. In all theſe countryes, he tooke about a thouſand caſtels, few leſſe then nine hundred townes and cities: of pirats ſhips eight hundred, & nine & thirtie deſolate townes left without inhabitants, repleniſhed againe with people by him. Moreouer, theſe tables declared, that the reuenue of the cõmõ wealth of ROME before theſe conqueſtes he made, amounted yearely but to fiue thouſand Miriades: and that from thenceforth with the ſummes he had added vnto the former reuenue, they ſhould now receiue eight thouſand & fiue hundred Miriades: & that he brought preſently in ready gold & ſiluer, & in plate & iewels, to put into the cõmon treaſury, the value of twẽty thouſand talents, beſides that which had bene diſtributed already amongſt the ſouldiers: of the which, he that had leſt for his ſhare, had fifteen hũdred Drachmas.

*Captiues led in Pompeys third triumph.*

The priſoners that were led in the ſhew of this triumph, beſides the Captaines of the pirats, were theſe that follow. The ſonne of *Tigranes* king of ARMENIA, with his wife and daughter: the wife of king *Tigranes* himſelfe, called *Zoſime*: *Ariſtobulus* king of IVRIE: *Mithridates* ſiſter with fiue ſonnes of hers, & ſome Ladies of SCYTHIA. The hoſtages alſo of the IBERIANS & the ALBANIANS, & alſo of the kings of the COMMAGENIANS: ouer & beſides a great nũber of other marks of triũphes which himſelfe or his Lieutenants had won at ſundry battels in diuers places. But the greateſt honour that euer he wanne, and which neuer other Conſull of the ROMAINES but himſelfe obtained, was this: that he made his third triumph of the three parts of the world.

*Pompey conquered three partes of the world: Africke. Europe. Aſia. Pompey triumphed thriſe before the age of forty yeares. The change of Pompeys fortune and honour.*

Diuers other ROMAINES had triumphed thriſe before him, howbeit he firſt triumphed of AFRICKE: the ſecond time of EVROPE: the third time of ASIA. So that it appeared by theſe three triumphes, that he had triumphed in manner of all the land that is inhabited, being at that time, (as it is reported by them which compare his doings vnto *Alexander* the great) vnder foure and thirtie yeares of age, though in troth at that time he was neare forty. O happy had it bene for him, if he had dyed when he had *Alexanders* fortune: for all his life afterwardes, made his proſperitie hatefull, or his aduerſity miſerable. Imploying the honour and authoritie he had gotten by his valiantneſſe, fauouring mens vniuſt cauſes: the more he furthered them, the more he leſſened honour, and vnwares brought his greatneſſe to nothing. For like as when the ſtrongeſt places of a citie, which receiuing their enemies into them, do giue them the benefite of their owne ſtrength: euen ſo, through *Pompeys* power, *Cæſar* growing to be great, ouerthrew him in the end with the ſelfe ſame meanes he imployed, to the ouerthrow of others. And thus it fortuned.

*Lucullus beloued of the Senate at his returne out of Aſia.*

*Lucullus* at his returne out of ASIA (where *Pompey* had vncurteouſly vſed him) was then very well taken of the Senate, and much more when *Pompey* was alſo come to ROME. For the Senate did counſell and incourage him to deale in the affaires of the ſtate, ſeeing him waxe verie ſlow, & giuen too much to his eaſe and pleaſure, by reaſon of his great wealth he had gotten.

*Lucullus inueyed againſt Pompey, by Catoes aſſiſtance. Pompey ioyned with Clodius, Tribune of the people.*

So when Pompey was come, he began to ſpeake againſt him, and through the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of *Cato*, confirmed all his doings in ASIA, which Pompey had broken and reiected. Pompey finding he had ſuch a repulſe of the Senate, was driuen to haue recourſe vnto the Tribunes of the people, and to fall in friendſhip with light young men. Of the Tribunes, the moſt impudent and vileſt perſon was *Clodius*: who receiued him, & made him a prey vnto the people. For he had *Pompey* euer at his elbow, & againſt his honour caried him vp & down the market place after him, to ſpeake as occaſion ſerued to confirme any matter or deuiſe which he preferred vnto him to flatter the common people. And further, for recompence of his good will, he craued of *Pompey* (not as a thing diſhonorable, but beneficiall for him) that he would forſake *Cicero*, who was his friend, and had done much for him in matters of common wealth.

*Pompey forſaketh his friend Cicero.*

*Pompey* graunted his requeſt. Thereupon *Cicero* being brought in daunger of law, and requiring Pompeys friendſhip to helpe him, he ſhut his doore againſt them that came to ſpeake in his behalfe, and went out himſelfe at an other backe doore. *Cicero* thereupon fearing the extremitie of law, willingly forſooke ROME. At that time, *Iulius Cæſar* returning home from his

Prætorſhippe out of SPAINE, beganne to lay ſuch a plotte, that preſently brought him into great fauour, and afterwardes much increaſed his power, but otherwiſe vtterly vndid *Pompey* and the common wealth. Now he was to ſue for his firſt Conſulſhippe, and conſidering the enmitie betwixt *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, if he ioyned with the one, he made the other his enemie: he deuiſed to make them friendes, a thing ſeeming of great honeſtie at the firſt ſight, but yet a peſtilent deuiſe, and as ſubtile a practiſe as could be. For the power of the citie being before deuided into two partes (as a ſhippe euenly balleſt of ech ſide) and maintained the common wealth vpright: being now brought into one mans power, there was no poſſibilitie to withſtand it, ſo that all fell to wracke in the end. Whereupon, *Cato* wiſely told them afterwardes, that ſaid the ciuill warres betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæſar* was cauſe of the deſtruction of the common wealth: that their enmity and diſcord was not the chiefe originall cauſe of this miſerie, but rather their friendſhip and agreement. For by their friendſhip *Cæſar* was choſen Conſull, who ſtraight fell to flatter the people and poore men, and made a law for reſtoring of the colonies belonging to ROME, and for diſtributing of lands to them that had none, imbaſing the maieſtie and dignitie of the chiefe Magiſtrate, and making the Conſulſhippe in maner no better then the Tribuneſhip of the people. *Bibulus* his colleague and fellow Conſull, did what he could to reſiſt him, and *Cato* alſo did aide him to his power: vntill *Cæſar* openly brought *Pompey* into the pulpit for orations before the people, and calling him by his name, asked him if he did giue his conſent to the decrees which he did ſet forth. *Pompey* aunſwered him, he did. Why then, ſaid *Cæſar*, if any man will by force let the paſſing of this law by voices of the people: wilt thou not then come to helpe them? Yes that I will in deede, ſaid *Pompey*. Againſt them that threaten with the ſword, I will bring both ſworde and target. *Pompey* in all his life neuer did nor ſpake thing that men more miſliked, then that which he ſaid at that time. His friends excuſed him, and ſaid it was a word paſſed his mouth before he was aware: but his deeds afterwards ſhewed, that he was altogether at *Cæſars* commaundement. For not many dayes after, he maried *Iulia* the daughter of *Cæſar*, which was affianced, or made ſure before, vnto *Seruilius Cæpio* when no man thought of it: and to pacifie *Cæpioes* anger, he gaue him his owne daughter in mariage, whom he had alſo promiſed before vnto *Fauſtus* the ſonne of *Sylla*: & *Cæſar* alſo maried *Calphurnia*, the daughter of *Piſo*. After this, *Pompey* filling all ROME with ſouldiers, did what he would by force. For as the Conſull *Bibulus* came into the market place accompanied with *Lucullus* and *Cato*, they ſodainly ſet vpon him, and brake the bundels of rods which his officers caried before him: and ſome one, whatſoeuer he was, caſt a basket of horſe dung vpon his head. Moreouer, the two Tribunes that were in his company, were alſo very ſore hurt. By this meanes, hauing cleared the market place of all their enemies, they paſſed the law for diuiſion of lands, as they would themſelues. The people being fleſhed with this baite, were contented to be ruled by them as they would, and would neuer ſticke at any matter that they would haue paſſed. So were all *Pompeys* matters confirmed, which *Lucullus* was againſt: and they appointed vnto *Cæſar* alſo, the gouernment of the GAVLES on this ſide and beyond the Alpes: and ILLYRIA for fiue yeares ſpace, with foure whole legions. The next yeare following were appointed Conſuls, *Piſo Cæſars* father in law, and *Gabinius* the greateſt flatterer *Pompey* had about him. But now while things ſtood in theſe tearmes, *Bibulus* though he were Conſull, kept him ſelfe cloſe in his houſe for eight monethes ſpace, and onely ſent out billes, and ſet them vp on euery poſt in open places, accuſing *Pompey* and *Cæſar*. *Cato* on the other ſide, as if he had bene inſpired with the ſpirite of prophecy, tolde openly in the Senate houſe, what would become of the common wealth and *Pompey*. *Lucullus* growing old, lay ſtill and tooke his pleaſure, & would no more meddle in the common wealth. At that time it was that *Pompey* ſaid: it was more vnſeaſonable for an old man to follow his pleaſure, then to attend matters of the common wealth. Yet him ſelfe ſhortly after was ſo doted of his yong wife, that he would follow her vp and downe in the country, and in his gardens, and leaue all affairs of waight aſide. Whereupon *Clodius* being then Tribune of the people, deſpiſed *Pompey*, and beganne to enter into ſeditious attempts. For when he had driuen *Cicero* out of ROME, and had ſent away *Cato* to make warres in CYPRVS, and that *Cæſar* alſo was occupied in GAVLE, and finding that the people in like caſe were at his commaundement, becauſe to flatter them he

*Cæſar reconciled Pompey and Craſſus.*

*Cæſars law for deuiding of landes. Lex Agraria.*

*Pompey gaue his conſent with Cæſar, for paſſing his law Agraria.*

*Pompey maried Iulia, the daughter of Cæſar.*

*Bibulus the Conſull, driuen out of the market place, by Pompey.*

*The law Agraria confirmed by the people.*

*Gaule and Illyria appointed vnto Cæſar.*

*Piſo, and Gabinius, Conſuls.*

*Cato foreſheweth the ruine of the common wealth, and of Pompey.*

*Clodius the Tribune ſetteth vpon Pompey.*

did what they would haue him: he attempted incontinently to vndo ſome things that *Pompey* had eſtabliſhed. Amongſt other things, he tooke *Tigranes* out of priſon, and euer caried him vp and downe with him whereſoeuer he went, and continually pict quarrels vnto *Pompeys* friends, to trie what credit he had. In the end *Pompey* comming abroad one day into the common aſſembly, to heare how a matter of his was hādled: this *Clodius* hauing a company of vagabondes and deſperate men about him, that cared not what they did: he ſitting in a place where he might be ſeene from the reſt, began to aske theſe queſtions out aloude. Who is the licentiouſeſt Captaine in all this city? What man is he that ſeekes for a man? What is he that ſcratcheth his head with one finger? They, like a companie of daunſers or ſingers, when he ſpake and clapped his hands on his gowne, aunſwered him ſtraight aloude to euery queſtion, that it was *Pompey*. This went to *Pompeys* hart, that was not wonte to heare himſelfe ſo ill ſpoken of openly, neither was acquainted with any ſuch kinde of fight: but yet it made him bite the lip more, when he ſaw the Senate glad to ſee him thus ſhamed and reproued, as a iuſt reuenge and puniſhment for his vile betraying and forſaking of *Cicero*. So, great ſturre and vprore being made vpon this in the market place, and many men ſore hurt, and one of *Clodius* bondmen being taken alſo in the preaſe of the people with a ſword in his hand, very neere vnto *Pompey*: making this his colour (but otherwiſe fearing *Clodius* inſolencie and proud words) he would neuer after come into the market place, as long as *Clodius* was Tribune, but kept at home ſtill, conſulting with his friends what way he ſhould take to appeaſe the anger of the Senate againſt him. Thereuppon, one of his friends called *Culeo*, perſwaded him to put away his wife *Iulia*, and vtterly to refuſe *Cæſars* friendſhip, and to ſticke againe to the Senate: but he would none of that. Notwithſtanding he was contented to hearken vnto them that gaue him counſell to call *Cicero* home againe, who was *Clodius* mortall enemie, and in great fauour with the Senate. Thereuppon, he brought *Ciceroes* brother into the market place, to mooue the matter to the people, with a great number of men about him, where they fell to blowes, and diuers were ſlaine of either ſide: notwithſtanding, he ouercame *Clodius*. Thus *Cicero* being called home by decree of the people, when he was come, he brought *Pompey* againe in fauor with the Senate, and ſtanding with the lawe propounded to giue *Pompey* authoritie to cauſe corne to be brought to ROME, he once againe made him haue power both by land and ſea ouer all the territories of the ROMAINES. For all the hauens, marts & faires, and all ſtore houſes for corne, yea moreouer all the trade of marchandiſe and tillage, came vnder *Pompeys* hands. Then *Clodius* accuſing him, ſaid: that the Senate had not made this law for the dearth of victuals, but that they made a dearth of victuals, becauſe the law ſhould paſſe, to reuiue *Pompeys* power and authoritie againe, that was almoſt vnder foote. Other ſay, that this was a deuiſe of *Lentulus Spinther* the Conſull, who gaue *Pompey* the greater authoritie, becauſe he might be ſent to put king *Ptolomy* againe into his kingdome. This notwithſtanding, *Canidius* the Tribune preferred an other law to ſend *Pompey* without an army, with two ſergeants only to cary the axes before him, to bring *Ptolomy* in fauor againe with the ALEXANDRIANS. This lawe ſeemed not to miſlike *Pompey*: but the Senate with honeſt colour put by this law, as being affraide leaſt *Pompeys* perſon ſhould miſcary in ſo doing. Neuertheleſſe, litle papers were found throwne about the market place, and the Senate houſe, declaring that *Ptolomy* deſired *Pompey* might come to aide him in *Spinthers* ſtead. *Timagenes* writeth notwithſtanding, that *Ptolomy* went vnto ROME, & left ÆGYPT without any occaſion giuen him, at the perſuaſion of *Theophanes*, who perſuaded him to do ſo, becauſe he would giue *Pompey* occaſion to make newe warres. But *Theophanes* craft and ſubtilty made not this matter ſo credible, as *Pompeys* wit and good nature made it altogether vntrue: for his ambitiō was nothing ſo vile nor ill, as that was. So, *Pompey* hauing now full authority to cauſe corne to be brought to ROME, he ſent then his Lieutenants and friends abroade, and himſelfe in perſon wente into SICILE. Nowe being ready to returne againe, there roſe ſuch a ſtorme of winde in the ſea, that the mariners were in doubt to wey their anckers. But himſelfe firſt imbarked, and commanded them ſtraight to hoiſe ſaile, crying out aloude, it is of neceſſitie I muſt go, but not to liue. So, through his boldneſſe and good ſpirite, vſing the good fortune he had, he filled all the places of marte, and markets with corne, and all the ſea beſides with ſhippes: inſomuch, the plenty he brought did

*Pompey was grieuouſly ſcorned of Clodius.*

*Commiſſion giuen to Pompey for bringing of corne into Rome.*

*The reſtoring againe of Ptolomy King of Ægypt to his realme.*

not only furniſh the city of ROME, but all their neighbours alſo about them, and came like a liuely ſpring that diſperſed it ſelfe through all ITALIE. About that time, the great conqueſts that *Cæſar* made in GAVLE, did ſet him aloft. For when they thought that he was occupied in warres farre from ROME, with the BELGEANS, SWISSES, and Engliſhmen: he by ſecret practiſe, was in the middeſt among the people at ROME, & moſt againſt *Pompey* in the waightieſt affaires of the commonwealth. For he had the power of an armie about his perſon, which he did harden with paines and continuall practiſe, not with intent to fight onely againſt the barbarous people: for the battels he had with them, were in maner but as a hunting ſporte, by the which he made himſelfe inuincible, and dreadfull to the worlde. But furthermore, by the infinite gold & ſiluer, and the incredible ſpoiles and treaſure which he wan vpon the enemies whom he had ouercome: and by ſending great preſents alſo to ROME, to the AEdiles, Prætors, Conſuls, and their wiues, he purchaſed him many friends. Therefore, after he had paſſed ouer the Alpes againe, and was come to winter in the city of LVCA: a world of people (both men and women) and of the Senate themſelues almoſt two hundred perſons (and amongſt them, *Craſſus* and *Pompey* by name) went out of ROME vnto him. Furthermore, there were ſeene at *Cæſars* gate, ſixe ſcore ſergeants carying axes before Prætors, or Proconſuls. So *Cæſar* ſent euery one backe againe, either full of money, or good words: but with *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, he made a matche, that they two together ſhould ſue to be Conſuls, and that he himſelfe would ſend them good aide to ROME, at the day of election, to giue their voices. And if they were choſen, that they ſhould then practiſe by decree of the people, to haue the gouernments of ſome new prouinces and armies aſſigned them: and withall, that they ſhould adiorne the gouernment of thoſe prouinces he had, for fiue yeares more. This packe being bewrayed and ſpred abroad through ROME, the honeſteſt ſort miſliked much thereof. Whereupon *Marcellinus* at an open aſſembly of the people, did aske them both, if they would ſue for the Conſulſhip at the next election. So, they being vrged by the people to make aunſwere, *Pompey* ſpake firſt, and ſaid: peraduenture he would, peraduenture not. *Craſſus* aunſwered more gently, that he would doe that which ſhould be beſt for the commonwealth. Then *Marcellinus* ſharpely inueying againſt *Pompey*, he angrily againe caſt him in the teeth, and ſaid, that *Marcellinus* was the ranckeſt churle, and the vnthankfulleſt beaſt in the world: for that of a dum man he had made him eloquent, and being in manner ſtarued and famiſhed, many a time he had filled his bellie. This notwithſtanding, diuers that before were determined to ſue for the Conſulſhip, went no further in it, ſauing *Lucius Domitius*, whom *Cato* counſelled and incouraged not to giue it ouer: for, ſaid he, thou doeſt not contend for the Conſulſhip, but to defend the common libertie of thy country againſt two tyrants. *Pompey* therefore fearing *Catoes* faction, leaſt that hauing all the Senates good willes, he ſhould drawe alſo the beſt parte of the people after him: thought it not good to ſuffer *Domitius* to come into the market place. To this ende therefore, he ſent men armed againſt him, who at the firſt onſet, ſlue the torche bearer that caried the torche before him, and made all the reſt flie: amongſt whom alſo *Cato* was the laſt man that retired, who was hurt in his elbow defending of *Domitius*. *Pompey* and *Craſſus* being become Conſuls after this ſorte, they ordered themſelues nothing the more temperately, nor honeſtly. For firſt of all, the people being about to chooſe *Cato* prætor, *Pompey* being at the aſſembly of the election, perceiuing that they would chooſe him, brake vp the aſſembly, falſely alleadging that he had noted certaine ill ſignes, and afterwards, the tribes of the people being bribed and corrupted with money, they choſe *Antias* and *Vatinius* prætors. After that, by *Trebonius* tribune of the people, they publiſhed edicts, authoriſing *Cæſars* charge for fiue yeares longer, according to the appointment they had made with *Cæſar*. Vnto *Craſſus* alſo they had appointed SYRIA, and the warre againſt the PARTHIANS. Vnto *Pompey* in like caſe, all AFRICKE, and both SPAYNES, with foure Legions beſides: of the which, at *Cæſars* deſire, he lent him two legions to help him in his war in GAVLE. Theſe things done, *Craſſus* departed to his Prouince, at the going out of his Conſulſhip: and *Pompey* remained at ROME about the dedicating of his Theater, where he cauſed many goodly plaies to be made, both for exerciſe of perſon, as alſo for learning and muſicke, and cauſed wilde beaſts alſo to be baited and hunted, and killed a fiue hundred lions. But of all things,

*Great repaire vnto Cæſar, wintring at Luca.*

*The violence of Pompey obtayning the ſecond Conſulſhip*

*Pompey and Craſſus ſecond Conſulſhips.*

*Prouinces deuided vnto Tompey, Cæſar and Craſſus.*

*The death of Iulia the daughter of Cæſar.*

*The beginning of the diſſentiō betwixt Pompey & Cæſar.*

there was no ſuch fearefull ſight and terrible fight,as was betweene the elephants. This great charge and bountifull expence, defraied by *Pompey*, to ſhew the people paſtime and pleaſure: made him againe to be very much eſteemed of, and beloued amongſt the people. But on the other ſide,he wanne himſelfe as much ill will and enuy, in committing the gouernement of his Prouinces and Legions into the handes of his Lieutenants, whileſt he himſelfe romed vp and downe the pleaſaunt places of ITALY,with his wife at his pleaſure: either becauſe he was farre in loue with her,or els for that ſhe loued him ſo dearely, that he coulde not finde in his heart to leaue her companie.It was reported of her,(being knowne of many) that this young lady *Iulia* loued her husband more dearely,not for *Pompeys* floriſhing age, but for his aſſured continencie, knowing no other woman but her: beſides alſo, he was no ſolemne man, but pleaſant of conuerſation,which made women loue him maruellouſly,vnleſſe we will reproue the curtiſan *Floraes* falſe teſtimonie. It is certaine,that at an election of the Ædiles, men riſing ſodainly in hurly burly, drew their ſwords, and many were ſlaine about *Pompey*: inſomuch as his clothes being bloudied, he ſent his men home in haſte to fetche him other to change him. His young wife that was great with child, ſeeing his clothes bloudie, tooke ſuch a flight vpon it,that ſhe fell downe in a ſounde before them, and they had much a doe to recouer her, and yet ſhe fell ſtraight in labour vpon it, and was deliuered. So that they themſelues, which blamed him moſt for his good will he bare vnto *Cæſar*: could not reproue the loue he bare vnto his wife. An other time after that,ſhe was great with child againe, whereof ſhe died,and the childe liued not many dayes after the mother. As *Pompey* was about to carie her into the countrie to be buried,to a houſe he had there neere vnto the city of ALBA:the people by force tooke her corſe,& caried it into the field of *Mars*, more for the pitie they tooke of the young Ladie, then to pleaſure either *Cæſar* or *Pompey*: and yet what the people did for them, it appeared rather they did it more for *Cæſars* ſake being abſent, them for *Pompey* that was preſent. But ſtraight when his alliãce was broken,which rather couered,then bridled their ambitious deſire to rule: there roſe a new ſturre in ROME immediatly,and euery mans mouth was full of prittle prattle and ſeditious words. Not long after that alſo came newes,that *Craſſus* was ouerthrowne, and ſlaine in PARTHIA: who was a manifeſt ſtay and let to keepe them two from ciuill warres,for that they both feared him,and therefore kept themſelues in a reaſonable ſorte together. But when fortune had taken awaie this third champion,who could haue withſtood the better of them both that had ouercome the other: then might haue bene ſaid of theſe two which remained,as the comicall Poet ſaid:

*See how theſe champions purpoſing each others force to trie,*
*VVith nointed skin and duſty hands ſtand vaunting valiantly.*

So litle can fortune preuaile againſt nature, hauing no power to ſtop couetouſneſſe: ſith ſo large and great an Empire, and ſuch a wide countrie beſides, could not containe the couetous deſire of theſe two men. But though they had often both heard and read,

*Among the gods themſelues all things by lot diuided are,*
*And none of them intrudes himſelfe within his neighbours share.*

Yet they thought not that the Empire of ROME was enough for them, which were but two. But *Pompey* ſpake openly in an oration he made vnto the people, that he euer came to office before he looked for it,and alſo left it ſooner then they thought he would haue done: and that he witneſſed by diſcharging his armie ſo ſoone. Then thinking that *Cæſar* would not diſcharge his armie,he ſought to make himſelfe ſtrong againſt him, by procuring offices of the citie,without any other alteration. Neither would he ſeeme to miſtruſt him, but he plainely ſhewed that he did deſpiſe and contemne him. But when he ſawe that he could not obtaine the offices of the citie as he would, becauſe the citizens that made the elections were bribed with money: he then left it without a magiſtrate, ſo that there was none either to command, or that the people ſhould obey. Hereupon there ran a brute ſtraight, that there muſt needes be a Dictator made,and the firſt man that propounded it, was *Lucilius* tribune of the people, who perſuaded them to chooſe *Pompey*. But *Cato* ſtuck ſo ſtoutly againſt it, that the Tribune had like to haue loſt his office, euen in the market place. But then many of *Pompeys* friends ſtepped vp,and excuſed him,ſaying: that he neither ſought, nor would haue the Dictatorſhip.

Then *Cato* commended him much, and praying him to ſee good order kept in the common wealth: P*ompey* being aſhamed to denie ſo reaſonable a requeſt, was carefull of it. Thereupon two Conſuls were choſen, *Domitius*, and *Meſſala*: but afterwardes when the ſtate began to change againe, by the death of one of the Conſuls, and that diuers were more earneſtly bent to haue a Dictator than before, *Cato* fearing it would breake out with furie, determined to giue P*ompey* ſome office of reaſonable authoritie, to keepe him from the other more tyrannicall. Inſomuch, *Bibulus* himſelfe being chiefe of the Senate, and P*ompeys* enemie, was the firſt that moued, P*ompey* might be choſen Conſull alone: for, ſaid he, by this meanes, either the commonwealth ſhall be ridde of the preſent trouble: or elſe it ſhalbe in bondage to an honeſt man. This opinion was maruelled at, in reſpect of him that ſpake it. Whereupon, *Cato* ſtanding vp, it was thought ſtraight he would haue ſpoken againſt him. But ſilence being made him, he plainly tolde them, that for his owne part he would not haue bene the firſt man to haue propounded that was ſpoken: but ſithence it was ſpoken by another, that he thought it reaſonable and meete to be followed. And therefore, ſaid he, it is better to haue an office to commaund, whatſoeuer he be, rather then none: and that he ſaw no man fitter to command, then P*ompey*, in ſo troubleſome a time. All the Senate liked his opinion, and ordained that P*ompey* ſhould be choſen ſole Conſull: and that if he ſawe in his diſcretion he ſhould neede the aſſiſtance of an other companion, he might name any whom he thought good, but not till two moneths were paſt. Thus was P*ompey* made Conſul alone by *Sulpitius*, regent for that day. Then *Pompey* made very friendly countenance vnto *Cato*, and thanked him for the honor he had done to him, praying him priuately to aſſiſt him with his counſell in the Conſulſhip. *Cato* anſwered him, that there was no cauſe why he ſhould thanke him, for he had ſpoken nothing for his ſake, but for reſpect of the commonwealth onely: and for his counſell, if he would aske it, he ſhould priuately haue it, if not, yet that he would openly ſay that which he thought. Such a man was *Cato* in all his doings. Now P*ompey* returning into the citie, maried *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Metellus Scipio*, not a maiden, but late the widow of P*ublius Craſſus* the ſonne, that was ſlaine in PARTHIA, to whom ſhe was maried a maiden. This Lady had excellent gifts to be beloued beſides her beautie. For ſhe was properly learned, could play well on the harpe, was ſkilfull in muſicke and geometrie, and tooke great pleaſure alſo in philoſophie, and not vainely without ſome profit. For ſhe was very modeſt and ſober of behauiour, without brawling & fooliſh curioſitie, which commonly yong women haue, that are indued with ſuch ſingular gifts. Her father alſo, was a noble man, both in bloud, and life. Notwithſtanding, theſe vnlike mariages did nothing pleaſe ſome: for *Cornelia* was young enough to haue bene his ſonnes wife. Now the beſt citizens thought, that therein he regarded not the care of the commonwealth, being in ſuch a troubleſome time, which had choſen him onely, as her remedie to redreſſe the ſame: and that he in the meane time gaue himſelfe ouer to marying and feaſting, where rather he ſhould haue bene carefull of his Conſulſhip, which was diſpoſed vpon him againſt the lawe, for common calamities ſake, that otherwiſe he had not come by, if all had bene quiet. Furthermore, he ſharpely proceeded againſt them, which by briberie and vnlawfull meanes came to office: and hauing made lawes and ordinances for the adminiſtration of Iuſtice otherwiſe, he dealt iuſtly and vprightly in all things, giuing ſafetie, order, ſilence and grauitie, to matters of iudgement, with force of armes, himſelfe being preſent: ſauing that when his father in lawe was alſo accuſed among other, he ſent for the three hundred & threeſcore Iudges home to his houſe, praying them to helpe him. Whereupon, when the accuſer ſaw *Scipio* accompanied by the Iudges themſelues, returning into the market place: he let fall his ſute. This made P*ompey* againe be condemned, and blamed alſo more then before, for that he hauing made a lawe, that no man ſhould praiſe the offendors, whileſt their matter was a hearing: came himſelfe and openly praiſed *Plancus* being accuſed. Thereupon *Cato* being one of the Iudges, ſtopped his eares with both his hands, ſaying: that he might not heare an offender praiſed, ſeeing it was forbidden by lawe. But therefore he was refuſed for a Iudge, before they gaue ſentence. Notwithſtanding, *Plancus* was condemned by all the reſt of the Iudges, to P*ompeys* great ſhame and reproache. Shortly after, *Hypſeus*, one that had bene Conſull, being likewiſe accuſed, watching P*ompey* on a time as he came out of

*Variance among the Senate for Pompeys honor.*

*Cato ſpake in Pompeys fauour.*

*Pompey choſen Conſull.*

*Pompey maried Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio.*

*The vertues of Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio.*

his bathe to go to ſupper: vpon his knees he beſought *Pompeys* fauour and helpe. But he ſtately paſſed by him, and gaue him no other aunſwere, but tolde him, he marred his ſupper, and ſaid nothing els to him. This inconſtancy was much reproued in *Pompey*. Howbeit otherwiſe he ſet all things in good order, and choſe his father in lawe *Scipio*, for his colleague and fellow in the Conſulſhip, for the fiue laſt moneths. After that, he cauſed the gouernement of his prouinces to be appointed him for foure yeares more, with commiſſion to take yearely out of the treaſure a thouſand talents to defray the charges of this warre. *Cæſars* friend ſeeing that, ſtepped vp for him, and praied that there might alſo be had ſome conſideration of him, that had likewiſe great warres for the Empire of ROME: ſaying, that his good ſeruice deſerued, either that they ſhould make him Conſull againe, or elſe that they ſhould prolong his charge and gouernment, ſo as he might yet peaceably enioy the honor to commaund that which he had conquered, to the end that no other ſucceſſor might reape the fruite of his labour. Much ſturre and contention being about this matter at ROME, *Pompey* as though for good will he ment to excuſe the enuie they might haue borne *Cæſar*, ſaid: that he had receiued letters from him, by the which he requeſted a ſucceſſor, and to be diſcharged of this warre: and furthermore, that he thought it good they ſhould graunt him priuiledge to demaund the ſecond Conſulſhip, although he were abſent. Which *Cato* ſtoutly withſtood, ſaying, that he muſt returne home as a priuate man, and leauing his armie, ſhould come in perſon to craue recompence of his countrie. But becauſe *Pompey* made no replie nor aunſwere to the contrarie, men ſuſpected ſtraight that he had no great good liking of *Cæſar*, and the rather, becauſe he had ſent vnto him for the two legions which he had lent him, vnder colour of his warre againſt the PARTHIANS. But *Cæſar* though he ſmelt him wherefore he ſent for his ſouldiers, returned them home with liberall rewarde. About that time, *Pompey* fell ſicke at NAPLES of a dangerous diſeaſe, whereof notwithſtanding he recouered againe. The NEAPOLITANS thereupon, by perſuaſion of *Praxagoras*, one of the chiefeſt men of their citie: did ſacrifice to the gods for his recouerie. The like did alſo their neighbours round about: and in fine, it ranne ſo generally through all ITALY, that there was no citie or towne (great or ſmall) but made open feaſt and reioycing for many daies together. Beſides, the infinite number of people was ſuch, that went to meete him out of all partes: that there was not place enough for them all, but the high waies, cities, townes and ports of the ſea, were all full of people, feaſting and ſacrificing to the gods, reioycing for his recouerie. Diuerſe alſo went to meete him, crowned with garlands, and ſo did attend on him, caſting noſegaies and flowers vpon him. Thus was his Iorney the nobleſt ſight that euer was, all the way as he came: howbeit men thought alſo, that this was the chiefeſt cauſe of the beginning of the ciuill warres. For he fell into ſuch a pride, and glorious conceit of himſelfe, with the exceeding ioy he tooke to ſee himſelfe thus honored: that forgetting his orderly gouernment, which made all his former doings to proſper, he grew too bolde in deſpiſing of *Cæſars* power, as though he ſtood in no neede of other power or care to withſtand him, but that he could ouercome him as he would, farre more eaſily, then he could haue done before. Furthermore, *Appius* thereupon returned from GAVLE, that brought him his two legions back againe which he had lent vnto *Cæſar*, reproaching much his doings which he had done there, and giuing out many foule wordes againſt *Cæſar*. For he ſaid, that *Pompey* knew not his owne ſtrength and authoritie, that would ſeeke to make himſelfe ſtrong, by other power againſt him: conſidering that he might ouercome him with his owne legions he ſhould bring with him, ſo ſoone as they ſaw but *Pompey* in the face, ſuch ill will did *Cæſars* owne ſouldiers beare him, and were maruellous deſirous beſides to ſee himſelf. Theſe flattering tales ſo puffed vp *Pompey*, and brought him into ſuch a ſecuritie and truſt of himſelfe, that he mocked them to ſcorne which were affraide of warres. And to thoſe alſo which ſaid, that if *Cæſar* came to ROME, they ſaw not how they could reſiſt his power: he ſmilingly aunſwered them againe, and bad them take no thought for that: for as ofte ſaid he as I do but ſtampe with my foote vpon the ground of ITALY, I ſhall bring men enough out of euery corner, both footemen and horſemen. In the meane time, *Cæſar* gathered force ſtill vpon him, and thenceforth drew neerer vnto ITALY, and ſent of his ſouldiers daily to ROME to be preſent at the election of the magiſtrates, and many of them that were in

office,

*Pompeys prouinces aſſigned him foure yeares further.*

*Pompey fell ſick at Naples. Great reioycing for the recouery of Pompeys health.*

*Pride, and foole conceit, made Pompey deſpiſe Cæſar.*

*Appius ſoothed Pompey, and fed his humor.*

*Pompeys proud words.*

*Paul the Conſul bribed by Cæſar.*

*Curio and Antonius, Tribunes of the people, bribed by Cæſar.*

office, he wanne with money: amongeſt whom, was *Paul*, one of the Conſuls, whom hee wanne of his ſide, by meanes of a thouſand fiue hundred talents. And *Curio* the Tribune of the people, whom he diſcharged of an infinite debt he ought: and *Marke Antony* alſo, who for *Curioes* ſake, was diſcharged likewiſe for part of the debt which *Curio* ought, being alſo bound as him ſelfe. Furthermore, it was found that a Captaine or Centurion ſent from *Cæſar*, being neare vnto the Senate, vnderſtanding that the councell would not prolong *Cæſars* gouernment which he required, clapping his hand vpon the pummell of his ſword: well ſaid he, this ſhall giue it him. So, to be ſhort, all that was done and ſaied, tended to this end. Notwithſtanding, the petitions and requeſtes that *Curio* made in *Cæſars* behalfe, ſeemed ſomewhat more reaſonable for the people: for he requeſted one of the two, either to make P*ompey* to put downe his army, or elſe to licence *Cæſar* to haue his army as well as he. For, either being both made priuate men, they would fall to agreement of them ſelues: or elſe being both of like ſtrength, neither of both would ſeeke any alteration, fearing one an other, but would content them ſelues either of them with their owne. Or otherwiſe, he that ſhould weaken the one, and ſtrengthen the other: ſhould double his power whom he feared. Thereto very whotly replied the Conſull *Marcellus*, calling *Cæſar*, theefe, and ſaied that he ſhould be proclaimed an open enemy to ROME, if he did not diſperſe his army. This notwithſtanding, in fine *Curio*, *Antony*, and *Piſo*, procured that the Senate ſhould decide the matter. For, ſaid he, all thoſe that would haue *Cæſar* leaue his army, and *Pompey* to keepe his: let them ſtand on the one ſide. Thereupon the moſt part of them ſtoode at one ſide. Then he bad them againe come away from them, that would haue them both leaue their armies. Then there remained only but two and twenty that ſtoode for *Pompey*: and all the reſt went of *Curioes* ſide. Then *Curio* looking aloft for ioy of the victory, went into the market place, and there was receiued of his Tribune faction, with ſhoutes of ioy and clapping of handes, and infinite noſegayes and garlands of flowers throwen vppon him. *Pompey* was not then preſent to ſee the Senators good will towardes him: becauſe by the law, ſuch as haue commaundement ouer ſouldiers, can not enter into ROME. Notwithſtanding *Marcellus* ſtanding vp, ſayd: that he would not ſtand trifling hearing of orations and arguments, when he knew that tenne legions were already paſſed ouer the Alpes, intending to come in armes againſt them: and that he would ſend a man vnto them, that ſhould defend their countrey well enough. Straight they chaunged apparell at ROME, as their manner was in a common calamity. *Marcellus* then comming through the market place vnto *Pompey*, being followed of all the Senate, went to him, and tolde him openly: *Pompey*, I commaund thee to helpe thy countrey with that army thou haſt already, and alſo to leauy more to aid thee. The like ſpeach did *Lentulus* vſe vnto him, who was appointed one of the Conſuls the yeare following. Now, when P*ompey* thought to leauy ſoldiers in ROME and to bill them, ſome would not obey him, a few others went vnwillingly to him with heauy hearts, and the moſt part of them cried, peace, peace. *Antony* alſo, againſt the Senates minde, red a letter vnto the people ſent from *Cæſar* containing certaine offers and reaſonable requeſtes, to draw the common peoples affection towardes him. For his requeſt was, that P*ompey* and he ſhould both of them reſigne their gouernments, and ſhould diſmiſſe their armies to make all well, referring them ſelues wholly to the iudgement of the people, and to deliuer vp account vnto them of their doings. *Lentulus* being now entred into his Conſulſhippe, did not aſſemble the Senate. But *Cicero* lately returned out of CILICIA, practiſed to bring them to agreement, propounding that *Cæſar* ſhould leaue GAVLE, and all the reſt of his army, reſeruing onely two legions and the gouernment of ILLYRIA, attending his ſecond Conſulſhippe. *Pompey* liked not this motion. Then *Cæſars* friendes were contented to graunt that hee ſhould haue but one of his legions. But *Lentulus* ſpake againſt it, and *Cato* cried out on the other ſide alſo, that P*ompey* was deceiued, and they both. So all treatie of peace was cut off. In the meane time, newes came to ROME, that *Cæſar* had wonne ARIMINVM, a faire great city of ITALY, and that hee came directly to ROME with a great power. But that was not true. For he came but with three thouſand horſe, and fiue thouſand footemen, and would not tary for the reſt of his army that was yet on the other ſide of the mountaines in GAVLE, but made haſt rather to ſurpriſe his enemies vpon the ſodaine, being afraied

*Pompey choſen to goe againſt Cæſar.*

*Cicero moueth reconciliation betwixt Cæſar and Pompey.*

his bathe to go to ſupper: vpon his knees he beſought P*ompeys* fauour and helpe. But he ſtately paſſed by him, and gaue him no other aunſwere, but tolde him, he marred his ſupper, and ſaid nothing els to him. This inconſtancy was much reproued in P*ompey*. Howbeit otherwiſe he ſet all things in good order, and choſe his father in lawe *Scipio*, for his colleague and fellow in the Conſulſhip, for the fiue laſt moneths. After that, he cauſed the gouernement of his prouinces to be appointed him for foure yeares more, with commiſſion to take yearely out of the treaſure a thouſand talents to defray the charges of this warre. *Cæſars* friend ſeeing that, ſtepped vp for him, and praied that there might alſo be had ſome conſideration of him, that had likewiſe great warres for the Empire of ROME: ſaying, that his good ſeruice deſerued, either that they ſhould make him Conſull againe, or elſe that they ſhould prolong his charge and gouernment, ſo as he might yet peaceably enioy the honor to commaund that which he had conquered, to the end that no other ſucceſſor might reape the fruite of his labour. Much ſturre and contention being about this matter at ROME, P*ompey* as though for good will he ment to excuſe the enuie they might haue borne *Cæſar*, ſaid: that he had receiued letters from him, by the which he requeſted a ſucceſſor, and to be diſcharged of this warre: and furthermore, that he thought it good they ſhould graunt him priuiledge to demaund the ſecond Conſulſhip, although he were abſent. Which *Cato* ſtoutly withſtood, ſaying, that he muſt returne home as a priuate man, and leauing his armie, ſhould come in perſon to craue recompence of his countrie. But becauſe P*ompey* made no replie nor aunſwere to the contrarie, men ſuſpected ſtraight that he had no great good liking of *Cæſar*, and the rather, becauſe he had ſent vnto him for the two legions which he had lent him, vnder colour of his warre againſt the PARTHIANS. But *Cæſar* though he ſmelt him wherefore he ſent for his ſouldiers, returned them home with liberall rewarde. About that time, P*ompey* fell ſicke at NAPLES of a dangerous diſeaſe, whereof notwithſtanding he recouered againe. The NEAPOLITANS thereupon, by perſuaſion of *Praxagoras*, one of the chiefeſt men of their citie: did ſacrifice to the gods for his recouerie. The like did alſo their neighbours round about: and in fine, it ranne ſo generally through all ITALY, that there was no citie or towne (great or ſmall) but made open feaſt and reioycing for many daies together. Beſides, the infinite number of people was ſuch, that went to meete him out of all partes: that there was not place enough for them all, but the high waies, cities, townes and ports of the ſea, were all full of people, feaſting and ſacrificing to the gods, reioycing for his recouerie. Diuerſe alſo went to meete him, crowned with garlands, and ſo did attend on him, caſting noſegaies and flowers vpon him. Thus was his Iorney the nobleſt ſight that euer was, all the way as he came: howbeit men thought alſo, that this was the chiefeſt cauſe of the beginning of the ciuill warres. For he fell into ſuch a pride, and glorious conceit of himſelfe, with the exceeding ioy he tooke to ſee himſelfe thus honored: that forgetting his orderly gouernment, which made all his former doings to proſper, he grew too bolde in deſpiſing of *Cæſars* power, as though he ſtood in no neede of other power or care to withſtand him, but that he could ouercome him as he would, farre more eaſily, then he could haue done before. Furthermore, *Appius* thereupon returned from GAVLE, that brought him his two legions back againe which he had lent vnto *Cæſar*, reproaching much his doings which he had done there, and giuing out many foule wordes againſt *Cæſar*. For he ſaid, that P*ompey* knew not his owne ſtrength and authoritie, that would ſeeke to make himſelfe ſtrong, by other power againſt him: conſidering that he might ouercome him with his owne legions he ſhould bring with him, ſo ſoone as they ſaw but P*ompey* in the face, ſuch ill will did *Cæſars* owne ſouldiers beare him, and were maruellous deſirous beſides to ſee himſelf. Theſe flattering tales ſo puffed vp P*ompey*, and brought him into ſuch a ſecuritie and truſt of himſelfe, that he mocked them to ſcorne which were affraide of warres. And to thoſe alſo which ſaid, that if *Cæſar* came to ROME, they ſaw not how they could reſiſt his power: he ſmilingly aunſwered them againe, and bad them take no thought for that: for as ofte ſaid he as I do but ſtampe with my foote vpon the ground of ITALY, I ſhall bring men enough out of euery corner, both footemen and horſemen. In the meane time, *Cæſar* gathered force ſtill vpon him, and thenceforth drew neerer vnto ITALY, and ſent of his ſouldiers daily to ROME to be preſent at the election of the magiſtrates, and many of them that were in

*Pompeys prouinces aſſigned him foure yeares further.*

*Pompey fell ſick at Naples. Great reioycing for the recouery of Pompeys health.*

*Pride, and foole conceit, made Pompey deſpiſe Cæſar.*

*Appius ſoothed Pompey, and fed his humor.*

*Pompeys proud words.*

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*Pompey choſen to goe againſt Cæſar.*

*Cicero moueth reconciliation betwixt Cæſar and Pompey.*

*Rubicon fl. Cæſar paſſed ouer the riuer of Rubicon.*

*Cæſars ſaying: let the die be caſt.*

*Phaonius ouerbold words vnto Pompey.*

*Tumult at Rome vpon Cæſars comming.*

*Pompey forſooke Rome.*

*Cæſar entred Rome when Pompey fled.*

*Cæſar followeth Pompey.*

and in garboyle, not looking for him ſo ſoone: rather then to giue them time to be prouided, and to fight with him when they were ready. For when he was come to the riuer ſide of Rubicon, (which was the vtmoſt confine of the prouince he had in charge towardes ITALY) he ſtayed ſodainely, weying with him ſelfe the great enterpriſe he tooke in hand. At the laſt, as men that being of a maruellous height from the ground do hedlong throw themſelues down cloſing of their eyes, and withdrawing their mindes from the thought of the daunger: crying out theſe wordes only vnto them that were by, in the Greeke tongue, ἀνεῤῥίφθω κύβος: in engliſh, let the die be caſt (meaning hereby to put all in hazard, and according to our prouerbe, to ſet all on ſix and ſeuen) he paſſed ouer with his army. Now, the newes of his comming being caried to ROME, they were in ſuch a maruellous feare, as the like was neuer ſeene. For all the Senate ranne immediatly vnto *Pompey*, and all the other magiſtrates of the city fled vnto him alſo. *Tullus* asking Pompey what power he had to reſiſt them, he anſwered him, faltring ſomewhat in his ſpeach: that he had the two legions ready which *Cæſar* ſent him backe againe, and that he thought with the number of them which hee had leauied, in haſt, he ſhould make vp the number of thirty thouſand fighting men. Then *Tullus* cried out openly: ah, thou haſt mocked vs *Pompey*: & thereupon gaue order they ſhould ſend ambaſſadors vnto *Cæſar*. There was one *Phaonius* in the company, who otherwiſe was no ill man, ſauing that he was ſomewhat too bolde, thinking to counterfeate *Catoes* plaine manner of ſpeach: he bad Pompey then ſtampe his foote vppon the ground, and make thoſe ſouldiers come which he had promiſed them. Pompey gently bare with *Phaonius* mocke. But when *Cato* told him alſo, what he had prophecied before hand of *Cæſar*, he anſwered him againe: in deed thou haſt prophecied more truly then I, but I haue dealt more friendly then he. Then *Cato* thought good that they ſhould make him lieutenant general of ROME with full and abſolute power to command all, ſaying: that the ſelfe ſame men which doe the greateſt miſchiefe, know beſt alſo how to remedy the ſame. So he immediatly departed into SICILE, hauing the charge and gouernment of that country: and alſo euery one of the other Senators went vnto the charge they were appointed. Thus all ITALY being in armes, no man knew what was beſt to be done. For they that were out of ROME, came flying thither from all parts: and thoſe on the other ſide that were within ROME, went out as faſt, and forſooke the city in this trouble and diſorder. That which might ſerue being willing to obey, was found very weake: and that on the other ſide which by diſobedience did hurt, was too ſtrong and il to be gouerned by the magiſtrats, hauing law to command. For there was no poſſibility to pacifie their feare, neither would they ſuffer *Pompey* to offer things as he would: but euery man followed his owne fancy, euen as hee found him ſelfe grieued, afraied, or in doubt, and in one day they were in diuers minds. *Pompey* could heare nothing of certainty of his enemies. For ſome, one while would bring him newes one way, and then againe an other way: and then if he would not credit them, they were angry with him. At the length, when he ſaw the tumult and confuſion ſo great at ROME, as there was no mean to pacifie it: he commaunded all the Senators to follow him, telling all them that remained behinde, that he would take them for *Cæſars* friends, and ſo at night departed out of the city. Then the two Conſuls fled alſo, without doing any ſacrifice to the goddes, as they were wont to do before they went to make any warres. So Pompey, euen in his greateſt trouble and moſt daunger, might thinke him ſelfe happy to haue euery mans good will as he had. For, though diuers miſliked the cauſe of this warre, yet no man hated the Captaine: but there were moe found that could not forſake *Pompey* for the loue they bare him, then there were that followed him to fight for their liberty. Shortly after Pompey was gone out of ROME, *Cæſar* was come to ROME, who poſſeſſing the city, ſpake very gently vnto all them he found there, and pacified their feare: ſauing that he threatned *Metellus*, one of the Tribunes of the people to put him to death, becauſe he would not ſuffer him to take any of the treaſure of the common wealth. Vnto that cruell threate, he added a more bitter ſpeach alſo, ſaying: that it was not ſo hard a thing for him to doe it, as to ſpeake it. Thus hauing put downe *Metellus*, and taken that hee needed to ſerue his turne, he tooke vpon him to follow *Pompey*, thinking to driue him out of ITALY, before that his army hee had in SPAINE ſhould come to him. *Pompey* in the meane time, hauing taken the city of BRVNDVSIVM, and gotten ſome ſhippes together: he made the two Conſuls preſently imbarke with thirty enſignes of footemen, which he ſent beyond the ſea before vnto DYRRACHIVM. And incontinently after that, he ſent his father in law *Scipio*, and *Cneus Pompey* his ſonne, into SYRIA, to prouide him ſhips. Him ſelfe on the other ſide, fortified the rampers of the city, and placed the lighteſt ſouldiers he had vpon the walles, and commanded the BRVNDVSIANS not to ſtur out of their houſes: and further, he caſt trenches within the city, at the end of the ſtreetes in diuerſe places, and filled thoſe trenches with ſharpe pointed ſtakes, ſauing two ſtreetes onely, which went vnto the hauen. Then the third day after, hauing imbarked all the reſt of his ſouldiers at his pleaſure, he ſodainly lifting vp a ſigne into the aire, to giue them warning which he had left to gard the rampers: they ſtraight ranne to him with ſpeede, and quickly receiuing them into his ſhippes, he weied ancker, and hoiſed ſaile. *Cæſar* perceiuing the wals naked without ward, he ſtraight miſtruſted that *Pompey* was fled: who haſting after him, had almoſt run vpon the ſharpe ſtakes, and fallen into the trenches, had not the BRVNDVSIANS giuen him warning of them. So he ſtaied, and ranne not ouerthwart the city, but fetched a compaſſe about to goe to the hauen: where he found that all the ſhippes were vnder ſaile, two ſhippes onely excepted, vppon the which were left a few ſouldiers. Some thinke that this departure of *Pompey*, was one of the beſt ſtratagems of warre that euer he vſed. Notwithſtanding, *Cæſar* maruelled much, that he being in a ſtrong citie, and looking for his army to come out of SPAINE, and being maſter of the ſea beſides, that he would euer forſake ITALY. *Cicero* alſo reproued him, for that he rather followed *Themiſtocles* counſel, then *Pericles*: conſidering that the troubleſome time was rather to be likened vnto *Pericles*, then *Themiſtocles* time. Yea *Cæſar* himſelfe ſhewed, that he was affraid of the time. For when he had taken *Numerius* one of *Pompeyes* frends, he ſent him vnto *Pompey* at BEVNDVSIVM, to offer him reaſonable conditions of peace: But *Numerius* followed *Pompey*, & ſailed away with him. By this means, *Cæſar* in three ſcore daies being lord of al ITALY without any bloud ſhed: he was very deſirous to follow with ſpeede after *Pompey*. But becauſe he had no ſhips ready, he let him goe, and haſted towards SPAINE, to ioyne *Pompeys* army there vnto his. Now *Pompey* in the meane ſpace, had gotten a maruellous great power together both by ſea and by land. His army by ſea was wonderfull. For he had fiue hundred good ſhips of war, and of galliots, foiſts, and pinnaſes, an infinit number. By land, he had all the flower of the horſemen of ROME, and of all ITALY, to the number of ſeuen thouſand horſe, all rich men of great houſes, and valiant minds. But his footmen, they were men of all ſorts, and raw ſouldiers vntrained, whom *Pompey* cõtinually exerciſed, lying at the city of BERROEE, not ſitting idlely, but taking pains, as if he had bin in the prime of his youth. Which was to gret purpoſe to incorage others ſeeing *Pompey* being eight and fifty yeare old, fight a foote armed at al peeces, and then a horſebacke, quickly to draw out his ſword while his horſe was in his full career, and eaſily to put it vp againe, and to throw his dart from him, not onely with ſuch agility to hit pointe blacke, but alſo with ſtrength to caſt it ſuch a way from him, that few young men could doe the like. Thither came diuers, kings, princes, and great lordes of countries, and yeelded them ſelues vnto him: and of ROMAINE captaines that had borne office, he had of them about him, the number of a whole Senat. Amongſt them came vnto him *Labienus* alſo, who before was *Cæſars* frend, and had alwaies bene with him in his warres in GAVLE. There came vnto him alſo, *Brutus*, the ſonne of that *Brutus* which was ſlaine in GAVLE, a valiant man, and which had neuer ſpoken vnto *Pompey* vntil that day, becauſe he took him for a murderer of his father: but then willingly followed him as defendor of the liberty of ROME. *Cicero* him ſelfe alſo, though he had both written and giuen counſell to the contrary, thought it a ſhame to him not to be amongeſt the number of them that would hazard their liues for defence of their countrey. There came vnto him alſo *Tidius Sextius* euen into MACEDON, notwithſtanding that he was an old man, and lame of one of his legs: whom others laughing to ſcorne to ſee him come, when *Pompey* ſaw him, he roſe and went to meete him, iudging it a good token of their goodwils vnto him, when ſuch old men as he, choſe rather to be with him in daunger, then at home with ſafety. Hereupon they ſate in councell, and following *Catoes* opinion, decreede that they ſhould put no citizen of ROME to death but in battell, and ſhould ſacke no city that was ſubiect to the Empire of ROME the which made *Pompeys* part the better liked. For they that had nothing to

*Pompeys ſtratageme at Brunduſium, for his flying thence from Cæſar.*

*Pompey forſaketh Italy.*

*Cicero reproued Pompey.*

*Cæſar leaueth Pompey, and goeth into Spaine.*

*Pompeys power in Greece.*

*Pompey being at Berrœe, traineth his ſouldiers.*

*Labienus forſaketh Cæſar, and goeth to Pompey.*

*Cicero followeth Pompey.*

*The clemency of Cæſar.*

*Cæſar cōming out of Spaine, returned to Brunduſium.*

*Pompey ouerthrew Cæſar.*

*Pompey followeth Cæſar into Theſſaly.*

do with the wars, either becauſe they dwelt far off, or els for that they were ſo poore, as otherwiſe they were not regarded: did yet both in deede and word fauour *Pompeys* part, thinking him an enemy both to the gods and men, that wiſhed not *Pompey* victory. *Cæſar* alſo ſhewed him ſelfe very mercifull and curteous, where he ouercame. For when he had won all *Pompeys* army that was in SPAINE, he ſuffered the captaines that were taken to go at liberty, and only reſerued the ſouldiers. Then comming ouer the ALPES againe, he paſſed through all ITALY, and came to the city of BRVNDVSIVM in the winter quarter: and there paſſing ouer the ſea, he went vnto the city of ORICVM, and landed there. Now *Cæſar* hauing *Vibius*, one of *Pompeys* familiar friends with him, whom he had taken priſoner: he ſent him vnto *Pompey* to pray againe that they might meete, and both of them diſperſe their armies within three daies, & being reconciled (giuing their faith one to an other) ſo to returne into ITALY like good friends together. *Pompey* thought againe, that theſe were new deuiſes to intrap him. Thereupon he ſodainly went down to the ſea, and tooke all the places of ſtrength by the ſea ſide, ſafely to lodge his campe in, and all the ports, creekes and harbors for ſhips to lie in rode: ſo that what winde ſo euer blew on the skie, it ſerued his turne, to bring him either men, victuals, or money. *Cæſar* on the other ſide was ſo diſtreſſed both by ſea and by land, that he was driuē to procure battell, and to aſſaile *Pompey* euen in his owne forts, to make him come out to fight with him: of whom moſt times he euer had the better in all skirmiſhes, ſauing once, when he was in danger to haue loſt all his army. For *Pompey* had valiantly repulſed his men, and made them flie, and had ſlain two thouſand of them in the field: but he durſt not enter pel mel with them into their campe as they fled. Whereupon *Cæſar* ſaied to his friends, that his enemy had won the victory that day, if he had knowen how to ouercome. This victory put *Pompeys* men in ſuch courage, that they would needs hazard battell. And *Pompey* him ſelfe alſo though he wrote letters vnto ſtrange kings, captains, and cities of his confederacy, as if he had already won all: was yet afraied to fight an other battell, thinking it better by tract of time, and diſtreſſe of victuals, to ouercome him. For *Cæſars* men being old and expert ſouldiers, and wont euer to haue the victory when they fought together: he knew they would be loth to be brought to fight any other kinde of way, to be driuen to often remouing of their campe from place to place, and ſtill to fortifie and intrench them ſelues, and therefore that they would rather put it to aduenture out of hand, and fight it out. But notwithſtanding that *Pompey* had before perſwaded his men to be quiet, and not to ſturre, perceiuing that after this laſt bickering *Cæſar* being ſcanted with victuals raiſed his campe, and departed thence to goe into THESSALY, through the country of the ATHAMANIANS: then he could no more bridle their glory and courage, which cried, *Cæſar* is fled, let vs follow him. And others, let vs returne home againe into ITALY. And others alſo ſent their friends and ſeruants before to ROME, to hire them houſes neare the market place: intending when they came thither to ſue for offices in the common wealth. Some there were alſo that in a iollity would needs take ſhip, and ſaile into the Ile of LESBOS, vnto *Cornelia* (whom *Pompey* had ſent thither) to cary her that good newes, that the warre was ended. Thereupon aſſembling the councell, *Africanus* thought it beſt to winne ITALY, for that was the chiefeſt marke to be ſhot at in this warre: for whoſoeuer obtained that, had ſtraight all SICILE, SARDINIA, CORSICA, SPAINE, and GAVLE at commaundement. Furthermore, that it was a diſhonour to *Pompey* (which in reaſon ſhould touch him aboue all things) to ſuffer their countrey to be in ſuch cruell bondage and ſubiection vnto ſlaues and flatterers of tyrants, offering it ſelfe as it were into their handes. But *Pompey* neither thought it honorable for him, once againe to flie from *Cæſar*, and to make him follow him, ſith fortune had giuen him oportunity to haue *Cæſar* in chaſe: nor lawfull alſo before the gods, to forſake his father in law *Scipio*, and many other alſo that had bene Conſuls, diſperſed abroad in GREECE and THESSALY, which ſhould immediatly fall into *Cæſars* hands, with all their riches and armies they had. Furthermore, he ſaid, that they had care enough for the city of ROME, which drew the wars fartheſt off from them: ſo as, they remaining ſafe and quiet at home, (neither hearing nor feeling the miſery of warres) might in the end peaceably receiue and welcome him home, that remained conquerour. With this determination, he marched forward to follow *Cæſar*, being determined not to giue him battell, but to beſiege him, & only to compaſſe him in ſtill being neare vnto him, and ſo to cut him off from victuals. There was alſo an other reaſon that made him to follow that determination. For it was reported to him, that there was a ſpeech giuen out among the ROMAINE knights, that ſo ſoone as euer they had ouercome *Cæſar*, they muſt alſo bring *Pompey* to be a priuate man againe. Some ſay therefore, that *Pompey* would neuer afterwards imploy *Cato* in any greater matters of waight in all this warre, but when he followed *Cæſar*, he left him captaine of his army to keepe his cariage by ſea, fearing that ſo ſonne as *Cæſar* were once ouercome, he would make him ſtraight alſo reſigne his authority. *Pompey* following *Cæſar* in this maner, faire and ſoftly they cried out vpon him, that he made no warre with *Cæſar*, but againſt his country and the Senat, becauſe he might be ſtill in authority: and that he would neuer leaue to haue them for his ſeruaunts and guard about him, which ſhould rule and commaund the world. Furthermore, *Domitius Aenobarbus*, calling him continually *Agamemnon*, and king of kings: made him much to be enuied. *Phaonius* alſo mocked him as much as the other, that ſpake moſt boldeſt: for hee went crying vp and downe, my maiſters, I giue you warning, you are like to eate no THVSCVLAN figges this yeare. And *Lucius Afranius* alſo, he that had loſt the army which he had in SPAINE, and was alſo ſuſpected for a traitour, ſeeing *Pompey* then refuſed to come to battell: I maruaile, ſaied he, that they which accuſe mee, doe not luſtely goe to finde him out, whom they call the marchaunt and common buyer of prouinces, to fight with him preſently. With theſe and many ſuch other lewd ſpeaches, they compelled *Pompey* in the end (who could not abide to be ill ſpoken of, and would not deny his friendes any thing) to follow their vaine hope and deſires, and to forſake his owne wiſe determination: the which thing, no good ſhippe maiſter, and much leſſe a chiefe and ſoueraigne captaine, ouer ſo many nations and ſo great armies, ſhould haue ſuffered and conſented vnto. Now, he that did alwaies commend the phiſitions, that would not follow the fond deſire of the ſicke patients: was him ſelfe contented to obey the worſt part of his army, fearing their diſpleaſure, where their life or health ſtoode in hazard. For who would thinke or iudge them to be wiſe men, and in their wittes, who walking vp and downe their campe, did already ſue to be Conſuls and Prætors? conſidering that *Spinther*, *Domitius*, and *Scipio*, were at ſtrife together, making friendes to be high Biſhoppe, (which office *Cæſar* had) as if they ſhould haue fought with *Tigranes* king of ARMENIA, or with the king of the NABATHEIANS, which had camped by them, and not with *Cæſar* and his army: who had taken a thouſand townes by aſſault, had ſubdued aboue three hundred ſeueral nations, and had wonne infinite battels of the GERMAINES and GAVLES, and was neuer ouercome: had alſo taken a million of men priſoners, and had likewiſe ſlaine ſo many at diuers battels. All this notwithſtanding, they of *Pompeys* ſide ſtill being importunate of him, & troubling him in this ſort: in fine, when they were come into the fields of PHARSALIA, they compelled *Pompey* to call a councell. There *Labienus*, generall of the horſemen ſtanding vp, ſware before them all, that he would not returne from the battell, before he had made his enemies to flie. The like oath all the reſt did take. The next night following, *Pompey* thought in his dreame, that he came into the Theater, and that the people to honor him, made a maruellous great clapping of their handes: and that he him ſelfe did ſet forth the temple of *Venus* the conqueror with many ſpoiles. This viſion partly put him in good corage, and partly againe made him doubt: for that he was afraied, becauſe *Cæſars* family was diſcended from this goddeſſe *Venus*, that his dreame did ſignifie, that he ſhould haue the honour of the victory, with the ſpoiles he ſhould winne of him. Beſides all this, there ran ſodaine fearefull noiſes and tumults in his campe without any apparant cauſe, that waked all the campe vppon it. At the fourth watche, when the watch is renued in the morning, there was ſeene a maruellous great light ouer *Cæſars* camp, and they were all at reſt. Of that, there came as it were a torch of a burning fire, and fell in *Pompeys* campe. The which *Cæſar* himſelfe ſaid he ſaw, when he went to ſearch the watch. At the breake of the day, *Cæſar* being determined to raiſe his campe, and to goe to the city of SCOTVSA, as his ſouldiers were buſie about ouerthrowing of their tentes, and ſending away their bagges and baggage before: there came ſkoutes vnto him, that brought him word they ſaw a great deale of armour and weapon caried to and fro in their enemies campe, and heard a noiſe and buſling beſides, as of men that were preparing to fight. After

*Pompey mocked of his owne ſouldiers.*

*Cæſars conqueſtes.*

*Labienus generall of Pompeyes horſemen*

*Pompeys dreame before the battell of Pharſalia.*

*Wonderfull noiſes heard in Pompeis camp.*

theſe came in other ſkowtes,that brought word alſo that their voward was already ſet in battell raye. Then *Cæſar* ſayed, that the day was now come they had longed for ſo ſore, and that they ſhould now fight with men,not with hunger,nor with want of victuals:and thereupon gaue order preſently that they ſhould put out the redde coates or armes vpon his tente, which was the ſigne all the ROMAINES vſed to ſhew that they would fight. The ſouldiers ſeing that out, left their cariage and tentes and with great ſhoutes of ioye ranne to arme themſelues. The Captaines of euery band alſo, beſtowed euery man in ſuch place as he ſhould fight, and ſo they conueyed themſelues into battell raye, without any tumult or diſorder, as quietly, as if they ſhould haue entred into a daunce. *Pompey* himſelfe ledde the left wing of his armie againſt *Antony*. The middle of the battell he gaue vnto *Scipio* his father in lawe being right againſt *Domitius Caluinus*. The left wing alſo was led by *Lucius Domitius Aenobarbus*, the which was garded with men of armes,for all the horſemen were placed on that ſide,to diſtreſſe *Cæſar* if they could, that was directly againſt them: and to ouerthrowe the tenth legion that was ſo much accounted of, being the valianteſt ſouldiers the enemie had in all his armie, amongſt the which *Cæſar* did euer vſe to fight in perſon. *Cæſar* then ſeing the lefte wing of his enemies ſo ſtrong with the gard of the horſemen, and being afrayed of the brightnes of their armor: brought forward ſix enſignes for ſupply, which he placed hard behind the tenth legion,commanding them that no man ſhould ſtur, leaſt their enemies ſhould diſcouer them. And furthermore,when the horſemen of the enemies ſhould come to giue charge vpon them, that then they ſhould runne with ſpeed on the one ſide of the formoſt rancks,and not to throw their dartes farre from them,as the valianteſt ſouldiers are wont to do, to come to the ſword the ſooner: but to throw them vpwards into their enemies eyes and faces. For, ſayd he, theſe braue fellowes and fine dauncers, will neuer abide to haue their faces marred. And this was *Cæſars* deuiſe at that time. *Pompey* being a horſebacke, rode vp and downe to conſider the ordinance of both battels: and perceiuing that his enemies ſtood ſtill in their ranckes, looking for the ſignall of battell, and that his owne battell on the other ſide waued vp and downe diſorderly,as men vnskilfull in warres: he was afrayd they would flie before they were charged. Thereupon he ſtraightly commaunded them in the voward, that they ſhould ſteadily keepe their ranckes,and ſtanding cloſe together ſhould ſo defend themſelues, receiuing the charge of the enemy. But *Cæſar* diſliked of that deuiſe, for thereby, ſayd he,the force of their blowes was leſſened, and in withholding them from giuing the charge, he not only tooke away that courage which the aſſailant carieth with him that commeth with furie: but made them moreouer faint harted,in receiuing the charge of the enemies. In *Cæſars* armie,there were about two and twentie thouſand fighting men: and in *Pompeyes* armie, ſomewhat aboue twiſe as many. Now, when the word of battell was giuen of either ſide, and that the trumpets did ſound the allarme: euery man beganne to looke to himſelfe. But a fewe of the chiefeſt of the ROMAINS, and certaine GRECIANS that were there alſo out of the ſet battell, perceiuing the imminent danger, began to bethinke them, to what paſſe the ambition and wil full contention betwene theſe two men, had brought the ſtate of ROME. For the weapons of kinſemen, the bands of bretheren, the enſignes all alike, the flower of ſo many valiant men of one citie, did ſerue for a notable example, to ſhew how mans nature prickt forward with couetouſnes, is quite blind and without reaſon. For if they could haue beene contented quietly to haue gouerned that which they had conquered: the greateſt and beſt part of the world, both by ſea and by land, was ſubiect vnto them. Or otherwiſe, if they could not haue quenched their vnſatiable deſire of victorie and triumph,they had occaſion of warre enough offered them againſt the PARTHIANS & GERMAINS. Furthermore they had enough to do beſides to conquer SCYTHIA, and the INDIANS: and withall, they had had an honeſt colour to haue cloked their ambitious deſires, if it had bene but to haue brought the barbarous people to a ciuill life. For what horſemen of SCYTHIA, or arrowes of PARTHIA, or riches of Indians, could haue abidden the power of three ſcore and tenne thouſand ROMAINE ſouldiers, and ſpecially being led by two ſo famous Captaines, as *Pompey*, and *Cæſar*? whoſe names, theſe ſtrange and far nations vnderſtoodl long before the name of the ROMAINS: ſo great were their victories, hauing conquered ſo many wilde and barbarous people. They both being then in armes the one againſt

the

*Pompeyes army ſet in battel ray in Pharſalia.*

*Cæſars order of fight.*

*Pompeyes ordinance of his battell.*

*Cæſar miſliketh Pompeyes ordinance.*

*Battell betwixt Cæſar and Pompey. in Pharſalia.*

the other, not regarding their honor which made them ſo ambitious: did not ſpare their own country, who had vntill that time remained vnuincible, both in fame and prowes. For, the alliance that was made betwene them, the loue of *Iulia*, & marying with her, was ſuſpected frō the beginning to be but a deceit, & a pledge as it were of a conſpiracie made betwene them, for a priuate benefit, more then for any true friendſhip. Now whē the fields of PHARSALIA were couered ouer with men, with horſe and armor, and that the ſignall of battell was giuen on either ſide: the firſt man of **Cæſars** army that aduanced forward to giue charge, was **Caius Craſsinius**, captaine of ſixe ſcore and fiue men, to performe a great promiſe which he had made vnto *Cæſar*. For *Cæſar*, when he came out of his tent in the morning, ſeeing him, called him to him by his name, and asked him what he thought of the ſucceſſe of this battell? **Craſsinius** holding out his right hand vnto him, courageouſly cryed: Oh *Cæſar*, thine is the victorie, and this day thou ſhalt cōmend me either aliue or dead. Then remēbring theſe words, he brake out of the rankes, and many following after him, ranne amongſt the middeſt of his enemies. Straight they came to the ſword, and made great ſlaughter. But he preſſing forwarde ſtill, one with a thruſt ran him through the mouth, that the ſwords point came through at his neck. Thereupon *Craſsinius* being ſlain, the battel was equall. *Pompey* did not make his left wing march ouer ſodainly, but ſtaied, and caſt his eyes abroad to ſee what his horſemen would doe, the which had alreadie deuided their companies, meaning to compaſſe in *Cæſar*, and to make the ſmall number of horſemen which he had before him to giue backe vpon the ſquadron of his footemen. On the other ſide, as ſoone as *Cæſar* had giuen the ſignall of battell, his horſemen retired backe a litle, and the ſixe enſeignes which he had placed ſecretly behinde them, (being three thouſand fighting men) ranne ſodainely to aſſaile the enemie vpon the flancke, and when they came neere vnto the horſemen, they threw the points of their dartes vpwardes according to *Cæſars* commaundement, and hyt the young gentlemen full in their faces. They being vtterly vnskilfull to fight, and leaſt of all looking for ſuch maner of fight: had not the hearts to defend themſelues, nor to abide to be hurt as they were in their faces, but turning their heads, & clapping their hands on their faces, ſhamefully fled. They being ouerthrowen, *Cæſars* men made no account to follow them, but went and gaue charge vppon the battell of footemen, in that place ſpecially where they had no guard of horſemen, wherby they might the eaſilier be compaſſed about. Thus, they being charged by them in the flancke, and in the voward alſo by the tenth legion, perceiuing themſelues (contrarie to their expectation) compaſſed about by their enemies, where they thought to haue enuironed them: they could make no longer reſiſtance. They alſo being likewiſe driuen to flie, when Pompey ſaw the duſt in the element, and coniectured the flying of his horſemen: what minde he was of then, it was hard to ſay. For by his countenance, a man might well thinke he was like a man amazed, and at his wits end, forgetting that he was *Pompey* the great: for that he went ſtraight into his campe, and ſpake neuer a word to any man, rightly verifying **Homers** verſes to this effect.

*Caius Craſſinius giueth the onſet of Cæſars ſide.*

*Craſſinius ſlaine.*

*Pompeis horſemen put to flight by Cæſar.*

*Pompeys flying in the fields of Pharſalia.*

> *But mightie Ioue who ſits aloft in yuorie chariot hie,*
> *Strake Aiax with ſo great a feare that Aiax by and by,*
> *Let fall his leatherne target made of tough oxe hide ſeuen fold,*
> *And ranne away, not looking backe, for all he was ſo bold.*

In this eſtate Pompey entred into his tent, and ſate him downe there a great while, and ſpake neuer a word: vntill ſuch time as many of the enemies entred pell mell with his men that fled into his campe. And then, he ſaid no more: but what, euen into our campe? and ſo riſing vp, he put a gowne on his backe euen fit for his miſfortune, and ſecretly ſtale out of the campe. The other legions alſo fled: and great ſlaughter was made of the tent keepers, and their ſeruantes that guarded the campe. For *Aſinius Pollio* writeth (who was at that battell on *Cæſars* ſide) that there were ſlaine onely but ſixe thouſand ſouldiers. Howbeit at the taking of their campe, *Cæſars* ſouldiers then found plainly the madnes & vanity of *Pompeys* men. For, all their tents and pauilions were full of noſegayes and garlands of mirtle, and their couches al couered with flowers, their tables full of bowles of wine, & men prepared readie to do ſacrifice for ioy, rather then to arme themſelues to fight. Thus went they to battel, caried away with this vaine and fooliſh hope. When Pompey was gone a litle way from his campe, he forſooke his horſe,

*Aſinius Pollio reporteth this battell.*

*The miſerable ſtate of Pompey.*

*Peticius dreame of Pompey.*

*Pompey imbarketh in Peticius ſhip a Romaine.*

hauing a very few with him: & perceiuing that no man purſued him, he went a foot faire and ſoftly, his head full of ſuch thoughts and imaginations, as might be ſuppoſed a man of his like calling might haue, who for foure and thirty yeares ſpace together, was wont continually to carie victorie away, and beganne then euen in his laſt caſt, to proue what it was to flie, and to be ouercome: and who thought then with himſelfe, how in one houres ſpace he had loſt the honor and riches which he had gotten in ſo many foughten fields and battels, wherby he was not long before followed and obeyed of ſo many thouſand men of warre, of ſo many horſemen, and of ſuch a great fleete of ſhippes on the ſea, and then to goe as he did in ſuch poore eſtate, and with ſo ſmall a traine, that his very enemies who ſought him, knew him not. Thus when he was paſſed the citie of LARISSA, and comming to the vallie of Tempé: there being a thirſt, he fell downe on his belly and dranke of the riuer. Then riſing vp againe, he went his way thence and came to the ſea ſide, and tooke a fiſhers cotage where he lay all night. The next morning by breake of the day, he went into a litle bote vppon the riuer, and tooke the free men with him that were about him: and as for the ſlaues, he ſent them backe againe, and did counſell them boldly to goe to *Cæſar*, and not to be affraide. Thus rowing vp and downe the ſhore ſide, in this litle bote, he ſpyed a great ſhippe of burden in the maine ſea, riding at anker, which was readie to weigh anker, and to ſaile away. The maſter of the ſhippe was a ROMAINE, who, though he was not familiarly acquainted with *Pompey*, yet knewe him by ſight very well. He was called *Petitius*, who had dreamed the night before, that he ſawe *Pompey* ſpeake vnto him, not like the man he was wont to be, but in pouerty and in miſerie. So, he had tolde this dreame vnto the mariners which ſailed with him (as men commonly vſe to do, ſpecially when they dreame of ſuch weightie matters, and being at leaſure withall) and at the verie inſtant, there was one of the mariners that told him, he ſaw a litle bote on the riuer rowing towardes them, and that there were men in it that ſhooke their clokes at them, and helde out their hands. Thereupon Petitius ſtanding vp, knew *Pompey* ſtraight, euen in like caſe as he had dreamed of him the night before: and clapping his head for anger, commaunded his mariners to let downe his bote, and gaue him his hande, calling him *Pompey* by his name, miſtruſting (ſeeing him in that eſtate) what misfortune had happened to him. Thereupon, not looking to be intreated, nor that he ſhould tell him of his miſhap, he receiued him into his ſhippe, and all thoſe he would haue with him: and then hoiſed ſaile. With *Pompey* there were both the *Lentuli* and *Faonius*. Shortly after alſo, they perceiued king *Deiotarus* comming from the riuer to them, that beckened and made ſignes to receiue them: which they did. At ſupper time, the maſter of the ſhippe, made readie ſuch meate as he had abord. *Faonius* ſeeing *Pompey* for lacke of men to waite on him, waſhing of himſelfe: ranne vnto him, waſhed him, and annointed him, and afterwardes continued ſtill to waite vpon him, and to doe ſuch ſeruice about him, as ſeruants do to their maſters, euen to waſhing of his feete, and making ready of his ſupper. When a ſimple man ſaw him, that could no skill of ſeruice, he ſaid:

*Good gods, how euery thing becommeth noble men?*

*Pompey arriueth in the Iſle of Lesbos, at the city of Mitylene.*

*The ſorrow of Cornelia for Pompeys ouerthrow.*

*The meeting of Pompey & his wife Cornelia. The words of Cornelia vnto Pompey.*

*Pompey* paſſing then by the city of AMPHIPOLIS, coaſted from thence into the Ile of LESBOS, to goe fetch his wife *Cornelia* and his ſonne being then in the citie of MITYLENE. There hauing caſt out his ancker, and riding at rode, he put a meſſenger on the ſhore & ſent him into the citie to his wife: not according to her expectation, who was ſtill put in good hope by continuall letters and newes brought vnto her, that the warre was ended and determined by the citie of DYRRACHIVM. This meſſenger now finding her in this hope, had not the hart ſo much as to ſalute her, but letting her vnderſtand rather by his teares then wordes, the great misfortune *Pompey* had: told her, ſhe muſt diſpatch quickly, if ſhe would ſee *Pompey* with one ſhippe only, and none of his but borowed. The young Ladie hearing theſe newes, fell downe in a ſound before him, and neither ſpake nor ſturred of long time: but after ſhe was come to her ſelfe, remembring that it was no time to weepe and lament, ſhe went with ſpeede through the city vnto the ſea ſide. There *Pompey* meeting her, tooke her in his armes, & imbraced her. But ſhe ſincking vnder him, fell downe and ſaid: Out alas, woe worth my hard fortune, not thine (good husband) that I ſee thee now brought to one poore ſhippe, who before thou mariedſt thy vnfortunate *Cornelia*, wert wont to ſaile theſe ſeas with fiue hundred ſhips. Alas, why art thou come to ſee me, and why diddeſt thou not leaue me to curſed fate and my wicked deſtenie: ſith my ſelfe is cauſe of all this thy euill? Alas, how happy a woman had I bene, if I had bene dead before I heard of the death of my firſt husband *Publius Craſſus*, whom the wretched PARTHIANS ſlew? And how wiſe a woman had I bene, if (according to my determination) I had killed my ſelfe immediatly after him: where now I liue to bring yet this misfortune vnto *Pompey* the great? It is reported that *Cornelia* ſpake theſe words, and that *Pompey* alſo anſwered her in this maner. Peraduenture, *Cornelia* mine, thou haſt knowen a better fortune, which hath alſo deceiued thee, becauſe ſhe hath continued longer with me then her maner is. But ſince we are borne men, we muſt patiently beare theſe troubles, and proue fortune againe. For it is no impoſſible matter for vs againe to come into proſperitie out of this preſent miſerie, as to fall out of late proſperitie into preſent calamitie. When *Cornelia* heard him ſay ſo, ſhe ſent backe into the citie for her ſtuffe & family. The MITYLENIANS alſo came openly to ſalute *Pompey*, and praied him to come into the citie, and to refreſh himſelfe: but *Pompey* would not, & gaue them counſell to obey the conqueror, & not to feare any thing, for *Cæſar* was a iuſt man, and of a curteous nature. Then *Pompey* turning vnto *Cratippus* the Philoſopher, who came amōg the citizens alſo to ſee him: made his complaint vnto him, and reaſoned a litle with him about diuine prouidence. *Cratippus* courteouſly yeelded vnto him, putting him ſtill in better hope, fearing leaſt he would haue growen too hot & troubleſome, if he would haue holden him hard to it. For *Pompey* at the length might haue asked him, what prouidence of the gods there had bene in his doings? And *Cratippus* might haue anſwered him, that for the ill gouernment of the common wealth at ROME, it was of neceſſity that it ſhould fall into the handes of a ſoueraigne prince. Peraduenture *Cratippus* might then haue asked him: how, and whereby *Pompey* wouldeſt thou make vs beleeue, if thou hadſt ouercome *Cæſar*, that thou wouldeſt haue vſed thy good fortune better then he? But for diuine matters, referre them to the goddes as it pleaſeth them. *Pompey* taking his wife and friends with him, hoiſed ſaile, and landed no where, but compelled to take freſh acates and water. The firſt citie he came vnto, was ATTALIA in the country of PAMPHYLIA. Thither came to him certain gallies out of CILICIA, & many ſouldiers alſo, inſomuch he had a three ſcore Senators of ROME againe in his company. Then, vnderſtanding that his army by ſea was yet whole, and that *Cato* had gathered together a great number of his ſouldiers after the ouerthrowe, whom he had tranſported with him into AFRICKE: he lamented, and complained vnto his friends, that they had compelled him to fight by land, & not ſuffred him to helpe himſelfe with his other force wherin he was the ſtronger: and that he kept not ſtill neere vnto his army by ſea, that if fortune failed him by land, he might yet preſently haue prepared to his power ready by ſea, to haue reſiſted his enemy. To confeſſe a truth, *Pompey* committed not ſo great a fault in all this warre, neither did *Cæſar* put foorth a better deuiſe, then to make his enemie fight farre from his army by ſea. Thus *Pompey* being driuen to attempt ſomewhat according to his ſmall abilitie, he ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the cities. To others, he went himſelfe in perſon alſo to require money, wherewith he manned and armed ſome ſhips. This notwithſtanding, fearing the ſodaine approach of his enemy, leaſt he ſhould preuent him before he could put any reaſonable force in readineſſe for to reſiſt him: he bethought himſelfe what place he might beſt retyre vnto for his moſt ſafetie. When he had cōſidered of it, he thought that there was neuer a prouince of the ROMAINES that could ſaue and defend them. And for other ſtrange realmes, he thought PARTHIA aboue all other, was the beſt place to receiue them into at that preſent, hauing ſo ſmall power as they had: and that was better able to helpe & aide them with more power then they. Other of his councell were of mind to go into AFRICKE, vnto king *Iuba*. But *Theophanes* LESBIAN ſaid, he thought it a great folly, to leaue ÆGYPT which was but three daies ſailing from thence, and king *Ptolomy*, (being but lately come to mans ſtate, and bound vnto *Pompey* for the late friendſhippe and fauour his father found of him) and to goe put himſelfe into the handes of the PARTHIANS, the vileſt, and vnfaithfulleſt nation in the world, & not to proue the modeſty of a ROMAINE, that had bene his father in law, whoſe proſperity if he could haue endured, he might haue bene the chiefeſt man: and now to put himſelfe to *Arſaces* good will, who could not away with *Craſſus* when he liued. Further, he thought it an ill part alſo, for him to go carie his young wife of the

*Pompeys anſwere vnto Cornelia.*

*Pompey reaſoneth with Cratippus the Philoſopher, about diuine prouidence.*

*Pompey arriueth at Attalia, in the contrie of Pamphylia.*

*Pompeys great error, and Cæſars craftie deuiſe.*

*Theophanes Lesbian perſwaded Pompey to flie into Ægypt.*

*Pompey arriueth in Aegypt and goeth to Pelusium.*

*Pothinus an eunuch, and groome of the chamber to king Ptolomy, ruleth all AEgypt.*

*The deliberation of the AEgyptians, for the receiuing of Pompey.*

*Theodotus perſwaded them to kill Pompey.*

*A dead man biteth not.*

*Achillas appointed to kill Pompey.*

*How Pompey was receiued into AEgypt.*

noble houſe of *Scipio*, amongſt the barbarous people, who thinke it lawful for thē to vſe what villany and inſolency they liſt to any. For, admit ſhe haue no villany offered her by them: yet is it an vndecent thing, to thinke ſhe might haue bene diſhonoured, they hauing her in their power to doe it. There was no perſwaſion (as they ſay) but this only that turned *Pompey* vnto Euphrates: for it ſeemeth that *Pompeys* counſell, and not his fortune, made him take that way. Being determined therefore to flie into ÆGYPT, he departed out of CYPRVS in a gally of SELEVCIA with his wiſe *Cornelia*. The reſidue of his traine imbarked alſo, ſome into gallies, and others into marchants ſhippes of great burden, and ſo ſafely paſſed the ſea without daunger. When *Pompey* heard newes that king P*tolomie* was in the city of PELVSIVM with his army, making warre againſt his ſiſter: he went thither, and ſent a meſſenger before vnto the king, to aduertiſe him of his arriuall, and to intreate him to receiue him. King P*tolomy* was then but a young man, inſomuch as one P*othinus* gouerned all the whole realme vnder him. He aſſembled a councell of the chiefeſt and wiſeſt men of the court, who had ſuch credite & authoritie as it pleaſed him to giue them. They being aſſembled, he commanded euery man in the kings name to ſay his mind touching the receiuing of *Pompey*, whether the king ſhould receiue him or not. It was a miſerable thing to ſee P*othinus*, an eunuch of the kings, and *Theodotus* of CHIO, an hyred ſchoolemaſter to teach the young king rethoricke, and *Achillas* ÆGYPTIAN to conſult among themſelues what they ſhould doe with *Pompey* the great. Theſe were the chiefeſt councellors of all his eunuches, and of thoſe that had brought him vp. Now did *Pompey* ride at ancker vpon the ſhore ſide, expecting the reſolution of this councell: in the which the opinions of other were diuers, for they would not haue receiued him: the other alſo, that he ſhould be receiued. But the Rethoritian *Theodotus* to ſhew his eloquence, perſwaded them, that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, ſaid he, if we receiue him, we ſhall haue *Cæſar* our enemy, & P*ompey* our Lord: and if they do deny him on the other ſide, *Pompey* will blame them for refuſing of him, and *Cæſar* for not keeping of him. Therefore, this ſhould be the beſt reſolution, to ſend to kill him: for thereby they ſhould winne the good will of the one, and not feare the diſpleaſure of the other: and ſome ſay moreouer, that hee added this mocke withall: a dead man bites not. They being determined of this among themſelues gaue *Achillas* commiſſion to doe it. He taking with him *Septimius* (who had charge afore time vnder P*ompey*) and *Saluius* an other Centurion alſo, with three or foure ſouldiers beſides, they made towards P*ompeys* gallie, about whom were at that time, the chiefeſt of his traine, to ſee what would become of this matter. But when they ſaw the likelihood of their entertainment, and that it was not in Princely ſhew and manner, nor nothing anſwerable to the hope which *Theophanes* had put them in, ſeeing ſo few men come to them in a fiſher bote: they began then to miſtruſt the ſmall account that was made of them, & counſelled P*ompey* to returne backe, and to launch againe into the ſea, being out of the daunger of the hurling of a dart. In the meane time, the fiſher bote drew neere, and *Septimius* roſe & ſaluted *Pompey* in the ROMAINE tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as ſoueraigne Captaine: and *Achillas* alſo ſpake to him in the Greeke tongue, and bad him come into his bote, becauſe that by the ſhore ſide, there was a great deale of mudde and ſande bankes, ſo that his gallie ſhould haue no water to bring him in. At the very ſame time, they ſaw a farre off diuers of the kings gallies which were arming with all ſpeed poſſible, and all the ſhore beſides full of ſouldiers. Thus, though P*ompey* and his company would haue altered their minds, they could not haue told how to haue eſcaped; and furthermore, ſhewing that they had miſtruſted them, then they had giuen the murtherer occaſion to haue executed his crueltie. So taking his leaue of his wife *Cornelia*, who lamented his death before his end: he commanded two Centurions to go downe before him into the ÆGYPTIANS bote, and P*hilip* one of his ſlaues infranchiſed, with an other ſlaue called *Scynes*. When *Achillas* reached out his hand to receiue him into his bote, he turned him to his wife and ſonne, and ſaid theſe verſes of *Sophocles* vnto them:

*The man that into Court comes free,*
*Muſt there in ſtate of bondage be.*

Theſe were the laſt words he ſpake vnto his people, when he left his owne gally & went into the ÆGYPTIANS bote. The land being a great way off from his gally, when he ſaw neuer a man in the bote ſpeake friendly vnto him, beholding *Septimius*, he ſaid vnto him: me thinkes my friend I ſhould know thee, for that thou haſt ſerued with me heretofore. The other nodded with his head that it was true, but gaue him no anſwere, nor ſhewed him any courteſie. *Pompey* ſeeing that no man ſpake to him, tooke a litle booke he had in his hand, in the which he had written an oration that he ment to make vnto king *Ptolomy*, & beganne to read it. When they came neere the ſhore, *Cornelia* with her ſeruants and friendes about her, ſtoode vp in her ſhippe in great feare, to ſee what ſhould become of *Pompey*. So, ſhe hoped well, when ſhe ſawe many of the kings people on the ſhore, comming towards *Pompey* at his landing, as it were to receiue and honor him. But euen as *Pompey* tooke *Philip* his hande to ariſe more eaſily, *Septimius* came firſt behind him and thruſt him through with his ſword. Next vnto him alſo, *Saluius* and *Achillas* drew out their ſwords in like maner. *Pompey* then did no more but tooke vp his gowne with his handes and hidde his face, and manly abidde the wounds they gaue him, onely ſighing a litle. Thus being nine and fiftie yeare olde, he ended his life the next day after the day of his birth. They that rode at ancker in their ſhippes, when they ſaw him murthered, gaue ſuch a fearfull crie, that it was heard to the ſhore: then weying vp their ankers with ſpeed, they hoiſed ſaile, and departed their way, hauing winde at will that blew a luſty gale, as ſoone as they had gotten the maine ſea. The ÆGYPTIANS which prepared to rowe after them, when they ſaw they were paſt their reach, and vnpoſſible to be ouertaken: they let them go. Then hauing ſtriken off *Pompeys* head, they threwe his bodie ouer borde, for a miſerable ſpectacle to all thoſe that were deſirous to ſee him. *Philip* his infranchiſed bondman remained euer by it, vntill ſuch time as the ÆGYPTIANS had ſeene it their bellies full. Then hauing waſhed his bodie with ſalt water, and wrapped it vp in an old ſhirt of his, becauſe he had no other ſhift to lay it in: he ſought vpon the ſands, and found at the length a peece of an old fiſhers bote, enough to ſerue to burne his naked body with, but not all fully out. As he was buſie gathering the broken peeces of this bote together, thither came vnto him an old ROMAINE, who in his youth had ſerued vnder *Pompey*, and ſaid vnto him: O friend, what art thou that prepareſt the funerals of *Pompey* the great? *Philip* anſwered, that he was a bondman of his infranchiſed. Well, ſaid he, thou ſhalt not haue all this honor alone, I pray thee yet let me accompany thee in ſo deuout a deede, that I may not altogether repent me to haue dwelt ſo long in a ſtrange country, where I haue abidden ſuch miſerie and trouble: but that to recompence me withall, I may haue this good happe, with mine owne hands to touch *Pompeys* bodie, and to helpe to burie the only and moſt famous Captaine of the ROMAINES. The next day after, *Lucius Lentulus* not knowing what had paſſed, comming out of CYPRVS, ſailed by the ſhore ſide, and perceiued a fire made for funerals, and *Philip* ſtanding by it, whom he knew not at the firſt. So he asked him, what is he that is dead and buried there? But ſtraight fetching a great ſigh, alas, ſaid he, perhappes it is *Pompey* the great. Then he landed a litle, and was ſtraight taken and ſlaine. This was the end of *Pompey* the great. Not long after, *Cæſar* alſo came into ÆGYPT that was in great warres, where *Pompeys* head was preſented vnto him: but he turned his head aſide and would not ſee it, and abhorred him that brought it as a deteſtable murtherer. Then taking his ring wherewith he ſealed his letters, whereupon was grauen a Lyon holding a ſword: he burſt out a weeping. *Achillas* and *Pothinius* he put to death. King *Ptolomy* himſelfe alſo, being ouerthrowen in battell by the riuer of Nilus, vaniſhed away, and was neuer heard of after. *Theodotus* the Rhetoritian eſcaped *Cæſars* hands, and wandred vp & downe ÆGYPT in great miſerie, deſpiſed of euery man. Afterwards, *Marcus Brutus* (who ſlew *Cæſar*) conquering ASIA, met with him by chance, and putting him to all the torments he could poſſibly deuiſe, at the length ſlew him. The aſhes of *Pompeys* bodie were afterwardes brought vnto his wife *Cornelia*, who buried them in a towne of hers by the citie of ALBA.

*Pompey the great cruelly ſlaine as he landed.*

*The manlineſſe and patience of Pompey at his death.*

*The funerals of Pompey.*

*Lucius Lentulus ſlaine.*

*Cæſar arriueth in AEgypt.*

*Pompeys ring.*

*The murtherers of Pompey put to death.*

# THE COMPARISON OF *Pompey with Ageſilaus.*

MAGNVS P L POM.
ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΥ

*How Pompey and Ageſilaus came to their greatneſſe.*

*The faultes of Ageſilaus and Pompey.*

Now that we haue declared vnto you, the liues of *Ageſilaus* and *Pompey*: let vs compare their maners and conditions together, which are theſe. Firſt, *Pompey* came to his honor and greatneſſe, by his integrity and ſo aduanced himſelfe: and was a great aide vnto *Sylla*, doing many noble exploits, helping him to rid thoſe tirãts out of Italy, who held it in bondage. But *Ageſilaus* vſurped the kingdom of Lacedæmon, againſt the law of gods and men, condemning *Leotychides* for a baſtard, whom his brother auowed to be his lawfull ſonne: and contemned beſides the oracle of the gods, which gaue warning of a lame king. Furthermore, *Pompey* did honor *Sylla* while he liued, & when he was dead, gaue his bodie honorable buriall in deſpight of *Lepidus*: & maried his daughter vnto *Fauſtus* the ſonne of *Sylla*. *Ageſilaus* contrarily did diſhonor *Lyſander* vpon light occaſion: but *Pompey* had done no leſſe for *Sylla*, than *Sylla* had done for him. *Lyſander* on the other ſide, had made *Ageſilaus* king of Lacedæmon, and Lieutenant generall of all Grece. Thirdly, the iniuries that *Pompey* did vnto the common weale, were done of neceſſitie to pleaſe *Cæſar* and *Scipio*, both of them his fathers in law. *Ageſilaus* alſo, to ſatisfie his ſonnes loue, ſaued *Sphodrias* life that had deſerued death, for the miſchiefe he had done the Athenians: and he willingly alſo tooke part with *Phœbidas*, not ſecretly, but openly, becauſe he had broken the peace made with the Thebans. To cõclude, what hurt *Pompey* did vnto the Romaines, either through ignorance, or to pleaſure his frends: the ſame did *Ageſilaus* vnto the Lacedæmonians, through anger & ſelf wil, in renuing warre with the Bœotians, vpon a full peace concluded. If we ſhall recken of the fortune of the one and the other, in the faults they committed: *Pompeys* fortune vnto the Romains was vnlooked for. But *Ageſilaus* would not ſuffer the Lacedæmonians to auoid the lame kingdom, though they knew it before. For though *Leotychides* had bene proued a baſtard ten thouſand times, yet had not the race of the *Eurytiontides* failed, but they could haue found an other lawfull king among them, that ſhould haue gone vpright: had not *Lyſander*, fauoring *Ageſilaus*, kept the true meaning of the oracle from the Lacedæmonians. On the other ſide againe for matters of gouernment, there was neuer ſuch an excellent deuiſe found out, as was done by *Ageſilaus*: to helpe the feare and danger the Lacedæmonians were in, for thoſe that fled at the battell of Leuctres, when he counſelled them to let the lawe ſleepe for that day. Neither can any man match *Pompeys* with the like: who, to ſhew his friends what power he was of, did breake the lawes which himſelfe had made. For *Ageſilaus* being driuen of neceſſitie to aboliſh the lawe, to ſaue the life of his citizens, found ſuch a deuiſe that the law was not hurtfull to the common wealth, neither yet was put downe for feare it ſhould doe hurt.

I muſt needes commende this for a great vertue and ciuilitie in *Ageſilaus*, who ſo ſoone as he receiued the Scytala (or ſcrowle of parchement from the Ephori) returned into his country, and left the warre of ASIA. He did not as Pompey, who made himſelfe great to the benefite of the common wealth, and for the common wealthes ſake, did forſake ſuch honour and ſo great authoritie, as neuer Captaine before him, but *Alexander* the great, had the like in thoſe partes. But now to other matter.

*Things done by Ageſilaus and Pompey in warres.*

Touching their battels and exploits in warres, the multitude of victories and triumphes that Pompey obtained, and the great armies that he led: *Xenophon* himſelfe if he were aliue, could not compare *Ageſilaus* victories vnto his: although for the ſingular vertues and qualities he had in him, for recompence thereof he had libertie graunted him, to write and ſpeake of *Ageſilaus* what he thought good. Me thinkes alſo, there was great difference betwixt Pompey and *Ageſilaus*, in their equitie and clemencie towardes their enemies. For, whileſt *Ageſilaus* went about to conquer THEBES, and vtterly to race and deſtroy the citie of MESSINA, the one being an auncient citie of his country, and the other the capitall citie of BOEOTIA: he had almoſt loſt his owne citie of SPARTA, for at the leaſt he loſt the commaundement and rule he had ouer the reſt of GRECE.

*Ageſilaus loſt the ſignorie of the Lacedæmonians.*

The other contrarily gaue cities vnto pirates to dwell in, which were willing to chaunge their trade and maner of life: and when it was in his choiſe to lead *Tigranes* king of ARMENIA, in triumphe at ROME, he choſe rather to make him a confederat of the ROMAINES, ſaying, that he preferred perpetuall honour before one dayes glory. But ſince it is reaſon we ſhould giue the firſt place and honour of the diſcipline of warres, vnto a Captaine of the greateſt skill and experience in warres: the LACEDÆMONIAN then leaueth the ROMAINE far behind. For firſt of all *Ageſilaus* neuer forſooke his citie, though it was beſieged with three ſcore & ten thouſand men, and that there were very few within the ſame to defend it, the which alſo a litle before had bene ouerthrowen at the battell of LEVCTRES.

*Pompeys fault to forſake Rome.*

And Pompey on the other ſide, hearing that *Cæſar* with fiue thouſand footemen onely had taken a towne in ITALIE: fled from ROME in very feare. And therein he can not be excuſed of one of theſe two: either that he fled cowardly for ſo few men, or elſe that he had a falſe imagination of more. For he conueyed his wife and children away, but he left all the reſt without defence, and fled: where indeede he ſhould either haue ouercome, valiantly fighting for defence of his country, or elſe haue receiued the conditions of peace which the conquerours ſhould haue offered him. For, he was a citizen and allied vnto him. For he that thought it an vntollerable thing to prolong the terme of his gouernement, or to graunt him a ſecond Conſulſhip: did now giue him oportunitie, ſuffering him to take the city of ROME, to ſay vnto *Metellus* the Tribune, & the reſt, that they were all his priſoners.

*A ſpeciall point of a skilfull Captaine.*

Sith therefore it is the chiefeſt point of an excellent Captaine, to compell his enemies to fight when he findeth himſelfe the ſtronger, and alſo to keepe himſelfe from compulſion of fight when he is the weaker: *Ageſilaus* excelling in that, did euer keepe him ſelfe inuincible. *Cæſar* alſo had great skill therein, to keepe himſelfe from daunger being the weaker, and againe could tell how to compell Pompey to hazard battell, to his vtter deſtruction by land, where he was the weaker: and by this meanes he made himſelfe Lord of the treaſure, victuals, and alſo of the ſea, which his enemies had in their handes, without fighting. That which they alledge in his excuſe, is that which moſt doth condemne him, ſpecially for ſo great and skilfull a Captaine. For as it is likely enough, that a young Generall of an armie may eaſily be brought from his wiſe and ſafe counſell, with rumour and tumult of a few fearefull men, that ſhould perſwade him it were a ſhame and diſhonour for him if he did otherwiſe: yet were this no ſtraunge matter, but a fault to be pardoned. But for *Pompey* the great, whoſe campe the ROMAINES called their country, and his tent the Senate, & called all the Prætors and Conſuls that gouerned at ROME, rebels and traitors to the common wealth of ROME: who could excuſe him (who was neuer ſeene commaunded by other then him ſelfe, but had bene alwayes chiefe Captaine and Generall in any warre he made, and euer had the vpper hand) but that he was drawen on by the ſcoffes of *Faonius*, and *Domitius*, to hazard battell, to endaunger the whole Empire and libertie of ROME, onely for feare they ſhould call him king *Agamemnon*? Who, if he had ſo much regarded preſent infamie, he ſhould haue fought from the beginning for defence of the citie of ROME, and not to haue taken example of *Themiſtocles* policie by flying, and afterwards to thinke it a ſhame as he did, to lye in THESSALIE a time without fighting. Neither did God appoint them the fields of Pharſalia for a Theater, or cloſe campe, of neceſsitie to fight which of them ſhould haue the Empire of ROME. Further, there was no Herauld to ſummon him to fight, as there are at games of price, where he muſt aunſwere to his name, and come and fight, or elſe to looſe the honour of the crowne vnto an other. But there were infinite other fields and townes (and as a man would ſay the whole earth) which the commoditie of his armie by ſea gaue him choiſe to conquer if he would rather haue followed the ſteppes of *Fabius Maximus*, of *Marius*, of *Lucullus*, or of *Ageſilaus* himſelfe: who did patiently abide no leſſe tumultes within the citie ſelfe of SPARTA, when the THEBANS went to ſummon him to come out to fight, for all the reſt of his country. And in ÆGYPT alſo, he did abide many falſe accuſations againſt him, wherewith the king himſelfe did burthen him, praying him alwayes to haue a litle patience. In fine, hauing followed the beſt counſell which he had determined with himſelfe from the beginning, he ſaued the ÆGYPTIANS againſt their willes: and furthermore, he did not onely keepe the citie of SPARTA from ſo great a daunger, but did alſo ſet vp tokens of triumphe in the ſame againſt the THEBANS, whereby, he was not compelled at that time to lead them out to the ſlaughter, and beſides that, gaue his citizens occaſion to obtaine victorie afterwardes. Hereupon *Ageſilaus* was highly prayſed of them, whoſe liues he had ſaued againſt their wils. And P*ompey* contrarily was blamed by themſelues, through whom he had offended: yet ſome ſay, that he was deceiued by his father in law *Scipio*. For he meaning to keepe the moſt part of the money to himſelfe which he had brought out of ASIA, did haſten and perſwade *Pompey* to giue battell, telling him that there was no money left. The which though it had bene true, a worthy Captaine ſhould not ſo lightly haue bene brought into errour, vpon a falſe account, to hazard himſelfe to looſe all. Thus may we ſee what both of them were, by comparing them together. Furthermore for their iourneys into ÆGYPT, the one fled thither by force: the other willingly went thither with ſmall honour, for moneys ſake to ſerue the barbarous people, with intent afterwardes to make warre with the GRECIANS. Laſtly, in that which we accuſe the ÆGYPIANS for P*ompeys* ſake: for the like matter do they againe accuſe *Ageſilaus*. For, the one was cruelly put to death, and betrayed by them whom he truſted: and *Ageſilaus* forſooke them which truſted him, and went to the enemies, hauing brought aide to fight againſt them.

*Ageſilaus conſtanter then Pompey.*

*Pompey flying into AEgypt is excuſed.*

*The end of Pompeys life.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Alexander the great.*

ALEXANDER M

HAuing determined in this volume to write the life of king *Alexander*, and of *Iulius Cæſar*, that ouercame Pompey: hauing to ſpeake of many things, I will vſe none other preface, but onely deſire the readers not to blame me though I do not declare all things at large, but briefly touch diuers, chiefly in thoſe their nobleſt acts & moſt worthy of memory. For they muſt remember, that my intent is not to write hiſtories, but onely liues. For, the nobleſt deedes do not alwayes ſhew mens vertues & vices, but oftentimes a light occaſion, a word, or ſome ſport makes mens naturall diſpoſitions & manners appeare more plaine, then the famous battels wonne, wherein are ſlaine ten thouſand men, or the great armies, or cities won by ſiege or aſſault. For like as painters or drawers of pictures, which make no account of other partes of the body, do take the reſemblances of the face and fauour of the countenance, in the which conſiſteth the iudgement of their manners and diſpoſition: euen ſo they muſt giue vs leaue to ſeeke out the ſignes and tokens of the minde onely, and thereby ſhew the life of either of them, referring you vnto others to write the warres, battels, and other great things they did. It is certaine that *Alexander* was deſcended from *Hercules* by *Caranus*, and that of his mothers ſide, he came of the bloud of the *AEacides* by *Neoptolemus*. They ſay alſo, that king P*hilip* his father when he was a young man, fell in fancie with his mother *Olympias*, which at that time alſo was a young maiden, and an orphan without father or mother, in the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, where they were both receiued into the miſterie and fraternity of the houſe of the religious: and that afterwardes, he did aske her in mariage of her brother *Arymbas*, with whoſe conſent they were maried together. The night before they lay in wedded bed, the bride dreamed, that lightning fell into her belly, and that withall, there was a great light fire that diſperſed it ſelfe all about into diuers flames. King P*hilip* her husband alſo, ſhortly after he was maried, dreamed that he did ſeale his wiues belly, and that the ſeale wherewith he ſealed, left behind the printe of a Lyon. Certaine wiſards and ſoothſayers, told P*hilip* that this dreame gaue him warning to looke ſtraightly to his wife. But *Ariſtander* TELMESIAN aunſwered againe, that it ſignified his wife was conceiued with child, for that they do not ſeale a veſſell that hath nothing in it: and that ſhe was with child with a boy, which ſhould haue a

*The face ſheweth mens manners and conditions.*

*The parentage of Alexander. Olympias the wife of Philip king of Macedon.*

*Olympias dreame.*

*King Philips dreame.*

Lions hart. It is reported alſo, that many times as ſhe lay a ſleepe in her bed, there was ſeene a ſerpent lying by her, the which was the chiefeſt cauſe (as ſome preſuppoſe) that withdrew *Philips* loue and kindneſſe from her, & cauſed him that he lay not ſo oft with her, as before he was wont to do: either for that he feared ſome charme or enchantment, or elſe for that he thought himſelfe vnmeete for her company, ſuppoſing her to be beloued of ſome god. Some do alſo report this after an other ſort: as in this maner. That the women in thoſe parts of long time, haue bene commonly poſſeſt with the ſpirite of *Orpheus*, and the diuine fury of *Bacchus*, whereupon they are called Clodones, and Mimallones (as much as warlike, and fierce) and do many things like vnto the womẽ of EDONIA, & THRACIA, dwelling about the mountaine Æmus. Hereby it appeareth, that this word Threskeuin (ſignifying in the Greeke toung, too ſuperſtitiouſly giuen to the ceremonies of the gods) came from them. For *Olympias* aboue other womẽ, louing to be inſpired with ſuch diuine madnes & fury: did celebrate their ſolemne ſacrifices with a certaine horrible & barbarous manner. For in theſe dances to *Bacchus*, ſhe caried a great number of tame ſnakes about her, the which gliding vpon the Iuie wherewith the women were dreſſed in thoſe ceremonies, & winding thẽſelues about the litle iauelings they had in their hands, & the garlands about their heads: thereby they made men the more afrayed of them. Whereupon *Philip* after this dreame, ſent *Charo* MEGALOPOLITAN vnto the oracle of *Apollo* at DELPHES, to inquire what it ſignified. Anſwere was giuen him, that he ſhould do ſacrifice vnto *Iupiter Hammon*, & honor him aboue all gods: & that he had loſt one of his eyes, with the which he peeping in at a crany of his chamber doore, ſaw the god in forme of a ſnake lye by his wife. Furthermore, *Olympias* (as *Eratoſthenes* writeth) bidding her ſon farewell whẽ he went to conquer ASIA, after ſhe had ſecretly told him alone, by whom he was begotten: ſhe prayed him to be valiant, & to ſhew himſelfe worthy his ſonne, that begat him. Others tell alſo, that ſhe was angry with this report, ſaying: will *Alexander* neuer leaue to make me ſuſpected of *Iuno*? So it is, that *Alexander* was borne on the ſixt day of the month of Hecatombæon, (in Engliſh, Iune) which the MACEDONIANS call Lous. On the very ſame day, the temple of *Diana* in the city of EPHESVS was burnt, as *Hegeſias* MAGNESIAN doth witnes, whoſe cry & exclamation was ſo terrible and cold, that it was enough to haue quenched that fire. It is not to be wondred at, that *Diana* ſuffred her temple to be burnt, being like a midwife, buſie about *Alexanders* birth. But this is true, that all the Prieſts, Magitians & Soothſayers, which were at that time in EPHESVS, iudging that this did prognoſticate ſome maruellous great miſſfortune to come, like men beſtraught of their wits, they ran vp & down the city, ſmiting of their faces, & crying that ſome great plague & miſchief was borne that day vnto ASIA. Shortly after that king *Philip* had won the city of POTIDÆA, three meſſengers came to him the ſame day that brought him great newes. The firſt, that *Parmenio* had wonne a notable battell of the ILLYRIANS: the ſecond, that his horſe onely wan the bell & price at the Olympian games: & the third, that his wife had brought him a ſonne called *Alexãder*. *Philip* being maruellous glad to heare theſe newes, the ſoothſayers did make his ioy yet greater: aſſuring him that his ſonne which was borne with three victories all together, ſhould be inuincible. Now for his ſtature and perſonage, the ſtatues and images made of him by *Lyſippus* do beſt declare it, for that he would be drawen of no man but him only. Diuers of his ſucceſſors & friends did afterwards counterfeit his image, but that excellent workeman *Lyſippus* onely, of all other the chiefeſt, hath perfectly drawen and reſembled *Alexanders* manner of holding his necke, ſomwhat hanging down towards the left ſide, & alſo the ſweet looke & caſt of his eyes. But when *Apelles* painted *Alexander*, holding lightning in his hand, he did not ſhew his freſh colour, but made him ſomewhat blacke & ſwarter, then his face indeed was: for naturally he had a very fayre white colour mingled alſo with red, which chiefly appeared in his face & in his breſt. I remember I red alſo in the commẽtaries of *Ariſtoxenus*, that his skin had a maruellous good ſauour, & that his breath was very ſweet, in ſomuch that his body had ſo ſweet a ſmell of it ſelfe, that all the apparell he wore next vnto his body, tooke thereof a paſsing delightfull ſauour, as if it had bene perfumed. And the cauſe hereof peraduenture might be, the very temperature and conſtitution of his body, which was hot and burning like fire. For *Theophraſtus* is of opinion, that the ſweet ſauour commeth by meanes of the heate that dryeth vp the moyſture of the body. By which reaſon

alſo

*Olympias ſerpent.*

*The birth of Alexander. The temple of Diana burnt at Epheſus.*

*wonderfull things ſeene at the birth of Alexander.*

*Alexander ſtature and perſonage.*

*Alexanders body had a maruellous ſweete ſauour.*

alſo it appeareth, that the dry & hot countryes parched with heate of the ſunne, are thoſe that deliuer vnto vs the beſt ſpices: becauſe that the ſunne drieth vp the moyſture of the outward parts, as a matter of corruption. This naturall heate that *Alexander* had, made him (as it appeareth) to be giuen to drinke, & to be haſty. Euen from his childhood they ſaw that he was giuen to be chaſt. For though otherwiſe he was very hot & haſty, yet was he hardly moued with luſt or pleaſure of the body, & would moderately vſe it. But on the other ſide, the ambitiō & deſire he had of honor, ſhewed a certaine greatnes of minde & noble courage, paſsing his yeares. For he was not (as his father *Philip*) deſirous of all kinde of glory: who like a Rethoritian had a delight to vtter his eloquence, & ſtāped in his coynes, the victories he had won at the Olympian games, by the ſwift running of his horſe & coches. For when he was asked one day (becauſe he was ſwift of ſoote) whether he would aſſay to run for victory at the Olympian games: I could be content, ſaid he, ſo I might run with kings. And yet to ſpeake generally, he miſliked all ſuch contentiō for games. For it ſeemeth that he vtterly miſliked all wreſtling & other exerciſe for priſe, where men did vſe all their ſtrēgth: but otherwiſe he himſelf made certain feſtiuall dayes & games of priſe, for common ſtage players, muſitians, & ſingers, & for the very Poets alſo. He delighted alſo in hunting of diuers kinds of beaſts, and playing at the ſtaffe. Ambaſſadours being ſent on a time from the king of PERSIA, whileſt his father was in ſome iourney out of his realme: *Alexander* familiarly entertaining of them, ſo wan them with his curteous entertainment, (for that he vſed no childiſh queſtions vnto them, nor asked them trifling matters, but what diſtance it was frō one place to an other, & which way they went into the high coūtrys of ASIA, & of the king of PERSIA himſelf, how he was towards his enemies, & what power he had) that he did rauiſh them with delight to heare him, in ſomuch that they made no more account of *Philips* eloquence & ſharpe wit, in reſpect of his ſonnes courage, & noble minde, to attempt great enterpriſes. For when they brought him newes that his father had taken ſome famous citie, or had won ſome great battell, he was nothing glad to heare it, but would ſay to his playfellowes: ſirs, my father will haue all, I ſhall haue nothing left me to conquer with you, that ſhalbe ought worth. For he delighting neither in pleaſure nor riches, but onely in valiantnes & honour, thought, that the greater conqueſtes & realmes his father ſhould leaue him, the leſſe he ſhould haue to do for himſelfe. And therfore, ſeeing that his fathers dominions & Empire increaſed dayly more and more, perceiuing all occaſion taken from him to do any great attempt: he deſired no riches nor pleaſure, but warres & battels, & aſpired to a ſignory where he might win honour. He had diuers men appointed him (as it is to be ſuppoſed) to bring him vs: as ſchoolemaſters, gouernours, & groomes of his chamber to attend vpon him: & among thoſe, *Leonidas* was the chiefeſt man that had the gouernement & charge of him, a man of a ſeuere diſpoſition, & a kinſeman alſo vnto the Queene *Olympias*. He miſliked to be called a maſter or tutor, though it be an office of good charge, wherupō the others called him *Alexanders* gouernour, becauſe he was a noble mā, & allied to the Prince. But he that bare the name of his ſchoolemaſter, was *Lyſimachus*, an ACARNANIAN borne, who had no other maner of ciuility in him, ſauing that he called himſelf *Phœnix*, *Alexander Achilles*, & *Philip Peleus*: & therfore he was well thought of, and was the ſecond perſon next vnto *Leonidas*. At what time *Philonicus* THESSALIAN had brought *Bucephall* the horſe to ſell vnto king *Philip*, asking thirteen talents, they went into the field to ryde him. The horſe was found ſo rough & churliſh that the ryders ſaid he would neuer do ſeruice, for he would let no man get vp on his backe, nor abide any of the gentlemens voyces about king *Philip*; but would yerke out at them. Thereupon, *Philip* being afrayed, commaunded them to cary him away as a wild beaſt, & altogether vnprofitable; the which they had done, had not *Alexander* that ſtood by ſayd, O gods, what a horſe do they turne away, for lacke of ſkill & hart to hādle him. *Philip* heard what he ſaid, but held his peace. *Alexander* oft repeating his words, ſeeming to be ſory that they ſhould ſend backe the horſe againe: why, ſaid *Philip*, doeſt thou controll them that haue more experience than thou, & that know better then thou how to handle a horſe? *Alexander* anſwered, & yet me thinkes I ſhould hādle him better thē all they haue done. But if thou canſt not, no more thē they, replied *Philip*: what wilt thou forfeit for thy folly? I am content (quoth *Alexander*) to ieopard the price of the horſe. Euery mā laughed to heare his anſwere: & the wager was layed betweene thē. Then ran

*Alexander coueted honour.*

*The noble minde of Alexander.*

*Leonidas the gouernour of Alexander.*

*Bucephall Alexāder horſe.*

*The agilitie of Alexander in taming the wildneſſe of Bucephall the horſe.*

*Philip propheciéth of his ſon Alexander.*

***Alexander*** to the horſe, and tooke him by the bridle: and turned him towardes the ſunne. It ſeemed that he had marked (as I ſuppoſe) how mad the horſe was to ſee his owne ſhadow, which was euer before him in his eye, as he ſturred to & fro. Then ***Alexander*** ſpeaking gẽtly to the horſe, and clapping him on the backe with his hand, till he had left his furie & ſnorting: ſoftly let fall his cloke from him, and lightly leaping on his backe, got vp without any daunger, & holding the reines of the bridle hard, without ſtriking or ſturring the horſe, made him to be gentle enough. Then when he ſaw that the furie of the horſe was paſt, and that he began to gallop, he put him to his full career, and layed on ſpurres and voyce a good. ***Philip*** at the firſt with feare beholding his ſonnes agilitie, leaſt he ſhould take ſome hurt, ſayd neuer a word: but when he ſaw him readily turne the horſe at the end of his career, in a brauery for that he had done, all the lookers on gaue a ſhout for ioy. The father on the other ſide (as they ſay) fell a weeping for ioy. And when ***Alexander*** was lighted from the horſe, he ſayd vnto him kiſſing his head: O ſonne, thou muſt needes haue a realme that is meete for thee, for MACEDON will not hold thee. Furthermore, conſidering that of nature he was not to be won by extremitie, & that by gentle meanes and perſwaſion he could make him do what he would: he euer ſought rather to perſwade thẽ cõmaund him in any thing he had to do. Now ***Philip*** putting no great affiance in his ſchoolemaiſters of muſicke & humanitie, for the inſtruction & education of his ſonne, whom he had appointed to teach him, but thinking rather that he needed mẽ of greater learning then their capacities would reach vnto: and that as ***Sophocles*** ſayth,

***He needed many reynes, and many bits at once:***

*Ariſtotle, was Alexanders ſchoolemaiſter. Ariſtotle borne in the citie of Stagira.*

*An Epiſtle of Alexander vnto Ariſtotle.*

*Alexander the great practiſed Phiſicke. Some thinke that this place ſhould be mẽt of the rich coffer, that was found among king Darius iewels, in the which Alexander would haue all Homers workes kept.*

He ſent for ***Ariſtotle*** (the greateſt Philoſopher in his time, & beſt learned) to teach his ſonne, vnto whõ he gaue honorable ſtipend. For ***Philip*** hauing won & takẽ before, the city of STAGYRA, where ***Ariſtotle*** was borne: for his ſake he built it again, & repleniſhed it with inhabitãts which fled away, or otherwiſe were in bondage. He appointed them for a ſchoole houſe and dwelling place, the pleaſant houſe that is by the city of MIEZA. In that place are yet ſeene ſeats of ſtone which ***Ariſtotle*** cauſed to be made, and cloſe walkes to walke in the ſhadow. It is thought alſo, that ***Alexander*** did not only learne of ***Ariſtotle***, morall Philoſophy & humanity, but alſo he heard of him other more ſecret, hard, and graue doctrine, which ***Ariſtotles*** ſchollers do properly call Acroamata, or Epoptica, meaning things ſpeculatiue, which requireth the maiſters teaching to vnderſtand thẽ, or elſe are kept from cõmon knowledge: which ſciences, they did not cõmonly teach. ***Alexander*** being paſſed into ASIA, & hearing that ***Ariſtotle*** had put out certaine bookes of that matter: for the honors ſake of Philoſophy, he wrote a letter vnto him, ſomwhat too plaine, & of this effect. ***Alexander***, vnto ***Ariſtotle*** greeting. Thou haſt not done well to put forth the Acroamaticall ſciences. For wherein ſhall we excell other, if thoſe things which thou haſt ſecretly taught vs, be made cõmon to all? I do thee to vnderſtand, that I had rather excell others in excellency of knowledge, then in greatneſſe of power. Farewell. Whereunto ***Ariſtotle*** to pacifie this his ambitious humour, wrote vnto him againe, that theſe bookes were publiſhed, and not publiſhed. For to ſay truly, in all his treatiſes which be called μετὰ τὰ φυσικά: there is no plaine inſtructiõ profitable for any man, neither to picke out by him ſelf, nor yet to be taught by any other, then ***Ariſtotle*** himſelf, or his ſchollers. So that it is written as a memoriall for thẽ that haue bene entred & brought vp in the Peripateticke ſect & doctrine. It ſeemeth alſo, that it was ***Ariſtotle*** aboue all other, that made ***Alexãder*** take delight to ſtudy Phiſick. For ***Alexãder*** did not only like the knowledge of ſpeculatiõ, but would exerciſe practiſe alſo, & helpe his friẽds whẽ they were ſicke: & made beſides certain remedies, & rules to liue by: as appeareth by his letters he wrote, that of his own nature he was much giuẽ to his booke, and deſired to read much. He learned alſo the Iliades of ***Homer***, of ***Ariſtotles*** correction, which they call τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος the corrected, as hauing paſſed vnder the rule: and layed it euery night vnder his beds head with his dagger, calling it (as ***Oneſicrates*** writeth) the inſtitution of martiall diſcipline. And whẽ he was in the high cõutrys of ASIA, where he could not readily come by other books, he wrote vnto ***Harpalus*** to ſend thẽ to him. ***Harpalus*** ſent him the hiſtories of ***Philiſtus***, with diuers tragedies of ***Euripides***, ***Sophocles***, & ***AEſchylus***: & certaine hymnes of ***Teleſtus*** and ***Philoxenus***. ***Alexander*** did reuerence ***Ariſtotle*** at the firſt, as his father, and ſo he termed him: becauſe from his naturall father he had life, but from him, the knowledge to liue.

But afterwards he ſuſpected him ſomewhat, yet he did him no hurt, neither was he ſo friendly to him as he had bene: whereby men perceiued that he did not beare him the good will he was wonte to do. This notwithſtanding, he left not that zeale and deſire he had to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, which he had learned from his youth, and ſtill continued with him. For he ſhewed diuers teſtimonies thereof. As, the honor he did vnto ***Anaxarchus*** the Philoſopher. The fiftie talents which he ſent vnto ***Xenocrates***, ***Dandamis***, and ***Calanus***: of whom he made great account.

*Alexanders firſt ſouldierfare.*

When king P*hilip* made warre with the BIZANTINES, ***Alexander*** being but ſixteene yeare olde, was left his Lieutenant in MACEDON, with the cuſtodie and charge of his great ſeale: at what time he alſo ſubdued the MEDARIANS which had rebelled againſt him, and hauing wonne their citie by aſſault, he draue out the barbarous people, & made a Colonie of it of ſundrie nations, and called it ALEXANDROPOLIS, to ſay, the citie of ***Alexander***.

*The city of Alexandropolis.*

He was with his father at the battell of CHÆRONEA againſt the GRECIANS, where it was reported, that it was he that gaue charge firſt of all vpon the holy bande of the THEBANS. Furthermore, there was an old oke ſeene in my time, which the countrimen commonly call ***Alexanders*** oke, becauſe his tent or pauillion was faſtned to it: and not farre from thence is the charnell houſe, where thoſe MACEDONIANS were buried that were ſlaine at the battell. For theſe cauſes, his father P*hilip* loued him very dearely, and was glad to heare the MACEDONIANS call ***Alexander*** king, & himſelfe their Captaine. Howbeit the troubles that fell out in his court afterwards, by reaſon of *Philips* new mariages and loues, bred great quarrell and ſtrife amongſt the women: for the miſchiefe of diſſention and iealouſie of women, doth ſeparate the harts of kings one from another, whereof was chiefeſt cauſe, the ſharpeneſſe of ***Olympias***, who being a iealous woman, fretting, and of a reuenging minde, did incenſe ***Alexander*** againſt his father.

*The quarrels of Philip with Olympias and Alexander.*

But the chiefeſt cauſe that prouoked ***Alexander***, was ***Attalus*** at the mariage of ***Cleopatra***, whom P*hilip* maried a maiden, falling in fancie with her when himſelf was paſt mariage. This was the matter: ***Attalus*** being vncle vnto this *Cleopatra*, fell drunke at the mariage, and hauing in his cups, he perſuaded the MACEDONIANS that were at the feaſt, to pray to the goddes, that they might haue a lawfull heire of P*hilip* and ***Cleopatra***, to ſucceed him in the kingdome of MACEDON. ***Alexander*** being in a rage therewith threw a cup at his head, and ſaid vnto him: why, traytor, what am I: doſt thou take me for a baſtard? P*hilip* ſeeing that, roſe from the bourd, and drew out his ſword, but by good fortune for them both, being troubled with choller and wine, he fell downe on the ground.

*Alexander mocketh Philip his father.*

Then ***Alexander*** mocking him, loe, ſaid he, to the MACEDONIANS, here is the man that prepared to go out of EVROPE into ASIA, and ſtepping onely from one bed to an other, yee ſee him laide alongſt on the ground. After this great inſolencie, he tooke his mother ***Olympias*** away with him, & carying her into his country of EPIRVS, he left her there, & himſelfe afterwards went into ILLYRIA. In the meane time, ***Demaratus*** CORINTHIAN, a friend of king P*hilips*, and very familiar with him, came to ſee him. P*hilip* when he had courteouſly welcommed him, asked him how the GRECIANS did agree together. Truely, O king, quoth he, it imports you much to inquire of the agreement of the GRECIANS, when your owne court is ſo full of quarrell & contention. Theſe words nipped P*hilip* in ſuch ſort, & cauſed him to know his fault, that through ***Demaratus*** meanes, whom he ſent to perſuade ***Alexander*** to returne, ***Alexander*** was made to come backe againe.

*Aridæus king Philips baſtard, begotten of a common ſtrumpet, Philima.*

Now whē P*exodorus*, a Prince of CARIA (deſiring for neceſſities ſake, to enter in league & friendſhip with P*hilip*) offred his eldeſt daughter in mariage vnto ***Aridæus*** king *Philips* ſonne, & had ſent ***Ariſtocritus*** ambaſſador into MACEDON for that purpoſe: the friends of ***Alexander*** & his mother, began againe to inueigle him with new reports and ſuſpicions, how P*hilip* by this great mariage would aduance ***Aridæus*** to his vtter vndoing, and leaue him his heire in the kingdom. ***Alexander*** being netled therwith, ſent one ***Theſſalus*** a plaier of tragedies into CARIA to P*exodorus*: to perſuade him to leaue ***Aridæus***, that was a baſtard & a foole, & rather to make alliance with ***Alexander***. This offer pleaſed P*exodorus* far better, to haue ***Alexāder*** his ſon in law, than ***Aridæus***. P*hilip* vnderſtanding this, went himſelfe into ***Alexanders*** chāber, taking P*hilotas* with him (the ſon of P*armenio*) one of his familiars, & bitterly tooke vp ***Alexander***, telling him that he had a baſe minde, & was vnworthy to be left his heire after his death, if he would caſt himſelfe away, marying the daughter of a CARIAN, that was a ſlaue & ſubiect

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*Alexanders firſt ſouldierfare.*

*The city of Alexandropolis.*

*The quarrels of Philip with Olympias and Alexander.*

*Alexander mocketh Philip his father.*

*Aridæus king Philips baſtard, begotten of a common ſtrumpet, Philima.*

*Philip king of Macedon, ſlaine by Pauſanias.*

of a barbarous king. Therupon he wrote letters vnto Corinth, that they ſhould ſend *Theſſalus* bound vnto him. And furthermore, he baniſhed out of Macedon, *Harpalus*, *Nearchus*, *Phrygius*, & *Ptolomy*, his ſonnes companions: whom *Alexander* afterwards called home againe and placed them in great authority about him. Shortly after, P*auſanias* ſuſteining villany by the counſell and commandement of *Attalus* & *Cleopatra*, crauing iuſtice of P*hilip*, and finding no amends: he conuerted all his anger againſt him, and for ſpight ſlue him himſelfe. Of this murther, moſt men accuſed Queene *Olympias*, who (as it is reported) allured this young man, hauing iuſt cauſe of anger, to kill him. And *Alexander* alſo went not cleare from ſuſpition of this murther. For ſome ſay, that P*auſanias* after this villanie was done him, complained vnto *Alexander*, and told him how he had bene abuſed: who recited theſe verſes to him of *Euripides*, in the tragedie of *Medea*, where ſhe ſaid in anger, that ſhe would be reuenged:

*Both of the bridegroome and the bride,*
*And of the father in lawe.*

*The beginning of Alexanders raigne.*

*Alexander ouercame Syrmus king of the Triballians.*

*Thebes won and raſed by Alexander.*

Notwithſtanding, afterwards he cauſed diligent ſearche to be made, and all them to be ſeuerely puniſhed that were of the conſpiracie: and was angrie alſo that his mother *Olympias* had cruelly ſlaine *Cleopatra*. So he came to be king of Macedon at twenty yeares of age, and found his realme greatly enuied and hated of dangerous enemies, and euery way full of danger. For, the barbarous nations that were neere neighbors vnto Macedon, could not abide the bondage of ſtrangers, but deſired to haue their naturall kings. Neither had P*hilip* time enough to bridle and pacifie Grece, which he had conquered by force of armes: but hauing a litle altered the gouernements, had through his inſolencie left them all in great trouble and ready to rebell, for that they had not long bene acquainted to obey. Thereupon *Alexanders* counſell of Macedon, being affraid of the troubleſome time, were of opinion, that *Alexāder* ſhould vtterly forſake the affaires of Grece, & not to follow them with extremitie, but that he ſhould ſeeke to winne the barbarous people by gentle meanes, that had rebelled againſt him, and wiſely to remedy theſe new ſturres. But he farre otherwiſe determined to ſtabliſh his ſafetie by courage and magnanimitie: perſuading himſelfe, that if they ſaw him ſtoope and yeelde at the beginning, how litle ſo euer it were, euery one would be vpon him. Thereupon, he ſtraight quenched all the rebellion of the barbarous people, inuading them ſodainly with his armie, by the riuer of Danuby, where in a great battell he ouerthrew *Syrmus*, king of the Triballians. Furthermore, hauing intelligence that the Thebans were reuolted, & that the Athenians alſo were confederate with them: to make thē know that he was a man, he marched with his armie towards the ſtreight of *Thermopiles*, ſaying that he would make *Demoſthenes* the Orator ſee (who in his orations, whilſt he was in Illyria, & in the country of the Triballians, called him child) that he was growne a ſtripling paſſing through Theſſaly, & ſhould finde him a man before the walles of Athens. When he came with his armie vnto the gates of Thebes, he was willing to giue them of the citie occaſion to repent them: and therefore onely demanded *Phœnix* and P*rothytes*, authors of the rebellion. Furthermore, he proclaimed by trumpet, pardon and ſafetie vnto all them that would yeeld vnto him. The Thebans on the other ſide, demanded of him P*hilotas*, & *Antipater*, two of his chiefeſt ſeruants, & made the crier proclaime in the city, that al ſuch as would defēd the liberty of Grece ſhould ioyne with them. Then did *Alexander* leaue the Macedonians at libertie to make warre with all crueltie. Then the Thebans fought with greater courage and deſire then they were able, conſidering that their enemies were many againſt one. And on the other ſide alſo, when the garriſon of the Macedonians which were within the caſtell of Cadmia, made a ſalie vpon them, and gaue them charge in the rereward: then they being enuironned of all ſides, were ſlaine in maner euery one of them, their citie taken, deſtroied, and raſed euen to the hard ground. This he did, ſpecially to make all the reſt of the people of Grece afraide by example of this great calamitie & miſerie of the Thebans, to the end none of them ſhould dare from thenceforth once to riſe againſt him. He would cloke this crueltie of his vnder the complaints of his confederates, the Phocians and Plateians: who complaining to him of the iniuries the Thebans had offred, could not deny them iuſtice. Notwithſtāding, excepting the prieſts, and the religious, & all ſuch as were friends vnto any of the Lords of Macedon, all the friends and kinſmen of the poet *Pindarus*, and all thoſe that had diſſuaded them which were the rebels: he ſold all the reſt of the citie of Thebes for ſlaues, which amounted to the number of thirtie thouſand perſons, beſides them that were ſlaine at the battell, which were ſix thouſand moe. Now amongſt the other miſeries and calamities of the poore citie of Thebes, there were certaine Thracian ſouldiers, who hauing ſpoiled and defaced the houſe of *Timoclea*, a vertuous ladie and of noble parentage, they deuided her goods among them: and their captaine hauing rauiſhed her by force, asked her, whether ſhe had any where hidden any golde or ſiluer. The ladie told him, ſhe had. Then leading him into her garden, ſhe brought him vnto a well: where ſhe ſaid ſhe had caſt all her iewels & precious things, when ſhe heard the citie was taken. The barbarous Thracian ſtouped to looke into the well: ſhe ſtanding behind him, thruſt him in, and then threw ſtones enough on him, and ſo killed him. The ſouldiers when they knew it, tooke and bound her, and ſo caried her vnto *Alexander*. When *Alexander* ſaw her countenance, and marked her gate: he ſuppoſed her at the firſt to be ſome great lady, ſhe followed the ſoldiers with ſuch a maieſtie and boldneſſe. *Alexander* then asking her what ſhe was: She aunſwered, that ſhe was the ſiſter of *Theagenes*, who fought a battell with king *Philip* before the citie of Chæronea, where being generall he was ſlaine, valiantly fighting for the defenſe of the libertie of Grece. *Alexander* wondering at her noble aunſwer and couragious deed, commanded no man ſhould touche her nor her children, and ſo freely let her go whither ſhe would. He made league alſo with the Athenians, though they were very ſory for their miſerable fortune. For the day of the ſolemne feaſt of their miſteries being come, they left it off, mourning for the Thebans: courteouſly enterteining all thoſe, that flying from Thebes came to them for ſuccour. But whether it was for that his anger was paſt him, following therein the nature of lyons: or becauſe that after ſo great an example of crueltie, he would ſhew a ſingular clemencie again: he did not only pardon the Athenians of all faults committed, but did alſo counſell them to looke wiſely to their doings, for their citie one daie should command all Grece, if he chaunſed to die. Men report, that certainly he oftentimes repented him that he had dealt ſo cruelly with the Thebans, and the griefe he tooke vpon it was cauſe that he afterwards ſhewed himſelfe more mercifull vnto diuerſe others. Afterwards alſo he did blame the furie of *Bacchus*, who to be reuenged of him, made him kill *Clitus* at the table being druncke, and the Macedonians alſo to refuſe him to go any further to conquer the Indians, which was an imperfection of his enterpriſe, and a miniſhing alſo of his honour. Beſides, there was neuer Theban afterwards, that had eſcaped the furie of his victorie, and did make any peticion to him, but he had his ſute. Thus was the ſtate of Thebes as you haue heard. Then the Grecians hauing aſſembled a generall councell of all the ſtates of Grece within the ſtraights of *Peloponneſus*: there it was determined that they would make warre with the Persians. Wherupon they choſe *Alexander* generall for all Grece. Then diuers men comming to viſite *Alexander*, aswell philoſophers, as gouernours of ſtates, to congratulate with him for his electiō, he looked that *Diogenes Sinopiā* (who dwelt at Corinth) would likewiſe come as the reſt had done: but when he ſaw he made no reckoning of him, & that he kept ſtill in the ſuburbes of Corinthe, at a place called Cranium, he went himſelfe vnto him, and found him laide all a long in the ſunne. When *Diogenes* ſaw ſo many comming towards him, he ſate vp a litle, and looked full vpon *Alexander*. *Alexander* courteouſly ſpake vnto him, and asked him, if he lacked any thing. Yea ſaid he, that I do: that thou ſtand out of my ſunne a litle. *Alexander* was ſo well pleaſed with this aunſwere, and maruelled ſo much at the great boldneſſe of this man, to ſee how ſmall account he made of him: that when he wēt his way from him, *Alexanders* familiars laughing at *Diogenes*, & mocking him, he told them: maiſters ſay what you liſt, truly if I were not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*. *Alexander* being deſirous to heare what the oracle of *Apollo* Delphian would ſay vnto him touching the ſucceſſe of his iorney into Asia: he went vnto the citie of Delphes. It chanſed ſo, that he came thither in the dayes which they call vnfortunate, on which dayes no man vſed to aske *Apollo* any thing. This notwithſtanding, he ſent firſt vnto the Nunne which pronounced the oracles to pray her to come to him But ſhe refuſed to come, alledging the cuſtome which forbad her to go. Thereupon, *Alexander* went thither himſelfe in perſon, and brought her out by force

*A noble acte of Timoclea, a noble woman of Thebes.*

*Alexander choſen generall of all Grece.*

*Alexanders talke with Diogenes.*

*Wonderfull ſignes appearing vnto Alexander before his iourney into Aſia.*

*Alexanders armie into Aſia.*

*The liberalitie of Alexander.*

*Alexanders ſaying of Achilles.*

into the temple. She ſeeing then that he would not be denied, but would needs haue his will: tolde him, My ſonne, for that I ſee thou art inuincible. *Alexander* hearing that, ſaid he deſired no other oracle, and that he had as much as he looked for. Afterwards when he was euen ready to go on with his voyage, he had diuers ſignes and tokens from the gods: and amongſt other, an image of the Poet *Orpheus* made of cyprus, in the city of LEBETHRES, in thoſe daies did ſweate maruellouſly. Many men fearing that ſigne, *Ariſtander* the ſoothſaier bad *Alexander* be of good cheere, and hope well, for he ſhould obtaine noble victories that ſhould neuer be forgotten, the which ſhould make the Poets and muſicians ſweate to write and ſing them. Then, for his armie which he led with him, they that do ſet downe the leaſt number, ſay that they were thirtie thouſand footmen, and fiue thouſand horſemen: and they that ſay more, do write, foure and thirtie thouſand footemen, and foure thouſand horſemen. *Ariſtobulus* writeth, that *Alexander* had no more but three ſcore and tenne talents to pay his ſouldiers with: and *Duris* writeth, that he had no more prouiſion of victuals, then for thirtie dayes onely. And *Oneſicritus* ſaith moreouer, that he did owe two hundred talents. Now, notwithſtanding that he began this warre with ſo ſmall ability to maintaine it, he would neuer take ſhippe before he vnderſtood the ſtate of his friends, to know what abilitie they had to go with him, and before he had giuen vnto ſome, lands, and vnto other, a towne, and to others againe, the cuſtome of ſome hauen. Thus by his bountie, hauing in maner ſpent almoſt the reuenues of the crowne of MACEDON, *Perdiccas* asked him: my Lord, what will you keep for your ſelf? hope, ſaid he. Then, quoth *Perdiccas* againe, we will alſo haue ſome part, ſince we go with you: and ſo refuſed the reuenue which the king had giuen him for his penſion. Many others did alſo the like. But ſuch as were contented to take his liberalitie, or would aske him any thing, he gaue them very franckly, and in ſuch liberalitie ſpent all the reuenue he had. With this deſire & determination, he went on to the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, & going to the city of ILIVM he did ſacrifice vnto *Diana*, and made funerall effuſions vnto the demy gods (to wit, vnto the princes which died in the warre of TROIA, whoſe bodies were buried there) and ſpecially vnto *Achilles*, whoſe graue he annointed with oyle, and ran naked round about it with his familiars, according to the auncient cuſtome of funerals. Then he couered it with noſegayes and flowers, ſaying, that *Achilles* was happy, who while he liued had a faithfull friend, & after his death an excellent herauld to ſing his praiſe. When he had done, and went vp and downe the citie to ſee all the monuments and notable things there: one asked him, if he would ſee *Paris* harpe. He aunſwered againe, he would very faine ſee *Achilles* harpe, who plaied and ſung vpon it all the famous acts done by valiant men in former times. In the meane time, *Darius* king of PERSIA, hauing leauied a great armie, ſent his captaines and lieutenants to tary *Alexander* at the riuer of GRANICVS. There was *Alexander* to fight of neceſſitie, being the only barre to ſtop his entrie into ASIA. Moreouer, the captaines of his councell about him, were afraid of the depth of this riuer, and of the height of the banck on the other ſide, which was verie high and ſteep, & could not be wonne without fighting. And ſome ſaid alſo, that he ſhould haue ſpeciall care of the auncient regard of the moneth: becauſe the kings of MACEDON did neuer vſe to put their armie into the field in the moneth of Daſon, which is Iune. For that, ſaid *Alexander*, we will remedy ſoone: let them call it the ſecond moneth, Artemiſium, which is Maye. Furthermore *Parmenio* was of opinion, that he ſhould not medle the firſt day, becauſe it was very late. *Alexander* made anſwer againe, that HELLESPONT would bluſh for ſhame, if he were now affraid to paſſe ouer the riuer, ſince he had already come ouer an arme of the ſea. Thereupon he himſelfe firſt entred the riuer with thirteene guidons of horſmen, and marched forwards againſt an infinite number of arrowes which the enemies ſhot at him, as he was comming vp the other banck, which was very high and ſteepe, and worſt of all, full of armed men and horſemen of the enemies: which ſtaied to receiue him in battell raye, thruſting his men downe into the riuer, which was very deepe, and ranne ſo ſwifte, that it almoſt caried them downe the ſtreame: inſomuch that men thought him more raſhe than wiſe, to lead his men with ſuch danger. This notwithſtanding, he was ſo wilfully bent that he would needs ouer, and in the end with great a do recouered the other ſide, ſpecially becauſe the earth ſlidde away, by reaſon of the mud. So when he was ouer, he was driuen to fight pel mel one vpon an other, becauſe his enemies did ſet vpon the firſt that were paſſed ouer, before they could put themſelues into battell raie, with great cries, keeping their horſes very cloſe together, and fought firſt with their dartes, and afterwards came to the ſworde when their dartes were broken. Then many of them ſet vpon him alone, for he was eaſily to be knowne aboue the reſt by his ſhield & the hinder part of his helmet, about the which, there hung frō the one ſide to the other, a maruelous faire white plume. *Alexāder* had a blow with a dart on his thigh but it hurt him not. Thereupon *Roeſaces* & *Spithbridates*, both two chiefe captains of the PERSIANS, ſetting vpon *Alexāder* at once, he left the one, and riding ſtraight to *Roeſaces*, who was excellently armed, he gaue him ſuch a blow with his launce, that he brake it in his hand, and ſtraight drew out his ſword. But ſo ſoone as they two had cloſed together, *Spithbridates* comming at the one ſide of him, raiſed himſelfe vpon his ſtirrops and gaue *Alexander* with all his might ſuch a blow on his head with a battell axe, that he cut the creaſt off his helmet, & one of the ſides of his plume, and made ſuch a gaſhe, that the edge of his battell axe touched the very haire of his head. And as he was lifting vp his hand to ſtrike *Alexander* againe, great *Clitus* preuenting him, thruſt him through with a partiſan, and at the very ſame inſtant, *Roeſaces* alſo fell dead from his horſe with a wound which *Alexander* gaue him with his ſworde. Now whileſt the horſemen fought with ſuch furie, the ſquadron of the battell of footemen of the MACEDONIANS had paſſed the riuer, and both the battels began to marche one againſt the other. The PERSIANS ſtucke not manfully to it any long time, but ſtraight turned their backs and fled, ſauing the GRECIANS which tooke paie of king *Darius*: they drew together vpon a hill, and craued mercy of *Alexander*. But *Alexander* ſetting vpon them, more of will then diſcretion, had his horſe killed vnder him, being thruſt through the flanke with a ſword. This was not Bucephal, but an other horſe he had. All his men that were ſlaine or hurt at this battell, were hurte amongſt them valiantly fighting againſt deſperate men. It is reported that there were ſlaine at this firſt battell, twenty thouſand footmen of theſe barbarous people, and two thouſand fiue hundred horſemen Of *Alexanders* ſide, *Ariſtobulus* writeth, that there were ſlaine foure and thirty men in all, of the which, twelue of them were footemen. *Alexander* to honor their valiantnes, cauſed euery one of their images to be made in braſſe by *Lyſippus*. And becauſe he would make the GRECIANS partakers of this victorie, he ſent vnto the ATHENIANS three hundred of their targettes, which he had wonne at the battell, and generally vpon all the other ſpoiles, he put this honorable inſcription. *Alexander the ſonne of* Philip, *and the Grecians, excepting the Lacedæmonians haue wonne this ſpoile vpon the barbarous Aſians*. As for plate of gold or ſiluer, alſo purple ſilkes, or other ſuch precious ware which he gat among the PERSIANS: he ſent them all vnto his mother, a few except. This firſt victorie of *Alexander*, brought ſuch a ſodaine change amongſt the barbarous people in *Alexanders* behalfe, that the citie ſelfe of SARDIS, the chiefe citie of the Empire of the barbarous people, or at the leaſt through all the lowe countries and coaſts vpon the ſea, they yeelded ſtraight vnto him, ſauing the cities of HALICARNASSVS and MILETVM, which did ſtill reſiſt him: howbeit at length he tooke them by force. When he had alſo conquered all thereabouts, he ſtood in doubt afterwards what he were beſt to determine. Somtime he had a maruellous deſire, wholly to follow *Darius* wherſoeuer he were, and to venture all at a battell. An other time againe, he thought it better firſt to occupy himſelfe in conquering of theſe low countries, & to make himſelf ſtrong with the money and riches he ſhould finde among them, that he might afterwards be the better able to follow him. In the countrie of LYDIA neere vnto the citie XANTHVM, they ſay there is a ſpring that brake of it ſelfe, and ouerflowing the banckes about it, caſt out a litle table of copper from the bottome, vpon the which were graued certaine caracters in old letters, which ſaid: that the kingdome of the PERSIANS ſhould be deſtroied by the GRECIANS. This did further ſo encourage *Alexander*, that he made haſt to cleere all the ſea coaſt, euen as farre as CILICIA and PHOENICIA. But the wonderfull good ſucceſſe he had, running a longſt all the coaſt of PAMPHILIA, gaue diuerſe hiſtoriographers occaſion to ſet foorth his doings with admiration, ſaying that it was one of the wonders of the worlde, that the furie of the ſea, which vnto all other was extreame roughe, and many times would ſwell ouer the toppes of the high rockes vpon the cliffes, fell calme vnto him. And it appeareth that *Me-*

*Battell betwixt Alexander & Darius at the riuer of Granicus.*

*Clitus ſaued Alexander.*

*Alexanders victory of the Perſians at Granicus.*

*nander* himſelfe in a comedie of his dooth witneſſe this wonderfull happineſſe of *Alexander*, when merily he ſaieth:

*O great Alexander, how great is thy ſtate?*
*For thou with thy ſelfe maiſt thus iuſtly debate.*
*If any man liuing I liſt for to call,*
*He commeth and humbly before me doth fall.*
*And if through the ſourges my iorney doe lye,*
*The waues giue me way, and the Sea becomes drie.*

*The memorie of Theodectes honored by Alexander.*

*The citie of Gordius in Phrygia where king Midas kept.*

*Darius armie and dreame.*

*Alexanders ſickneſſe in Cilicia. Cydnus fl.*

Yet *Alexander* himſelfe ſimply writeth in his epiſtles (without any great wonder) that by ſea he paſſed a place called the ladder, and that to paſſe there, he tooke ſhippe in the citie of PHASELIDES. There he remained many daies, & when he ſaw the image of *Theodectes* PHASELITAN, ſtanding in the market place: he went in a daunce thither one euening after ſupper, and caſt flowers and garlands vpon his image, honoring the memorie of the dead, though it ſeemed but in ſport, for that he was his companion when he liued, by meanes of *Ariſtotle* and his philoſophie. After that he ouercame alſo the PISIDIANS, who thought to haue reſiſted him, and conquered all PHRYGIA beſides. There in the citie of GORDIVS, which is ſaid to be the ancient ſeat of king *Midas*: he ſaw the charret that is ſo much ſpoken of, which is bound with the barcke of a cornell tree, and it was told him for a troth, of the barbarous people, that they beleeued it as a prophecy: that whoſoeuer could vndoe the bande of that barke, was certainly ordeined to be king of all the world. It is commonly reported, that *Alexander* prouing to vndoe that bande, and finding no ends to vndoe it by, they were ſo many folde wreathed one within the other: he drew out his ſworde, and cut the knot in the middeſt. So that then many ends appeared. But *Ariſtobulus* writeth, that he had quickly vndone the knot by taking the bolt out of the axtree, which holdeth the beame and body of the charret and ſo ſeuered them a ſunder. Departing thence, he conquered the PAPHLAGONIANS & CAPPADOCIANS, and vnderſtood of the death of *Memnon*, that was *Darius* generall of his army by Sea, and in whom was all their hope to trouble and withſtand *Alexander*: whereupon he was the bolder to go on with his determination to leade his army into the high countries of ASIA. Then did king *Darius* himſelfe come againſt *Alexander*, hauing leauied a great power at SVSA, of ſix hundred thouſand fighting men, truſting to that multitude, and alſo to a dreame, the which his wiſards had expounded rather to flatter him, then to tell him truly. *Darius* dreamed that he ſaw all the armie of the MACEDONIANS on a fire, and *Alexander* ſeruing of him in the ſelfe ſame attire that he himſelfe wore when he was one of the chamber vnto the late king his predeceſſor: and that when he came into the temple of *Belus*, he ſodainely vaniſhed from him. By this dreame it plainly appeared, that the gods did ſignifie vnto him, that the MACEDONIANS ſhould haue noble ſucceſſe in their doings, and that *Alexander* ſhould conquer all ASIA, euen as king *Darius* had done, when he was but Aſgandes vnto the king: and that ſhortly after, he ſhould end his life with great honour. This furthermore made him bolde alſo, when he ſawe that *Alexander* remained a good while in CILICIA, ſuppoſing it had bene for that he was afraide of him. Howbeit it was by reaſon of a ſickneſſe he had the which ſome ſay he got, by extreame paines and trauell, and others alſo, becauſe he waſhed himſelfe in the riuer of Cydnus, which was colde as Iſe. Howſoeuer it came, there was none of the other phiſitians that durſt vndertake to cure him, thinking his diſeaſe vncurable, and no medicines to preuaile that they could giue him, and fearing alſo that the MACEDONIANS would laie it to their charge, if *Alexander* miſcaried. But P*hilip* ACARNANIAN, conſidering his maiſter was very ill, and bearing himſelfe of his loue and good will towards him, thought he ſhould not doe that became him, if he did not proue (ſeeing him in extremitie and danger of life) the vtmoſt remedies of phiſicke, what danger ſo euer he put himſelfe into: and therefore tooke vpon him to miniſter phiſicke vnto *Alexander*, and perſuaded him to drinke it boldly if he would quickly be whole, and go to the warres. In the meane time, P*armenio* wrote him a letter from the campe, aduertiſing him, that he ſhould beware of P*hilip* his phiſitian, for he was bribed and corrupted by *Darius*, with large promiſes of great riches, that he would giue him with his daughter in mariage, to kill his maiſter. *Alexander* when he had redde this letter, laide it vnder his beds

head,

*The wonderfull truſt of Alexander in his phiſitian.*

*Darius contemneth Amyntas profitable counſell.*

*Battell betwixt Darius and Alexander in Cilicia.*

*Alexanders victory of Darius in Cilicia.*

head, and made none of his neareſt familiars acquainted therewith. When the hower came that he ſhould take his medicine, *Philip* came into his chamber with other of the kings familiars, and brought a cup in his hand with the potion he ſhould drinke. *Alexander* then gaue him the letter, and withall, chearefully tooke the cup of him, ſhewing no maner of feare or miſtruſt of any thing. It was a wonderfull thing and worth the ſight, how one reading the letter, and the other drinking the medicine both at one inſtant, they looked one vpon an other, howbeit not both with like chearefull countenaunce. For *Alexander* looked merily vpon him, plainly ſhewing the truſt he had in his phiſitian *Philip*, and how much he loued him: and the phiſitian alſo beheld *Alexander* like a man perplexed and amazed, to be ſo falſely accuſed, and ſtraight lift vp his handes to heauen, calling the goddes to witneſſe that he was innocent, and then came to *Alexanders* bed ſide, and prayed him to be of good cheare, and boldly to doe as he would aduiſe him. The medicine beginning to worke, ouercame the diſeaſe, and draue for the time, to the loweſt partes of his body, all his naturall ſtrength and powers: in ſomuch as his ſpeach failed him, and he fell into ſuch a weakenes, and almoſt ſooning, that his pulſe did ſcant beat, and his ſences were wel-neare taken from him. But that being paſt, *Philip* in few dayes recouered him againe. Now, when *Alexander* had gotten ſome ſtrength, he ſhewed him ſelfe openly vnto the MACEDONIANS: for they would not be pacified, nor perſwaded of his health vntill they had ſeene him. In king *Darius* campe, there was one *Amyntas* a MACEDONIAN, & baniſht out of his country, who knew *Alexanders* diſpoſition very wel. He finding that *Darius* ment to meete with *Alexander* within the ſtraightes and vallies of the mountains: beſought him to tary rather where he was, being a plaine open countrey round about him, conſidering that he had a great hoaſt of men to fight with a few enemies, and that it was moſt for his aduantage to meete with him in the open field. *Darius* aunſwered him againe, that he was afraid of nothing but that he would flie, before he could come to him. *Amyntas* replied, for that, O king, I pray you feare not: for I warrant you vpon my life he will come to you, yea and is now onwards on his way comming towards you. Al theſe perſwaſions of *Amyntas* could not turn *Darius* from making his campe to march towardes CILICIA. At the ſelfe ſame time alſo, *Alexander* went towardes SYRIA to meete with him. But it chanced one night that the one of them miſſed of the other, and when day was come, they both returned backe againe: *Alexander* being glad of this happe, and making haſt to meete with his enemy within the ſtraightes. *Darius* alſo ſeeking to win *Alexanders* lodging from whence he came, and to bring his army out of the ſtraights: began then to finde the fault and error committed, for that he had ſhut him ſelfe vp in the ſtraights, (holden in on the one ſide with the mountaine, and on the other with the Sea, and the riuer of Pindarus that ran betweene both) and that he was driuen to diſperſe his army into diuers companies, in a ſtony and ill fauored country, ill for horſemen to trauell, being on the contrary ſide a great aduantage for his enemies, which were excellent good footemen, and but few in number. But now, as fortune gaue *Alexander* the field as he would wiſhe it to fight for his aduantage: ſo could he tell excellently well how to ſet his men in battell ray to winne the victory. For albeit that *Alexander* had the leſſe number by many then his enemy, yet he had ſuch policy and caſt with him, that he foreſaw all, and would not be enuironned: For he did put out the right wing of his battell a great deale further, then he did his left wing, and fighting him ſelfe in the left wing in the formoſt ranckes, he made all the barbarous people flie that ſtood before him: howbeit, he was hurt on his thigh with a blow of a ſword. *Chares* writeth, that *Darius* ſelfe did hurt him, and that they fought together man to man. Notwithſtanding *Alexander* ſelfe writing of this battell vnto *Antipater* ſayeth, that in deede he was hurt on the thigh with a ſword, howbeit he did put him in no daunger: but he writeth not that *Darius* did hurt him. Thus hauing wonne a famous victory, and ſlaine aboue a hundred and tenne thouſand of his enemies, he could not yet take *Darius* becauſe he fled, hauing ſtill foure or fiue furlongs vantage before him: howbeit it tooke his charriot of battell wherein he fought, and his bow alſo. Then he returned from the chaſe, and found the MACEDONIANS ſacking and ſpoiling all the reſt of the campe of the barbarous people, where there was infinite riches (although they had left the moſt part of their cariage behinde them in the city of DAMAS, to come lighter to the battell) but yet reſerued for him ſelfe all king *Darius* tent, which was full of a great number of officers, of rich moueables, and of gold and ſiluer. So, when he was come to the campe, putting off his armour, he entred into the bathe and ſayed: come on, lette vs goe and waſhe off the ſweate of the battell in *Darius* owne bathe. Nay, replied one of his familiars againe, in *Alexanders* bath: for the goodes of the vanquiſhed are rightly the vanquiſhers. When he came into the bathe, and ſaw the baſons and yewers, the boxes, and violles for perfumes, all of cleane gold, excellently wrought, all the chamber perfumed paſſing ſweetly, that it was like a paradiſe: then going out of his bathe, and comming into his tent, ſeeing it ſo ſtately and large, his bedde, the table, and ſupper, and all ready in ſuch ſumptuous ſort, that it was wonderfull, he turned him vnto his familiars and ſaied: this was a king in deede, was he not thinke ye? As he was ready to goe to his ſupper, word was brought him, that they were bringing vnto him amongeſt other Ladies taken priſoners, king *Darius* mother and his wiſe, and two of his daughters vnmaried: who hauing ſeene his chariot and bow, burſt out into lamentable cries, and violent beating of them ſelues thinking *Darius* had bene ſlaine. *Alexander* pawſed a good while and gaue no aunſwer, pittying more their misfortune, then reioyſing at his owne good happe. Then he preſently ſent one *Leonatus* vnto them, to let them vnderſtand, that *Darius* was aliue, and that they ſhould not neede to be afraied of *Alexander*, for he did not fight with *Darius*, but for his kingdome onely: and as for them, that they ſhould haue at his handes all that they had of *Darius* before, when he had his whole kingdome in his handes. As theſe wordes pleaſed the captiue Ladies, ſo the deedes that followed, made them finde his clemency to be no leſſe. For firſt hee ſuffered them to bury as many of the PERSIAN Lords as they would, euen of them that had bene ſlain in the battell, and to take as much ſilkes of the ſpoiles, iewels, and ornaments, as they thought good to honor their funerals with: and alſo did leſſen no part of their honor, nor of the number of their officers and ſeruaunts, nor of any iotte of their eſtate which they had before, but did allow them alſo greater penſions, then they had before. But aboue all, the princelyeſt grace, and moſt noble fauor that *Alexander* ſhewed vnto theſe captiue princeſſes, which had alwaies liued in honorable fame and chaſtity, was this: That they neuer heard word, or ſo much as any ſuſpition that ſhould make them afrayed to be diſhonored or deflowred: but were priuately among them ſelues vnuiſited or repayred vnto by any man, but of their owne, not as if they had bene in a campe of their enemies, but as if they had bene kept in ſome cloſe monaſterie: although *Darius* wife (as it is written) was paſſing faire, as *Darius* alſo was a goodly prince, and that his daughters likewiſe did reſemble their father and mother. *Alexander* thinking it more princely for a king, as I ſuppoſe to conquer him ſelfe, then to ouercome his enemies: did neither touch them nor any other, maide or wife, before he maried them, *Barſine* onely excepted, who being left *Memmons* widow (generall of king *Darius* by ſea) was taken by the city of DAMAS. Shee being excellently well learned in the Greeke tongue, and of good entertainement (being the daughter of *Artabazus*, who came of a kings daughter) *Alezander* was bolde with her by *Parmenioes* procurement, (as *Ariſtobulus* writeth) who intiſed him to embrace the company of ſo excellent a woman, and paſſing faire beſides. Furthermore, beholding the other PERSIAN Ladies beſides which were priſoners, what goodly faire women they were: hee ſpake it pleaſantly, that the Ladies of PERSIA made mens eyes ſore to behold them. Notwithſtanding, preferring the beauty of his continency, before their ſweete faire faces: hee paſſed by without any ſparke of affection towardes them, more then if they had bene images of ſtone without life. To confirme this, *Philoxenus* whom he had left his lieutenaunt in the low countries vppon the ſea coaſt, wrote vnto him on a time, that one *Theodorus* a marchaunt of TARENTVM, had to ſell two goodly young boies, maruellous faire: and therefore that he ſent vnto him to know his pleaſure, if he would buy them. Therewith he was ſo offended, that many times he cried out aloud: O, my friendes, what villany hath euer *Philoxenus* ſeene in me, that he ſhould deuiſe (hauing nothing to doe there) to purchaſe me ſuch infamy? whereuppon he wrote vnto him from the campe, with reprochfull wordes, that he ſhould ſend that vile TARENTINE marchant *Theodorus* and his marchandiſe to the Deuill. Hee ſharpely puniſhed alſo one *Agnon*, that wrote vnto him he would buy a young boy called *Crobylus* (who for beauty bare the onely

name

*Darius mother wife, and two daughters, takē by Alexander.*

*The clemency of Alexander vnto the captiue Ladies.*

*The chaſtity of Alexander.*

*Alexanders pleaſant ſpeach of womens beauty.*

name in CORINTHE,) and bring him to him. An other time alſo, when he heard that *Damon* and *Timotheus* MACEDONIANS, vnder *Parmenioes* charge, had deflowred two of the ſouldiers wiues that were ſtrangers, and waged of him: he wrote vnto *Parmenio* to looke vnto it, and to examine the matter. And if he found them guilty of the rape, that then hee ſhould put them both to death, as bruite beaſtes borne to deſtroy mankinde. And in that letter he wrote thus of him ſelfe. For my ſelfe, ſaid he, I haue neither ſeene, nor deſired to ſee *Darius* wife: neither haue I ſuffered any ſpeach of her beauty before me. Moreouer he ſaied, that he did vnderſtand that he was mortall by theſe two things: to wit, ſleepe, and luſt: for, from the weakeneſſe of our nature proceedeth ſleepe and ſenſuality. He was alſo no greedy gutte, but temperate in eating, as he ſhewed by many proofes: but chiefely in that he ſaid vnto the princeſſe *Ada*, whom he adopted for his mother, and made her Queene of CARIA. For when (for the loue ſhee bare him) ſhee daily ſent him ſundry delicate diſhes of meate, tarts, and marchpaines, and beſides the meate it ſelfe, the paſtlers and cookes to make them, which were excellent workemen: he aunſwered that he could not tell what to doe with them, for he had better cookes then thoſe appointed him by his gouernour *Leonidas*, to witte for his dinner, to riſe before day, and to march by night: and for his ſupper, to eate litle at dinner. And my gouernour, ſayed he, would oftentimes open the cheſtes where my bedding and apparell lay, to ſee if my mother had put any fine knackes or conceites among them. Furthermore, he was leſſe giuen to wine, then men would haue iudged. For hee was thought to be a greater bibber then he was, becauſe he ſate long at the bourd, rather to talke then drinke. For euer when he dranke, he would propound ſome tedious matter, and yet but when he was at leyſure. For hauing matters to doe, there was neither feaſt, bancket, play, mariage, nor any paſtime that could ſtay him: as they had done other captaines. The which appeareth plainely by the ſhortneſſe of his life, and by the wonderfull and notable deedes he did, in that litle time he liued. When he had leyſure, after he was vp in the morning, firſt of all he would doe ſacrifice to the goddes, and then would goe to dinner, paſſing away all the reſt of the day, in hunting, writing ſome thing, taking vp ſome quarrell betweene ſouldiers, or elſe in ſtudying. If he went any iourney of no haſty buſineſſe, he would exerciſe him ſelfe by the way as he went, ſhooting in his bow, or learning to get vp or out of his charret ſodainely as it ranne. Oftentimes alſo for his paſtime he would hunt the foxe, or catch birdes, as appeareth in his booke of remembrances for euery day. Then when he came to his lodging, he would enter into his bath, and rubbe and noint him ſelfe: and would aske his pantelers and caruers if his ſupper were ready. He would euer ſuppe late, and was very curious to ſee, that euery man at his bourde were a like ſerued, and would ſit long at the table, becauſe he euer loued to talke, as we haue told you before. Otherwiſe he was as noble a prince and gracious to waite vppon, and as pleaſant, as any king that euer was. For he lacked no grace nor comelineſſe to adorne a prince, ſauing that hee would be ſome thing ouer buſie in glorying in his owne deedes, much like vnto a bragging ſouldier: neither was he contented him ſelfe to pleaſe his own humor that way, but would alſo ſuffer his familiars to ſooth him euen to his teeth. And this was many times the deſtruction of honeſt men about him, the which would neither praiſe him in his preſence, hating the flatterers, nor yet durſt ſay leſſe of the praiſes which they gaue him. For of the firſt they were aſhamed, and by the ſecond they fell in daunger. After ſupper, he would waſhe him ſelfe againe, and ſleepe vntill noone the next day following, and oftentimes all day long. For him ſelfe, he was nothing curious of dainty diſhes: for when any did ſend him rare fruites, or fiſh, from the countries neare the ſea ſide, he would ſend them abroad vnto his friendes, and ſeldome keepe any thing for him ſelfe. His table notwithſtanding was alwayes very honourably ſerued, and did ſtill increaſe his fare, as he did enlarge his conqueſtes: till it came to the ſumme of tenne thouſand drachmas a day. But there he ſtayed, and would not exceede that ſumme, and moreouer commaunded all men that would feaſt him, that they ſhould not ſpend aboue that ſumme. After this battell of ISSVS, he ſent vnto the city of DAMAS, to take all the gold and ſiluer, the cariage, and all the women and children of the PERSIANS which were left there, where the men of armes of the THESSALIANS ſpedde them full well. For therefore

*Alexander temperate in eating.*

*How Leonidas brought vp Alexander.*

*Alexanders life when he was at leyſure.*

*Alexander a pleaſant prince as any could be*

*Alexander beſiegeth the city of Tyre.*

*Alexanders dreame at the city of Tyre.*

*Alexanders ſecond dreame againe at Tyre*

*Alexanders iorney againſt the Arabians.*

*Antiliban mons.*

*The corage and agility of Alexander.*

*The city of Tyre beſieged, and taken by Alexander.*

did he ſend them thither, becauſe he ſaw that they had fought valiantly at the day of the battell: and ſo were the reſt of his army alſo well ſtored with money. There the MACEDONIANS hauing taſted firſt of the gold, ſiluer, women, and barbarous life: as dogges by ſent doe follow the tracke of beaſtes, euen ſo were they greedy to follow after the goodes of the PERSIANS. Firſt *Alexander* thought it beſt to winne all the ſea coaſt. Thither came the kings of CYPRVS, and PHOENICIA, and deliuered vp to him the whole Iland and al PHOENICIA, ſauing onely the city of TYRE. That city he beſieged ſeauen monethes together by land, with great bulwarkes and diuerſe engines of battery, and by ſea, with two hundred gallies. During this ſiege, *Alexander* dreamed one night, that *Hercules* held out his hand vnto him ouer the walles of the city, and called him by his name: and there were diuerſe TYRIANS alſo that dreamed in likewiſe, that *Apollo* told them that he would goe vnto *Alexander*, becauſe he was not pleaſed with their doings in the city. Thereupon they bound his image, (which was of a wonderfull bigneſſe) with great chaines, and nailed him downe faſt to the baſe, as if he had bene a traitour that would haue yeelded him ſelfe vnto their enemies, and called him *Alexandrine*, as much as fauoring *Alexander*. *Alexander* had there alſo another dreame. For he dreamed that he ſaw a *Satyre* a far off ſporting with him, and when he thought to haue comme neare to haue taken him, hee ſtill eſcaped from him: vntill at the length, after he had runne a good while after him, and intreated him, he fell into his hands. The ſoothſayers being asked what this dreame ſhould ſignifie, aunſwered probably, by deuiding *Satyros* into two, and then it is Σὰ τύρος: which ſignifieth the city of TYRE ſhall be thine. And they doe yet ſhew vnto this day, the fountaine where *Alexander* thought he ſaw the *Satyre*. Continuing this ſiege, he went to make warre with the ARABIANS, that dwell vpon the mountaine Antiliban, where he was in great daunger of being caſt away, onely becauſe he heard his tutor *Lyſimachus* that followed him, ſay boaſtingly, that he was not inferior, nor older then the Phœnix. For when they came at the foote of the mountaine, they left their horſes, and went vp a foote: and *Alexander* was of ſo curteous a nature, that he would not leaue his tutor *Lyſimachus* behinde him (who was ſo weary that he could goe no further) but becauſe it was darke night, and for that the enemies were not farre from them, hee came behinde to encorage his tutor, and in manner to carie him. By this meanes, vnwares, he was farre from his army with very few men about him, and benighted beſides: moreouer, it was very cold, and the way was very ill. At the length, perceiuing diuerſe fires which the enemies had made, ſome in one place, and ſome in an other, truſting to his valiantnes, hauing alwaies prouided remedy in extremity, when the MACEDONIANS were diſtreſſed, him ſelf euer putting to his owne hand: he ranne vnto them that had made the fires next him, and killing two of the barbarous people that lay by the fire ſide, he ſnatched away a fire brand, and ranne with it to his owne men, who made a great fire. At this the barbarous people were ſo affraied, that they ranne their way as faſt as they could. Other alſo thinking to come and ſet vppon him, hee ſlue them euery man, and ſo lay there that night, him ſelfe and his men without daunger. Thus *Chares* reporteth this matter. Now for the ſiege of TYRE, that fell out thus. *Alexander* cauſed the moſt part of his army to take reſt, being ouerharried and wearied with ſo many battels as they had fought: and ſent a few of his men onely to giue aſſault vnto the city, to keepe the TYRIANS occupied, that they ſhould take no reſt. One day the Soothſayer *Ariſtander* ſacrificing vnto the goddes, hauing conſidered of the ſignes of the intralles of the beaſtes: did aſſure them that were preſent, that the city ſhoulde bee taken by the later end of the moneth. Euery body laughed to heare him: for that day was the very laſt day of the moneth. *Alexander* ſeeing him amated, as one that could not tell what to ſay to it, ſeeking euer to bring thoſe tokens to effect, which the Soothſayers did prognoſticate: commanded them that they ſhould not reckon that day the thirty day, but the ſeauen and twenty, and immediatly vppon it made the trumpet ſound the allarme, and giue a hotter aſſault to the walle, then he had thought to haue done before. They fought valiantly on both ſides, in ſo much as they that were left in the camp, could not keepe in, but muſt needs run to the aſſault to helpe their companions. The TYRIANS ſeeing the aſſault ſo hot on euery ſide, their hearts began to faile them, and by this meanes was the citie taken the ſelfe ſame day.

An other time alſo, when *Alexander* was before Gaza, the chiefe city of Syria, there fell a clodde of earth vppon his ſhoulder, out of the which there flew a bird into the aire. The birde lighting vppon one of the engines of his battry, was caught with the nettes made of ſinewes which couered ouer the ropes of the engines. *Ariſtander* did prognoſticate, that it ſignified he ſhould bee hurt in his ſhoulder, notwithſtanding, that he ſhould yet take the towne. And in deede ſo it came to paſſe. When he ſent great preſentes of ſpoiles which hee wanne at the ſacke of this city, vnto his mother *Olympias*, *Cleopatra*, and diuerſe others of his friends: among other things, he ſent vnto *Leonidas* his gouernour, fiue hundred talentes waight of frankenſence, and a hundred talents waight of myrre: remembring the hope he put him vnto when he was a childe. For, as *Alexander* was vppon a day ſacrificing vnto the goddes, he tooke both his handes full of frankenſence to caſt into the fire, to make a perfume thereof. When his gouernour *Leonidas* ſaw him, he ſaied thus vnto him: When thou haſt conquered the countrey where theſe ſweete things grow, then be liberall of thy perfume: but now, ſpare that litle thou haſt at this preſent. *Alexander* calling to minde at that time his admonition, wrote vnto him in this ſort: we doe ſend thee plenty of frankenſence and myrre, becauſe thou ſhouldeſt no more be a niggard vnto the goddes. There was brought vnto him a litle coffer alſo, which was thought to be the precioueſt thing and the richeſt, that was gotten of all the ſpoiles and riches, taken at the ouerthrow of *Darius*. When he ſaw it, hee asked his familiars that were about him, what they thought fitteſt, and the beſt thing to be put into it. Some ſaid one thing, ſome ſaied an other thing: but he ſaied, he would put the Iliades of *Homer* into it, as the worthieſt thing. This is confirmed by the beſt hiſtoriographers. Now if that which the Alexandrians report vpon *Heraclides* wordes, be true: then it appeareth that he did profite him ſelfe much by *Homer* in this iourney. For it is reported that when he had conquered Egypt, hee determined to builde a great city, and to repleniſh it with a great number of Grecians, and to call it after his name. But as hee was about to incloſe a certaine ground, which hee had choſen by the aduiſe of his engineers, and workemaiſters: the night before he had a maruellous dreame, that he ſaw an old man ſtanding before him, full of white haires, with an honourable preſence, and comming towardes him ſaied theſe verſes.

*Alexander tooke the city of Gaza.*

*The building of the city of Alexandria.*

*Alexanders dreame in Egypt.*

*VVithin the foming ſea there lies a certaine Iland, right*
*Againſt the ſhore of Egypt, which of auncient Pharos hight.*

As ſoone as he roſe the next morning, he went to ſee this Ile of Pharos, the which at that time was a litle aboue the mouth of the riuer of Nylus, called Canobia, howbeit it is now ioyned vnto firme land, being forced by mans hand. This, he thought the meeteſt place that could be, to build the city which he had determined. For it is as a tongue or a great barre of earth, broad enough, that ſeparateth a great lake on the one ſide, and the ſea on the other, the which doeth ioyne hard to a great hauen. Then he ſaied that *Homer* was wonderfull in all his things, but that amongeſt others, he was an excellent Architecture: and commaunded, that ſtraight they ſhould caſt the platforme of the city, according to the ſituation of the place. Now they found at that time, no chalke, nor white earth there to marke withall, wherefore they were driuen to take meale, and with that did marke out vpon the earth being black, the compaſſe of the towne that was round and circular, and being deuided into two equall partes, either of them reſembled the skirts and faſhion of the Macedonian cloke. *Alexander* liked this draught paſſingly well. But there roſe vpon the ſodaine out of the riuer or lake, ſuch an infinite multitude of great fowle of all ſortes, that they couered the element as it had bene a cloud, and lighting within this circuite, did eate vp all the meale, and left not a crum. *Alexander* liked not theſe ſignes. Notwithſtanding, his Soothſayers bad him not be diſcouraged, for they told him it was a ſigne that hee ſhould build a city there, ſo plentifull of all things, that he ſhould maintaine all ſortes of people. Then he commaunded them, vnto whom hee had giuen the charge of the building, that they ſhould goe forward with their worke, and he him ſelfe in the meane time, tooke his iourney to goe viſite the temple of *Iupiter Hammon*. The iourney was long, and there were many troubles by the way, but two dangers aboue all the reſt moſt ſpeciall. The firſt, lacke of water, becauſe they had to trauell many

*The Ile of Pharos.*

*A wonder.*

*Alexanders iourney vnto the oracle of Hammon.*

*Cambyſes armie ſlaine by ſand-hilles.*

dayes iourney through a great deſert. The ſecond was, the daunger of the riſing of the ſouth winde by the way, to blow the ſand abroad, which was of a wonderfull length. And it is reported, that on a time there roſe ſuch a tempeſt in that deſert, that blew vp whole hilles of ſand, which ſlue fifty thouſand men of *Cambyſes* army. Euery man in *Alexanders* traine did know theſe daungers very well: howbeit it was hard to diſſwade *Alexander* from any thing which he had a deſire vnto. For, fortune fauouring him in all his attemptes, made him conſtant and reſolute in his determinations: and his noble corage beſides, made him inuincible in all things he tooke in hand, in ſomuch as he did not only compell his enemies, but he had power alſo of time and place. In that voyage, in ſtead of theſe former daungers ſpoken of, he had many helps, the which are ſuppoſed were ſent him from the goddes, by the oracles that followed afterwardes. For in a certaine ſort, they haue beleeued the oracles that were written of him. Firſt of all, the wonderfull water and great ſhowers that fell from the element did keepe him from feare of the firſt danger, and did quench their thirſt, and moyſted the drieneſſe of the ſand in ſuch ſort, that there came a ſweete freſh aire from it. Furthermore, when the markes were hidden from the guides to ſhew them the way, and that they wandred vp and downe, they could not tell where: there came crowes vnto them that did guide them flying before them: flying faſt when they ſaw them follow them, and ſtayed for them when they were behinde.

*Crowes guided Alexander in his iourney.*

But *Calliſthenes* writeth a greater wonder then this, that in the night time, with the very noiſe of the crowes, they brought them againe into the right way which had loſt their way. Thus *Alexander* in the end, hauing paſſed through this wilderneſſe, he came vnto the temple he ſought for: where, the prophet or chiefe prieſt ſaluted him from the god *Hammon*, as from his father. Then *Alexander* asked him, if any of the murtherers that had killed his father, were left aliue. The prieſt aunſwered him, and bad him take heede he did not blaſpheme, for his father was no mortall man. Then *Alexander* againe rehearſing that he had ſpoken, asked him, if the murderers that had conſpired the death of P*hilip* his father were all puniſhed. After that, he asked him touching his kingdome, if he would graunt him to bee king ouer all the world. The god aunſwered him by the mouth of his prophet, he ſhould: and that the death of P*hilip* was fully reuenged. Then did *Alexander* offer great preſents vnto the god, and gaue money large to the prieſts, and miniſters of the temple. This is that the moſt part of writers doe declare, touching *Alexanders* demand, and the oracles giuen him. Yet did *Alexander* him ſelfe write vnto his mother, that he had ſecret oracles from the god, which hee would onely impart vnto her, at his returne into MACEDON. Others ſay alſo, that the prophet meaning to ſalute him in the Greeke tongue to welcome him the better, would haue ſaid vnto him, O P*aidion*, as much as deare ſonne: but that he tripped a litle in his tongue, becauſe the Greeke was not his naturall tongue, and placed an s, for an n, in the later end, ſaying, O P*ai dios*, to wit, O ſonne of *Iupiter*: and that *Alexander* was glad of that miſtaking. Whereupon there ran a rumor ſtraight among his men, that *Iupiter* had called him his ſonne.

*The ſaying of Pſammon the philoſopher of the prouidence of God.*

It is ſaied alſo, that he heard P*ſammon* the philoſopher in EGYPT, and that he liked his words very well, when he ſaied that god was king of all mortall men. For (q. he) he that commandeth all things, muſt needes be god. But *Alexander* ſelfe ſpake better, and like a philoſopher, when he ſaid: That god generally was father to all mortall men, but that particularly he did elect the beſt ſort for him ſelfe. To conclude, he ſhewed him ſelfe more arrogant vnto the barbarous people, and made as though he certainely beleeued that he had bene begotten of ſome god: but vnto the GRECIANS he ſpake more modeſtly of diuine generation.

*Alexander aſcribeth godhead to himſelfe.*

For in a letter hee wrote vnto the ATHENIANS touching the city of SAMOS, he ſaid: I gaue ye not that noble free city but it was giuen you, at that time by him whom they called my Lord and father: meaning P*hilip*. Afterwardes alſo being ſtriken with an arrow, and feeling great paine of it: My frends ſaid he, This bloud which is ſpilt, is mans bloud, and not as *Homer* ſaied,

*No ſuch as from the immortall gods doth flow.*

And one day alſo in a maruellous great thunder, when euery man was afraied, *Anaxarchus* the Rethoritian being preſent, ſaid vnto him: O thou ſonne of *Iupiter*, wilt thou doe as much? no ſaid he, laughing on him, I will not be ſo fearefull to my friends, as thou wouldeſt haue me: diſdaining the ſeruice of fiſh to my bord, becauſe thou ſeeſt not princes heades ſerued in.

And the report goeth alſo, that *Alexander* vpon a time ſending a litle fiſh vnto *Hephaſtion*, *Anaxarchus* ſhould ſaye as it were in mockery, that they which aboue others ſeeke for fame with great trouble and hazard of life, haue either ſmall pleaſure in the worlde, or elſe as litle as others haue. By theſe proofes and reaſons alleadged, we may thinke that *Alexander* had no vaine nor preſumptuous opinion of himſelfe, to thinke that he was otherwiſe begotten of a god, but that he did it in policie to keepe other men vnder obedience, by the opinion conceiued of his godhead. Returning out of PHOENICIA into EGYPT, he made many ſacrifices, feaſtes, and preceſſions in honor of the goddes, ſundry dances, Tragedies and ſuch like paſſetimes goodly to behold: not onely for the ſumptuous ſetting out of them, but alſo for the good will and diligence of the ſetters forth of them, which ſtriued euery one to exceede the other. For the kings of the CYPRIANS were the ſetters of thẽ forth, as at ATHENS they draw by lotte a citizen of euery tribe of the people, to defraie the charges of theſe paſt imes. Theſe kings were very earneſt who ſhould doe beſt, but ſpecially *Nicocreon*, king of SALAMINA, in CYPRVS: and *Paſicrates*, Lord of the citie of SOLES. For it fell to their lot to furniſh two of the excellenteſt players, *Paſicrates* furniſhed *Athenodorus*, and *Nicocreon Theſſalus*: whom *Alexander* loued ſingularly well, though he made no ſhew of it, vntill that *Athenodorus* was declared victor, by the iudges deputed to giue ſentence. For when he went from the plaies, he told them he did like the iudges opinion well, notwithſtanding, he would haue bene contented to haue giuen the one halfe of his realme, not to haue ſeene *Theſſalus* ouercome. *Athenodorus* being condemned vpon a time by the ATHENIANS, becauſe he was not in ATHENS at the feaſtes of *Bacchus*, when the Comedies and Tragedies were plaied, and a fine ſet on his head for his abſence: he beſought *Alexander* to write vnto them in his behalf, that they would releaſe his penalty. *Alexander* would not ſo doe, but ſent thither his money whereof he was condemned, and paide it for him of his owne purſe. Alſo when *Lycon* SCARPHIAN, an excellent ſtage plaier had pleaſed *Alexander* well, and did foiſte in a verſe in his comedie, conteyning a petition of tenne talents: *Alexander* laughing at it, gaue it him. *Darius* at that time wrote vnto *Alexander*, and vnto certaine of his friends alſo, to pray him to take tenne thouſand tallentes for the ranſome of all thoſe priſoners he had in his handes, and for all the countries, landes and ſigniories on this ſide the riuer of Euphrates, and one of his daughters alſo in mariage, that from thenceforce he might be his kinſman and friend. *Alexander* imparted this to his councell. Amongſt them *Parmenio* ſaid vnto him: if I were *Alexander*, ꝙ he, ſurely I would accept this offer. So would I indeed, ꝙ *Alexander* againe, if I were *Parmenio*. In fine, he wrote againe vnto *Darius*, that if he would ſubmit himſelfe, he would vſe him courteouſly: if not, that then he would preſently march towardes him. But he repented him afterwardes, when king *Darius* wife was dead with childe: for without diſſimulation it greeued him much, that he had loſt ſo noble an occaſion to ſhew his courteſie and clemencie. This notwithſtanding, he gaue her body honourable buriall, ſparing for no coſt. Amongeſt the Eunuches of the queenes chamber, there was one *Tireus* taken priſoner, among the women: who ſtealing out of *Alexanders* campe, taking his horſe backe, rode vnto *Darius* to bring him news of the death of his wife. Then *Darius* beating of his head, and weeping bitterly, cried out aloud: Oh gods? what wretched hap haue the PERSIANS? that haue not onely had the wife and ſiſter of their king taken priſoners euen in his life time, but now that ſhee is dead alſo in trauell of child, ſhee hath bene depriued of princely buriall? Then ſpake the Eunuch to him, and ſaied: For her burial, moſt gracious king, & for all due honor that might be wiſhed her, PERSIA hath no cauſe to complaine of her hard fortune. For, neither did Queene *Statira* your wife whilſt ſhee liued priſoner, nor your mother, nor daughters, want any part or iotte of their honour they were wont to haue before, ſauing onely to ſee the light of your honour, the which, god *Oromaſdes* graunt to reſtore againe (if it be his will) vnto your maieſty: neither was there any honour wanting at her death (to ſet forth her ſtately funeralles) that might be gotten, but more, was lamented alſo with the teares of your enemies. For *Alexander* is as mercifull in victory, as he is valiaunt in battell. *Darius* hearing the Eunuches wordes, being vexed in minde for very griefe: tooke the Eunuche aſide into the ſecreteſt place of his tent, and ſaied vnto him. If thou be not, with the misfortune of the PERSIANS, become a MACEDONIAN, but doeſt in thy

*Alexander made feaſtes and plaies.*

*Darius ſent Ambaſſadors vnto Alexander.*

*Statira, king Darius wife, died in trauell of child.*

*Tireus report to Darius of Statiraes buriall.*

*Darius talke with Tireus the Eunuch.*

hart acknowledge *Darius*, for thy ſoueraine Lord and maiſter: I pray thee, and do alſo coniure thee, by the reuerence thou beareſt vnto this bright light of the ſunne, and to the right hand of the king, that thou doe tell me truely. Are theſe the leaſt euilles which I lament in *Statira*, her impriſonment and death? And did ſhe not in her life make vs more miſerable by her diſhonor, then if we had diſhonorably fallen into the handes of a cruell enemie? For, what honeſt communication I pray thee, can a young victorious Prince haue with his enemies wife a priſoner: hauing done her ſo much honor as he hath done? *Darius* going on with theſe ſpeeches, *Tireus* the eunuch fell downe on his knees, and beſought him not to ſay ſo, neither to bleamiſh the vertue of *Alexander* in that ſorte, nor yet ſo to diſhonor his ſiſter and wife deceaſed, and thereby alſo to depriue himſelfe of the greateſt comfort he could wiſh to haue in this calamitie, which was, to be ouercome by an enemie that had greater vertues than a man could poſſibly haue: but rather that he ſhould wonder at *Alexanders* vertue, who had ſhewed himſelfe chaſter to the Ladies, than valiant againſt the PERSIANS. And therewithall, the eunuch confirmed the great honeſtie, chaſtitie, and noble minde of *Alexander*, by many great and deepe othes. Then *Darius* comming out among his friendes againe, holding vp his hands vnto the heauens, made this prayer vnto the gods. O heauenly gods, creators of men, and protectors of kings and realmes: firſt, I beſech you grant me, that reſtoring the PERSIANS againe to their former good ſtate, I may leaue the realme vnto my ſucceſſors, with that glorie and fame I receiued it of my predeceſſors: that obtaining victory, I may vſe *Alexander* with that great honor and curteſie, which he hath in my miſery ſhewed vnto thoſe I loued beſt in the world. Or otherwiſe if the time appointed be come, that the kingdome of PERSIA muſt needs haue end, either through diuine reuenge, or by naturall change of earthly things: Then, good goddes yet graunt, that none but *Alexander* after me, may ſit in *Cyrus* throne. Diuers writers do agree, that theſe things came euen thus to paſſe. Now *Alexander* hauing conquered all ASIA on this ſide of the riuer of Euphrates, he went to meete with *Darius*, that came downe with ten hundred thouſand fighting men. It was told him by ſome of his friendes to make him laugh, that the ſlaues of his armie had deuided themſelues in two partes, and had choſen them a Generall of either part, naming the one *Alexander*, and the other *Darius*: and that at the firſt, they beganne to skirmiſh only with cloddes of earth, and afterwardes with fiſtes, but at the laſt, they grew ſo hot, that they came to plaine ſtones and ſtaues, ſo that they could not be parted. *Alexander* hearing that, would needes haue the two Generals fight hande to hande one with the other: and *Alexander* ſelfe did arme him that was called *Alexander*, & *Philotas* the other which was called *Darius*. All the army thereupon was gathered together to ſee this combat betwene thē, as a thing that did betoken good or ill lucke to come. The fight was ſharp betwene them, but in the end, he that was called *Alexander* ouercame the other: & *Alexander* to reward him, gaue him twelue villages, with priuiledge to goe after the PERSIAN maner. Thus it is written by *Eratoſthenes*. The great battel that *Alexander* fought with *Darius*, was not (as many writers report) at Arbeles, but at Gauſameles, which ſignifieth in the PERSIAN tongue, the houſe of the cammell. For ſome one of the ancient kings of PERSIA that had eſcaped from the handes of his enemies, flying vpon a drumbledary cammell, lodged him in that place, and therefore appointed the reuenues of certaine villages to keepe the cammell there. There fell out at that time an eclipſe of the moone, in the moneth called Bœdromion (now Auguſt) about the time that the feaſt of the miſteries was celebrated at ATHENS. The eleuenth night after that, both their armies being in ſight of the other, *Darius* kept his men in battell ray, and went him ſelfe by torch light viewing his bands and companies. *Alexander* on the other ſide whileſt his MACEDONIAN ſouldiers ſlept, was before his tent with *Ariſtander* the Soothſayer, and made certaine ſecret ceremonies and ſacrifices vnto *Apollo*. The auncient Captaines of the MACEDONIANS, ſpecially *Parmenio*, ſeeing all the valley betwixt the riuer of Miphates, and the mountaines of the GORDIEIANS, all on a bright light with the fires of the barbarous people, and hearing a dreadfull noiſe as of a confuſed multitude of people that filled their campe with the ſound thereof: they were amazed, and conſulted, that in one day it was in maner vnpoſſible to fight a battell with ſuch an incredible multitude of people. Thereupon they went vnto *Alexander* after he had ended his ceremonies, and did counſell him to giue battell by night,

*The commendation of Alexanders chaſtitie.*

*Darius prayer vnto the gods.*

*Darius army of tenne hundred thouſand fighting men againſt Alexander, at the riuer of Euphrates.*

becauſe

*The magnanimitie of Alexander.*

becauſe the darkenes thereof ſhould helpe to keepe all feare from his men, which the ſight of their enemies would bring them into. But then he gaue them this notable anſwer: I will not ſteale victorie quoth he. This anſwer ſeemed very fonde and arrogant to ſome, that he was ſo pleaſant, being neere ſo great danger. Howbeit others thinke that it was a preſent noble courage, and a deepe conſideration of him, to thinke what ſhoulde happen: thereby to giue *Darius* no manner of occaſion (if he were ouercome) to take hart againe, and to proue an other battell, accuſing the darkenes of the night as cauſe of his ouerthrowe: as he had done at the firſt conflict, imputing his ouerthrowe to the mountaines, the ſtraights, and the ſea. For, ſayed he, *Darius* will neuer leaue to make warres with vs for lacke of men, nor munition, hauing ſo large a realme as he hath, & ſuch a world of people beſides: but then he will no more hazard battell, when his hart is done, and all hope taken from him, and that he ſeeth his army at noone daies ouerthrowen by plaine battell. After his Captaines were gone from him, he went into his tent, and layed him downe to ſleepe, and ſlept all that night more ſoundly than he was wont to doe before: inſomuch as the Lordes and Princes of his campe comming to waite vpon him at his vpriſing, maruelled when they found him ſo ſound a ſleepe, and therefore of themſelues they cõmaunded the ſouldiers to eate. Afterwardes, perceiuing that time came faſt vpon them, *Parmenio* went into *Alexanders* chamber, and comming to his beddes ſide, called him twiſe or thriſe by name, till at the laſt he awaked him, and aſked him how it chanced that he ſlept ſo long, like one that had alreadie ouercome, and that did not thinke he ſhould fight as great and daungerous a battell as euer he did in his life. Why, ſaid *Alexander*, laughing on him: doeſt thou not thinke we haue already ouercome, being troubled no more with running after *Darius* vp and downe a country vtterly deſtroyed, as we ſhould otherwiſe haue bene compelled to haue done, if he would not haue come to battell, and deſtroyed the country before vs?

*Alexanders third battell with Darius.*

Now *Alexander* did not only ſhew himſelfe before the battell, but euen at the very inſtant of battell, a noble man of courage, and of great iudgement. For *Parmenio* leading the left wing of his battell, the men of armes of the BACTRIANS gaue ſuch a fierce onſet vpon the MACEDONIANS, that they made them giue backe: and *Mazeus* alſo, king *Darius* Lieutenant, ſent certaine troupes of horſemen out of their battell, to giue charge vpon them that were left in the campe to garde the cariage. *Parmenio* being amazed with either of both attempts, ſent immediatly to aduertiſe *Alexander*, that all their campe and cariage would be loſt, if he did not ſend preſently to aide the rereward. When theſe newes came to *Alexander* from *Parmenio*, he had already giuen the ſignall of battell vnto his men for to giue charge. Whereupon he anſwered the meſſenger that brought him theſe newes, that he ſhould tell *Parmenio* he was a mad man and out of his wits, not remembring that if they wanne the battell, they ſhould not onely ſaue their owne cariage, but alſo winne the cariage of their enemies: and if it were their chance to loſe it, then that they ſhould not neede to care for their cariage, nor for their ſlaues, but only to thinke to die honorably, valiantly fighting for his life. Hauing ſent this meſſage vnto *Parmenio*, he put on his helmet.

*The armor of Alexander.*

The reſt of his armor for his body, he had put it on before in his tent, which was, a SICILIAN caſſocke, and vpon that a brigandine made of many foldes of canuas with oylet holes, which was gotten among the ſpoiles at the battell of ISSVS. His head peece was as bright as ſiluer, made by *Theophilus* the armorer: his coller ſutelike to the ſame, all ſet full of precious ſtones, and he had a ſworde by his ſide maruellous light, and of excellent temper, which the king of the CITIEIANS had giuen him, vſing commonly to fight with his ſword at any ſet battel. His coat armor was maruellous rich, and of ſumptuous workemanſhippe, far aboue all the reſt he wore. It was of the workemanſhippe of *Hellicon*, the which the RHODIANS gaue him for a preſent, and this he commonly wore when he went to battell. Now when he did ſet his men in battell ray, or made any oration vnto them, or did ride alongeſt the bands to take view of them: he alwayes vſed to ride vpon an other horſe to ſpare *Bucephal*, becauſe he was then ſomewhat old: notwithſtanding, when he ment in deede to fight, then *Bucephal* was brought vnto him, and as ſoone as he was gotten vp on his backe, the trumpet ſounded, & he gaue charge. Then, after he had made long exhortations to encorage the men of armes of the THESSALIANS, and the other GRECIANS alſo, and when they had all promiſed him they would ſticke to him like men, and prayed him to lead them, and giue charge vppon the enemies: he tooke his launce in his left hande, and holding vp his right hande vnto heauen: beſought the goddes (as *Calliſthenes* writeth) that it it were true, he was begotten of *Iupiter*, that it would pleaſe them that daye to helpe him, and to encorage the GRECIANS. The Soothſayer *Ariſtander* was then a horſebacke hard by *Alexander*, apparelled all in white, & a crown of gold on his head, who ſhewed *Alexander* when he made his prayer, an Eagle flying ouer his head, and pointing directly towards his enemies.

*An Eagle flew ouer Alexanders head whē he went to fight with Darius.*

This maruellouſly encoraged all the armie that ſaw it, and with this ioy, the men of armes of *Alexanders* ſide, encoraging one another, did ſet ſpurres to their horſe to charge vpon the enemies. The battell of the footemen of the PERSIANS, beganne a litle to giue way, and before the foremoſt could come to giue them charge, the barbarous people turned their backes, and fled. The chaſe was great, *Alexander* driuing them that fled vppon the middeſt of their owne battell, where *Darius* ſelfe was in perſon. He eſpied him a farre off ouer the foremoſtranckes in the middeſt of his battell, being a goodly tall prince, ſtanding in a chariot of warre, compaſſed in round with great troupes of horſemen, all ſette in goodly ordinance to receiue the enemy. But when they ſaw *Alexander* at hand with ſo grimme a looke, chaſing them that fled, through thoſe that yet kept their rancks: there fell ſuch a feare among them, that the moſt part diſperſed themſelues. Notwithſtanding, the beſt and moſt valianteſt men fought it out to the death before their king, and falling dead one vpon another, they did lette them that the enemies could not ſo well follow *Darius*. For they lying one by another on the ground, drawing on to the laſt gaſpe, did yet take both men and horſes by the legges to hinder them. *Darius* then ſeeing nothing but terror and deſtruction before his eyes, and that the bandes which he had ſet before him for ſafegard, came backe vpon him, ſo as he could not deuiſe how to turne his charriot forward nor backward, the wheeles were ſo hindered and ſtayed with the heapes of dead bodies, and that the horſe alſo being ſet vpon and hidde in manner in this conflict, fell to leaping and plunging for feare, ſo that the charrettiers could no longer guide nor driue them: he got vp vpon a mare that lately had fole, and ſo ſaued himſelfe flying vpon her.

*The flying of Darius.*

And yet had he not thus eſcaped, had not *Parmenio* once againe ſent vnto *Alexander* to pray him to come and aide him: becauſe there was yet a great ſquadron whole together that made no countenance to flie. Somewhat there was in it, that they accuſed *Parmenio* that day to haue delt but ſlackely and cowardly, either becauſe his age had taken his courage from him, or elſe for that he enuied *Alexanders* greatnes & proſperitie, who againſt his will became ouer great as *Calliſthenes* ſaid. In fine, *Alexander* was angry with the ſecond meſſage, and yet told not his men truely the cauſe why, but faining that he would haue them leaue killing, and becauſe alſo night came on: he cauſed the trumpet ſound retreate, and ſo went towards his army, whom he thought to be in diſtreſſe. Notwithſtanding, newes came to him by the way, that in that place alſo, they had giuen the enemies the ouerthrowe, and that they fled euery way for life.

*Alexanders third victory of Darius, and liberality to all men.*

The battell hauing this ſucceſſe, euery man thought that the kingdome of the PERSIANS was vtterly ouerthrowen, and that *Alexander* likewiſe was becom only king of all ASIA: whereupon he made ſumptuous ſacrifices vnto the goddes, and gaue great riches, houſes, landes and poſſeſſions vnto his friendes and familiars. Furthermore, to ſhew his liberality alſo vnto the GRECIANS, he wrote vnto them, that he would haue all tyrannies ſuppreſſed through out all GREECE, and that all the GRECIANS ſhould liue at liberty vnder their owne lawes. Particularly alſo he wrote vnto the PLATÆIANS, that hee would reedifie their city againe, becauſe their predeceſſors in time paſt, had giuen their countrey vnto the GRECIANS, to fight againſt the barbarous people for the defence of the common liberty of all GREECE. He ſent alſo into ITALY vnto the GROTONIANS, part of the ſpoile, to honor the memory of the valiantnes, and good will of *Phayllus* their citizen, who in the time of the wars with the MEDES (when all the GRECIANS that dwelt in ITALY had forſaken their naturall country men of GREECE it ſelfe, becauſe they thought they could not otherwiſe ſcape) went with a ſhip of his vnto SALAMINA, which hee armed and ſet forth at his owne charges, becauſe he would be at the battell and partake alſo of the common daunger with the GRECIANS: ſuch honor did *Alexander* bear vnto prowes, that he loued to reward and remember the worthy deeds of men. Then *Alexander* marching with his army into the country of BABYLON, they al yeelded ſtraight vnto him. When he came into the country of the Ecbatanians, he maruelled when he ſaw an opening of the earth, out of the which there came continuall ſparkes of fire as out of a well: and that hard by alſo the earth ſpued out continually a kind of * maund or chalkie clay ſomewhat lyquid, of ſuch abundance, as it ſeemed like a lake. This maund or chalke is like vnto a kind of lyme or clay, but it is ſo eaſie to be ſet a fire, that not touching it with any flame, by the brightnes only of the light that commeth out of the fire, it is ſet a fire, and doth alſo ſet the aire a fire which is betwene both. The barbarous people of that country, being deſirous to ſhewe *Alexander* the nature of that Naptha, ſcattered the ſtreete that led to his lodging, with ſome of it. Then the day being ſhut in, they fired it at one of the endes, and the firſt droppes taking fire, in the twinckling of an eye, all the reſt from one end of the ſtreete to the other was of a flame, and though it was darke and within night, lightned all the place thereabout. *Alexander* being in bath at that time, and waited vpon by a page called *Steuen*: (a hard fououred boy, but yet that had an excellent ſweete voice to ſing) one *Athenophanes* an Athenian, that alwaies nointed and bathed the king, and much delighted him with his pleaſant conceits, asked him if he would ſee the triall of this Naptha vpon *Steuen*: for if the fire tooke and went not out, then he would ſay it had a wonderfull force, and was vnquenchable. The page was contented to haue it proued vpon him. But ſo ſoone as they had laide it on him, and did but touch it onely, it tooke ſtraight of ſuch a flame, and ſo fired his bodie, that *Alexander* himſelfe was in a maruellous perplexitie withall. And ſure had it not bene by good hap, that there were many by ready with veſſels full of water to put into the bath, it had bene vnpoſſible to haue ſaued the boy from being burnt to nothing: and yet ſo he eſcaped narrowly, and beſides was ſicke long after. Now ſome apply this Naptha vnto the fable of *Medea*, ſaying that therwith ſhe rubbed the crowne and lawne ſhe gaue vnto the daughter of *Creon* at her mariage, ſo much ſpoken of in the tragedies. For neither the crowne nor the lawne could caſt fire of themſelues, neither did the fire light by chaunce. But by oyling them with this Naptha ſhe wrought a certaine aptnes to receiue more forcibly the operation of the fire, which was in place where the bride ſate. For the beames which the fire caſteth out, haue ouer ſome bodies no other force, but to heat and lighten them. But ſuch as haue an oyly drie humor, and thereby a ſimpathy and proportionable conformitie with the nature of the fire: it eaſily enflameth and ſetteth a fire, by the forcible impreſſion of his beames. Howbeit they make a great queſtion of the cauſe of this naturall force of Naptha, * or whether this liquid ſubſtance and moiſt humor that taketh fire ſo eaſily, doth come of the earth that is fatty and apt to conceiue fire. For this country of Babylonis very hot, inſomuch as oftentimes barley being put into the ground, it bloweth it vp againe, as if the earth by vehement inflammation had a ſtrong blaſt to caſt it out: and men in the extreameſt heate of the ſummer, do ſleepe there, vppon great leather budgets filled full of freſh water. *Harpalus*, whom *Alexander* left there his lieutenant & gouernor of that countrie, deſiring to ſet forth and beautifie the gardens of the kings pallace and walks of the ſame, with all manner of plants of Greece: he brought all the reſt to good paſſe, ſauing Iuy only, which the earth could neuer abide, but it euer died, becauſe the heate and temper of the earth killed it, and the Iuy of it ſelfe liketh freſh aire and a could ground. This digreſſion is ſomwhat from the matter, but peraduenture the reader will not thinke it troubleſome, how hard ſoeuer he finde it, ſo it be not ouer tedious. *Alexander* hauing wonne the city of Susa, he found within the caſtell foure thouſand talents in ready coine, gold and ſiluer, beſides other infinite treaſure and ineſtimable, amongeſt the which (it is ſayed) he found to the value of fiue thouſand talents weight of * purple Hermiona ſilke which they had ſafe locked vp and kept the ſpace of two hundred yeares ſaue ten, and yet the colour kept as freſh as if it had bene newly made. Some ſay that the cauſe why it was ſo well kept, came by meanes of the dying of it, with honny, in ſilkes which before had bene died redde, and with white oile in white ſilkes. For, there are ſilkes ſeene of that colour of as long a time, that keepe colour as well as the other. *Dino* writeth furthermore, that the kings of Persia made water to bee brought from the riuers of Nylus and Iſter (otherwiſe called Danuby) which they did locke vp with their other treaſure for a confirmation of the greatnes of their Empire, and to ſhew that they were Lordes of the world. The wayes to enter into Persia being very hard of paſſage, and in maner vnpaſſable,

** The ſtrength and power of Naptha, in the country of Ecbatania.*

*What Medeas enchantment was.*

**In this place there lacke certaine lines in the Greeke originall.*

*No Iuy in the countrey of Babylon.*

*Treaſure found by Alexander at the city of Suſa.*

** It ſeemeth that he meaneth of ſilke died in purple, whereof the beſt that was in Europe was made in the city of Hermiona, in Laconia.*

*Alexanders iorney into Perſia.*

*Alexander found a maruelous treaſure in Perſia.*

*The inſolent boldnes of Thais the harlot.*

*Perſepolis ſet a fire by Alexander.*

(both for the ilneſſe of the waies, as alſo for the gard that kept them, which were the choiſeſt men of PERSIA) *Darius* alſo being fled thither: there was one that ſpake the Greeke and PERSIAN toong (whoſe father was borne in the coūtry of LYCIA, & his mother a PERSIAN) that guided *Alexander* into PERSIA, by ſome compaſſe fetched about not very long, according to the Oracles anſwere of *Alexander* giuen by the mouth of Nunne *Pythias*, when hee was a child: that a LYCIAN ſhould guide and lead him againſt the PERSIANS. There was then great ſlaughter made in PERSIA of the priſoners that were taken. For *Alexander* himſelfe writeth, that he commanded the men ſhould be put to the ſword, thinking that the beſt way to ſerue his turne. It is ſaid alſo, that there he found a maruellous treaſure of gold and ſiluer in readie money, as he had done before in the citie of SVSA: the which he caried away with all the reſt of the kings rich wardroppe, and with it laded tenne thouſand moyles, and fiue thouſande camels. *Alexander* entring into the caſtle of the chiefe citie of PERSIA, ſawe by chance a great image of *Xerxes* lye on the ground, the which vnwares was throwen down by the multitude of the ſouldiers that came in, thronging one vpon an other. Thereupon he ſtayed, and ſpake vnto it as if it had bene aliue, ſaying: I can not tell whether I ſhould paſſe by thee, and let thee lye, for the warre thou madeſt ſometime againſt the GRECIANS: or whether I ſhould lift thee vp, reſpecting the noble mind & vertues thou haddeſt. In the end, when he had ſtood mute a long time, conſidering of it, he went his way: and meaning to refreſh his weary army, becauſe it was the winter quarter, he remained there foure monethes together. The report goeth that the firſt time that *Alexander* ſate vnder the cloth of ſtate of king *Darius*, all of rich golde: *Demarathus* CORINTHIAN (who firſt beganne to loue him euen in his father *Philips* time) burſt out in teares for ioy, good olde man ſaying, that the GRECIANS long time dead before, were depriued of this bleſſed happe to ſee *Alexander* ſet in king *Xerxes* princely chayr. After that, preparing againe to goe againſt *Darius*, he would needes make mery one day, and refreſh himſelfe with ſome banquet. It chanced ſo, that he with his companions was bidden to a priuate feaſt priuately, where was aſſembled ſome fine curtiſans of his familiars, who with their friends taried at the banquet. Amongſt them was that famous *Thais*, borne in the coūtry of ATTICA, & then concubine to *Ptolomy*, king of EGYPT after *Alexanders* death. She finely praiſing *Alexander*, and partly in ſporting wiſe, began to vtter matter in affection of her coūtrie, but yet of greater importance than became her mouth: ſaying, that that daye ſhe found her ſelfe fully recompenced to her great good liking, for all the paines ſhe had taken, trauelling through all the countries of ASIA, following of his armie, now that ſhe had this fauor & good happe to be mery and pleaſant, in the proude and ſtately pallace of the great kings of PERSIA. But yet it would doe her more good, for a recreation to burne *Xerxes* houſe with the fire of ioy, who had burnt the citie of ATHENS: and herſelfe to giue the fire to it, before ſo noble a Prince as *Alexander*. Becauſe euer after it might be ſaid, that the women following his campe had taken more noble reuenge of the PERSIANS, for the wrongs and iniuries they had done vnto GREECE: then all the Captaines of GREECE that euer were had done, either by land or ſea. When ſhe had ſayd, *Alexanders* familiars about him, clapped their hands and made great noiſe for ioy, ſaying: that it were as good a deede as could be poſſible, and perſwaded *Alexander* vnto it. *Alexander* yeelding to their perſwaſions, roſe vp, and putting a garland of flowers vpon his head, went formoſt him ſelfe: and all his familiars followed after him, crying and dauncing all about the caſtel. The other MACEDONIANS hearing of it alſo, came thither immediatly with torches light and great ioy, hoping that this was a good ſigne that *Alexander* ment to returne again into MACEDON, and not to dwell in the country of the barbarous people, ſith he did burne and deſtroy the kings caſtell. Thus, and in this ſort it was thought to be burnt. Some writers thinke otherwiſe: that it was not burnt with ſuch ſport, but by determination of the councell. But howſoeuer it was, all they graunt, that *Alexander* did preſently repent him, and commaunded the fire to be quenched ſtraight. For his liberality, that good will and readineſſe to giue, increaſed with his conqueſtes: and when he did beſtow giftes of any, he would beſides his gift, euer giue them good countenance, on whom he beſtowed his grace and fauor. And here I will recite a few examples thereof. *Ariſto* being Collonell of the PÆONIANS, hauing ſlaine one of his enemies, he brought him his head, and ſayd: ſuch a preſent, O king, by vs, is euer rewarded with a cup of gold. Yea quoth *Alexander*, ſmiling vpon him with an emptie cuppe. But I drinke to thee this cuppe full of good wine, and doe giue thee cup and all. An other time, he met with a poore MACEDONIAN that led a moyle loden with gold of the kings: and when the poore moyle was ſo wearie that ſhe could no longer carie her burden, the moyletter put it vpon his owne backe, and loded himſelfe withall, carying it ſo a good prety way: howbeit in the end being ouerloden, was about to throwe it downe on the ground. *Alexander* perceiuing it, asked him what burthen he caried. When it was told him: well, ꝙ he to the moyletter, be not weary yet, but carie it into the tent, for I giue it thee. To be ſhort, he was angrier with them that would take nothing of him, then he was with thoſe that would ask him ſomwhat. He wrote alſo vnto *Phocion*, that he would take him no more for his friend, if he would refuſe his giftes. It ſeemed that he had giuen nothing vnto a young boy called *Serapion* (who euer did ſerue them the ball that playd at tenis) becauſe he asked him nothing. Wherfore, the king playing on a time, this young boy threw the ball to others that played with him, and not to himſelfe. The king maruelling at it, at the length ſayed vnto him: why, my boy, doeſt thou not giue me the ball? Becauſe your maieſtie doth not aske it me, ꝙ he. *Alexander* then vnderſtanding his meaning, laughed at the boy, & did much for him afterwards. There was attending on him alſo one *Proteas*, a pleaſant conceited man, and that could ſlent finely. It chanced vpon ſome occaſion that *Alexander* fell out with him: whereuppon ſome of his friends were interceſſors to the king for him, & beſought him to pardon him: and *Proteas* himſelfe alſo being preſent, craued pardon with teares in his eyes. *Alexander* thereupon forgaue him. Then pleaſantly replied *Proteas*, I deſire it may pleaſe your grace, that I may receiue ſome teſtimonie to aſſure me I am in your fauor. Thereuppon the king ſtraight commaunded one to geue him fiue talentes. The goods and riches he gaue vnto his familiars and gard about him, were very great, as it appeareth plainly by a letter which his mother *Olympias* wrote vnto him, to this effect: I know thou ſpareſt not to geue thy frends large giftes, and that thou makeſt much of them: but thereby thou makeſt them kings fellowes, they get many friends, and leaue the poſte alone without any. His mother did many times write ſuch like matters vnto him, the which *Alexander* kept very ſecret, ſauing one day when he opened one of them, *Hephæſtion* being preſent drew nere, and read the letter with him, as he was wont to do. *Alexander* did let him alone, but when he had read it, he pluckt the ſeale of armes from his finger, wherewith he did vſe to ſeale his letters, and put it to *Hephæſtions* mouth. He gaue alſo vnto the ſonne of *Mazeus*, (that was the chiefeſt man about *Darius*) a ſecond gouernment, beſides that which he had before, and greater than the firſt. This young noble man refuſed it, ſaying: why, and it pleaſe your grace, before there was but one *Darius*, but you now make many *Alexanders*. He gaue vnto *Parmenio* alſo, *Bagoas* houſe, where (as it is reported) he found a thouſand talents worth, of the ſpoyles and goods of the SVSIANS. He wrote alſo vnto *Antipater*, that he ſhould keepe a gard about his perſon, for he had many enemies that laye in wait for him. He did ſend alſo many goodly preſents vnto his mother, but withall he wrote vnto her, that ſhe would meddle no more with his matters nor gifts, taking vpon her the office of a Captaine. She ſtorming at it, he patiently did brooke her anger. *Antipater* another time, writing a long letter vnto him againſt his mother *Olympias*, when he had red it ouer: loe, ſaid he, *Antipater* knoweth not, that one teare of the mothers eye will wipe out tenne thouſande ſuch letters. Furthermore, *Alexander* perceiuing on a time, that his friendes became very diſſolute & licentious in dyet and life, and that *Agnon* TEIAN had his corked ſhooes nailed with ſiluer nailes, that *Leonatus* alſo cauſed diuers cammelles to be loden amongſt his cariage with powder of EGYPT, to put vpon him when he wreſtled or vſed any other exerciſe of body & that alſo they caried after *Philotus*, toyles for chaſe and hunting, of a hundreth furlong long, and that there were alſo that vſed pretious perfumes & ſweete ſauors when they bathed them ſelues, more then there were that rubbed themſelues with plaine oyle, and that they had fine chamberlaines to rubbe them in the bath, and to make their beddes ſoft and delicate: he wiſely and courteouſly rebuked them and ſaid. I maruell, ſayd he, that you which haue fought in ſo often and great battelles, doe not remember that they which trauell, doe ſleepe more ſweete and ſoundly, than they that take their eaſe and doe nothing: and that you doe not marke, that

*Alexanders prodigalitie reproued by his mother Olympias.*

*Alexander reproueth the finenſſe and curioſitie of his friendes.*

comparing your life, with the manner of the life of the PERSIANS, to liue at pleaſure is a vile thing, and to trauell is Princelie. And howe I pray you, can a man take paine to dreſſe his owne horſe, or to make cleane his launce or helmet, that for ſlothfull curioſities ſake, diſdaineth to rubbe his owne bodie with his fine fingers? Are you ignorant that the type of honor in all our victorie conſiſteth, in ſcorning to doe that which we ſee them doe, whom we haue vanquiſhed and ouercome? To bring them therefore by his example, to acquaint themſelues with hardnes: he tooke more paines in warres and in hunting, and did hazard himſelfe more dangerouſly, then euer he had done before. Whereupon an Ambaſſador of LACEDÆMON being preſent to ſee him fight with a Lyon, and to kill him, ſayed vnto him: truly your grace hath fought well with this Lyon, and tried which of you two ſhould be king. *Craterus* after that, cauſed this hunting to be ſet vp in the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES: where are the images of the Lyon, of the dogs, and of the king fighting with the Lyon, and of himſelfe alſo that came to helpe him, all thoſe images being of copper, ſome made by *Lyſippus*, the reſt by *Leochares*. Thus *Alexander* did put himſelf vnto all ieopardies, as well to exerciſe his ſtrength & courage, as alſo to allure his men to doe the like. This notwithſtanding his friends and familiars hauing wealth at will, as men exceeding rich, they would needes liue delicately and at eaſe, and would take no more paines, miſliking vtterly to goe vp and downe the countries to make warre here and there, and thereupon beganne a litle to finde fault with *Alexander*, and to ſpeake euill of him. Which at the firſt *Alexander* tooke quietly ſaying, that it was honor for a king to ſuffer himſelfe to be ſlaundered and ill ſpoken of, for doing of good. And yet the leaſt good turnes he did vnto his friendes, did ſhewe his hartie loue and honor he bare them, as ſhall appeare vnto you by ſome examples that followe. *Peuceſtas* being bitten by a beare, did let his friendes vnderſtand by letters, but he wrote nothing thereof vnto *Alexander*. *Alexander* was offended therewith, and wrote vnto him thus. Send me worde at the leaſt yet how thou doeſt, and whether any of thy fellowes did forſake thee at the hunting, to the end they may be puniſhed. *Hephæſtion* being abſent about certaine buſineſſe he had, *Alexander* wrote vnto him, that as they were hunting a beaſt called Ichnewmon, *Craterus* vnfortunately croſſing *Perdiccas* darte, was ſtricken through both his thighes. *Peuceſtas* being cured of a great diſeaſe, *Alexander* wrote vnto *Alexippus* his Phiſitian that had cured him, and gaue him thankes. *Craterus* alſo being ſicke, he dreamed of him one night, and therefore made certaine ſacrifices for the recouery of his health, and ſent vnto him, willing him to doe the like. And when the Phiſitian *Pauſanias* ment to giue him a drinke of Elleborum, he wrote letters vnto him, telling him what danger he was in, and prayed him to be carefull how he receiued that medicine. He did alſo put *Ephialtes* and *Ciſſus* in priſon, who brought him the firſt newes of *Harpalus* flying, becauſe they did wrongfully accuſe & ſlander him. When he had cōmanded there ſhould be a bill made of all the olde mens names, and diſeaſed perſons that were in his camp, to ſend them home againe into their countrie: there was one *Eurylochus* ÆGEIAN that made his name be billed among the ſicke perſons, & it was found afterwards that he was not ſicke, and confeſſed that he did it onely to follow a young woman called *Teleſippa*, with whom he was in loue, who was returning homewards towards the ſea ſide. *Alexander* asked him, whether this woman were free or bond: he anſwered him, that ſhe was a curtiſan free borne. Then ſayed *Aexander* vnto *Eurylochus*, I would be glad to further thy loue, yet I cannot force her to tarrie: but ſeeke to winne her by giftes and fayer wordes to be contented to tarie, ſithence ſhe is a free woman. It is a wonderfull thing to ſee what paines he would take, to write for his friendes, euen in ſuch trifles as he did. As when he wrote into CILICIA for a ſeruant of *Seleucus* that was fled from his maiſter, ſending ſtraight commandement, that they ſhould carefully lay for him. And by another letter he commendeth *Peuceſtas*, for that he had ſtayed and taken one *Nicon*, a ſlaue of *Craterus*. And by one other letter alſo vnto *Megabizus*, touching another bondman that had taken ſanctuarie in a temple, he commaunded him alſo to ſeeke to intiſe him out of the ſanctuarie, to laye hold on him if he could, but otherwiſe not to meddle with him in any caſe. It is ſayed alſo, that at the firſt when he vſed to ſit in iugdement to heare criminall cauſes, whileſt the accuſer went on with his complaint and accuſation: he alwayes vſed to laye his hand vppon one of his eares to keepe that cleane from the matter of

*Alexander enemie vnto idleneſſe.*

*Alexanders care of his friends and wonderfull courteſie towards them.*

*Alexander kept one eare for the condēned perſon.*

accuſation, thereby reſeruing it to heare the purgation and iuſtification of the perſon condemned. But afterwardes, the number of accuſations that were brought before him, did ſo prouoke and alter him, that he did beleeue the falſe accuſations, by the great number of the true that were brought in. But nothing put him more in rage, then when he vnderſtoode they had ſpoken ill of him: and then he was ſo fierce, as no pardon would be granted, for that he loued his honor, more then his kingdome or life. Then at that time he went againſt *Darius*, thinking that he ment to fight againe: but vnderſtanding that *Beſſus* had taken him, then he gaue the THESSALIANS leaue to departe home into their countrie, and gaue them two thouſand talentes, ouer and aboue their ordinarie paye. *Alexander* had then a maruellous long, hard, and painefull iorney in following of *Darius*: for in eleuen dayes, he rode three thouſand and three hundreth furlong, inſomuch as the moſt part of his men were euen wearie, and done, for lacke of water. It chaunced him one daye to meete with certen MACEDONIANS that caried (vppon moyles) goate ſkinnes full of water, which they had fetched from a riuer. They ſeeing *Alexander* in manner dead for thirſt, being about noone: ranne quickly to him, and in a head peece brought him water. *Alexander* asked them, to whom they caried this water. They anſwered him againe, that they caried it to their children, but yet would haue your grace to liue: for though we loſe them, we may gette more children. When they had ſayd ſo, *Alexander* tooke the helmet with water, and perceiuing that the men of armes that were about him, and had followed him, did thruſt out their neckes to looke vpon this water, he gaue the water backe againe vnto them that had giuen it him, and thanked them, but dranke none of it. For ſayd he, if I drinke alone, all theſe men heere will faint. Then they ſeeing the noble courage and curteſie of *Alexander*: cried out that he ſhould leade them: and therewithall beganne to ſpurre their horſes, ſaying, that they were not weary nor a thirſt, nor did thinke themſelues mortall, ſo long as they had ſuch a king. Euery man was alike willing to follow *Alexander*, yet had he but threeſcore onely that entred with him into the enemies campe. There, paſſing ouer much golde and ſiluer which was ſcattered abroade in the market place, and going alſo by many chariottes full of women and children, which they found in the fields, flying away at all aduenture: they ranne vpon the ſpurre vntill they had ouertaken the foremoſt that fledde, thinking to haue founde *Darius* amongſt them. But at the length, with much a doe, they found him layed along in a coche, hauing many woundes vpon his bodie, ſome of darts and ſome of ſpeares. So he being almoſt at the laſt caſt, called for ſome drinke, and dranke colde water, which *Polyſtratus* gaue him. To whom when he had drunke, he ſayed: this is my laſt miſhappe my friend, that hauing receiued this pleaſure, I cannot requite thee: howbeit *Alexander* will recompence thee, and the goddes *Alexander*, for the liberality and curteſy which he hath ſhewed vnto my wife and children, whom I pray thee embrace for my ſake. At theſe laſt wordes, he tooke *Polyſtratus* by the hande, and ſo gaue vp the goaſt. *Alexander* came immediatly after, and plainely ſhewed that he was ſorie for his death and miſfortune: and vndoing his owne cloke, he caſt it vpon the body of *Darius*. After that, hauing by good happe gotten *Beſſus* into his hands, he tare him in peces with two high ſtraight trees which he bowed downewards, and tyed his legs to each of them: ſo that when the trees were let goe, they gaue a ſodaine cruell ierke vp and caried either tree, a peece of his bodie with it. Then *Alexander* hauing giuen *Darius* corſe princely buriall, and embalmed him: he ſent it vnto his mother, and receiued his brother *Exathres* for one of his friends. From thence he went into the country of HYRCANIA with all the flower of his armie, where he ſawe the gulfe of the ſea Caſpium, which he thought of no leſſe greatneſſe, then the ſea of PONTVS, howbeit calmer then the other ſeaes be. He could not then certainly find out what it was, nor from whence it came: but of likelyhoode he thought it was ſome breaking out of the lake or marriſh of Meotin. Yet ſome ancient naturall Philoſophers ſeemed to knowe truely what it was. For many yeares before *Alexanders* voyage and conqueſt, they wrote, that of the foure chiefeſt gulfes of the ſea, that commeth from the Ocean, and doe enter within maine land, that which is more northerly, is the ſea Caſpium, which they call alſo Hyrcanium. As *Alexander* went through the countrie, certen barbarous people ſodainely ſette vpon them that led *Bucephal* his horſe, and tooke him: but with that he was in ſuch a rage,

*Alexander would not pardon ill words ſpoken of him.*

*Alexanders painfull iorney in following of Darius.*

*The loue of Alexander to his ſouldiers & abſtinence.*

*Alexander regarded not the ſpoile of gold and ſiluer, in reſpect of purſuing his flying enemie.*

*The death of Darius.*

*The puniſhmẽt and execution of Beſſus.*

*The ſea Hyrcanium or Caſpium.*

that he ſent a Herauld into their countrie to proclaime open warres vppon them, and that he would put man, woman and childe to the ſword, if they brought him not his horſe againe. Whereuppon, when his horſe was returned home, and that they yeelded vp their citties and fortes into his hands: he did vſe them all very courteouſly, and moreouer did giue them money for the ranſome of his horſe, which they reſtored. Departing thence, he entred into the countrie of PARTHIA. There hauing leaſure enough, he beganne to apparell himſelfe after the faſhion of the barbarous people, becauſe he thought thereby the better to winne the harts of the countriemen, framing himſelfe vnto their owne faſhions: or elſe to trye the harts of the MACEDONIANS, to ſee how they would like the manner of the PERSIANS (which he ment to bring them vnto) in reuerencing of him as they did their king, by litle and little acquainting them to alow the alteration and change of his life. This notwithſtanding, he would not at the firſt take vp the apparell of the MEDES, which was very ſtrange, and altogether barbarous. For he went not without breeches, nor did weare a long gown trayling on the ground, nor a high coptanct hat, but tooke a meane apparell, betwixt the MEDES & the PERSIANS, more modeſt then theirs: and more coſtly then the laſt: and yet at the firſt he did not weare it, but when he would talke with the barbarous people, or elſe priuately amongſt his friends and familiars. Afterwards notwithſtanding, he ſhewed himſelfe openly to the people in that apparell, whē he gaue them audience. This ſight grieued the MACEDONIANS much: but they had his vertues in ſuch admiration, that they thought it meete in ſome things he ſhould take his owne pleaſure, ſithence he had bene often hurt in the warres, and not long before had his legge broken with an arrow, and another time, had ſuch a blow with a ſtone full in his necke, that it made him ſpurre-blinde a great while after, and yet neuertheleſſe he neuer eſchewed any bodily daunger. For he paſſed ouer the riuer of Oraxartes, which he tooke to be Tanais, and hauing in battell ouerthrowen the SCYTHIANS, he followed them in chaſe aboue a hundreth furlong, notwithſtanding that at that inſtant he had a looſeneſſe of body. Thither came vnto him (as it is reported) the queene of the AMAZONES, as many writers doe teſtifie: among the which are theſe, *Clitarchus*, *Polycritus*, *Oneſicritus*, *Antigenes* and *Hiſter*. But *Chares*, *Ptolomy*, *Anticlides*, & *Philō* THEBAN, *Philip* the hiſtoriographer, *Hecateus* ERETRIAN, *Philip* CHALCIDIAN, and *Duris* SAMIAN, all theſe doe write that it was not true: and it ſeemeth alſo that *Alexander* ſelfe doth confirme it. For, writing all things particularly vnto *Antipater* as they happened vnto him, he wrote vnto him that the king of SCYTHIA offred him his daughter in mariage: but there he maketh no mention at all of any AMAZON. It is alſo ſayed, that *Oneſicritus* long time after that did reade vnto king *Lyſimachus*, the fourth booke of his hiſtorie, where he did ſpeake of the AMAZON. *Lyſimachus* ſmiling, ſayd vnto him: why, and where was I then? But for that matter, to credit or not credit it, *Alexanders* eſtimation thereby is neither impaired nor aduanced. Furthermore, *Alexander* fearing that the MACEDONIANS, being wearie with this long warre, would goe no further: he left all the reſt of his armie behinde, and tooke onely twentie thouſand footemen, and three thouſand horſemen of the choiceſt men of his armie, and with them inuaded the countrie of HYRCANIA. There he made an oration vnto them, and told them, that the barbarous people of ASIA had but ſeene them as it were in a dreame, and if they ſhould now returne backe into MACEDON, hauing but onely ſturred them, and not altogether ſubdued ASIA: the people offended with them, would ſette vppon them as they went home, as if they were no better than women. Neuertheleſſe, he gaue any man leaue to returne that woulde, proteſting therewith againſt them that would goe, how they did forſake him, his frends, and thoſe who had ſo good harts towards him, as to follow him in ſo noble a iorney, to conquer the whole earth vnto the MACEDONIANS. This ſelfe matter is reported thus in a letter which *Alexander* wrote vnto *Antipater*: and there he writeth furthermore, that hauing made this oration vnto them, they all cryed out, and bad him leade them into what part of the world he would. When they had granted their good willes, it was no hard matter afterwardes, to winne the reſt of the common ſorte who followed the example of the chiefeſt. Thereuppon he did frame himſelfe the more to liue after the faſhion of the countrie there, and enterchangeably alſo to bring the men of that countrie vnto the manner of the MACEDONIANS: being perſwaded that by this mixture
and

*Alexander goeth after the manner of the Perſians.*

*Some faults are to be borne with, in a man of great vertu.*

*Orexartes fl.*

*Alexander with one word of his mouth brought the Macedonians to obedience.*

and enterchange of manners one with another, he ſhould by friendſhippe more then force, make them agree louingly together, when that he ſhould be ſo far from the countrie of Persia. For this purpoſe therefore, he choſe thirty thouſand of their children of that countrie, & ſet them to learne the Greek tongue, and to be brought vp in the diſcipline of warres, after the Macedonians maner: and gaue them ſchoolemaſters and Captains to traine them in each facultie. And for the marying of *Roxane*, he fancied her, ſeing her at a feaſt where he was: which fell out as well for his turne, as if he had with better aduiſe and counſell loued her. For the barbarous people were very proude of this match when as they ſawe him make alliance with them in this ſorte, inſomuch as they loued him better then they did before, becauſe they ſaw in thoſe things he was alwaies ſo chaſt and continent, that notwithſtanding he was maruellouſly in loue with her, yet he would not diſhonorably touch this young Ladie, before he was maried vnto her. Furthermore, *Alexander* conſidering that of the two men which he loued beſt, *Hephæſtion* liked well of his match, and went apparelled as himſelfe did, and that *Craterus*, contrarily did ſtill vſe the Macedonian maner: he delt in all affaires with the barbarous people, by *Hephæſtion*, & with the Grecians and Macedonians, by *Craterus*. To be ſhort, he loued the one, and honored the other: ſaying that *Hephæſtion* loued *Alexander*, and *Craterus* loued the king. Hereuppon theſe two perſons bare one another grudge in their hartes, and oftentimes brake out in open quarrell: inſomuch as on a time being in India, they drewe their ſwords and fought together, and diuers of their friendes ranne to take part with either ſide. Thither came *Alexander* ſelfe alſo, who openly before them all, bitterly tooke vp *Hephæſtion*, and called him foole and bedlem, ſaying, doſt thou not know, that whatſoeuer he be that ſhould take *Alexander* from me, he ſhould neuer liue? Priuatly alſo, he ſharply rebuked *Craterus*, and calling them both before him, he made them friendes together, ſwearing by *Iupiter Hammon*, and by all the other gods, that he loued them two of all men liuing, neuertheles if euer he founde that they fell out together againe, they ſhould both dye for it, or him at the leaſt that firſt beganne to quarrell. So euer after that, they ſay there was neuer foule word nor deede betwene them, not ſo much as in ſport only. There was alſo one *Philotas*, the ſonne of *Parmenio*, a man of great authority among the Macedonians, who next vnto *Alexander* was the moſt valiant man, the patienteſt to abide paine, the liberalleſt, and one that loued his men and frends better then any noble man in the campe whatſoeuer. Of him it is reported, that a frend of his came to him on a time to borow money: and he commanded ſtraight one of his men to let him haue it. His purſebearer anſwered him, that he had none. Why, ſayed his maſter, doeſt thou tell me ſo? Haſt thou not plate, and apparell to ſell or gage to helpe him to ſome? Howbeit otherwiſe, he had ſuch a pride and glorie to ſhew his riches, to apparel himſelf ſo ſumptuouſly, and to be more fine and princked then became a priuate man, that this made him to be hated: becauſe he tooke vpon him to be a great man, and to looke big on the matter, which became him ill fauoredly, and therfore euery man through his owne folly, fell in miſliking with him. Inſomuch as his owne father ſayd one day vnto him: ſon I pray thee be more humble & lowly. This *Philotas* had long before bene cõplained vpon vnto *Alexander* becauſe that when the cariage of king *Darius* armie (which was in the citie of Damas) was taken after the battell of Cilicia, among many priſoners that were taken and brought vnto *Alexanders* campe, there was one *Antigona*, a paſſing faier young curtiſan, born in the citie of Pidna. *Philotas* founde meanes to get her, and like a young man that was in loue with her, making merie with her at the table, fondely lette fall braue wordes and boaſtes of a ſouldier ſaying that what notable things were done, they were done by himſelfe and his father: and called *Alexander* at euerie word, young man, and ſayed that by their meanes he helde his name and kingdome. This curtiſan tolde one of his friendes what he ſayed, and that friend tolde an other friende, and ſo went from man to man (as commonly it doeth) till at the length it came to *Craterus* eares. He tooke the curtiſan, and brought her vnto *Alexander*, vnto whom ſhe told as much as ſhe had ſayd before. *Alexander* bad her ſtill make much of *Philotas*, and to tell him euery word what he ſayd of him. *Philotas* knowing nothing that he was thus circũuented, did euer frequent her companie, and would be bold commonly to ſpeake many fooliſh and vndiſcreet words againſt the king, ſomtime in anger, and ſomtime again in a brauery

*Alexander maried Roxane a Perſian.*

*Quarrell betwixt Hephæſtion & Craterus.*

*Why Philotas was ſuſpected and enuied of Alexander.*

*Alexander* this notwithſtanding, though he had maniſeſt proofe and cauſe to accuſe *Philotas*, yet he diſſembled it for that time, and would not be knowen of it: either for that he knew *Parmenio* loued him, or elſe for that he was affrayed of their great power and authoritie. About that time there was one *Limnus Chalæſtrian* a MACEDONIAN, that layd great and ſecret wait to kill *Alexander*: and being in loue with a young man called *Nicomachus*, entiſed him to help him to doe this deed. The young man wiſely denied it, & told the ſame to his brother called *Balinus*. He went vnto *Philotas*, and prayed him to bring them both before *Alexãder*, for they had a matter of great importance to impart vnto him. *Philotas* would not let him ſpeake with the king (but why no man could tell) telling them that the king had greater matters in hand, and was not at leaſure. Then they went vnto another, and he brought them vnto *Alexander*, vnto whom firſt they opened the treaſon of *Limnus* conſpired againſt him: and by the waye they tolde alſo, how they had bene twiſe before with *Philotas*, who would not let them come in, nor ſpeake with them. That angred *Alexander* greatly, and he was the more offended alſo when *Limnus* was ſlaine by him, whom he ſent to apprehend him, reſiſting him for that he would not be taken: and thought that by his death he had loſt a great meanes to come to the light of this treaſon and conſpiracie. Then *Alexander* frowning vppon *Philotas*, brought all his enemies vpon his backe, that of long time had hated him. For they beganne to ſpeake boldly, that it was time for the king to looke about him, for it was not to be ſuppoſed that this *Limnus Chalæſtrian* of himſelfe durſt haue entred into that treaſon, but rather that he was a miniſter, and a chiefe inſtrument, ſet on by a greater perſonage then he: and therefore that it ſtood *Alexander* vpon to examine them ſtraightly, which had cauſe to keepe this treaſon ſecret. After *Alexander* once gaue eare vnto ſuch wordes and vehement preſumptions, there was ſtraight brought a thouſand accuſations againſt *Philotas*. Thereuppon he was apprehended, and in the preſence of diuers Lordes and familiars of the king put to the torture, *Alexander* ſelfe being behinde a hanging, to heare what he would ſay. It is reported, that when he heard howe faintly and pittiefully he beſought *Hephæſtion* to take pittie on him, he ſayed vnto himſelfe: alas, poore *Philotas*, thou that haſt ſo faint a hart, howe durſt thou take vppon thee ſo great matters? In fine, *Philotas* was put to death, and immediatly after he was executed, *Alexander* ſent alſo with ſpeed vnto the realme of MEDIA to kill *Parmenio*, who was his Lieutenaunt there, and one that had ſerued king *Philippe* his father, in his greateſt affaires, and he onely of all other the olde ſeruantes of his father had procured *Alexander* to take in hande the conqueſt of ASIA: and who alſo of three ſonnes which he brought out with him, had ſeene two of them dye before him, and afterwardes was ſlaine himſelfe with the third. This crueltie of *Alexander* made his friends affraied of him and ſpecially *Antipater*: who ſecretly ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the ÆTOLIANS, to make league with them, becauſe they themſelues alſo were affrayed of *Alexander*, for that they had put the *Oeniades* to death. *Alexander* hearing that, ſayed, that he himſelfe, and not the ſonnes of the *Oeniades*, would be reuenged on the ÆTOLIANS. Not long after that, followed the murther of *Clitus*, the which to heare it ſimplie tolde, would ſeeme much more cruell than the death of *Philotas*. But reporting the cauſe and the time together in which it chaunced: it will be found that it was not of ſette purpoſe, but by chaunce and vnfortunately, that *Alexander* being ouercome with wine, did vnluckely wreake his anger vpon *Clitus*. The manner of his miſfortune was this. There came certaine men of the low countries from the ſea ſide, that brought apples of GRECE vnto *Alexander*. *Alexander*, wondering to ſee them ſo greene and fayer, ſent for *Clitus* to ſhew him them, and to giue him ſome of them. *Clitus* by chaunce did ſacrifice at that time vnto the goddes, and left his ſacrifice to goe vnto *Alexander*: howbeit, there were three weathers that followed him, on whom the accuſtomed ſprincklings had bene done alreadie to haue ſacrificed them. *Alexander* vnderſtanding that, tolde it to his Soothſayers, *Ariſtander*, and *Cleomantis* LACONIAN, both did aunſwere him, that it was an ill ſigne. *Alexander* thereuppon gaue order ſtraight, that they ſhoulde doe ſacrifice for the health of *Clitus*, and ſpecially for that three dayes before he dreamed one night that he ſaw *Clitus* in a mourning gowne, ſitting amongeſt the ſonnes of *Parmenio*, the which were all dead before. This notwithſtanding, *Clitus* did not make an ende of his ſacrifice, but

came

*Limnus traiterouſly ſeeketh to kill Alexander.*

*Philotas and his father Parmenio put to death.*

*Antipater was affrayed of Alexander.*

*why Alexander ſlue Clitus.*

*Alexanders dreame of Clitus.*

came ſtraight to ſupper to the king, who had that day ſacrificed vnto *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. At this feaſt there was old drinking, and all the ſupper time there were certaine verſes ſong and made by a Poet, called *Pranichus*, (or as others ſay, of one *Pierion*) againſt certaine Captaines of the MACEDONIANS, which had not long before bene ouercome by the barbarous people, and onely to ſhame them, and to make the companie laugh. With theſe verſes, auncient men that were at this feaſt, became much offended, and grew angrie with the Poet that made them, and the minſtrell that ſong them. *Alexander* on the other ſide, and his familiars liked them verie well, and commaunded the minſtrell to ſing ſtill. *Clitus* there withall being ouertaken with wine, and beſides of a churliſh nature, proude and arrogant, fell into greater choller, and ſayd: that it was neither well nor honeſtlie done in that ſort to ſpeake ill of thoſe poore MACEDONIAN Captaines (and ſpecially amongſt the barbarous people their enemies) which were farre better men then they, that laughed them to ſcorne, although their fortune much worſe then theirs. *Alexander* then replied, and ſayd, that ſaying ſo, he pleaded for himſelfe, calling cowardlineſſe, misfortune. Then *Clitus* ſtanding vp, ſayd againe: but yet this my cowardlineſſe ſaued thy life, that calleſt thy ſelfe the ſonne of the goddes, when thou turnedſt thy backe from *Spithridates* ſword: & the bloud which theſe poore MACEDONIANS did ſhed for thee, and the woundes which they receiued of their bodies fighting for thee, haue made thee ſo great, that thou diſdaineſt now to haue king *Philip* for thy father, and wilt needes make thy ſelfe the ſonne of *Iupiter Hammon*. *Alexander* being moued with theſe wordes, ſtraight replied: O, villen, thinkeſt thou to ſcape vnpuniſhed for theſe proude wordes of thine, which thou vſeſt continually againſt me, making the MACEDONIANS rebell againſt *Alexander*? *Clitus* aunſwered againe, too much are we puniſhed, *Alexander*, for our paines and ſeruice to receiue ſuch reward: nay, moſt happy thinke we them that long ſince are dead and gone, not now to ſee the MACEDONIANS ſcourged with rods of the MEDES, and compelled to curry fauour with the PERSIANS, to haue acceſſe vnto their king. Thus *Clitus* boldly ſpeaking againſt *Alexander*, and *Alexander* againe aunſwering and reuiling him: the graueſt men ſought to pacifie this ſturre and tumult. *Alexander* then turning himſelfe vnto *Xenodochus* CARDIAN, and *Artemius* COLOPHONIAN: do you not thinke (ſayd he) that the GRECIANS are amongſt the MACEDONIANS, as demy goddes that walke among brute beaſtes? *Clitus* for all this would not giue ouer his impudencie and malapertneſſe, but cried out, and bad *Alexander* ſpeake openly what he had to ſay, or elſe not to bidde free men come to ſuppe with him that were wont to ſpeake franckely: if not, to keepe with the barbarous ſlaues that honoured his PERSIAN girdle, and long white garment. Then could *Alexander* no longer hold his choller, but tooke an apple that was vpon his table, and threw it at *Clitus*, and looked for his ſword, the which *Ariſtophanes*, one of his gard that waited on him, had of purpoſe taken from him. And when euery man came ſtraight about him to ſtay him, and to pray him to be contented: he immediatly roſe from the borde, and called his gard vnto him in the MACEDONIAN toung, (which was a ſigne of great trouble to follow after it) and commaunded a trumpeter to ſound the allarme. But he drawing backe, would not ſound: whereupon *Alexander* ſtrake him with his fiſt. Notwithſtanding, the trumpetter was greatly commended afterwards, for that he onely kept the campe that they roſe not. All this could not quiet *Clitus*, whereupon his friendes with much a do thruſt him out of the hall: but he came in againe at an other doore, and arrogantly and vnreuerently rehearſed this verſe of the Poet *Euripides*, out of *Andromaches* tragedie:

*Alas for ſorrow, euill wayes*
*Are into Græce crept now a dayes.*

*The malapertneſſe of Clitus againſt Alexander.*

Then *Alexander* taking a partiſan from one of his gard, as *Clitus* was comming towardes him, and had lift vp the hanging before the doore, he ranne him through the body, ſo that *Clitus* fell to the ground, and fetching one grone, dyed preſently. *Alexanders* choller had left him ſtraight, and he became maruellous ſorowfull: and when he ſaw his friends round about him ſay neuer a word, he pluckt the partiſan out of his body, & would haue thruſt it into his owne throte. Howbeit his gard about him caught him by the hands, & caried him perforce into his chamber: & there he did nothing all that night but weepe bitterly, & the next day following,

*Alexander ſlue Clitus, and grieuouſly repented him.*

vntill ſuch time as he was able to crie no more, but lying on the ground, onely lay ſighing. His friendes hearing his voyce no more, were afrayed, and came into his chamber by force to comfort him. But *Alexander* would heare none of them, ſauing *Ariſtander* the Soothſayer, who remembred him of his dreame he had of *Clitus* before, which was, a prognoſtication of that which had happened: whereby it appeared that it was his deſtenie before he was borne. This ſeemed to comfort *Alexander*. Afterwards they brought in *Calliſthenes* the Philoſopher, a kinſman of *Ariſtotles*, and *Anaxarchus* borne in ABDERA. Of theſe two, *Calliſthenes* ſought by gentle talke, not mouing any matter offenſiue to comfort *Alexanders* ſorow. But *Anaxarchus* that from the beginning had taken a way by himſelfe in the ſtudie of Philoſophie, being accounted a braine ſicke man, and one that deſpiſed his companions: he comming into *Alexanders* chamber alſo with him, cryed out at the doore as he came in: See, yonder is *Alexander* the great whom all the world lookes vpon, and is afrayed of. See where he lyes, weeping like a ſlaue on the ground, that is afrayed of the law, and of the reproche of men: as if he himſelfe ſhould not giue them law, and ſtabliſh the boundes of iuſtice or iniuſtice, ſithence he hath ouercome to be Lord and maiſter, and not to be ſubiect and ſlaue to a vaine opinion. Knoweſt thou not that the Poets ſay, that *Iupiter* hath Themis, to wit, right and iuſtice placed of either hand on him? what ſignifieth that, but all that the prince doth, is wholy right, and iuſt? Theſe wordes of *Anaxarchus* did comfort the ſorowfull hart of king *Alexander* at that time, but there withall, they made *Alexanders* manners afterwardes more fierce and diſſolute. For, as he thereby did maruellouſly grow in fauour with the king, euen ſo did he make the company of *Calliſthenes*, (who of himſelfe was not very pleaſaunt: becauſe of his grauitie and ſowreneſſe) much more hatefull and miſliked then before. It is written alſo that there was certaine talke one night at king *Alexanders* borde touching the ſeaſons of the yeare, & temperatneſſe of the ayre, and that *Calliſthenes* was of their opinion which mainteined, that the country they were in at that time was much colder, and the winter alſo ſharper then in GRECE. *Anaxarchus* held the contrary opinion, and ſtifly mainteined it, in ſomuch as *Calliſthenes* ſayd vnto him: and yet muſt thou graunt, that it is colder here then there. For there all the winter time thou couldeſt go with a ſingle cloke on thy backe onely, and here thou muſt haue three or foure garments vpon thee when thou art at thy borde. This galled *Anaxarchus* to the quicke, and made him more angry then before: and for the other rethoritians and flatterers, they did alſo hate him, becauſe they ſaw him followed of young men for his eloquence, and beloued alſo of old men for his honeſt life, the which was very graue, modeſt, and contented with his owne, deſiring no mans elſe. Whereby men found, that the reaſon he alledged for following of *Alexander* in this voyage, was true: for he ſayd that he came to be an humble ſuter to the king to reſtore his baniſhed citizens into their country againe, and to repleniſh their citie with inhabitants. Now, though his eſtimation made him chiefly to be enuyed, yet did he himſelfe giue his enemies occaſion to accuſe him. For oftentimes being inuited by the king to ſupper, either he would not come, or if he came, he would be mute, and ſay nothing, ſhewing by his grauitie and ſilence, that nothing pleaſed him that was either ſayd or done. Whereupon *Alexander* ſelfe ſayd on a time vnto him:

*Calliſthenes & Anaxarchus, do comfort Alexander.*

*The cauſe why Calliſthenes was enuyed.*

*I can not thinke that perſon wiſe,*
*That in his owne caſe hath no eyes.*

It is reported of him alſo, that being at ſupper on a time with the king, diuers requeſting him to make an Oration on the ſodaine in commendation of the MACEDONIANS: he made ſuch an eloquent Oration vpon that matter, that all they that heard him, roſe from the borde, and clapping their handes for ioy, caſt noſegayes and flowers vpon him. But yet *Alexander* at that time ſayd vnto him that, which the Poet *Euripides* ſayd:

*It is no maiſtrie to be eloquent,*
*In handling of a plenteous argument.*

Nay, but vtter then thy eloquence in reprouing of the MACEDONIANS, that hearing their faultes, they may learne to amend. Then *Calliſthenes* chaunging copie, ſpake boldly many things againſt the MACEDONIANS. Declaring, that the diſſention amongſt the GRECIANS did increaſe king *Philips* power, alledging theſe verſes:

*VVhere diſcord reignes in Realme or towne,*
*Euen wicked folke do win renowne.*

But by this occaſion, he purchaſed himſelfe great ill will of the MACEDONIANS: inſomuch, as *Alexander* ſelfe ſaid at that time, that he had not ſo much ſhewed his eloquence, as the malice he bare vnto the MACEDONIANS. *Hermippus* the hiſtoriographer writeth that one *Stræbus* a clearke of *Calliſthenes* did afterwards tell it vnto *Ariſtotle* in this ſort: and that *Calliſthenes* ſeeing king *Alexander* offended with him, did recite theſe verſes of *Homer* three or foure times as he went.

*Patroclus who farre paſſed thee,*
*VVas ſlaine as thou art like to be.*

*Ariſtotle thought Calliſthenes eloquent, but not wiſe.*

And therefore very wiſely ſaid *Ariſtotle*, that *Calliſthenes* was eloquent, but not wiſe. For like a philoſopher, he ſtoutly ſtood againſt kneeling to the king, and ſaid that openly, which the nobleſt & ancienteſt men amõg the MACEDONIANS durſt but whiſper one in an others eare, though they did all vtterly miſlike it: whereby hee did yet deliuer GRECE from open ſhame, & *Alexander* from a greater, bringing him from that maner of adoration of his perſon. This notwithſtanding, he vndid himſelfe becauſe he would ſeeme rather by preſumption to bring him to it, then by reaſon to perſwade him. *Chares* MITYLENIAN hath writen, that *Alexander* hauing drunke at a certaine feaſt where he hapned to be, reached his cuppe vnto one of his friendes, who after he had taken it of him, roſe vp firſt on his feete, and dranke alſo, turning him towards the goddes, and firſt making ſolemne reuerence, hee went and kiſſed *Alexander*, and then ſate him downe againe. All the reſt that were at the feaſt, did the like one after an other, and *Calliſthenes* alſo, who tooke the cuppe when it came to his turne (the king not looking on him, but talking with *Hephæſtion*) after he had drunke, came to the king to kiſſe him as others had done. Howbeit one *Demetrius* called *Phidon*, ſaid vnto the king: kiſſe him not, I pray your grace, for he of all men hath done you no reuerence. *Alexander* turned his head a ſide, and would not kiſſe him. Then cryed *Calliſthenes* out aloud: well, quoth he, then I will go my way, with leſſe then others, by a kiſſe. And thus beganne *Alexanders* grudge firſt againſt *Calliſthenes*, by meanes whereof *Hephæſtion* was credited the better, when he ſaid that *Calliſthenes* had promiſed him to reuerence *Alexander*, although that he had broken promiſe. After him alſo *Lyſimachus*, *Agnon*, and diuers others beganne to play their partes againſt him, ſaying, that this Sophiſter went bragging vp and downe, as if he had deſtroyed a whole tyrannie, and that all the young men followed him to honor him, as if among ſo many thouſand ſouldiers, neuer a man of them had ſo noble a heart as he. And therefore, when the treaſon of *Hermolaus* againſt *Alexanders* perſon was diſcouered, they found the accuſation probable, the which ſome falſe detracters had informed againſt *Calliſthenes*: who had anſwered *Hermolaus* that asked him, how he could come to be famous aboue all men, thus: in killing the famouſeſt perſon. And to animate him to goe forward with this treaſon, he had told him further, that he ſhould not be affraide of a golden bedde, but remember that he had to doe with a man, which was ſometime ſicke & hurt as other men were. This notwithſtanding, there was neuer a one of *Hermolaus* confederates, that would once name *Calliſthenes*, what tormentes ſoeuer they abidde, to bewray who were their companions. And *Alexander* ſelfe alſo writing of this treaſon immediatly after, vnto *Craterus*, *Attalus*, and *Alcetas* ſaid, that their ſeruantes which had bene racked and put to the torter, did conſtantly affirme that they onely had conſpired his death, and no man els was priuie vnto it. But afterwardes, he ſent an other letter vnto *Antipater*, wherein he directly accuſed *Calliſthenes*, and ſaide, that his ſeruantes had alreadie bene ſtoned to death by the MACEDONIANS, howbeit that he himſelfe would afterwardes alſo puniſh the maſter, and thoſe that had ſent vnto him, and that had receiued the murtherers into their cities, who came of purpoſe to kill him. And therein he plainely ſhewed the ill will he bare vnto *Ariſtotle*, for that *Calliſthenes* had bene brought vp with him, being his kinſman, and the ſonne of *Hero*, *Ariſtotles* neece. Some ſay, that *Alexander* truſſed *Calliſthenes* vp. Others againe report, that he died of ſickneſſe in priſon. Neuertheles *Chares* writeth, that *Calliſthenes* was kept priſoner ſeuen moneths together, becauſe he ſhould haue had his iudgement in open councell euen in the preſence of *Ariſtotle* himſelfe: howbeit, being very fatte,

*Calliſthenes ſuſpected of treaſon againſt Alexander.*

*Alexander offended with Ariſtotle.*

*The death of Calliſthenes the rethoritian.*

*The iourney of Demaratus Corinthiã vnto Alexander, and his death.*

*Alexanders iourney into India.*

*Alexander burnt his cariages.*

*The crueltie of Alexander towards his men.*

*A monſtrous lambe appeared vnto Alexander.*

*A ſpring of oyle found, by the riuer of Oxus.*

*Oyle refreſheth wearyneſſe.*

he was eaten in the end by lyce, and ſo dyed, about the time that *Alexander* was hurt, fighting againſt the MALLIANS OXYDRACIANS, in the cõqueſt of INDIA, but theſe things chanced a good while after. *Demaratus* CORINTHIAN being very old, had a great deſire to go ſee *Alexander*: and when he had ſeene him, he ſayd that the GRECIANS which were dead long before, were depriued of that bliſſe and happineſſe, that they could not ſee *Alexander* ſit in the royall ſeate of king *Darius*. Howbeit, he did not long enioy the kings good will vnto him, for he died of a ſicknes ſoone after he came vnto his campe, & *Alexander* did honour his funerals: for all the army in their armour did caſt vp a mount of earth faſhioned like a tombe, which was a great compaſſe about, and foure ſcore cubits high. His aſhes afterwardes were brought with an honourable conuoy, vnto the ſea ſide, in a charriot with foure horſes richly ſet out. *Alexander* being ready to take his iourney to go conquer INDIA, perceiuing that his armie was very heauy & vnwildſom to remoue, for the wonderfull cariage & ſpoiles they had with them: the cartes one morning being loden, he firſt burnt his owne cariage, & next his friends, & then commaunded that they ſhould alſo ſet the cariage of the MACEDONIANS a fire, which counſell ſeemed more daungerous to be reſolued of, then the proofe of the execution fell out difficulte. For there are very few of them that were angry therewith, & the moſt part of them (as if they had bene ſecretly moued by ſome god) with loude cryes of ioy, one of them gaue vnto an other ſuch neceſſary things as they had neede of, and afterwardes of themſelues did burne and ſpoyle all the reſt. This made *Alexander* much more rigorous then he was before, beſides that he was already become cruell enough, and without mercy or pardon, did ſharpely puniſh euery man that offended. For hauing commaunded *Menander* one of his friends, to keepe him a ſtrong hold: he put him to death, becauſe he would not remaine there. Furthermore, he himſelfe ſlue *Orſodates* (a Captaine of the barbarous people) with a dart, for that he rebelled againſt him. About that time, there was an eawe that had eaned a lambe, which had vpon her head, the forme and purple colour of the kings hat, after the PERSIAN manner called Tiara, hauing two ſtones hanging on ech ſide of it. *Alexander* abhorred this monſtrous ſigne, in ſomuch as he purged himſelfe by certaine BABILONIAN Prieſts, which he alwayes caried about with him for that purpoſe, and ſayd vnto his friends: that this monſter did not ſo much moue him for reſpect of himſelfe, as it did for them, fearing that the goddes after his death had predeſtined the force and power of his kingdome to fall into the hands of ſome baſe cowardly perſon. This notwithſtanding, an other ſigne and token which chaunced in the necke of that, did take away this feare and diſcouragement he had. For a MACEDONIAN called *Proxenus*, that had charge of the kings cariage, as he digged in a certaine place by the riuer of Oxus, to ſet vp the kings tent and his lodging, he found a certaine fat and oylie vaine, which after they had drawen out the firſt, there came out alſo an other clearer, which differed nothing, neither in ſmell, taſt, nor ſauour: from naturall oyle, hauing the gloſſe and fatneſſe ſo like, as there could be diſcerned no difference between them: the which was ſo much more to be wõdred at, becauſe that in all that coũtry there were no olyues. They ſay alſo, that the water of the riuer ſelfe of Oxus is very ſoft, and maketh their skinnes fat, which waſh or bath them ſelues therein. And yet it appeareth by that which *Alexander* ſelfe wrote vnto *Antipater*, that he was very glad of it, putting that amongſt the greateſt ſignes which the goddes had ſent vnto him. The Soothſayers did interprete this wonder, that it was a ſigne, that he ſhould haue a noble, but yet a painfull voyage: for the goddes, ſayd they, haue giuen oyle vnto men to refreſh their weartneſſe. And truly ſo did he ſuſteine many daungers in thoſe warres, and was oftentimes hurt in fight. But the greateſt loſſe he had of his men, was for lacke of victuals, and by the infection of the ayre. For he, ſtriuing to ouercome fortune by valiantneſſe, and her force by vertue, thought nothing impoſsible for a valiant man, neither any thing able to withſtand a noble hart. It is reported, that when he went to beſiege a ſtrong hold which *Siſimethres* kept, being thought vnſaltable, and that his ſouldiers were in diſpaire of it: he asked one *Oxyarthes*, what hart *Siſimethres* had. *Oxyarthes* anſwered him, that he was the verieſt coward in the world. O, that is well, quoth *Alexander*: then it is to be wonne, if that be true thou ſayeſt ſithence the Captaine of the peece is but a coward. So he tooke it of a ſodaine, by putting *Siſimethres* in a great feare. After that alſo, he did beſiege an other peece of as great ſtrength, and difficultie to aſſault as the other, and making the yong ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS to go to the aſſault, he called one of them vnto him, whoſe name alſo was *Alexander*, vnto whom he ſaid thus. *Alexander*, this day thou muſt fight like a man, and it be but for thy name ſake. The yong man did not forget his words, for he fought ſo valiantly, that he was ſlaine, for whom *Alexander* was very ſory. Another time whẽ his men were affraid, & durſt not come neere vnto the city of NISA to aſſault it, becauſe there ranne a very deepe riuer hard by the walles: he came to the riuers ſide, and ſaid: oh, what a coward am I, that neuer learned to ſwimme? and ſo prepared himſelfe to ſwimme ouer vpon his ſhield. After he had cauſed them to retire from the aſſault, there came ambaſſadors vnto him from the cities beſieged, to craue pardon of him. They wondered at him at the firſt, when they ſaw him armed, without any pompe or other ceremonie about him: but much more, when a chaire was brought him to ſit downe on, that he commaunded the oldeſt man amongſt them called *Acuphis*, to take it to him, and ſit him downe. *Acuphis* maruelling at *Alexanders* great courteſie, asked him: what they ſhould do for him, thenceforth to be his good friends. I will, ſaid *Alexander*, that they from whom thou comeſt as ambaſſador vnto vs, do make thee their King: and withall that they do ſend me a hundred of their beſt men for hoſtages. *Acuphis* ſmiling, anſwered him again: but I ſhall rule them better, O king, if I ſend you the worſt, and not the beſt. There was a king called *Taxiles* a very wiſe man, who had a great country in INDIA, no leſſe in bigneſſe and circuit then all ÆGYPT, and as full of good paſture and frutes as any country in the worlde could be: who came on a time to ſalute *Alexander*, and ſaid vnto him. What ſhould we neede, *Alexander*, to fight, and make warres one with an other, if thou comeſt not to take away our water, and our neceſſary commoditie to liue by: for which things, men of iudgement muſt needes fight? As for other goods, if I be richer then thou, I am readie to giue thee of mine: and if I haue leſſe, I will not thinke ſcorne to thanke thee, if thou wilt giue me ſome of thine. *Alexander* being pleaſed to heare him ſpeake thus wiſely, imbraced him, and ſaid vnto him. Thinkeſt thou this meeting of ours can be without fight, for all theſe goodly faire wordes? no, no, thou haſt wonne nothing by that: for I will fight and contend with thee in honeſtie and courteſie, becauſe thou ſhalt not exceede me in bountie and liberalitie. So *Alexander* taking diuers giftes of him, but giuing more vnto *Taxiles*: he dranke to him one night at ſupper, and ſaid, I drinke to thee a thouſand talents in gold. This gift miſliked *Alexanders* friends: but in recompence thereof, he wanne the hearts of many of thoſe barbarous Lordes and Princes of that countrie. There was a certaine number of ſouldiers of the INDIANS, the warlikeſt men of all that countrie: who being mercenary ſouldiers, were euer entertained in ſeruice of the great free cities, which they valiantly defended, and did great hurt vnto *Alexander* in diuers places. *Alexander* hauing made peace with them in a citie where they were kept in: when they came abroad vpon ſuertie of this peace which they had made, hee met with them as they went their way, and put them all to the ſword. There was but this only fault, to blemiſh the honor of his noble deedes in all his warres: for in all things elſe, he ſhewed mercie and equitie. Furthermore, the graue Philoſophers and wiſe men of INDIA did greatly trouble him alſo. For they reproued the kings and princes of the INDIANS for that they yeelded vnto *Alexander*, and procured the free cities to take armes againſt him. But by their occaſion, he tooke diuers of their cities. For king *Porus*, *Alexander* ſelfe writeth in his Epiſtles, all his actes at large which he did againſt him. For he ſaith, that both their campes lying on either ſide of the riuer of Hydaſpes, king *Porus* ſet his Elephants vpon the banke of the riuer with their heades towardes their enemies, to keepe them from paſſing ouer: and that he himſelfe did continually make a noiſe and tumult in his campe, to acquaint his men not to be affraid of the barbarous people. Furthermore, that in a darke night when there was no moone light, he tooke part of his footemen, & the choice of his horſemen, and went farre from his enemies to get ouer into a litle Ilande. When he was come into the Ilande, there fell a wonderfull ſhower of raine, great windes, lightnings and thunders vppon his campe, inſomuch as he ſawe many of his men burnt by lightning in this litle Ilande. This notwithſtanding, he did not leaue to get ouer to the other ſide of the riuer. The riuer being ſwollen with the great flud of raine that fell the night before, ouerflowing the bankes, it did eate into the ground where the water ranne: ſo that *Alexander* when he

*The citie of Nyſa.*

*Acuphis wiſe anſwere vnto Alexander.*

*King Taxiles talke with Alexander.*

*Alexanders anſwere to Taxiles.*

*Alexander diſhonorably brake the peace he had made.*

*Alexanders actes againſt king Porus. Hydaſpes fl.*

had paſſed ouer the riuer, and was come to the other ſide, found himſelfe ill very in caſe, for that he could hardly keepe his feete, becauſe the earth was very ſlippery vnder him, and the rage of the water had eaten into it, and broke it downe on euery ſide. It is written of him that then he ſaid vnto the ATHENIANS: O ATHENIANS, could ye thinke that I could take ſuch paines, and put my ſelfe into ſo many dangers, onely to be praiſed of you? Thus *Oneſicritus* reporteth it. But *Alexander* ſelfe writeth, that they left their rafters or great peeces of tymber pinned together whereuppon they had paſſed ouer the ſtreame of the mayne riuer: and that they waded thorow the other arme or gut of the water which had broken the earth, vppe to their breaſts with their harneſſe on their backes. Furthermore, when he had paſſed ouer both waters, he rode with his horſemen twenty furlongs before the battell of his footemen: thinking that if his enemies came to giue him charge with their men of armes, that he was the ſtronger: and if they would alſo aduance their footemen forwarde, that his footemen alſo ſhould come time enough. One of the twaine fell out as he had geſſed. For, a thouſande horſemen and three ſcore charrets armed with his enemies, gaue him charge before their great company, whom he ouerthrew, and tooke all their charrets, & ſlew foure hundred of the men of armes in the field. King *Porus* then knowing by thoſe ſignes that *Alexander* was there in perſon, and had paſſed ouer the riuer: he marched towardes him with all his armie in battell ray, ſauing a few which he left behind to reſiſt the MACEDONIANS, if they ſhewed force to paſſe ouer the riuer. *Alexander* being affraid of the great multitude of his enemies, and of the terror of the *Elephants*, did not giue charge vpon the middeſt of the battell, but being himſelfe in the left wing, gaue charge vpon the corner of the enemies left wing, and alſo commaunded them that were in the right wing to doe the like. So, both the endes of the enemies armie were broken and put to flight: and they that fled, ranne vnto the Elephants, & gathered themſelues together about them. Thus the battell being begun, the conflict continued long, inſomuch as the enemies were ſcantly all ouerthrowen by three of the clocke in the afternoone. Many writers doe agree, that *Porus* was foure cubites and a ſhaft length hier and bigger then the Elephant, although the Elephant was very great, and as bigge as a horſe: and beſides that the Elephant did ſhew great wit and care, to ſaue the king his maſter. For whileſt he perceiued his Maiſter was ſtrong enough, he luſtily repulſed thoſe which came to aſſaile him: but when he found that he began to faint, hauing many woundes vpon his body, and arrowes ſticking in it: then being affraid leſt his Maiſter ſhould fall downe from his backe, he ſoftly fell on his knees, and gently taking his dartes and arrowes with his truncke, which he had in his bodie, he pluckt them all from him one after an other. *Porus* being taken, *Alexander* asked him, how he ſhould handle him, princely, anſwered *Porus*. *Alexander* asked him againe, if he would ſay any thing elſe. I comprehend all, ſaid he, in this word princely. Thereupon *Alexander* did not onely leaue him his prouinces and Realmes, whereof before he was king, by the name of his Lieutenant: but gaue him many other countryes alſo. When he had ſubdued all the free people, of the which there were fifteene ſeuerall nations, fiue thouſande of no ſmall cities, beſides an infinite number of villages, and thriſe as many other countries: hee made *Philip* one of his friendes, his Lieutenant of all thoſe countries. His horſe Bucephall died at this battell, not in the field, but afterwardes whileſt he was in cure for the woundes he had on his bodie: but as *Oneſicritus* ſaieth, he dyed euen worne for very age. *Alexander* was as ſorie for his death, as if he had loſt any of his familiar friends: and for proofe thereof, he built a great citie in the place where his horſe was buryed, vppon the riuer of Hydaſpes, the which he called after his name, *Bucephalia*. It is reported alſo, that hauing loſt a dogge of his called Peritas, which he had brought vppe of a whelpe, and loued very dearely: he built alſo a citie, and called it after his name. *Sotion* writeth, that he heard it reported thus of *Potamon* LESBIAN. This laſt battell againſt king *Porus*, killed the MACEDONIANS hearts, and made them that they had no deſire to goe any further to conquere INDIA. For, finding that they had ſuch a doe to ouercome them, though they were but twentie thouſande footemen, and two thouſand horſe, they ſpake ill of *Alexander* when he went about to compell them to paſſe ouer the riuer of Ganges, vnderſtanding by the country men that it was two and thirtie furlong ouer, and a hundred fadam deepe: and howe that the banke of the riuer was

*The ſtature of king Porus.*

*The quicke wit and care of the Elephant to ſaue the king his maiſter.*

*Alexanders conqueſts in the Indiaes.*

*The death of Bucephal Alexanders horſe.*

*Bucephalia, a great citie built by Alexander vpon the riuer of Hydaſpes: & why ſo named.*

*Peritas, Alexanders dogge.*

*Ganges fl.*

full of ſouldiers, horſemen, & Elephants. For it was reported, that the kings of the GANGARIDES, & the PRÆSIANS were on the other ſide with foure ſcore thouſand horſemen, two hundred thouſand footemen, eight thouſand charrets or carts of warre well armed, and ſix thouſand Elephants of warre. This was no fable, nor friuolous tale. For, a king called *Androcottus* (who raigned not long after,) gaue vnto *Seleucus*, fiue hundred Elephants at one time, & conquered all INDIA with ſix hundred thouſand fighting men. *Alexander* then offended with his mens refuſall, kept cloſe in his tent for certaine dayes, and lay vpon the ground, ſaying, that he did not thanke them, for all that they had done thitherunto, vnleſſe they paſſed ouer the riuer of Ganges alſo, and that to returne backe againe, it was as much as to confeſſe that he had bene ouercome. At the length, when he ſaw and conſidered that there was great reaſon in his friends perſwaſions which laboured to comfort him, and that his ſouldiers came to the doore of his tent, crying and lamenting, humbly beſeeching him to lead them backe againe: in the end he tooke pitie of them, and was contented to returne. This notwithſtanding, before he departed from thoſe parties, he put forth many vaine and falſe deuiſes to make his name immortall among that people. He made armours of greater proportion then his owne, and mangers for horſes, higher then the common ſort: moreouer, he made byts alſo farre heauier then the common ſort, and made them to be throwen and ſcattered abroad in euery place. He built great aultars alſo in honor of the gods, the which the kings of the PRÆSIANS haue in great veneration at this day: and paſsing ouer the riuer, do make ſacrifices there, after the manner of the GRECIANS. *Androccotus* at that time was a very young man, and ſaw *Alexander* himſelfe, and ſayd afterwards, that *Alexander* had well neare taken & wonne all the country, the king which then raigned, was ſo hated of all his ſubiectes, for his wicked life, and baſe parentage he came of. Departing thence, he went to ſee the great ſea Oceanum, and made diuers botes with ores, in the which he eaſily went downe the riuers at his pleaſure. Howbeit, this his pleaſant going by water, was not without warre: for he would land oftentimes, and did aſſaile cities, and conquered all as he went. Yet in aſſailing the citie of the MALLIANS, (which they ſay are the warlikeſt mē of all the INDIANS) he was almoſt ſlaine there. For, hauing with darts repulſed the enemies from the wall, he himſelfe was the firſt man that ſet foote on a ladder to get vp, the which brake aſſoone as euer he was gotten vpon the ramper. Then the barbarous people comming together againſt the wall, did throw at him from beneath, and many times lighted vpon him. *Alexander* hauing few of his men about him, made no more a do, but leaped downe from the wall in the middeſt of his enemies, and by good hap lighted on his feete. His harneſſe making a great noyſe with the fall, the barbarous people were afrayed, thinking they had ſeene ſome light or ſpirite go before him: ſo that at the firſt they all betooke them to their legges, and ranne ſcatteringly here and there. But after that, when they came againe to themſelues, and ſaw that he had but two gentlemen onely about him, they came and ſet vpon him of all handes, and fought with him at the ſword or puſh of the pyke, and ſo hurt him very ſore through his armour: but one among the reſt, being ſomewhat farther off, gaue him ſuch a terrible blow with an arrow, that he ſtrake him through his curats, and ſhot him in at the ſide vnder his breſt. The blow entred ſo into his body, that he fell downe on one of his knees. Whereupon, he that had ſtriken him with his arrow, ran ſodainly to him with a cimiter drawen in his hand. Howbeit as *Peuceſt* and *Limnæus* ſtepped before him, and were both hurt: *Limnæus* was ſlaine preſently, and *Peuceſtas* fought it out, till at the length, *Alexander* ſelfe ſlue the barbarous man with his owne hand, after he had many greeuous woundes vpon his body. At the length he had a blow with a dart on his necke that ſo aſtonied him, that he leaned againſt the wall looking vpon his enemies. In the meane time, the MACEDONIANS compaſsing him round about, tooke him, and caried him into his tent halfe in a ſound, and was paſt knowledge: Whereupon, there ranne a rumour ſtraight in the campe, that *Alexander* was dead. They had much a do to cut the arrow aſunder that was of wood: ſo his curats being plucked off with great paine, yet were they to plucke the arrow head out of his body, which ſtucke in one of his bones: the which as it is reported, was foure fingers long, and three fingers broad. So that when they plucked it out, he ſounded ſo oft, that he was almoſt dead. This notwithſtanding, he ouercame the daunger, and eſcaped. Being very

*Ganga[illegible]æ, and Præſii. people of India.*

*Alexanders returne out of India.*

*Alexanders vaine deuiſes to make him ſelfe immortall.*

*King Androcottus.*

*Alexander in daunger at the citie of the Mallians.*

*The wiſe men of India.*

weake, he kept diet a long time to recouer himſelfe, and neuer came out of his tent: vntill he heard the MACEDONIANS cry, & made great noyſe about his tent, deſirous to ſee him. Then he put on a night gowne, and came out amongſt them all: and after he had done ſacrifice vnto the goddes for recouery of his health, he went on his iourney againe, and in the ſame did conquer many great countryes, and tooke diuers goodly cities. He did alſo take ten of the wiſe men of the country, which men do all go naked, and therfore are called GYMNOSOPHISTÆ, (to wit, Philoſophers of INDIA) who had procured *Sabbas* to rebell againſt him, & had done great hurt vnto the MACEDONIANS. And becauſe they were taken to be the ſharpeſt & readieſt of anſwer, he did put them (as he thought) many hard queſtions, and told them he would put the firſt man to death, that aunſwered him worſt, and ſo the reſt in order: and made the eldeſt among them Iudge of their anſwers. The queſtion he asked the firſt man, was this:

*Alexanders queſtions propounded to the ten Philoſophers of India.*

Whether the dead or the liuing, were the greater number. He aunſwered, the liuing. For the dead ſayd he, are no more men.

The ſecond man he asked: whether the earth, or the ſea brought forth moſt creatures. He
1 aunſwered, the earth. For the ſea ſayd he, is but a part of the earth.
2 To the third man: which of all beaſtes was the ſubtileſt. That (ſayd he) which man hi-
3 therto neuer knew.

4 To the fourth: why he did make *Sabbas* rebell? becauſe ſayd he, he ſhould liue honourably, or dye vilely.

5 To the fift, which he thought was firſt, the day, or the night? He anſwered, the day, by a day. The king finding his aunſwer ſtraunge, added to this ſpeach: ſtraunge queſtions, muſt needes haue ſtraunge aunſwers.

6 Comming to the ſixt man, he asked him: how a man ſhould come to be beloued: If he be a good man ſayd he, not terrible.

7 To the ſeuenth, how a man ſhould be a god? In doing a thing, ſaid he, impoſsible for a man.

8 To the eight, which was the ſtrõger: life or death? life, ſaid he, that ſuffreth ſo many troubles.

9 And vnto the ninth and laſt man: how long a man ſhould liue? vntill ſayd he, he thinke it better to dye, then to liue.

*Alexander rewarded the ten wiſe men, and did let thẽ go.*
*Oneſicritus a Philoſopher.*
*Calanus, otherwiſe called Sphines.*
*Dandamis.*

When *Alexander* had heard theſe anſwers, he turned vnto the Iudge, & bad him giue his iudgemẽt vpon thẽ. The Iudge ſaid, they had all anſwered one worſe then another. Then ſhalt thou dye firſt, ſaid *Alexander*, becauſe thou haſt giuẽ ſuch ſentence: not ſo, O king, quoth he, if thou wilt not be a lyer: becauſe thou ſaidſt, that thou wouldeſt kill him firſt, that had anſwered worſt. In fine, *Alexander* did let them go with rewards. He ſent *Oneſicritus* alſo vnto the other wiſe mẽ of the INDIANS, which were of greateſt fame amõg thẽ, & that led a ſolitary & quiet life: to pray thẽ to come vnto him. This *Oneſicritus* the Philoſopher, was *Diogenes* the Ciniks ſcholler. It is reported, that *Calanus* one of theſe wiſe mẽ, very ſharply & proudly bad him put off his cloths, to heare his words naked: or otherwiſe that he would not ſpeake to him, though he came from *Iupiter* himſelfe. Yet *Dandamis* anſwered him more gently. For he hauing learned what manner of men *Socrates*, *Pythagoras*, & *Diogenes* were, ſaid: that they ſeemed to haue bene wiſe men, & well borne, notwithſtanding that they had reuerenced the law too much in their life time. Others write notwithſtãding, that *Dandamis* ſaid nothing els, but asked why *Alexãder* had takẽ ſo painful a iourney in hãd, as to come into INDIA. For *Calanus*, (whoſe right name otherwiſe was *Sphines*) king *Taxiles* perſwaded him to go vnto *Alexãder*: who becauſe he ſaluted thoſe he met, in the INDIAN toung, ſaying *Cale*, as much to ſay, as God ſaue ye: the GRECIANS named him *Calanus*. It is reported, that this *Calanus* did ſhew *Alexãder* a figure & ſimilitude of his kingdom, which was this. He threw down before him a dry ſeare peece of leather, & then put his foote vpõ one of the ends of it. The leather being trodẽ down on that ſide, roſe vp in all parts elſe, & going vp & down with all ſtill treading vpõ the ſides of the leather: he made *Alexãder* ſee, that the leather being trodẽ down on the one ſide, did riſe vp of all ſides elſe, vntill ſuch time as he put his foote in the middeſt of the leather, and then all the whole leather was plaine alike. His meaning thereby, was to let *Alexãder* vnderſtand, that the moſt part of his time he ſhould keepe in the middeſt of his country, & not to go farre from it. *Alexander* continued ſeuen months trauelling vpon the riuers, to go ſee the great ſea Oceanum. Then he

*Calanus, a wiſe man of India.*
*The ſimilitude of a kingdome, ſhewed by a peece of leather.*

tooke ſhip,& ſailed into a litle Iland called SCYLLVSTIS,howbeit others call it PSITVLCIS. There he landed, made ſacrifices vnto the gods, & viewed the greatnes & nature of the ſea Oceanum,and all the ſituation of the coaſt vpon that ſea,as far as he could go. Then he made his prayers vnto the gods,that no cõquerour liuing after him ſhould go beyond the bounds of his iourney & conqueſt,& ſo returned homward. He cõmaunded his ſhips ſhould fetch a cõpaſſe about,& leaue INDIA on the right hand:& made *Nearchus* Admirall of all his fleete, & *Oneſicritus* chiefe Pilote. He himſelf in the meane time went by land through the country of the ORITES,& there he found great ſcarſitie of victuals,& loſt many of his mẽ: ſo that he caried not out of INDIA the fourth part of his mẽ of war which he brought thither,which were in all, ſix ſcore thouſand footemẽ,& fifteen thouſand horſemen. Some of thẽ died of greeuous diſeaſes, others, by ill diet,others, by extreme heat & drought,and the moſt of them by hunger,trauailing through this barren country,where the poore men liued hardly,& had only a few ſheepe which they fed with ſea fiſh,that made their fleſh ſauor very ill fauoredly. At the lẽgth,when in three ſcore dayes iourney he had painfully trauelled through this countrey, he thẽ entred into the coũtry called GEDROSIA,where he foũd great plẽty of all kind of victuals,which the gouernours,kings,& princes,neighbours vnto the ſame,did ſend vnto him. After he had refreſhed his army there a litle, he went through the coũtry of CARMANIA, where he continued ſeuen dayes together banketing,going ſtill through the coũtry. For night & day,he was feaſting cõtinually with his friends vpon a ſcaffold lõger then broad, riſing vp of height, & drawen with eight goodly horſe. After that ſcaffold followed diuers other charrets couered ouer,ſome with goodly rich atras,& purple ſilke, others with trim freſh boughes which they renued at euery fields end:& in thoſe were *Alexanders* other friends & Captaines with garlands of flowers vpon their heades,which dranke & made mery together. In all this army, there was neither helmet,pike,dart,nor target ſeene:but gold & ſiluer bowles,cups, & flagons in the ſouldiers hãds, all the way as they went, drawing wine out of great pipes and veſſels which they caried with them,one drinking to another,ſome marching in the fields going forward,& others alſo ſet at the table. About thẽ were the minſtrels playing & piping on their flutes & ſhalmes, & women ſinging & daunſing,& fooling by the way as they wẽt. In all this diſſolute marching through the coũtry,& in the middeſt of their drunkẽnes,they mingled with it ſport:that euery man did ſtriue to coũterfeit all the inſolẽcies of *Bacchus*,as if god *Bacchus* himſelf had bene there in perſon,& had led the mommery. When he came vnto the kings caſtle of GEDROSIA,he ſtayed there alſo certaine dayes to refreſh his army with feaſting & banqueting. It is ſayd, that one day when he had drunke hard,he went to ſee the games for daunſing & amongſt them, the games which a young man called *Bagoas* had ſet forth,(with whom *Alexander* fell in liking,and bare the bell. This *Bagoas* being in his daunſing garments, came through the Theater,and ſat him downe by *Alexander*. The MACEDONIANS were ſo glad of it, that they ſhouted and clapped their hands for ioy,crying out aloud,to kiſſe him:So that in fine he tooke him in his armes, & kiſſed him,before them all. Thither came *Nearchus* his Admirall vnto him: who made report what he had ſeene and done in his nauigatiõ. *Alexander* was ſo glad of that,as he was deſirous to ſayle by ſea himſelfe:and ſo,entring into the ſea Oceanum by the mouth of Euphrates,with a great fleete of ſhips,to cõpaſſe in all the coaſts of ARABIA & AFRICKE,& thence into Mare Mediterraneũ,by the ſtraights of the pillers of *Hercules*. To this intent he built a great nũber of ſhips in the citie of THAPSACVS,& ſent for mariners,ſhipmaſters,& Pilotes, out of all parts. But now, the difficultie of the iourney which he tooke vpon him for the conqueſt of INDIA, the danger he was in whẽ he fought with the MALLIANS,& the nũber of his men which he loſt beſides which was very great,all theſe things cõſidered together,making mẽ beleeue that he ſhould neuer returne with ſafetie:they made all the people (which he had conquered) bold to riſe againſt him,& gaue his gouernours & Lieutenãts of prouinces occaſion to cõmit great inſolẽcies,robberies,& exactiõs of people. To be ſhort,it put all his kingdome in broile & ſeditiõ. In ſomuch as *Olympias* & *Cleopatra* riſing againſt *Antipater*, they deuided his gouernemẽt betweene thẽ: *Olympias* choſing for her,the kingdome of EPIRVS: & *Cleopatra*,the kingdome of MACEDON. Which when *Alexander* had heard,he ſaid his mother was the wiſeſt: for the realme of MACEDON would neuer haue ſuffred a womã to raigne ouer thẽ. Therupõ he ſent

*Pſitulſis an Iland.*

*Alexanders nauie in the ſea Oceanum.*

*Alexanders armie going into India.*

*Sheepe fed with fiſh.*

*The country of Gedroſia.*

*The country of Carmania.*

*The riot of Alexanders ſouldiers.*

*The citie of Thapſacus.*

*The prouinces conquered by Alexander,rebelled againſt him.*

*Nearchus* backe again to the ſea, determining to fill all the ſea coaſts with war. As he trauelled through the countrys far frõ the ſea, he put his Captaines & gouernors to death, which had reuolted againſt him: & of thoſe he ſlue *Oxyarthes*, one of *Abulites* ſons, by his own hãd, running him through with a pike. And whẽ *Abulites* ſelf alſo had brought *Alexãder* iij. thouſand talẽts only, without any other prouiſion made for victuals for his army: he made him put the money before his horſe, which would not once touch it. Then ſayd he vnto him: I pray thee to what purpoſe ſerueth this prouiſiõ? & therewithall immediatly cõmitted him to priſon. As he came through the country of PERSIA, he firſt renued the old cuſtome there, which was: that as oftẽ times as the kings did returne home frõ any far iourney, they gaue vnto euery womã a crown a peece. It is ſayd therefore that for this cauſe, ſome of their naturall kings many times did not returne againe into their coũtry: & that *Ochus* amõgſt others did not ſo much as once returne backe againe, willingly baniſhing himſelf out of his coũtry, of niggardlines, becauſe he would not be at this charge. After that, *Cyrus* tombe (king of PERSIA) being foũd & brokẽ vp, he put him to death that did it, although he were a MACEDONIAN of the citie of PELLA, (and none of the meaneſt) called *Polymachus*. Whẽ he had read the inſcription writtẽ vpon it in the Perſian toung, he would needes alſo haue it written in the Greeke toung: and this it was. *O man, what ſo thou art, and whenceſoeuer thou cõmeſt, for I know thou ſhalt come: I am Cyrus that conquered the Empire of* Perſia, *I pray thee enuie me not for this litle earth that couereth my body*. Theſe wordes pearced *Alexanders* hart, when he conſidered the vncertaintie of worldly things. There alſo, *Calanus* the INDIAN Philoſopher, hauing had a flixe a litle while, praied that they would make him a ſtacke of wood, ſuch as they vſe to burne dead bodies on, & then rode thither a horſe backe: & after he had made his prayer vnto the goddes, he caſt thoſe ſprincklings vpõ him, which were vſed to be ſprinckled at the funerals of the dead. Then cutting off a lock of his haire before he went vp on the woodſtacke, he bad all the MACEDONIANS that were there farewell, and ſhooke them by the hands, praying thẽ that day to be mery, and drinke freely with the king, whom he would ſee ſhortly after in the citie of BABYLON. Whẽ he had ſayd theſe wordes, he layd him down vpon the woodſtacke, couered his face, & neuer ſturred hand nor foote, nor quenched when the fire tooke him, but did ſacrifice himſelfe in this ſort, as the maner of his country was, that the wiſe mẽ ſhould ſo ſacrifice themſelues. An other INDIAN alſo, who followed *Iulius Cæſar*, did the like many yeares after in the citie of ATHENS: & there is his tombe yet to be ſeene, cõmonly called the INDIANS tombe. When *Alexander* came frõ ſeeing this ſacrifice of *Calanus*, he did bid diuers of his friends & Captaines to ſupper to him, & there did bring forth a crown for a reward vnto him that dranke beſt. He that dranke moſt of all other, was one *Promachus*, that dranke foure gallons of wine, & wan the crowne worth a talent: but he liued not aboue three dayes after. And of other alſo that fell in ſport to quaffing, who ſhould drink moſt, there died of thẽ (as *Chares* writeth) one & forty perſons: of an extreme cold that tooke them in their drunkenneſſe & wine. When they were in the citie of SVSA, he married certaine of his friends, & himſelfe alſo married *Statira*, one of king *Darius* daughters, diſpoſing alſo of the other PERSIAN Ladies (according to their eſtate and birth) vnto his beſt friends. He made alſo a ſolẽne feaſt of cõmon mariages amongſt the MACEDONIANS, of them that had bene maried before. At which feaſt, it is writtẽ, that nine thouſãd perſons ſitting at the bords, he gaue vnto euery one of them a cup of gold to offer wine in honor of the gods. And there alſo amongſt other wõderfull gifts, he did pay all the debts the MACEDONIANS ought vnto their creditors, the which amounted vnto the ſumme of ten thouſand talẽts ſauing a hundred & thirtie leſſe. Wherupõ *Antigenes* with one eye, falſly putting in his name amongſt the nũber of the debters, & bringing in one that ſaid he had lent him money: *Alexãder* cauſed him to be payd. But afterwardes, when it was proued to his face, that there was no ſuch matter: *Alexander* then was ſo offended with him, that he baniſhed him his court, & depriued him of his Captainſhip, notwithſtanding that he had before ſhewed himſelfe a valiant man in the warres. For whẽ he was but a yong mã, he was ſhot into the eye, before the citie of PERINTHE, which king *Philip* did beſiege, and at that preſent time they would haue pluckt the arrow out of his eye, but he neuer fainted for it, neither would ſuffer them to pull it out, before he had firſt driuẽ his enemies within the wals of their city. He tooke this infamy very inwardly, & he was ſo ſory

*The death of Polymachus Pelleian.*

*Cyrus Epitaph ouer his tombe.*

*Calanus the Indian did ſacrifice himſelfe aliue.*

*Alexander made men drinke to win a game and price.*

*The Macedonians maried vnto the Perſians.*

*The wonderfull gifts of Alexander.*

*Alexander payed the ſouldiers debts.*

*Antigenes with one eye, a valiant Captaine, baniſhed the court for making a lye.*

ry for it,that euery mā might ſee he was like to die for ſorow. Thē *Alexander* fearing he ſhould die,did pardō him,& bad him beſides keep the money which was giuē him. Now the 30000. young boyes which *Alexander* had left to the gouernement of Captaines , to traine & exerciſe them in the diſcipline of warre: they being growen ſtrong men, and luſty youthes, excellently well trained & ready in armes: *Alexander* reioyced when he ſaw them. This notwithſtanding did much diſcourage the MACEDONIANS,& made thē greatly afrayd, becauſe they thought that from thenceforth the king would make leſſe account of thē. For when *Alexander* would haue ſent the ſicke and impotent perſons, which had bene maimed in the warres , into the low countrey, to the ſea ſide: they aunſwered him, that ſo doing he ſhould do them great wrong, to ſend theſe poore men from him in that ſort,(after they had done him all the ſeruice they could) home to their country & friends, in worſe caſe thē he tooke them from thence. And therefore they ſaid, if he would ſend away ſome, let him ſend them all away as men vnſeruiceable , ſpecially ſithence he had now ſuch goodly yoūg daunſers about him, with whom he might go cōquer the world. *Alexāder* was maruellouſly offended with their proud words, inſomuch that in his anger he reuiled them all, put away his ordinary gard, & tooke other PERSIANS in their place, making ſome the gard about his owne perſon, others, his vſhers, heraulds, and miniſters to execute his will and commaundement. The poore MACEDONIANS ſeeing *Alexander* thus waited on, & themſelues ſo ſhamefully reiected: they let fall their ſtoutneſſe , and after they had commoned of the matter together, they were ready to teare themſelues for ſpite & malice . In fine when they had layd their heads together , they conſented to go vnto his tent and without weapons , naked in their ſhirts to yeeld thēſelues vnto him weeping and howling, beſeeching him to do with thē what pleaſed him, & to vſe them like wretched vnthankfull creatures . But *Alexander*, though his anger was now ſomwhat pacified, did not receiue thē the firſt time, neither did they alſo go their wayes, but remained there two dayes & nights together, in this pitifull ſtate, before the doore of his tent, lamenting vnto him , & calling him their ſoueraigne and king, vntill that he came himſelfe out of his tent the third day , and ſeeing the poore wretches in this greeuous and pitifull ſtate, he himſelfe fell a weeping a long time. So, after he had a litle rebuked thē, he called thē curteouſly, & gaue the impotēt & ſick perſons leaue to depart home, rewarding thē very honorably. Furthermore, he wrote vnto *Antipater* his Lieutenant, that he ſhould alwayes giue them the higheſt place in all cōmon ſports and aſſemblies , and that they ſhould be crowned with garlands of flowers . Moreouer, he commaunded that the orphans whoſe parents were ſlaine in the wars, ſhould receiue the pay of their fathers. After *Alexander* was come vnto the city of ECBATANA, in the kingdome of MEDEA, & that he had diſpatched his waightieſt cauſes: he gaue himſelfe againe vnto publike ſports, feaſts, and paſtimes, for that there were newly come vnto him out of GRECE, three thouſand excellent maiſters & deuiſers of ſuch ſports. About that time it chaunced , that *Hephæſtion* fell ſicke of an agew. But he being a young man of warre , did not regard his mouth as he ſhould haue done , but hauing ſpyed oportunitie that his Phiſitian *Glaucus* was gone vnto the Theater , to ſee the ſports & paſtimes: He went to dinner, & eate a roaſted Capon whole, and dranke a great pot full of wine , which he had cauſed to be ſet in water : whereupon his feuer tooke him ſo ſorely , that he liued not long after. *Alexander* vnwiſely tooke the chaunce of his death , & commaunded all the haires of his horſe and mules to be preſently ſhorne in token of mourning, and that all the battlemēts of the wals of cities ſhould alſo be ouerthrowen , and hung vp poore *Glaucus* his Phiſitian vpon a croſſe , and commaunded that no minſtrell ſhould be heard play of any kinde of inſtrument within his campe: vntill that there was brought him an oracle from *Iupiter Hammon*, commaunding that *Hephæſtion* ſhould be worſhipped and ſacrificed vnto , as a demy god . In the end, to paſſe ouer his mourning and ſorow , he went vnto the warres, as vnto a hunting of men, & there ſubdued the people of the COSSÆIANS, whom he pluckt vp by the rootes , and ſlue man, woman, and child . And this was called the ſacrifice of *Hephæſtions* funerals . *Alexander* furthermore being deſirous to beſtow ten thouſand talents coſt vpon his obſequies and fenerals , and alſo to exceede the charge by the rareneſſe and excellencie of workemanſhip : amongeſt all other excellent workemaiſters , he deſired one *Staſicrates* , for he had euer paſing inuention , and his worke was alwayes ſtately and ſumptuous in any new

*Thirty thouſand boyes of the Perſians, taught the diſcipline of wars by Alexanders commaundement.*

*The clemencie and liberalitie of Alexander vnto his ſouldiers.*

*The death of Hephæſtion. Alexanders ſorow for the death of Hephæſtion.*

*Staſicrates an excelẽt image maker.*

things he tooke in hand. For he talking one day with ***Alexander***, told him, that of all the mountaines he knew in the world, he thought there was none more excellent to reſemble the ſtatue or image of a man, then was mount Atho in THRACIA: and that if it were his pleaſure, he would make him the nobleſt and moſt durable image, that ſhould be in the world, which in his left hand ſhould hold a city to conteine ten thouſand perſons, and out of his right hand, there ſhould runne a great riuer into the ſea. Yet ***Alexander*** would not harkẽ to him, but then was talking with other workemen of more ſtraunge inuentions, & far greater coſt Now as he was ready to take his iourney to go vnto BABYLON: ***Nearchus*** his Admirall came againe vnto him from the great ſea Oceanum, by the riuer of Euphrates, and told him, how certaine CHALDEAN Soothſayers came vnto him, who did warne him that he ſhould not go into BABYLON. Howbeit ***Alexander*** made no reckoning of it, but went on. But when he came hard to the wals of BABYLON, he ſaw a great number of crowes fighting & killing one of an other, & ſome of them fell down dead hard by him. Afterwardes being told him that ***Apollodorus*** the gouernour of the citie of BABYLON, hauing ſacrificed vnto the goddes, to know what ſhould happẽ to him he ſent for the ſoothſayer ***Pythagoras***, to know of him if it were true. The ſoothſayer denied it not. Then ***Alexander*** asked him, what ſignes he had in the ſacrifice. He aunſwered, that the liuer of the beaſt had no head. O gods, ſayd ***Alexander*** then, this is an ill ſigne: notwithſtanding he did ***Pythagoras*** no hurt, but yet he repẽted him that he did not beleeue ***Nearchus*** wordes. For this reſpect therfore ***Alexander*** lay much abroad in the country from BABYLON, and did take his pleaſure rowing vp and downe the riuer of Euphrates. Yet had he many other ill ſignes and tokens one vpon an other, that made him afrayed. For there was a tame aſſe that killed one of the greateſt & goodlieſt Lions in all BABYLON, with one of his feete. An other time when ***Alexander*** had put off his clothes, to be nointed to play at tennis: When he ſhould put on his apparell again, the young gẽtlemen that played with him, found a man ſet in his chaire of eſtate, hauing the kings diademe on his head, & his gowne on his back, & ſayd neuer a word. Then they asked him what he was? It was long before he made them aunſwer, but at the lẽgth comming to himſelf, he ſaid his name was ***Dionyſius***, borne in MESSINA: & being accuſed for certaine crimes committed, he was ſent from the ſea thither, where he had bene a long time priſoner, & alſo that the god ***Serapis*** had appeared vnto him, & vndone his irons, & that he commaunded him to take the kings gowne, & his diademe, and to ſit him down in his chaire of eſtate, & ſay neuer a word. When ***Alexander*** heard it, he put him to death according to the counſell of his Soothſayers: but then his minde was troubled, & feared that the gods had forſakẽ him, & alſo grew to ſuſpect his friends. But firſt of all, ***Alexãder*** feared ***Antipater*** & his ſonnes, aboue all other. For one of them called ***Iolas***, was his firſt cupbearer: & his brother called ***Caſſander***, was newly come out of GRECE vnto him. The firſt time that ***Caſsãder*** ſaw ſome of the barbarous people reuerẽcing ***Alexander***, he hauing bene brought vp with the libertie of GRECE, & had neuer ſeene the like before: fell into a loude laughing very vnreuerẽtly. Therewith king ***Alexãder*** was ſo offended, that he tooke him by the haire of his head with both his hands, & knocked his head & the wall together. An other time alſo whẽ ***Caſſander*** did anſwer ſome that accuſed his father ***Antipater***: king ***Alexander*** tooke him vp ſharply, & ſaid vnto him. What ſaieſt thou, ſaid he? Doeſt thou thinke that theſe mẽ would haue gone ſo lõg a iourney as this, falſly to accuſe thy father, if he had not done them wrõg? ***Caſſander*** againe replyed vnto ***Alexãder***, & ſaid, that that was a manifeſt proofe of their falſe accuſatiõ, for that they did now accuſe him being ſo farre off, becauſe they thought they could not ſodainly be diſproued. ***Alexander*** thereat fell a laughing a good, and ſayd, lo, theſe are ***Ariſtotles*** quiddities to argue ***pro & cõtra***: but this will not ſaue you frõ puniſhment, if I find that you haue done theſe men wrong. In fine, they report that ***Caſſander*** tooke ſuch an inward feare & conceit vpon it, that lõg time after when he was king of MACEDON, and had all GRECE at his commaundement: going vp & down the citie of DELPHES, and beholding the monuments and images that are there, he found one of ***Alexander***, which put him into ſuch a ſodaine feare, that the haires of his head ſtood vpright, and his body quaked in ſuch ſort, that it was a great time before he could come to himſelfe againe. Now after that ***Alexander*** had left his truſt and confidence in the goddes, his minde was ſo troubled and afrayed, that no ſtraunge thing happened vnto him,

*Diuers ſignes before Alexãders death.*

*Alexãder feared Antipater.*

how litle ſo euer it was) but he tooke it ſtraight for a ſigne and prediction from the goddes: ſo that his tent was alwayes full of Prieſtes and Soothſayers that did nothing but ſacrifice and purifie, and tend vnto diuinements. So horrible a thing is the miſtruſt and contempt of the gods, when it is begotten in the hearts of men, and ſuperſtition alſo ſo dreadfull, that it filleth the guilty conſciences and fearefull harts like water diſtilling from aboue: as at that time it filled *Alexander* with all folly, after that feare had once poſſeſſed him. This notwithſtanding, after that he had receiued ſome anſwers touching *Hephaſtion* from the oracle of *Iupiter Hammon* he left his ſorrow, and returned againe to his bankets and feaſting. For he did ſumptuoſly feaſt *Nearchus*, and one day when he came out of his bathe according to his manner, being ready to goe to bed, *Medius* one of his Captaines beſought him to come to a banket to him to his lodging. *Alexander* went thither, and dranke there all that night and the next day, ſo that he got an ague by it. But that came not (as ſome write) by drinking vppe *Hercules* cuppe all at a draught: neither for the ſodaine paine he felt betweene his ſhoulders, as if hee had bene thruſt into the backe with a ſpeare. For all theſe were thought to be written by ſome, for lies and fables, becauſe they would haue made the end of this great tragedy lamentable and pittifull. But *Ariſtobulus* writeth, that he had ſuch an extream feuer and thirſt withall, that he drank wine, and after that fell a rauing, and at the length died the thirty day of the moneth of Iune. In his houſhold booke of things paſſed daily, it is written, that his feuer being vpon him, he ſlept at his hotte-houſe on the eighteenth day of Iune. The next morning after he was come out of his hotte-houſe, he went into his chamber, and paſſed away all that day with *Medius*, playing at dice: and at night very late, after he had bathed him ſelfe and ſacrificed vnto the goddes, he fell to meate, and had his feuer that night. And the twentieth day alſo, bathing him ſelfe againe, and making his ordinary ſacrifice to the goddes, he did ſitte downe to eate within his ſtooue, harkening vnto *Nearchus* that told him ſtrange things he had ſeene in the great ſea Oceanum. The one and twenty day alſo hauing done the like as before, hee was much more inflamed then he had bene, and felt him ſelfe very ill all night, and the next day following in a great feuer: and on that day he made his bed to be remoued, and to be ſet vp by the fiſhe pondes, where he commoned with his captaines touching certaine roomes that were voide in his army, and commaunded them not to place any men that were not of good experience. The three & twentieth day hauing an extream feuer vpon him, he was caried vnto the ſacrifices, and commanded that his chiefeſt Captaines onely ſhould remaine in his lodging, and that the other meaner ſort, as centiniers or Lieutenaunts of bandes, that they ſhould watch and ward without. The foure and twentieth day, he was caried vnto the other pallace of the kings, which is on the other ſide of the lake, wher he ſlept a litle, but the feuer neuer left him: & when his Captaines and noble men came to doe him humble reuerence, and to ſee him, he lay ſpeachles. So did he the fiue & twentieth day alſo: inſomuch as the MACEDONIANS thought he was dead. Then they came and knocked at the pallace gate, and cried out vnto his friendes and familiars, and threatned them, ſo that they were compelled to open them the gate. Thereupon the gates were opened, and they comming in their gowns went vnto his bed ſide to ſee him. That ſelf day *Python* and *Seleucus* were appointed by the kings friends to go to the temple of the god *Serapis*, to know if they ſhould bring king *Alexander* thither. The god anſwered them, that they ſhould not remoue him from thence. The eight and twentieth day at night *Alexander* died. Thus it is written word for word in manner, in the houſhold booke of remembrance. At that preſent time, there was no ſuſpition that he was poiſoned. Yet they ſay, that ſix yeares after, there appeared ſome proofe that he was poyſoned. Wherupon his mother *Olympias* put many men to death, and caſt the aſhes of *Iolas* into the wind, that was dead before, for that it was ſaid he gaue him poyſon in his drinke. They that thinke it was *Ariſtotle* that counſelled *Antipater* to doe it, by whoſe meane the poiſon was brought: they ſay that *Agnothemis* reported it, hauing heard it of king *Antigonus* own mouth. The poyſon (as ſome ſay) was cold as Iſe, & falleth from a rock in the territory of the city of NONACRIS, & it is gathered as they would gather a dew into the horne of the foote of an aſſe, for there is no other kinde of thing that will keepe it, it is ſo extreame cold and pearcing. Others defend it, and ſay, that the report of his poyſoning is vntrue: and for proofe thereof they alledge this reaſon, which is of no ſmall

*Alexander fell ſicke of an ague.*

*Ariſtobulus report of the ſicknes and death of Alexander.*

*The death of Alexander the great.*

*Ariſtotle ſuſpected for the poyſoning of Alexander.*

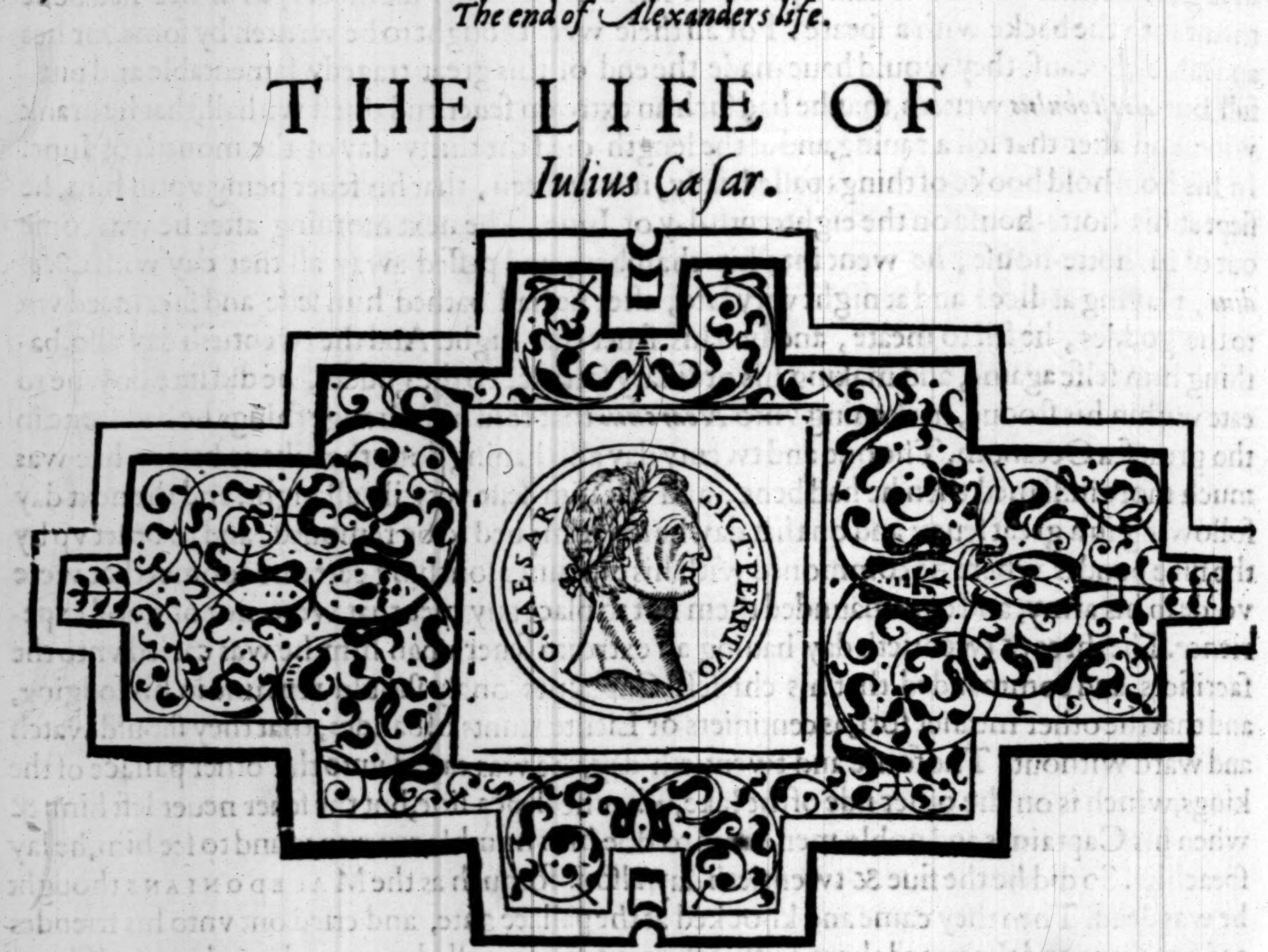
importance,that is: That the chiefeſt Captaines fell at great variance after his death,ſo that the corps of *Alexander* remained many daies naked without buriall,in a whot dry country, and yet there neuer appeared any ſigne or token vpon his bodie,that he was poiſoned,but was ſtill a cleane and faire corps as could be. *Alexander* left *Roxane* great with child, for the which the MACEDONIANS did her great honor: but ſhe did malice *Statira* extremely, & did finely deceiue her by a counterfaite letter ſhe ſent,as if it had come from *Alexander*,willing her to come vnto him.But when ſhe was come,*Roxane* killed her & her ſiſter, and then threw their bodies into a well,and filled it vp with earth,by *Perdiccas* helpe & conſent.*Perdiccas* came to be king, immediatly after *Alexanders* death, by meanes of *Aridæus*, whom he kept about him for his gard and ſafety.This *Aridæus*,being borne of a ſtrumpet & common woman, called *Philinna*, was halfe lunaticke,not by nature nor by chance: but as it is reported,put out of his wits when he was a young towardly boy, by drinkes which *Olympias* cauſed to be giuen him,and thereby continued franticke.

*Statira ſlaine by Roxane.*

*Aridæus, Alexanders baſtard brother.*

*The end of Alexanders life.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Iulius Cæſar.*



*Cæſar ioyned with Cinna and Marius.*

AT what time *Sylla* was made lord of all,he would haue had *Cæſar* put away his wife *Cornelia*,the daughter of *Cinna* Dictator: but when he ſaw, he could neither with any promiſe nor threate bring him to it, he tooke her iointer away from him. The cauſe of *Cæſars* ill wil vnto *Sylla*,was by meanes of mariage: for *Marius* the elder, maried his fathers owyn ſiſter,by whom he had *Marius* the younger,whereby *Cæſar* and he were coſin germaines. *Sylla* being troubled in waightie matters,putting to death ſo many of his enemies,when he came to be conquetor,he made no reckoning of *Cæſar*: but he was not cõtented to be hidden in ſafetie, but came & made ſute vnto the people for the Prieſthoodſhip that was voide, when he had ſcant any haire on his face. Howbeit he was repulſed by *Syllaes* meanes, that ſecretly was againſt him. Who, when he was determined to haue killed him,ſome of his friends told him, that it was to no purpoſe to put ſo young a boy as he to death. But *Sylla* tolde them againe,that they did not conſider that there were many *Marians* in that young boy.*Cæſar* vnderſtanding that, ſtale out of ROME, and hid himſelfe a long time in the country of the

SABINES, wandring ſtil from place to place. But one day being caried from houſe to houſe, he fell into the handes of *Syllaes* ſouldiers, who ſearched all thoſe places, and tooke them whom they found hidden. *Cæſar* bribed the Captaine, whoſe name was *Cornelius*, with two talents which he gaue him. After he had eſcaped them thus, he went vnto the ſea ſide and tooke ſhip, and ſailed into BITHYNIA to go vnto king *Nicomedes*. When he had bin with him a while, he tooke ſea againe, & was taken by pyrats about the Ile of PHARMACVSA: for thoſe pyrates kept all vpon that ſea coaſt, with a great fleete of ſhips and botes. They asking him at the firſt twenty talents for his ranſome, *Cæſar* laughed them to ſcorne, as though they knew not what a man they had taken, & of himſelfe promiſed them fiftie talents. Then he ſent his men vp and downe to get him this money, ſo that he was left in manner alone among theſe theeues of the CILICIANS, (which are the cruelleſt butchers in the world) with one of his friends, & two of his ſlaues only: & yet he made ſo litle reckoning of them, that when he was deſirous to ſleepe, he ſent vnto them to command them to make no noiſe. Thus was he eight & thirtie daies among them, not kept as priſoner, but rather waited vpon by them as a Prince. All this time he would boldly exerciſe himſelf in any ſport or paſtime they would go to. And other while alſo he would write verſes, and make orations, & call them together to ſay them before them: and if any of them ſeemed as though they had not vnderſtood him, or paſſed not for them, he called them blockheads and brute beaſts, and laughing, threatned them that he would hang them vp. But they were as merry with the matter as could be, and tooke all in good part, thinking that this his bold ſpeech came, through the ſimplicity of his youth. So whẽ his ranſome was come from the citie of MILETVM, they being paid their money, and he againe ſet at libertie: he then preſently armed, and manned out certaine ſhips out of the hauen of MILETVM, to follow thoſe theeues, whom he found yet riding at ancker in the ſame Iland. So he tooke the moſt of them, and had the ſpoile of their goods, but for their bodies, he brought thẽ into the city of PERGAMVM, & there committed them to priſon, whileſt he himſelfe went to ſpeake with *Iunius*, who had the gouernement of ASIA, as vnto whom the execution of theſe pirats did belong, for that he was Prætor of that cōtry. But this Prætor hauing a great fancy to be fingering of the money, becauſe there was good ſtore of it: anſwered, that he would conſider of theſe priſoners at better leaſure. *Cæſar* leauing *Iunius* there, returned againe vnto PERGAMVM, and there hung vp all theſe theeues openly vpon a croſſe, as he had oftentimes promiſed thẽ in the Ile he would do, when they thought he did but ieaſt. Afterwardes when *Syllaes* power began to decay, *Cæſars* friends wrote vnto him, to pray him to come home again. But he ſailed firſt vnto RHODES, to ſtudie there a time vnder *Apollonius* the ſonne of *Molon*, whoſe ſcholler alſo *Cicero* was, for he was a very honeſt man, and an excellent good Rethoritian. It is reported that *Cæſar* had an excellent natural gift to ſpeake well before the people, & beſides that rare gift, he was excellently well ſtudied, ſo that doubtleſſe he was counted the ſecond man for eloquence in his time, & gaue place to the firſt, becauſe he would be the firſt and chiefeſt man of warre and authoritie, being not yet come to the degree of perfection to ſpeake well, which his nature could haue performed in him, becauſe he was giuen rather to follow wars and to mannage great matters, which in the end brought him to be Lord of all ROME. And therefore in a booke he wrote againſt that which *Cicero* made in the praiſe of *Cato*, he praieth the readers not to compare the ſtile of a ſouldier, with the eloquence of an excellent Orator, that had followed it the moſt part of his life. When he was returned againe vnto ROME, he accuſed *Dolabella* for his ill behauior in the gouernment of his prouince, and he had diuers cities of GRECE that gaue in euidence againſt him. Notwithſtanding, *Dolabella* at the length was diſmiſſed. *Cæſar*, to requite the good will of the GRECIANS, which they had ſhewed him in his accuſation of *Dolabella*, tooke their cauſe in hand, when they did accuſe *Publius Antonius* before *Marcus Lucullius*, Prætor of MACEDON: and followed it ſo hard againſt him in their behalfe, that *Antonius* was driuen to appeale before the Tribunes at ROME, alleaging, to colour his appeale withall, that he could haue no iuſtice in GRECE againſt the GRECIANS. Now *Cæſar* immediatly wan many mens good wils at ROME, through his eloquence, in pleading of their cauſes: and the people loued him maruellouſly alſo, becauſe of the courteous maner he had to ſpeake to euery man, and to vſe them gentlely, being more ceremonious therin then was looked for in one of his yeares.

*Cæſar tooke ſea and went vnto Nicomedes, king of Bithynia.*

*Cæſar taken of pyrates.*

*Iunius Prætor of Aſia.*

*Cæſars eloquence.*

*Cæſar loued hoſpitalitie.*
*Cæſar a follower of the people.*
*Ciceroes iudgement of Cæſar.*
*The loue of the people in Rome vnto Cæſar.*
*Cæſar choſen Tribunus militum.*
*Cæſar made the funerall oration, at the death of his aunt Iulia.*
*Cæſar the firſt that praiſed his wife in funerall oration.*
*Cæſar made Quæſtor.*
*Pompeia, Cæſars third wife*
*Cæſars prodigalitie.*

Furthermore, he euer kept a good boord, and fared well at his table, and was very liberall beſides: the which indeede did aduance him forward, and brought him in eſtimation with the people. His enemies iudging that this fauour of the cõmon people would ſoone quaile, when he could no longer hold out that charge and expence: ſuffered him to runne on, till by litle and litle he was growen to be of great ſtrength and power. But in fine, when they had thus giuen him the bridle to grow to this greatneſſe, and that they could not then pull him backe, though indeede in ſight it would turne one day to the deſtruction of the whole ſtate and common wealth of ROME: too late they found, that there is not ſo litle a beginning of any thing, but continuance of time will ſoone make it ſtrong, when through contempt there is no impediment to hinder the greatneſſe. Thereupon, *Cicero* like a wiſe ſhipmaſter that feareth the calmeneſſe of the ſea, was the firſt man that miſtruſting his maner of dealing in the common wealth, found out his craft & malice, which he cunningly cloked vnder the habit of outward curteſie and familiaritie. And yet, ſaide he, when I conſider how finely he combeth his faire buſh of haire, & how ſmooth it lieth, & that I ſee him ſcratch his head with one finger only: my mind giues me then, that ſuch a kind of man ſhould not haue ſo wicked a thought in his head, as to ouerthrow the ſtate of the common wealth. But this was long time after that. The firſt ſhew and proofe of the loue and good will which the people did beare vnto *Cæſar*, was: when he ſued to be Tribune of the ſouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thouſand footemen) ſtanding againſt *Caius Pompilius*, at what time he was preferred and choſen before him. But the ſecond & more manifeſt proofe then the firſt, was at the death of his Aunt *Iulia*, the wife of *Marius* the elder. For being her nephew, he made a ſolemne oration in the market place in commendation of her, and at her buriall did boldly venture to ſhew forth the images of *Marius*: the which was the firſt time that they were ſeene after *Syllaes* victorie, becauſe that *Marius* and all his confederates had bin proclaimed traitors & enemies to the common wealth. For when there were ſome that cried out vpon *Cæſar* for doing of it: the people on the other ſide kept a ſturre, and reioyced at it, clapping of their hands and thanked him for that he had brought as it were out of hell, the remembrance of *Marius* honor againe into ROME, which had ſo long time beene obſcured & buried. And where it had bin an ancient cuſtome of long time that the ROMAINS vſed to make funerall orations in praiſe of old Ladies and matrons when they died, but not of young women: *Cæſar* was the firſt that praiſed his owne wife with funerall oration when ſhe was dead, the which alſo did increaſe the peoples good wils the more, ſeeing him of ſo kinde and gentle nature. After the buriall of his wife, he was made Treaſurer vnder *Antiſtius Vetus* Prætor, whom he honored euer after: ſo that when himſelfe came to be Prætor, he made his ſonne to be choſen Treaſurer. Afterwards, when he was come out of that office, he married his third wife *Pompeia*, hauing a daughter by his firſt wife *Cornelia*, which was married vnto *Pompey* the great. Now for that he was very liberall in expences, buying (as ſome thought) but a vaine and ſhort glory of the fauor of the people: (where indeede he bought good cheape the greateſt things that could be.) Some ſay, that before he bare any office in the common wealth, he was growen in debt, to the ſumme of thirteene hundred talents. Furthermore, becauſe he was made ouerſeer of the worke, for the high way going vnto *Appius*, he disburſed a great ſumme of his owne money towardes the charges of the ſame. And on the other ſide, when he was made Ædilis, for that he did ſhew the people the paſtime of three hundred & twentie couple of ſword plaiers, and did beſides exceede all other in ſumptuouſnes in the ſports & cõmon feaſts which he made to delight them withall: (& did as it were drowne all the ſtately ſhewes of others in the like, that had gone before him) he ſo pleaſed the people, and wanne their loue therwith, that they deuiſed daily to giue him new offices for to require him. At that time there were two factiõs in ROME, to wit, the faction of *Sylla*, which was very ſtrõg & of great power, and the other of *Marius*, which then was vnder foote and durſt not ſhew it ſelfe. But *Cæſar* becauſe he would renue it again, euen at that time when he being Ædilis, all the feaſts & cõmon ſports were in their greateſt ruffe: he ſecretly cauſed images of *Marius* to be made, & of victories that caried triumphs, & thoſe he ſet vp one night within the Capitoll. The next morning when euery man ſaw the gliſtering of theſe golden images excellently well wrought, ſhewing by the inſcriptions, that they were the victories which *Marius* had won vpon the CIMBRES:

euery one maruelled much at the boldneſſe of him that durſt ſet them vp there, knowing well enough who it was. Hereupon it ran ſtraight through all the citie, & euery man came thither to ſee them. Then ſome cried out vpon *Cæſar*, & ſaid it was a tyrannie which he ment to ſet vp, by renuing of ſuch honors as before had bene troden vnder foote, and forgotten, by common decree and open proclamation: and that it was no more but a baite to gage the peoples good wils, which he had ſet out in the ſtately ſhewes of his common plaies, to ſee if he had brought them to his lure, that they would abide ſuch parts to be plaid, and a new alteration of things to be made. They of *Marius* faction on the other ſide, incoraging one an other, ſhewed thẽſelues ſtraight a great number gathered together, and made the mount of the Capitoll ring againe with their cries and clapping of handes: inſomuch as the teares ranne downe many of their cheekes for very ioy, when they ſaw the images of *Marius*, & they extolled *Cæſar* to the skies, iudging him the worthieſt man of all the kinred of *Marius*. The Senate being aſſembled therupon, *Catulus Luctatius* one of the greateſt authoritie at that time in ROME, roſe, & vehemently inueighed againſt *Cæſar*, and ſpake that then which euer ſince hath bene noted much: that *Cæſar* did not now couertly go to worke, but by plaine force ſought to alter the ſtate of the cõmon wealth. Neuertheleſſe, *Cæſar* at that time anſwered him ſo that the Senate was ſatiſfied. Thereupon they that had him in eſtimation did grow in better hope than before, and perſwaded him, that hardily he ſhould giue place to no man, & that through the good will of the people, he ſhould be better than all they, and come to be the chiefeſt man of the citie. At that time, the chiefe Biſhoppe *Metellus* died, and two of the notableſt men of the citie, and of greateſt authoritie (*Iſauricus* and *Catulus*) contended for his roome: *Cæſar* notwithſtanding their contention, would giue neither of them both place, but preſented himſelfe to the people, and made ſute for it as they did. The ſute being equall betwixt either of them, *Catulus*, becauſe he was a man of greater calling and dignitie than the other, doubting the vncertaintie of the election: ſent vnto *Cæſar* a good ſumme of money, to make him leaue off his ſute. But *Cæſar* ſent him word againe, that he would lend a greater ſumme then that, to maintaine the ſute againſt him. When the day of the election came, his mother bringing him to the dore of his houſe, *Cæſar* weeping, kiſſed her, and ſaide: Mother, this day thou ſhalt ſee thy ſonne chiefe Biſhoppe of ROME, or baniſhed from ROME. In fine, when the voyces of the people were gathered together, and the ſtrife well debated: *Cæſar* wanne the victorie, and made the Senate and noble men all affraide of him, for that they thought that thenceforth he would make the people do what he thought good. Then *Catulus* and *Piſo* fell flatly out with *Cicero*, and condemned him for that he did not bewray *Cæſar*, when he knew that he was of conſpiracie with *Catiline*, and had oportunitie to haue done it. For when *Catiline* was bent and determined, not onely to ouerthrow the ſtate of the common wealth, but vtterly to deſtroy the Empire of ROME, he ſcaped out of the handes of iuſtice for lacke of ſufficient proofe, before his full treaſon and determination was knowen. Notwithſtanding he left *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* in the citie, companions of his conſpiracie: vnto whom, whether *Cæſar* did giue any ſecret helpe or comfort, it is not well knowen. Yet this is manifeſt, that when they were conuinced in open Senate, *Cicero* being at that time Conſul, asking euery mans opinion in the Senate, what puniſhment they ſhould haue, and euery one of them till it came to *Cæſar*, gaue ſentence they ſhould die: *Cæſar* then riſing vp to ſpeake, made an oration (penned and premeditated before) and ſaide, that it was neither lawefull, nor yet their cuſtome did beare it, to put men of ſuch nobilitie to death (but in an extremitie) without lawfull inditement and condemnation. And therefore, that if they were put in priſon in ſome citie of ITALY, where *Cicero* thought beſt, vntill that *Catiline* were ouerthrowen: the Senate then might at their pleaſure quietly take ſuch order therein, as might beſt appeare vnto their wiſedomes. This opinion was thought more gentle, and withall was vttered with ſuch a paſſing good grace and eloquence, that not onely they which were to ſpeake after him did approue it: but ſuch alſo as had ſpoken to the contrarie before, reuoked their opinion and ſtuck to his, vntill it came to *Cato* & *Catulus* to ſpeake. They both did ſharply inueigh againſt him, but *Cato* chiefly: who in his oration made *Cæſar* ſuſpected to be of the conſpiracie, and ſtoutly ſpake againſt him, inſomuch that the offenders were put into the hands of the officers to be put to death. *Cæſar* comming out of the Senate, a company

*Cæſar accuſed to make a rebellion in the ſtate.*

*The death of Metellus chiefe Biſhop of Rome*

*Cæſar made chiefe Biſhop of Rome.*

*Cæſar ſuſpected to be confederate with* Catiline *in his conſpiracie.*

*Cæſar went about to deliuer the conſpirators.*

*Catoes oration againſt Cæſar.*

of young men which guarded *Cicero* for the ſafetie of his perſon, did ſet vppon him with their ſwordes drawen. But ſome ſay, that *Curio* couered *Cæſar* with his gowne, and tooke him out of their handes. And *Cicero* ſelfe, when the young men looked vpon him, beckened with his head that they ſhould not kill him, either fearing the fury of the people, or elſe that he thought it too ſhamefull and wicked a part. But if that were true, I maruell why *Cicero* did not put it into his booke he wrote of his Conſulſhippe. But certainly they blamed him afterwardes, for that he tooke not the oportunitie offered him againſt *Cæſar*, onely for ouermuch feare of the people, that loued him very dearely. For ſhortly after, when *Cæſar* went into the Senate, to cleere himſelfe of certaine preſumptions and falſe accuſations obiected againſt him, and being bitterly taunted among them, the Senate keeping him longer than they were wont: the people came about the councell houſe, and called out aloude for him, bidding them let him out. *Cato* then fearing the inſurrection of the poore needie perſons, which were they that put all their hope in *Cæſar*, and did alſo moue the people to ſturre: did perſwade the Senate to make a franke diſtribution of corne vnto them, for a moneth. This diſtribution did put the common wealth to a new charge of fiue hundred and fifty Myriades. This counſell quenched a preſent great feare, and did in happie time ſcatter and diſperſe abroade the beſt part of *Cæſars* force and power, at ſuch time as he was made Prætor, and that for reſpect of his office he was moſt to be feared. Yet all the time he was officer, he neuer ſought any alteration in the common wealth, but contrarily he himſelfe had a great misfortune fell in his owne houſe, which was this. There was a yong noble mã of the order of the PATRICIANS, called *Publius Clodius*, who lacked neither wealth nor eloquence, but otherwiſe as inſolent and impudent a perſon, as any was elſe in ROME. He became in loue with *Pompeia Cæſars* wife, who miſliked not withall: notwithſtanding ſhe was ſo ſtraightly looked to, and that *Aurelia* (*Cæſars* mother) an honeſt gentlewoman had ſuch an eye of her, that theſe two louers could not meete as they would, without great perill & difficultie. The ROMAINES do vſe to honor a goddeſſe which they call the good goddeſſe, as the GRECIANS haue her whom they call *Gynæcia*, to wit, the goddeſſe of women. Her, the PHRYGIANS do claime to be peculiar vnto them, ſaying: that ſhe is king *Midas* mother. Howbeit the ROMAINES hold opinion, that it is a nimph of wood maried vnto god *Faunus*. The GRECIANS, they ſay alſo, that ſhe was one of the mothers of the god *Bacchus*, whom they dare not name. And for proofe hereof, on her feaſt day, the women make certaine tabernacles of vine twigges, and leaues of vine branches, and alſo they make as the tale goeth, a holy dragon for this goddeſſe, and doe ſet it by her: beſides, it is not lawfull for any man to be preſent at their ſacrifices, no not within the houſe it ſelfe where they are made. Furthermore, they ſay that the women in theſe ſacrifices doe many things amongſt thẽſelues, much like vnto the ceremonies of *Orpheus*. Now when the time of this feaſt came, the husband, (whether he were Prætor or Conſull) and all his men and the boyes in the houſe, doe come out of it, and leaue it wholly to his wife, to order the houſe at her pleaſure, & there the ſacrifices and ceremonies are done the moſt part of the night, and they doe beſides paſſe the night away in ſonges and muſicke. *Pompeia Cæſars* wife, being that yeare to celebrate this feaſt, *Clodius* who had yet no haire on his face, & therby thought he ſhould not be bewrayed: diſguiſed himſelfe in a ſinging wenches apparell, becauſe his face was very like vnto a young wench. He finding the gates open, being ſecretly brought in by her chamber maide that was made priuie vnto it: ſhe left him, and ranne to *Pompeia* her miſtreſſe, to tell her that he was come. The chamber maide taried long before ſhee came againe, inſomuch as *Clodius* being wearie waiting for her where ſhe left him, he tooke his pleaſure, and went from one place to an other in the houſe, which had very large roomes in it, ſtill ſhunning the light, and was by chance met withall by one of *Aureliaes* maides, who taking him for a woman, prayed her to play. *Clodius* refuſing to play, the maide pulled him forward, and asked him what he was: *Clodius* then anſwered her, that he taried for *Abra* one of *Pompeiaes* women. So, *Aureliaes* maide knowing him by his voyce, ranne ſtraight where the lightes and Ladies were, and cried out, that there was a man diſguiſed in womans apparell. The women therewith were ſo amazed, that *Aurelia* cauſed them preſently to leaue off the ceremonies of the ſacrifice, and to hide their ſecret things, and hauing ſeene the gates faſt locked, went immediatly vp and downe

*The loue of P. Clodius vnto Pompeia, Cæſars wife.*

*The good goddeſſe what ſhe was, and her ſacrifices.*

the houſe with torch light to ſeeke out this man: who at the laſt was found out in the chamber of *Pompeiaes* maide, with whom he hid him ſelfe. Thus *Clodius* being found out, and knowen of the women: they thruſt him out of the dores by the ſhoulders. The ſame night the women tolde their husbandes of this chaunce as ſoone as they came home. The next morning, there ranne a great rumor through the city, how *Clodius* had attempted a great villany, and that he deſerued, not onely to be puniſhed of them whom he had ſlandered, but alſo of the common wealth and the goddes. There was one of the Tribunes of the people that did indite him, and accuſe him of high treaſon to the gods. Furthermore, there were alſo of the chiefeſt of the nobility and Senate, that came to depoſe againſt him, and burdened him with many horrible and deteſtable facts, and ſpecially with inceſt committed with his owne ſiſter, which was maried vnto *Lucullus*. Notwithſtanding, the people ſtoutly defended *Clodius* againſt their accuſations: and this did helpe him much againſt the Iudges, which were amazed, and afraid to ſtirre the people. This notwithſtanding, *Cæſar* preſently put his wife away, and thereupon being brought by *Clodius* accuſer to be a witnes againſt him, he anſwered, hee knew nothing of that they obiected againſt *Clodius*. This aunſwere being cleane contrary to their expectation that heard it, the accuſer asked *Cæſar*, why then he had put away his wife: becauſe I will not, ſaied he, that my wife be ſo much as ſuſpected. And ſome ſay, that *Cæſar* ſpake truely as he thoght. But others thinke, that he did it to pleaſe the common people, who were very deſirous to ſaue *Clodius*. So *Clodius* was diſcharged of this accuſation, becauſe the moſt part of the Iudges gaue a confuſed iudgement, for the feare they ſtoode one way of the daunger of the common people if they condemned him: and for the ill opinion of the other ſide of the nobility, if they did quit him. The gouernment of the prouince of SPAINE being fallen vnto *Cæſar* for that he was Prætor: his creditors came and cried out vpon him, and were importunate of him to be payed. *Cæſar* being vnable to ſatisfie them, was compelled to goe vnto *Craſſus*, who was the richeſt man of all ROME, and that ſtoode in neede of *Cæſars* boldnes and corage to withſtand *Pompeys* greatnes in the common wealth. *Craſſus* became his ſurety vnto his greedieſt creditors for the ſumme of eight hundred and thirty talentes: whereuppon they ſuffered *Cæſar* to depart to the gouernment of his prouince. In his iourney it is reported, that paſſing ouer the mountaines of the Alpes, they came through a litle poore village that had not many houſholdes, and yet poore cotages. There, his friendes that did accompany him, asked him merily, if there were any contending for offices in that towne, and whether there were any ſtrife there amongeſt the noble men for honor. *Cæſar* ſpeaking in good earneſt, aunſwered: I can not tell that ſaid he, but for my part, I had rather be the chiefeſt man here, then the ſecond perſon in ROME. An other time alſo when he was in SPAINE, reading the hiſtory of *Alexanders* acts, when he had red it, he was ſorrowful a good while after, and then burſt out in weeping. His friends ſeeing that, maruelled what ſhould be the cauſe of his ſorrow. He aunſwered them, doe ye not thinke ſayd hee, that I haue good cauſe to be heauy, when king *Alexander* being no older then my ſelfe is now, had in old time wonne ſo many nations and countries: and that I hithervnto haue done nothing worthy of my ſelfe? Therefore when hee was come into SPAINE, he was very carefull of his buſines, and had in few dayes ioyned tenne new enſignes more of footemen, vnto the other twenty which he had before. Then marching forward againſt the CALLÆCIANS and LVSITANIANS, he conquered all, and went as far as the great ſea Oceanum, ſubduing all the people which before knew not the ROMAINES for their Lordes. There he tooke order for pacifying of the war, and did as wiſely take order for the eſtabliſhing of peace. For he did reconcile the cities together, and made them friendes one with an other, but ſpecially hee pacified all ſutes of law, and ſtrife, betwixt the debtors and creditors, which grew by reaſon of vſury. For he ordained that the creditors ſhould take yearely two parts of the reuenue of their debtors, vntill ſuch time as they had payed them ſelues: and that the debtors ſhould haue the third part to them ſelues to liue with all. He hauing wonne great eſtimation by this good order taken, returned from his gouernment very rich, and his ſouldiers alſo full of rich ſpoiles, who called him Imperator, to ſay ſoueraine Captaine. Now the ROMAINS hauing a cuſtome, that ſuch as demaunded honor of triumphe, ſhould remaine a while without the city, & that they on the other ſide which ſued for the Conſulſhip, ſhould

*Clodius taken in the ſacrifices of the good goddeſſe.*

*Clodius accuſed for prophaning the ſacrifices of the good goddeſſe.*

*Cæſar putteth away his wife Pompeia.*

*Clodius quit by the Iudges for prophaning the ſacrifices of the good goddeſſe.*

*Cæſar Prætor of Spaine.*

*Craſſus ſuretie for Cæſar to his creditors.*

*Cæſars actes in Spaine.*

*Cæſars order betwixt the creditor and debtor.*

*Cæſars ſouldiers called him Imperator.*

of neceſſity be there in perſon: *Cæſar* comming vnhappily at that very time when the Conſuls were choſen, he ſent to pray the Senate to do him that fauor, that being abſent, hee might by his friends ſue for the Conſulſhippe. *Cato* at the firſt did vehemently inuey againſt it, vowching an expreſſe law forbidding the contrary. But afterwardes, perceiuing that notwithſtanding the reaſons he alleaged, many of the Senators (being wonne by *Cæſar*) fauoured his requeſt: yet he cunningly ſought all he could to preuent them, prolonging time, dilating his oration vntill night. *Cæſar* thereupon determined rather to giue ouer the ſute of his triumph, and to make ſute for the Conſulſhippe: and ſo came into the city, and had ſuch a deuiſe with him, as went beyond them all, but *Cato* onely. His deuiſe was this. *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, two of the greateſt perſonages of the city of ROME, being at iarre together, *Cæſar* made them friends, and by that meanes got vnto him ſelfe the power of them both: for, by colour of that gentle acte and friendſhippe of his, he ſubtilly (vnwares to them all) did greatly alter and chaunge the ſtate of the common wealth. For it was not the priuate diſcord betweene *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, as many men thought, that cauſed the ciuill warre: but rather it was their agreement together, who ioyned all their powers firſt to ouerthrow the ſtate of the Senate and nobility, and afterwardes they fell at iarre one with an other. But *Cato*, that then foreſaw and prophecied many times what would followe, was taken but for a vaine man: but afterwardes they found him a wiſer man, then happy in his counſell. Thus *Cæſar* being brought vnto the aſſembly of the election, in the middeſt of theſe two noble perſons, whom hee had before reconciled together: he was there choſen Conſull, with *Calphurnius Bibulus*, without gaine ſaying or contradiction of any man. Now when he was entred into his office, he beganne to put foorth lawes meeter for a ſeditious Tribune of the people, then for a Conſull: becauſe by them he preferred the deuiſion of landes, and diſtributing of corne to euery citizen, Gratis, to pleaſe them withall. But when the noble men of the Senate were againſt his deuiſe, he deſiring no better occaſion, began to crie out, and to proteſt, that by the ouerhardneſſe and auſterity of the Senate, they draue him againſt his will to leane vnto the people: and thereupon hauing *Craſſus* on the one ſide of him, and *Pompey* on the other, he asked them openly in the aſſembly, if they did giue their conſent vnto the lawes which he had put forth. They both aunſwered, they did. Then he prayed them to ſtand by him againſt thoſe that threatned him with force of ſword to let him. *Craſſus* gaue him his word, he would. *Pompey* alſo did the like, and added thereunto, that he would come with his ſword and target both, againſt them that would withſtand him with their ſwordes. Theſe words offended much the Senate, being farre vnmeete for his grauity, and vndecent for the maieſty and honour he caried, and moſt of all vncomely for the preſence of the Senate whom he ſhould haue reuerenced: and were ſpeaches fitter for a raſh light headed youth, then for his perſon. Howbeit the common people on the other ſide, they reioyced. Then *Cæſar* becauſe he would be more aſſured of *Pompeys* power and friendſhip, he gaue him his daughter *Iulia* in mariage, which was made ſure before vnto *Seruilius Cæpio*, and promiſed him in exchange *Pompeis* wife, the which was ſure alſo vnto *Fauſtus* the ſonne of *Sylla*. And ſhortly after alſo, *Cæſar* ſelfe did marie *Calphurnia*, the daughter of *Piſo*, whom he cauſed to be made Conſull, to ſucceede him the next yeare following. *Cato* then cried out with open mouth, and called the gods to witnes, that it was a ſhamefull matter, and not to be ſuffered, that they ſhould in that ſort make hauoke of the Empire of ROME, by ſuch horrible bawdie matches, diſtributing among them ſelues through thoſe wicked mariages, the gouernments of the prouinces, and of great armies. *Calphurnius Bibulus*, fellow Conſull with *Cæſar*, perceiuing that he did contend in vaine, making all the reſiſtaunce he could to withſtand this law, and that oftentimes hee was in daunger to be ſlaine with *Cato*, in the market place and aſſembly: hee kept cloſe in his houſe all the reſt of his Conſulſhippe. When *Pompey* had maried *Iulia*, he filled all the market place with ſouldiers, & by open force authoriſed the lawes which *Cæſar* made in the behalfe of the people. Further more, he procured that *Cæſar* had GAVLE on this ſide, and beyond the Alpes, and all ILLYRIA, with foure legions graunted him for fiue yeares. Then *Cato* ſtanding vp to ſpeake againſt it: *Cæſar* badde his officers lay holde on him, and carie him to priſon, thinking hee would haue appealed vnto the Tribunes. But *Cato* ſayd neuer a word, when he went his way. *Cæſar* perceiuing then, that

not

*Cæſar reconcileth Pompey and Craſſus together.*

*Catoes forſight and prophecy.*

*Cæſars firſt Conſulſhippe with Calphurnius Bibulus.*

*Cæſars lawes.*

*Lex agraria.*

*Cæſar maried his daughter Iulia vnto Pompey.*

*Cæſar maried Calphurnia the daughter of Piſo.*

*Pompey by force of armes authoriſed Cæſars lawes.*

*Cæſar ſent Cato to priſon.*

not onely the Senators and nobility were offended, but that the common people alſo for the reuerence they bare vnto Catoes vertues, were aſhamed, and went away with ſilence: he him ſelfe ſecretly did pray one of the Tribunes that he would take Cato from the officers. But after he had played this part, there were few Senators that would be Preſident of the Senate vnder him, but left the city, becauſe they could not away with his doings. And of them, there was an old man called *Conſidius*, that on a time boldly told him, the reſt durſt not come to councell, becauſe they were afrayed of his ſouldiers. *Cæſar* aunſwered him againe: and why then, doeſt not thou keepe thee at home, for the ſame feare? *Conſidius* replied, becauſe my age taketh away feare from me: for hauing ſo ſhort a time to liue, I haue no care to prolong it further. The ſhamefulleſt part that *Cæſar* played while he was Conſull, ſeemeth to be this: when he choſe *P. Clodius* Tribune of the people, that had offred his wife ſuch diſhonor, and profaned the holy auncient myſteries of the women, which were celebrated in his owne houſe. *Clodius* ſued to be Tribune to no other end, but to deſtroy *Cicero*: and *Cæſar* ſelfe alſo departed not from ROME to his army before he had ſet them together by the eares, and driuen *Cicero* out of ITALY. All theſe things they ſay he did, before the warres with the GAVLES. But the time of the great armies and conqueſts he made afterwards, and of the war in the which he ſubdued al the GAVLS: (entring into an other courſe of life far contrary vnto the firſt) made him to be knowen for as valiant a ſouldier and as excellent a Captaine to lead men, as thoſe that afore him had bene counted the wiſeſt and moſt valianteſt Generals that euer were, and that by their valiant deedes had atchieued great honor. For whoſoeuer would compare the houſe of the *Fabians*, of the *Scipioes*, of the *Metellians*, yea thoſe alſo of his owne time, or long before him, as *Sylla*, *Marius*, the two *Lucullians*, and *Pompey* ſelfe,

*VVhoſe fame aſcendeth vp vnto the heauens.*

*Cæſar by Clodius, draue Cicero out of Italy.*

*Cæſar, a valiant ſouldier, and a skilfull captaine.*

It will appeare that *Cæſars* prowes and deedes of armes, did excell them all together. The one, in the hard countries where he made wars: an other, in enlarging the realmes and countries which he ioyned vnto the Empire of ROME: an other, in the multitude and power of his enemies whom he ouercame: an other, in the rudeneſſe and auſtere nature of men with whom he had to doe, whoſe maners afterwardes he ſoftned and made ciuill: an other, in curteſie and clemency which he vſed vnto them whome hee had conquered: an other in great bounty and liberality beſtowed vpon them that ſerued vnder him in thoſe warres: and in fine, he excelled them all in the number of battels he had fought, and in the multitude of his enemies he had ſlaine in battell. For in leſſe then tenne yeares warre in GAVLE hee tooke by force and aſſault aboue eight hundred townes, he conquered three hundred ſeuerall nations: and hauing before him in battell thirty hundred thouſand ſouldiers, at ſundry times hee ſlue tenne hundred thouſand of them, and tooke as many more priſoners. Furthermore, he was ſo entirely beloued of his ſouldiers, that to doe him ſeruice (where otherwiſe they were no more then other men in any priuate quarrell) if *Cæſars* honour were touched, they were inuincible, and would ſo deſperatly venture them ſelues, & with ſuch fury, that no mã was able to abide them. And this appeareth plainly by the example of *Acilius*: who in a battell by ſea before the city of MARSELLES, bording one of his enemies ſhips, one cut off his right hand with a ſword, but yet he forſooke not his target which he had in his left hand, but thruſt it in his enemies faces, and made them flie, ſo that he wan their ſhip from them. And *Caſſius Scæua* alſo, in a conflict before the city of DYRRACHIVM, hauing one of his eyes put out with an arrow, his ſhoulder ſtriken through with a dart, and his thigh with an other, and hauing receiued thirty arrowes vpon his ſhield: he called to his enemies, and made as though he would yeelde vnto them. But when two of them came running to him, he claue one of their ſhoulders from his body with his ſword, and hurt the other in the face: ſo that he made him turne his backe, and at the length ſaued him ſelfe, by meanes of his companions that came to helpe him. And in BRITAYNE alſo, when the Captaines of the bandes were driuen into a marriſſe or bogge full of mire and durt, and that the enemies did fiercely aſſaile them there: *Cæſar* then ſtanding to view the battell, hee ſaw a priuate ſouldier of his thruſt in among the Captaines, and fought ſo valiantlie in their defence, that at the length hee draue the barbarous people to flie, and by his meanes ſaued the Captaines, which otherwiſe were in great daunger to haue bene caſt away.

*Cæſars conqueſts in Gaule.*

*The loue and reſpect of Cæſars ſouldiers vnto him.*

*The wonderfull valiantnes of Acilius, Caſſius Scæua, and diuers others of Cæſars ſouldiers.*

Then this ſouldier being the hindemoſt man of all the Captaines, marching with great paine through the mire and durt, halfe ſwimming, and halfe a foote: in the end got to the other ſide, but left his ſhield behinde him. *Cæſar* wondering at his noble courage, ranne to him with ioy to imbrace him. But the poore ſouldier hanging downe his head, the water ſtanding in his eyes, fell downe at *Cæſars* feete, and beſought him to pardon him, for that he had lef his target behinde him. And in AFRICKE alſo, *Scipio* hauing taken one of *Cæſars* ſhippes, and *Granius Petronius* abord on her amongeſt other, not long before choſen Treaſurer: hee put all the reſt to the ſword but him, and ſayed he would giue him his life. But *Petronius* anſwered him againe: that *Cæſars* ſouldiers did not vſe to haue their liues giuen them, but to giue others their liues: and with thoſe wordes he drew his ſword, and thruſt him ſelfe through. Now *Cæſars* ſelfe did breede this noble courage and life in them. Firſt, for that he gaue them bountifully, and did honor them alſo, ſhewing thereby, that he did not heape vp riches in the wars to maintaine his life afterwardes in wantonneſſe and pleaſure, but that he did keepe it in ſtore, honourably to reward their valiant ſeruice: and that by ſo much hee thought him ſelfe rich, by how much he was liberall in rewarding of them that had deſerued it. Furthermore, they did not wonder ſo much at his valiantneſſe in putting him ſelfe at euery inſtant in ſuch manifeſt daunger, and in taking ſo extreame paines as he did, knowing that it was his greedy deſire of honor that ſet him a fire, and pricked him forward to doe it: but that hee alwaies continued all labour and hardneſſe, more then his body could beare, that filled them all with admiration. For, concerning the conſtitution of his body, hee was leane, white, and ſoft skinned, and often ſubiect to headache, and otherwhile to the falling ſicknes: (the which tooke him the firſt time, as it is reported, in CORDVBA, a city of SPAINE) but yet therefore yeelded not to the diſeaſe of his body, to make it a cloke to cheriſhe him withall, but contrarily, tooke the paines of warre, as a medicine to cure his ſicke body fighting alwayes with his diſeaſe, trauelling continually, liuing ſoberly, and commonly lying abroad in the field. For the moſt nights he ſlept in his coch or litter, and thereby beſtowed his reſt, to make him alwayes able to doe ſome thing: and in the day time, he would trauell vp and downe the country to ſee townes, caſtels, and ſtrong places. He had alwaies a ſecretarie with him in his coche, who did ſtill write as he went by the way, and a ſouldier behinde him that caried his ſword. He made ſuch ſpeede the firſt time he came from ROME, when he had his office: that in eight daies he came to the riuer of Rhone. He was ſo excellent a rider of horſe from his youth, that holding his handes behinde him, he would galloppe his horſe vppon the ſpurre. In his warres in GAVLE, he did further exerciſe him ſelfe to indite letters as he rode by the way, and did occupy two ſecretaries at once with as much as they could write: and as *Oppius* writeth, more then two at a time. And it is reported, that *Cæſar* was the firſt that deuiſed friendes might talke together by writing ciphers in letters, when he had no leyſure to ſpeake with them for his vrgent buſineſſe, and for the great diſtance beſides from ROME. How litle accompt *Cæſar* made of his diet, this example doth proue it. *Cæſar* ſupping one night in MILANE with his friend *Valerius Leo*, there was ſerued ſparrage to his borde, and oyle of perfume put into it in ſtead of ſallet oyle. He ſimply eate it, and found no fault, blaming his friendes that were offended: and told them, that it had bene enough for them to haue abſtained to eate of that they miſliked, and not to ſhame their friend, and how that he lacked good manner that found fault with his friend. An other time as he trauelled through the country, he was driuen by fowle weather on the ſodaine to take a poore mans cottage, that had but one litle cabin in it, and that was ſo narrow, that one man could but ſcarce lye in it. Then he ſayed to his friendes that were about him: greateſt roomes are meeteſt for greateſt men, and the moſt neceſſary roomes for the ſickeſt perſons. And thereuppon he cauſed *Oppius* that was ſicke to lie there all night: and he him ſelfe, with the reſt of his friends, lay with out dores, vnder the eaſing of the houſe. The firſt warre that *Cæſar* made with the GAVLES, was with the HELVETIANS and TIGVRINIANS, who hauing ſette fire of all their good cities, to the number of twelue, and foure hundred villages beſides, came to inuade that part of GAVLE which was ſubiect to the ROMAINES, as the CIMBRI and TEVTONS had done before: vnto whom for valiantneſſe they gaue no place, and they were alſo a great number of them (for they were three hundred thou-

ſand

*Granius Petronius.*

*Cæſar had the falling ſicknes.*

*The temperance of Cæſar in his diet.*

*Cæſars ciuility not to blame his friend.*

ſand ſoules in all) whereof there were a hundred, foure ſcore, and tenne thouſand fighting men. Of thoſe, it was not *Cæſar* him ſelfe that ouercame the TIGVRINIANS, but *Labienus* his Lieutenaunt, that ouerthrew them by the riuer of Arax. But the HELVETIANS themſelues came ſodainely with their army to ſet vpon him, as he was going towardes a city of his confederates. *Cæſar* perceiuing that, made haſt to get him ſome place of ſtrength, and there did ſette his men in battell ray. When one brought him his horſe to gette vp on which he vſed in battell, he ſayed vnto them: when I haue ouercome mine enemies, I will then get vp on him to follow the chaſe, but now lette vs giue them charge. Therewith he marched forward a foote, and gaue charge: and there fought it out a long time, before hee could make them flie that were in battell. But the greateſt trouble he had, was to diſtreſſe their campe, and to breake their ſtrength which they had made with their cartes. For there, they that before had fledde from the battell, did not onely put them ſelues in force, and valiantly fought it out: but their wiues and children alſo fighting for their liues to the death, were all ſlaine, and the battell was ſcant ended at midnight. Now if the act of this victory was famous, vnto that he alſo added an other as notable, or exceeding it. For of all the barbarous people that had eſcaped from this battell, hee gathered together againe aboue a hundred thouſand of them, and compelled them to returne home into their country which they had forſaken, and vnto their townes alſo which they had burnt: becauſe he feared the GERMAINES would come ouer the riuer of Rheyne, and occupie that countrey lying voide. The ſecond warre he made, was in defence of the GAVLES againſt the GERMAINES: although before, he him ſelfe had cauſed *Ariouiſtus* their king, to be receiued for a confederat of the ROMAINS. Notwithſtanding, they were growen very vnquiet neighbours, and it appeared plainely, that hauing any occaſion offered them to enlarge their territories, they woulde not content them with their owne, but ment to inuade and poſſeſſe the reſt of GAVLE. *Cæſar* perceiuing that ſome of his Captaines trembled for feare, but ſpecially the young gentlemen of noble houſes of ROME, who thought to haue gone to the warres with him, as only for their pleaſure and gaine: he called them to councell, and commaunded them that were afrayd, that they ſhould depart home, and not put them ſelues in daunger againſt their willes, ſith they had ſuch womaniſh faint hearts to ſhrinke when he had neede of them. And for him ſelfe, he ſayed, hee would ſet vppon the barbarous people, though he had left him but the tenth legion onely, ſaying, that the enemies were no valianter then the CIMBRI had bene, nor that he was a Captaine inferior vnto *Marius*. This oration being made, the ſouldiers of the tenth legion ſent their Lieutenaunts vnto him, to thanke him for the good opinion he had of them: and the other legions alſo fell out with their Captaines, and all of them together followed him many dayes iourney with good will to ſerue him, vntill they came within two hundred furlongs of the campe of the enemies. *Ariouiſtus* courage was well cooled, when he ſaw *Cæſar* was come, and that the ROMAINES came to ſeeke out the GERMAINES, where they thought, and made accompt, that they durſt not haue abidden them: and therefore nothing miſtruſting it would haue come ſo to paſſe, hee wondered much at *Cæſars* courage, and the more when he ſaw his owne army in a maze withall. But much more did their courages fall, by reaſon of the fooliſhe women propheciers they had among them, which did foretell things to come: who, conſidering the waues and trouble of the riuers, and the terrible noiſe they made running downe the ſtreame, did forewarne them not to fight, vntill the new moone. *Cæſar* hauing intelligence thereof, and perceiuing that the barbarous people thereuppon ſturred not: thought it beſt then to ſette vppon them, being diſcouragad with this ſuperſtitious feare, rather then looſing time, hee ſhould tarie their leyſure. So he did skirmiſhe with them euen to their fortes, and litle hilles where they lay, and by this meanes prouoked them ſo, that with great furie they came downe to fight. There he ouercame them in battell, and followed them in chaſe, with great ſlaughter, three hundred furlong, euen vnto the riuer of Rheyn: and hee filled all the fieldes thitherto with dead bodies and ſpoyles. Howbeit *Ariouiſtus* flying with ſpeede, gotte ouer the riuer of Rheyn, and eſcaped with a few of his men. It is ſayed that there were ſlaine foure ſcore thouſand perſons at this battell. After this exploite, *Cæſar* left his army amongeſt the SEQVANES to winter there:

*The Tigurinians ſlaine by Labienus.*

*Arax fl.*

*Cæſar refuſed his horſe, when he fought a battell.*

*The Heluetians ſlaine by Cæſar.*

*Rheynus fl.*

*Cæſar made war with king Ariouiſtus.*

*The wiſe women of Germany how they did foretell things to come.*

*King Ariouiſtus ouerthrowen by Cæſar.*

and he him ſelfe in the meane time, thinking of the affaires at ROME, went ouer the mountaines into GAVLE about the riuer of Po, being part of his prouince which he had in charge. For there, the riuer called Rubico, deuideth the reſt of ITALY from GAVLE on this ſide the Alpes. *Cæſar* lying there, did practiſe to make friendes in ROME, becauſe many came thither to ſee him: vnto whom he graunted their ſutes they demaunded, and ſent them home alſo, partly with liberall rewards, and partly with large promiſes and hope. Now during all this conqueſt of the GAVLES. *Pompey* did not conſider how *Cæſar* enterchaungeably did conquer the GAVLES with the weapons of the ROMAINES, and wanne the ROMAINES againe with the money of the GAVLS. *Cæſar* being aduertiſed that the BELGÆ (which were the warlikeſt men of all the GAVLES, and that occupied the third part of GAVLE) were all vp in armes, and had raiſed a great power of men together: he ſtraight made towardes them with all poſſible ſpeede, and found them ſpoyling and ouerrunning the countrey of the GAVLES, their neighbours, and confederates of the ROMAINES. So he gaue them battell, and they fighting cowardly, he ouerthrew the moſt part of them which were in a troupe together, and ſlue ſuch a number of them, that the ROMAINES paſſed ouer deepe riuers and lakes a foote, vpon their dead bodies, the riuers were ſo full of them. After this ouerthrow, they that dwelt neareſt vnto the ſea ſide, and were next neighbours vnto the Ocean, did yeeld them ſelues without any compulſion or fight: whereupon, he led his army againſt the NERVIANS, the ſtouteſt warriers of all the BELGÆ. They dwelling in the wodde countrey, had conuayed their wiues, children and goods, into a maruellous great forreſt, as farre from their enemies as they could: and being about the number of ſix ſcore thouſand fighting men and more, they came one day and ſet vppon *Cæſar*, when his army was out of order, and fortifying of his campe, litle looking to haue fought that day. At the firſt charge, they brake the horſemen of the ROMAINES, and compaſſing in the twelfth and ſeauenth legion, they ſlue all the Centurions and Captaines of the bands. And had not *Cæſar* ſelfe taken his ſhield on his arme, and flying in amongſt the barbarous people, made a lane through them that fought before him: and the tenth legion alſo ſeeing him in danger, run vnto him from the toppe of the hill where they ſtoode in battell, and broken the ranckes of their enemies: there had not a ROMAINE eſcaped a liue that day. But taking example of *Cæſars* valiantnes, they fought deſperately beyond their power, and yet could not make the NERVIANS flie, but they fought it out to the death, till they were all in maner ſlaine in the field. It is written that of three ſcore thouſand fighting men, there eſcaped only but fiue hundred: and of foure hundred gentlemen and counſellers of the ROMAINS, but three ſaued. The Senate vnderſtanding it at ROME, ordained that they ſhould do ſacrifice vnto the goddes, and keepe feaſts and ſolemne proceſſions fifteene dayes together without intermiſſion, hauing neuer made the like ordinaunce at ROME, for any victory that euer was obtained. Becauſe they ſaw the danger had bene maruellous great, ſo many nations riſing as they did in armes together againſt him: and further, the loue of the people vnto him made his victory much more famous. For when *Cæſar* had ſet his affairs at a ſtay in GAVLE, on the other ſide of the Alpes: he alwayes vſed to lye about the riuer of Po in the winter time, to giue direction for the eſtabliſhing of things at ROME, at his pleaſure. For, not onely they that made ſute for offices at ROME were choſen Magiſtrates, by means of *Cæſars* money which he gaue them, with the which, bribing the people, they bought their voices, and when they were in office, did al that they could to increaſe *Cæſars* power and greatnes: but the greateſt and chiefeſt men alſo of the nobility, went vnto LVKE vnto him. As *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, *Appius*, Prætor of SARDINIA, and *Nepos*, Proconſull in SPAINE. Inſomuch that there were at one time, ſix ſcore ſergeaunts carying roddes and axes before the Magiſtrats: and aboue two hundred Senators beſides. There they fell in conſultation, and determined that *Pompey* and *Craſſus* ſhould againe be choſen Conſuls the next yeare following. Furthermore, they did appoint, that *Cæſar* ſhould haue money againe deliuered him to pay his army, and beſides, did proroge the time of his gouernment fiue yeares further. This was thought, a very ſtrange and an vnreaſonable matter vnto wiſe men. For they thẽ ſelues that had taken ſo much money of *Cæſar*, perſwaded the Senate to let him haue money of the common treaſure, as though he had had none before: yea to ſpeake more plainly, they compelled the Senate vnto it, ſighing & lamenting to ſee the decrees they

*The Belgæ ouercome by Cæſar.*

*Neruij the ſtouteſt warriers of all the Belgæ.*

*The Neruij ſlaine by Cæſar*

*The great Lords of Rome came to Luca to Cæſar.*

they paſſed. *Cato* was not there then, for they had purpoſly ſent him before into CYPRVS. Howbeit *Faonius* that followed *Catoes* ſteppes, when he ſaw that he could not preuaile, nor withſtand them: he went out of the Senate in choller, and cried out amongeſt the people, that it was a horrible ſhame. But no man did hearken to him: ſome for the reuerence they bare vnto *Pompey*, and *Craſſus*, and others fauouring *Cæſars* proceedings, did put all their hope and truſt in him: and therefore did quiet themſelues, and ſturred not. Then *Cæſar* returning into GAVLE beyond the Alpes vnto his armie, founde there a great warre in the country. For two great nations of GERMANIE had not long before paſſed ouer the riuer of Rheyn, to conquer new landes: and the one of theſe people were called IPES, and the other TENTERIDES. Now touching the battell which *Cæſar* fought with them, he himſelfe doth deſcribe it in his Commentaries, in this ſort. That the barbarous people hauing ſent Ambaſſadours vnto him, to require peace for a certaine time, they notwithſtanding, againſt law of armes, came and ſet vpon him as he trauelled by the way, inſomuch as eight hundred of their men of armes ouerthrew fiue thouſand of his horſemen, who nothing at all miſtruſted their comming. Againe, that they ſent him other Ambaſſadours to mocke him once more: but that he kept them, and therewith cauſed his whole armie to marche againſt them, thinking it a follie, and madneſſe, to keepe faith with ſuch traiterous barbarous breakers of leagues. *Canutius* writeth, that the Senate appointing againe to do new ſacrifice, proceſſions, and feaſtes, to giue thankes to the goddes for this victorie: *Cato* was of contrarie opinion, that *Cæſar* ſhould be deliuered into the handes of the barbarous people, for to purge their citie and common wealth of this breache of faith, and to turne the curſe vpon him, that was the authour of it. Of theſe barbarous people, which came ouer the Rheyn (being about the number of foure hundred thouſand perſons) they were all in manner ſlaine, ſauing a very few of them, that flying from the battell got ouer the riuer of Rheyn againe, who were receiued by the SICAMBRIANS, an other people of the GERMAINES. *Cæſar* taking this occaſion againſt them, lacking no good will of himſelfe beſides, to haue the honour to be counted the firſt ROMAINE that euer paſſed ouer the riuer of Rheyn with an army: he built a bridge ouer it. This riuer is maruellous broad, and runneth with great furie. And in that place ſpecially where he built his bridge, for there it is of a great breath from one ſide to the other, and it hath ſo ſtrong and ſwift a ſtreame beſides: that men caſting downe great bodies of trees into the riuer (which the ſtreame bringeth downe with it) did with the great blowes and force thereof maruellouſly ſhake the poſtes of the bridge he had ſet vp. But to preuent the blowes of thoſe trees, and alſo to breake the furie of the ſtreame: he made a pile of great wood aboue the bridge a good way, and did forciblie ramme them in to the bottome of the riuer, ſo that in ten dayes ſpace, he had ſet vp and finiſht his bridge of the goodlieſt carpenters worke, and moſt excellent inuention to ſee to, that could be poſsiblie thought or deuiſed. Then paſſing ouer his armie vpon it, he found none that durſt any more fight with him. For the SVVEVIANS, which were the warlikeſt people of all GERMANIE, had gotten themſelues with their goodes into wonderfull great valleys and bogges, full of woods and forreſts. Now when he had burnt all the coũtry of his enemies, & confirmed the league with the confederats of the ROMAINES: he returned backe againe into GAVLE after he had taried eighteen dayes at the moſt in GERMANIE, on the other ſide of the Rheyn. The iourney he made alſo into ENGLAND was a noble enterpriſe, & very commendable. For he was the firſt that ſailed the Weſt Ocean with an army by ſea, & that paſſed through the ſea Atlanticum with his army, to make warre in that ſo great & famous Iland. (which many auncient writers would not beleeue that it was ſo indeede, & did make them vary about it, ſaying that it was but a fable & a lye) and was the firſt that enlarged the ROMAINE Empire, beyond the earth inhabitable. For twiſe he paſſed ouer the narrow ſea againſt the firme land of GAVLE, and fighting many battels there, did hurt his enemies more, then enrich his owne men: becauſe, of men hardly brought vp, and poore, there was nothing to be gotten. Whereupon his warre had not ſuch ſucceſſe as he looked for, and therefore taking pledges onely of the king, and impoſing a yearely tribute vpon him, to be payed vnto the people of ROME: he returned againe into GAVLE. There he was no ſooner landed, but he founde letters ready to be ſent ouer the ſea vnto him:

*Ipes, and Tenterides, people of Germanie.*

*Cæſars horſemen put to flight.*

*The Ipes and Tenterides ſlaine by Cæſar.*

*Sicambri, a people of the Germaines.*

*Cæſar made a bridge ouer the riuer of Rheyn*

*Cæſars iourney into England.*

*The death of Iulia Cæſars daughter.*

*The rebellion of the Gaules.*

*Cotta, and Titurius, with their armie ſlaine.*

*Cæſar ſlue the Gaules led by Ambiorix.*

*The ſecond rebellion of the Gaules againſt Cæſar.*

*Vercingentorix Captaine of the rebels againſt Cæſar.*

** Some ſay, that in this place is to be read in the Greeke* πρὸς τὸν Ἄραριν *which is the riuer Saone.*

in the which he was aduertiſed from ROME, of the death of his daughter, that ſhe was dead with child by Pōpey. For the which, *Pompey* & *Cæſar* both, were maruellous ſorowfull: & their friends mourned alſo, thinking that this alliance which mainteined the common wealth (that otherwiſe was very tickle) in good peace and concord, was now ſeuered, and broken a ſunder, and the rather likely, becauſe the child liued not long after the mother. So the common people at ROME tooke the corps of *Iulia*, in deſpight of the Tribunes, & buried it in the field of *Mars*. Now *Cæſar* being driuen to deuide his armie (that was very great) into ſundry garriſons for the winter time, and returning againe into ITALIE as he was wont: all GAVLE rebelled againe, and had raiſed great armies in euery quarter to ſet vpon the ROMAINES, and to aſſay if they could diſtreſſe their forts where they lay in garriſon. The greateſt number & moſt warlike men of theſe GAVLES, that entred into action of rebellion, were led by one *Ambiorix*: and firſt did ſet vpon the garriſons of *Cotta* and *Titurius*, whom they ſlue, & all the ſouldiers they had about them. Then they went with three ſcore thouſand fighting men to beſiege the garriſon which *Quintus Cicero* had in his charge, and had almoſt taken them by force, becauſe all the ſouldiers were euery man of them hurt: but they were ſo valiant & couragious, that they did more then men (as they ſay) in defending of themſelues. Theſe newes being come to *Cæſar*, who was farre from thence at that time, he returned with all poſsible ſpeede, and leuying ſeuen thouſand ſouldiers, made haſt to helpe *Cicero* that was in ſuch diſtreſſe. The GAVLES that did beſiege *Cicero*, vnderſtanding of *Cæſars* comming, raiſed their ſiege incontinently, to go and meete him: making account that he was but a handfull in their handes, they were ſo few. *Cæſar* to deceiue them, ſtill drew backe, and made as though he fled from them, lodging in places meete for a Captaine that had but a few, to fight with a great number of his enemies, and commaunded his men in no wiſe to ſturre out to skirmiſh with them, but compelled them to raiſe vp the rampers of his campe, and to fortifie the gates, as men that were affrayd, becauſe the enemies ſhould the leſſe eſteeme of them: vntill that at length he tooke opportunitie, by their diſorderly cōming to aſſaile the trenches of his campe, (they were growen to ſuch a preſumptuous boldneſſe and brauery) and then ſalying out vpon them, he put them all to flight with ſlaughter of a great number of them. This did ſuppreſſe all the rebellions of the GAVLES in thoſe parties, and furthermore, he himſelfe in perſon went in the middeſt of winter thither, where he heard they did rebell: for that there was come a new ſupply out of ITALIE of three whole legions in their roome, which he had loſt: of the which, two of them *Pompey* lent him, and the other legion, he himſelfe had leauyed in GAVLE about the riuer of Po. During theſe ſturres, brake forth the beginning of the greateſt & moſt daungerous warre that he had in all GAVLE, the which had bene ſecretly practiſed of long time by the chiefeſt & moſt warlike people of that country, who had leauied a wonderfull great power. For euery where they leauied multitudes of men, and great riches beſides, to fortifie their ſtrong holds. Furthermore the countrey where they roſe, was very ill to come vnto, & ſpecially at that time being winter, when the riuers were froſen, the woodes and forreſts couered with ſnow, the medowes drowned with fluddes, and the fieldes ſo deepe of ſnow, that no wayes were to be found, neither the mariſſes nor riuers to be diſcerned, all was ſo ouerflowen & drowned with water: all which troubles together were enough (as they thought) to keepe *Cæſar* from ſetting vpon the rebels. Many nations of the GAVLES were of this conſpiracy, but two of the chiefeſt were the ARVERNIANS and CARNVTES: who had choſen *Vercingentorix* for their Lieutenant generall, whoſe father the GAVLES before had put to death, becauſe they thought he aſpired to make himſelfe king. This *Vercingentorix* deuiding his armie into diuers partes, and appointing diuers Captaines ouer them, had gotten to take his part, all the people and countries there about, euen as far as they that dwell towards the ſea * Adriatick, hauing further determined (vnderſtāding that ROME did cōſpire againſt *Cæſar*) to make all GAVLE riſe in armes againſt him. So that if he had but taried a litle longer, vntill *Cæſar* had entred into his ciuill warres: he had put all ITALIE in as great feare and daunger, as it was when the CIMBRI did come and inuade it. But *Cæſar*, that was valiant in all aſſayes and daungers of warre, and that was very skilfull to take time and oportunitie: ſo ſoone as he vnderſtood the newes of the rebellion, he departed with ſpeede, and returned backe the ſelfe ſame way which he had gone, making the barbarous people know, that they ſhould deale with an army vnuincible, & which they could not poſsibly withſtand, conſidering the great ſpeede he had made with the ſame, in ſo ſharpe and hard a winter. For where they would not poſsibly haue beleeued, that a poſt or currer could haue come in ſo ſhort a time from the place where he was, vnto them: they wondred when they ſaw him burning & deſtroying the countrey, the townes & ſtrong forts where he came with his army, taking all to mercy that yeelded vnto him: vntill ſuch time as the HEDVI tooke armes againſt him, who before were wont to be called the brethrē of the ROMAINES, & were greatly honored of them. Wherfore *Cæſars* men whē they vnderſtood that they had ioyned with the rebels, they were maruellous ſory, and halfe diſcouraged. Therupon, *Cæſar* departing from thoſe parties, went through the cōtry of the LINGONES, to enter the cōtry of the *BVRGONIANS, who were confederats of the ROMAINES, & the neareſt vnto ITALY on that ſide, in reſpect of all the reſt of GAVLE. Thither the enemies came to ſet vpon him, and to enuironne him of all ſides, with an infinit number of thouſands of fighting mē. *Cæſar* on the other ſide taried their comming, & fighting with them a long time, he made them ſo affrayd of him, that at length he ouercame the barbarous people. But at the firſt, it ſeemeth notwithſtanding, that he had receiued ſome ouerthrow: for the ARVERNIANS ſhewed a ſword hanged vp in one of their temples, which they ſayd they had wonne from *Cæſar*. Inſomuch as *Cæſar* ſelfe comming that away by occaſion, ſaw it, and fell a laughing at it. But ſome of his friendes going about to take it away, he would not ſuffer them, but bad them let it alone, and touch it not, for it was a holy thing. Notwithſtanding, ſuch as at the firſt had ſaued themſelues by flying, the moſt of them were gotten with their king into the citie of ALEXIA, the which *Cæſar* went and beſieged, although it ſeemed inexpugnable, both for the height of the wals, as alſo for the multitude of ſouldiers they had to defend it. But now during this ſiege, he fell into a maruellous great daunger without, almoſt incredible. For an army of three hundred thouſand fighting men of the beſt men that were among all the nations of the GAVLES, came againſt him, being at the ſiege of ALEXIA, beſides them that were within the citie, which amounted to the number of three ſcore and ten thouſand fighting men at the leaſt: ſo that perceiuing he was ſhut in betwixt two ſo great armies, he was driuen to fortifie himſelfe with two wals, the one againſt them of the citie, and the other againſt them without. For if thoſe two armies had ioyned together, *Cæſar* had bene vtterly vndone. And therefore, this ſiege of ALEXIA, and the battell he wanne before it, did deſeruedly winne him more honour and fame, then any other. For there, in that inſtant and extreme daunger, he ſhewed more valiantneſſe & wiſedome, then he did in any battell he fought before. But what a wōderfull thing was this? that they of the citie neuer heard any thing of them that came to ayde them, vntill *Cæſar* had ouercome them: and furthermore, that the ROMAINES themſelues which kept watch vpon the wall that was built againſt the citie, knew alſo no more of it, then they, but when it was done, & that they heard the cryes & lamentations of men & women in ALEXIA, when they perceiued on the other ſide of the citie ſuch a nūber of gliſtering ſhields of gold and ſiluer, ſuch ſtore of bloudy corſlets and armours, ſuch a deale of plate and moueables, and ſuch a number of tents and pauilions after the faſhion of the GAVLES, which the ROMAINES had gotten of their ſpoyles in their campe. Thus ſodainly was this great army vaniſhed, as a dreame or viſion: where the moſt part of them were ſlaine that day in battell. Furthermore, after that they within the citie of ALEXIA had done great hurt to *Cæſar*, and them ſelues alſo: in the end, they all yeelded themſelues. And *Vercingentorix* (he that was their king and Captaine in all this warre) went out of the gates excellently well armed, and his horſe furniſhed with rich cappariſon accordingly, and rode round about *Cæſar*, who ſate in his chaire of eſtate. Then lighting from his horſe, he tooke off his cappariſon and furniture, and vnarmed himſelfe, and layed all on the ground, and went and ſate downe at *Cæſars* feete, and ſayd neuer a word. So *Cæſar* at length committed him as a priſoner taken in the warres, to lead him afterwardes in his triumph at ROME. Now *Cæſar* had of long time determined to deſtroy *Pompey*, & *Pompey* him alſo. For *Craſſus* being killed amōgſt the PARTHIANS, who onely did ſee, that one of them two muſt needes fall: nothing kept *Cæſar* from being the greateſt perſon, but becauſe he deſtroyed not *Pompey*, that was the greater: neither did any thing let *Pōpey* to with-

*The Hedui rebell againſt the Romaines.*

** Sequani.*

*Vercingentorix ouerthowen by Cæſar.*

*The ſiege of Alexia.*

*Cæſars daunger, and wiſe policie.*

*Cæſars great victorie at Alexia.*

*Alexia yeelded vp to Cæſar.*

ſtand that it ſhould not come to paſſe, but becauſe he did not firſt ouercome *Cæſar*, whom only he feared. For till then, *Pompey* had not long feared him, but alwayes before ſet light by him, thinking it an eaſie matter for him to put him downe when he would, ſith he had brought him to that greatnes he was come vnto. But *Cæſar* contrarily, hauing had that drift in his head from the beginning, like a wreſtler that ſtudieth for trickes to ouerthrow his aduerſary: he went farre from ROME, to exerciſe himſelfe in the warres of GAVLE, where he did trayne his armie, and preſently by his valiant deedes did increaſe his fame and honour. By theſe meanes became *Cæſar* as famous as *Pompey* in his doings, & lacked no more to put his enterpriſe in execution, but ſome occaſions of colour, which *Pompey* partly gaue him, & partly alſo the time deliuered him, but chiefly, the hard fortune and ill gouernement at that time of the common wealth at ROME. For they that made ſute for honour & offices, bought the voyces of the people with ready money, which they gaue out opẽly to vſury, without ſhame or feare. Therupõ, the common people that had ſold their voyces for money, came to the market place at the day of election, to fight for him that had hyred them: not with their voyces, but with their bowes, ſlings, and ſwords. So that the aſſembly ſeldome time brake vp, but that the pulpit for orations was defiled and ſprinckled with the bloud of them that were ſlaine in the market place, the citie remaining all that time without gouernement of Magiſtrate, like a ſhip left without a Pilote. In ſomuch, as men of deepe iudgement & diſcretion ſeeing ſuch furie and madneſſe of the people, thought themſelues happy if the cõmon wealth were no worſe troubled, then with the abſolute ſtate of a Monarchy & ſoueraign Lord to gouerne thẽ. Furthermore, there were many that were not affrayed to ſpeake it opẽly, that there was no other helpe to remedy the troubles of the cõmon wealth, but by the authority of one man only, that ſhould cõmand them all: and that this medicine muſt be miniſtred by the hands of him, that was the gentleſt Phiſition, meaning couertly *Pompey*. Now *Pompey* vſed many fine ſpeaches, making ſemblãce as though he would none of it, and yet cunningly vnder hand did lay all the irons in the fire he could, to bring it to paſſe, that he might be choſen Dictator. *Cato* finding the marke he ſhot at, & fearing leaſt in the end the people ſhould be compelled to make him Dictator: he perſwaded the Senat rather to make him ſole Conſull, that cõtẽting himſelf with that more iuſt & lawfull gouernmẽt, he ſhould not couet the other vnlawfull. The Senate following his counſell, did not only make him Conſull, but further did proroge his gouernemẽt of the prouinces he had. For he had two prouinces, all SPAYNE, & AFRICK, the which he gouerned by his Lieutenants: & further, he receiued yearely of the common treaſure to pay his ſouldiers a thouſand talents. Hereupon *Cæſar* tooke occaſion alſo to ſend his men to make ſute in his name for the Conſulſhip, & alſo to haue the gouernement of his prouinces proroged. *Pompey* at the firſt held his peace. But *Marcellus* and *Lentulus* (that otherwiſe hated *Cæſar*) withſtood them, and to ſhame & diſhonour him, had much needeleſſe ſpeach in matters of weight. Furthermore, they tooke away the freedome frõ the COLONYES which *Cæſar* had lately brought vnto the city of NOVVM COMVM in GAVLE towards ITALY, where *Cæſar* not lõg before had lodged them. And moreouer, when *Marcellus* was Conſull, he made one of the Senators in that citie to be whipped with rods, who came to ROME about thoſe matters: and ſayd, he gaue him thoſe markes, that he ſhould know he was no ROMAINE Citizen, & bad him go his way, & tell *Cæſar* of it. After *Marcellus* Conſulſhip, *Cæſar* ſetting open his cofers of the treaſure he had gotten among the GAVLES, did franckely giue it out amongſt the Magiſtrates at ROME, without reſtraint or ſpare. Firſt, he ſet *Curio*, the Tribune cleare out of debt: and gaue alſo vnto *Paule* the Conſull a thouſand fiue hundred talents, with which money he built that notable pallace by the market place, called *Paules* Baſilicke, in the place of *Fuluius* Baſilicke. Thẽ *Pompey* being affrayd of this practiſe, began openly to procure, both by himſelfe and his friends, that they ſhould ſend *Cæſar* a ſucceſſour: & moreouer, he ſent vnto *Cæſar* for his two legions of men of warre which he had lent him, for the conqueſt of GAVLE. *Cæſar* ſent him them againe, and gaue euery priuate ſouldier, two hundred and fifty ſiluer drachmas. Now, they that brought theſe two legions backe from *Cæſar*, gaue out ill and ſeditious wordes againſt him among the people, and did alſo abuſe *Pompey* with falſe perſwaſions and vaine hopes, informing him that he was maruellouſly deſired and wiſhed for in *Cæſars* campe: and that though in ROME, for the malice

*The diſcord betwixt Cæſar and Pompey, and the cauſe of the ciuill warres.*

*Cæſars craftineſſe.*

*The peoples voyces bought at Rome for money.*

*Pompey, gouerned Spayne and Africke.*

*Cæſar ſueth the ſecond time to be Conſull, and to haue his gouernemẽt proroged.*

*Cæſar bribeth the Magiſtrats at Rome.*

*Pompey abuſed by flatterers.*

lice and ſecret ſpight which the gouernours there did beare him, he could hardly obteine that he deſired: yet in GAVLE he might aſſure himſelfe, that all the armie was at his commaundement. They added further alſo, that if the ſouldiers there did once returne ouer the mountaines again into ITALIE, they would all ſtraight come to him, they did ſo hate *Cæſar*: becauſe he wearied them with too much labour & continuall fight, and withall, for that they ſuſpected he aſpired to be king. Theſe words breeding ſecuritie in *Pompey*, & a vaine conceit of himſelf, made him negligent in his doings, ſo that he made no preparation for warre, as though he had no occaſion to be afrayed: but onely ſtudied to thwart *Cæſar* in ſpeach, & to croſſe the ſutes he made. Howbeit *Cæſar* paſſed not of all this. For the report went, that oue of *Cæſars* Captaines which was ſent to ROME to proſecute his ſute, being at the Senate doore, & hearing that they denied to proroge *Cæſars* time of gouernement which he ſued for: clapping his hand vpon his ſword, he ſaid, ſith you will not grant it him, this ſhall giue it him. Notwithſtāding, the requeſts that *Cæſar* propounded, caried great ſemblance of reaſon with them. For he ſayd, that he was contented to lay downe armes, ſo that *Pompey* did the like: & that both of them as priuat perſons ſhould come & make ſute of their Citizens to obtaine honorable recompence: declaring vnto them, that taking armes from him, & graunting them vnto *Pompey*, they did wrongfully accuſe him in going about to make himſelfe a tyrant, and in the meane time to graunt the other meanes to be a tyrant. *Curio* making theſe offers & perſwaſions opēly before the people, in the name of *Cæſar*. he was heard with great reioycing and clapping of hands, & there were ſome that caſt flowers and noſegayes vpon him when he went his way, as they commonly vſe to do vnto any man, when he hath obteined victorie, and wonne any games. Then *Antonius* one of the Tribunes, brought a letter ſent frō *Cæſar*, and made it openly to be read in deſpight of the Conſuls. But *Scipio* in the Senate, *Pompeys* father in law, made this motion: that if *Cæſar* did not diſmiſſe his army by a certaine day appointed him, the ROMAINES ſhould proclaime him an enemy vnto ROME. Then the Conſuls openly asked in the preſence of the Senatours, if they thought it good that *Pompey* ſhould diſmiſſe his armie: but few agreed to that demaund. After that againe they asked, if they liked that *Cæſar* ſhould diſmiſſe his armie: thereto they all in manner aunſwered, yea, yea. But when *Antonius* requeſted againe that both of them ſhould lay downe armes: then they were all indifferently of his minde. Notwithſtanding, becauſe *Scipio* did inſolently behaue himſelfe, and *Marcellus* alſo, who cryed that they muſt vſe force of armes, & not mens opinions againſt a theefe: the Senate roſe ſtraight vpon it without further determination, & men chaunged apparell through the citie becauſe of this diſſention, as they vſe to do in a common calamity. After that, there came other letters from *Cæſar*, which ſeemed much more reaſonable: in the which he requeſted that they would grant him GAVLE, that lyeth between the mountaines of the Alpes & ITALIE, & ILLYRIA, with two legiōs only, & then that he would requeſt nothing elſe, vntill he made ſute for the ſecōd Cōſulſhip. *Cicero* the Orator, that was newly come from his gouernement of CILICIA, trauelled to recōcile thē together, & pacified *Pompey* the beſt he could: who told him, he would yeeld to any thing he would haue him, ſo he did let him alone with his army. So *Cicero* perſwaded *Cæſars* friēds to be contented, to take thoſe two prouinces, and ſix thouſand men onely, that they might be friends & at peace together. *Pompey* very willingly yeelded vnto it, & granted them. But *Lentulus* the Conſull would not agree to it, but ſhamefully draue *Curio* and *Antonius* out of the Senate: whereby they themſelues gaue *Cæſar* a happy occaſion & colour, as could be, ſtirring vp his ſouldiers the more againſt them, whē he ſhewed them theſe two notable men & Tribunes of the people that were driuen to flie, diſguiſed like ſlaues, in a carriers cart. For, they were driuen for feare to ſteale out of ROME, diſguiſed in that manner. Now at that time, *Cæſar* had not in all about him, aboue fiue thouſand footemen, and three thouſand horſemen: for the reſt of his armie, he left on the other ſide of the mountaines to be brought after him by his Lieutenants. So, conſidering that for the executiō of his enterpriſe, he ſhould not neede ſo many men of warre at the firſt, but rather ſodainly ſtealing vpon them, to make them afrayed with his valiantneſſe, taking benefit of the oportunitie of time, becauſe he ſhould more eaſily make his enemies afrayed of him, comming ſo ſodainly when they looked not for him, then he ſhould otherwiſe diſtreſſe them, aſſailing them with his whole army, in giuing them leyſure to pro-

*Cæſars requeſts vnto the Senate.*

*Antonius and Curio, Tribunes of the people, fly frō Rome to Cæſar.*

uide further for him: he commaunded his Captaines and Lieutenants to go before, without any other armour then their ſwords, to take the citie of ARIMINVM, (a great citie of GAVLE, being the firſt citie men come to, when they come out of GAVLE) with as litle bloudſhed and tumult, as they could poſsible. Then committing that force and army he had with him, vnto *Hortenſius* one of his friends: he remained a whole day together, openly in the ſight of euery man, to ſee the ſword players handle their weapons before him. At night he went into his lodging, and bathing his body a litle, came afterwards into the hall amongeſt them, and made mery with them a while, whom he had bidden to ſupper. Then when it was well forward night, and very darke, he roſe from the table, and prayed his company to be mery, and no man to ſturre, for he would ſtraight come to them againe: howbeit he had ſecretly before commaunded a few of his truſtieſt friends to follow him, not altogether, but ſome one way, and ſome an other way. He himſelfe in the meane time tooke a coche he had hyred, and made as though he would haue gone ſome other way at the firſt, but ſodainly he turned backe againe towardes the citie of ARIMINVM. When he was come vnto the litle riuer of Rubicon, which deuideth GAVLE on this ſide the Alpes from ITALIE: he ſtayed vpon a ſodaine. For, the nearer he came to execute his purpoſe, the more remorſe he had in his conſcience, to thinke what an enterpriſe he tooke in hand: & his thoughtes alſo fell out more doubtfull, when he entred into conſideration of the deſperatneſſe of his attempt. So he fell into many thoughts with himſelfe, and ſpake neuer a word, wauing ſometime one way, ſometime an other way, and oftentimes chaunged his determination, contrary to himſelfe. So did he talke much alſo with his friends he had with him, amongſt whom was *Aſinius Pollio*, telling them what miſchieues the beginning of this paſſage ouer that riuer would breed in the world, and how much their poſteritie and them that liued after them, would ſpeake of it in time to come. But at length, caſting from him with a noble courage, all thoſe perillous thoughts to come, & ſpeaking theſe words which valiant men commonly ſay, that attempt daungerous and deſperat enterpriſes, *A deſperat man feareth no daunger*, come on: he paſſed ouer the riuer, and when he was come ouer, he ranne with his coche and neuer ſtayed, ſo that before day light he was within the citie of ARIMINVM, and tooke it. It is ſaid, that the night before he paſſed ouer this riuer, he dreamed a damnable dreame, that he carnally knew his mother. The citie of ARIMINVM being taken, & the rumour therof diſperſed through all ITALIE, euen as if it had bene õpẽ warre both by ſea & land, & as if all the lawes of ROME, together with the extreme bounds and confines of the ſame had bene broken vp: a man would haue ſayd, that not onely the men and women for feare, as experience proued at other times, but whole cities themſelues leauing their habitations, fled from one place to an other through all ITALIE. And ROME it ſelfe alſo was immediatly filled with the flowing repaire of all the people their neighbours thereabouts, which came thither from all parties like droues of cattell, that there was neither officer nor Magiſtrate that could any more commaund them by authoritie, neither by any perſwaſion of reaſon bridle ſuch a confuſed and diſorderly multitude: ſo that ROME had in manner deſtroyed it ſelfe for lacke of rule and order. For in all places, men were of contrary opinions, & there were daungerous ſturres and tumultes euery where: becauſe they that were glad of this trouble, could keepe in no certaine place, but running vp and downe the citie, when they met with others in diuers places, that ſeemed either to be afrayed or angry with this tumult (as otherwiſe it is impoſsible in ſo great a citie) they flatly fell out with them, and boldly threatned them with that that was to come. *Pompey* himſelfe, who at that time was not a litle amazed, was yet much more troubled with the ill wordes ſome gaue him on the one ſide, and ſome on the other. For ſome of them reproued him, and ſayd that he had done wiſely, and had payd for his folly, becauſe he had made *Cæſar* ſo great and ſtrong againſt him and the common wealth. And other againe did blame him, becauſe he had refuſed the honeſt offers and reaſonable conditiõs of peace, which *Cæſar* had offered him, ſuffering *Lentulus* the Conſull to abuſe him too much. On the other ſide, *Phaonius* ſpake vnto him, & bad him ſtampe on the ground with his foote: For *Pompey* being one day in a brauerie in the Senate, ſayd openly: let no man take thought for preparation of warre, for when he liſted, with one ſtampe of his foote on the groũd, he would fill all ITALY with ſouldiers. This notwithſtãding, *Pompey* at that time had a

*Cæſars doubtfull thoughts at the riuer of Rubicon.*

*The Greeke vſeth this phraſe of ſpeech, caſt the dye.*

*Cæſar tooke the citie of Ariminum.*

*Cæſars damnable dreame.*

*Rome in vprore with Cæſars comming.*

greater number of ſouldiers then *Cæſar*: but they would neuer let him follow his owne determination. For they brought him ſo many lyes, and put ſo many examples of feare before him, as if *Cæſar* had bene already at their heeles, and had wonne all: ſo that in the end he yeelded vnto them, and gaue place to their furie and madneſſe, determining (ſeeing all things in ſuch tumult and garboyle) that there was no way but to forſake the citie, and thereupon commaunded the Senate to follow him, and not a man to tary there, vnleſſe he loued tyranny, more then his own libertie and the common wealth. Thus the Conſuls themſelues, before they had done their common ſacrifices accuſtomed at their going out of the citie, fled euery man of them. So did likewiſe the moſt part of the Senatours, taking their owne things in haſt, ſuch as came firſt to hand, as if by ſtealth they had taken them from an other. And there were ſome of them alſo that alwayes loued *Cæſar*, whoſe wits were then ſo troubled & beſides themſelues, with the feare they had conceiued: that they alſo fled, and followed the ſtreame of this tumult, without manifeſt cauſe or neceſsitie. But aboue all things, it was a lamentable ſight to ſee the citie it ſelfe, that in this feare & trouble was left at all aduenture, as a ſhip toſſed in ſtorme of ſea, forſaken of her Pilots, and diſpairing of her ſafetie. This their departure being thus miſerable, yet men eſteemed their baniſhment (for the loue they bare vnto *Pompey*) to be their naturall countrey, and reckoned ROME no better then *Cæſars* campe. At that time alſo *Labienus*, who was one of *Cæſars* greateſt friends, and had bene alwayes vſed as his Leutenant in the warres of GAVLE, and had valiantly fought in his cauſe: he likewiſe forſooke him then, and fled vnto *Pompey*. But *Cæſar* ſent his money and cariage after him, and then went and encamped before the citie of CORFINIVM, the which *Domitius* kept, with thirty cohorts or enſignes. When *Domitius* ſaw he was beſieged, he ſtraight thought himſelfe but vndone, and diſpayring of his ſucceſſe, he bad a Phiſition, a ſlaue of his, giue him poyſon. The Phiſition gaue him a drinke which he dranke, thinking to haue dyed. But ſhortly after, *Domitius* hearing them report what clemencie and wonderfull curteſie *Cæſar* vſed vnto them he tooke: repented him then that he had drunke this drinke, and began to lament & bewayle his deſperate reſolution taken to dye. The Phiſition did comfort him againe, & told him, that he had taken a drinke, onely to make him ſleepe, but not to deſtroy him. Then *Domitius* reioyced, and went ſtraight and yeelded himſelfe vnto *Cæſar*: who gaue him his life, but he notwithſtanding ſtale away immediatly, & fled vnto *Pompey*. When theſe newes were brought to ROME, they did maruellouſly reioyce and comfort them that ſtill remained there: and moreouer there were of them that had forſaken ROME, which returned thither againe. In the meane time, *Cæſar* did put all *Domitius* men in pay, and he did the like through all the cities, where he had taken any Captaines, that leauied men for *Pompey*. Now *Cæſar* hauing aſſembled a great & dreadfull power together, went ſtraight where he thought to finde *Pompey* himſelfe. But *Pompey* taried not his comming, but fled into the citie of BRVNDVSIVM, from whence he had ſent the two Conſuls before with that army he had, vnto DYRRACHIVM: and he himſelfe alſo went thither afterwardes, when he vnderſtood that *Cæſar* was come, as you ſhall heare more amply hereafter in his life. *Cæſar* lacked no good will to follow him, but wanting ſhips to take the ſeas, he returned forthwith to ROME: So that in leſſe thē three ſcore daies, he was Lord of all ITALIE, without any bloudſhed. Who when he was come to ROME, and found it much quieter then he looked for, and many Senatours there alſo, he curteouſly intreated them, and prayed them to ſend vnto *Pompey*, to pacifie all matters betweene them, vpon reaſonable conditions. But no man did attempt it, either becauſe they feared *Pompey* for that they had forſaken him, or elſe for that they thought *Cæſar* meant not as he ſpake, but that they were wordes of courſe, to collour his purpoſe withall. And when *Metellus* alſo, one of the Tribunes, would not ſuffer him to take any of the common treaſure out of the temple of *Saturne*, but told him that it was againſt the law: Tuſh, ſayd he, time of warre and law are two things. If this that I do, quoth he, do offend thee, then get thee hence for this time: for warre can not abide this francke and bold ſpeach. But when warres are done, and that we are all quiet againe, then thou ſhalt ſpeake in the pulpit what thou wilt: and yet I do tell thee this of fauour, impayring ſo much my right, for thou art mine, both thou, and all them that haue riſen againſt me, and whom I haue in my handes. When he had ſpoken thus vnto *Metellus*, he went to the temple doore where the treaſure

*Pompey flyeth from Rome.*

*Labienus forſooke Cæſar, & fled to Pompey.*

*Domitius eſcaped from Cæſar, and fled to Pompey.*

*Pompey flyeth into Epirus.*

*Silent leges inter arma.*

*Cæſar taketh money out of the temple of Saturne.*

lay : and finding no keyes there, he cauſed Smithes to be ſent for, and made them breake open the lockes. *Metellus* thereupon began againe to withſtand him, and certaine men that ſtood by prayſed him in his doing: but *Cæſar* at length ſpeaking biggely to him, threatned him he would kill him preſently, if he troubled him any more: and told him furthermore, young man, quoth he, thou knoweſt it is harder for me to tell it thee, then to do it. That word made *Metellus* quake for feare, that he got him away roundly: and euer after that, *Cæſar* had all at his commaundement for the warres.

*Cæſars iourney into Spayne, againſt Pompeys Lieutenants.*

From thence he went into SPAYNE, to make warre with *Petreius* and *Varro*, *Pompeys* Lieutenants: firſt to get their armies and prouinces into his handes which they gouerned, that afterwardes he might follow *Pompey* the better, leauing neuer an enemy behind him. In this iourney he was oftentimes himſelfe in daunger, through the ambuſhes that were layd for him in diuers ſtraunge ſortes and places, and likely alſo to haue loſt all his army for lacke of victuals. All this notwithſtanding, he neuer left following of *Pompeys* Lieutenants, prouoking them to battell, and intrenching them in: vntill he had gotten their campe and armies into his handes, albeit that the Lieutenants themſelues fled vnto *Pompey*. When *Cæſar* returned againe to ROME, *Piſo* his father in law gaue him counſell to ſend Ambaſſadours vnto *Pompey*, to treate of peace. But *Iſauricus*, to flatter *Cæſar*, was againſt it. *Cæſar* being then created Dictator by the Senate, called home againe all the baniſhed men, and reſtored their children to honour, whoſe fathers before had bene ſlaine in *Syllaes* time: and did ſomewhat cut off the vſuries that did oppreſſe them, and beſides, did make ſome ſuch other ordinaunces as thoſe, but very few.

*Cæſar Dictator.*

*Cæſar and Iſauricus Conſuls.*

For he was Dictator but eleuen dayes onely, & then did yeeld it vp of himſelfe, and made himſelfe Conſull, with *Seruilius Iſauricus*, and after that determined to follow the warres. All the reſt of his armie he left comming on the way behind him, and went himſelfe before with ſix hundred horſe, and fiue legions onely of footemen, in the winter quarter, about the month of Ianuary, which after the ATHENIANS, is called POSIDEON.

*Cæſar goeth into the kingdome of Epirus.*

Then hauing paſt ouer the ſea Ionium, and landed his men, he wanne the cities of ORICVM and APOLLONIA. Then he ſent his ſhips backe againe vnto BRVNDVSIVM, to tranſport the reſt of his ſouldiers that could not come with that ſpeede he did.

*Complaints of the old ſouldiers againſt Cæſar.*

They as they came by the way, (like men whoſe ſtrength of body, & luſty youth, was decayed) being wearied with ſo many ſundry battels as they had fought with their enemies: cōplained of *Cæſar* in this ſort. To what end and purpoſe doth this man hale vs after him, vp and downe the world, vſing vs like ſlaues and drudges? It is not our armour, but our bodies that beare the blowes away: and what, ſhal we neuer be without our harnes on our backes, and our ſhieldes on our armes? ſhould not *Cæſar* thinke, at the leaſt whē he ſeeth our bloud & wounds, that we are all mortall men, and that we feele the miſerie & paines that other men do feele? And now euen in the dead of winter, he putteth vs vnto the mercy of the ſea and tempeſt, yea which the gods thēſelues can not withſtand: as if he fled before his enemies, & purſued thē not. Thus ſpending time with this talke, the ſouldiers ſtill marching on, by ſmall iourneys came at lēgth vnto the citie of BRVNDVSIVM. But when they were come, & found that *Cæſar* had already paſſed ouer the ſea, then they ſtraight chaunged their complaints and minds. For they blamed themſelues, & tooke on alſo with their Captaines, becauſe they had not made thē make more haſt in marching: & ſitting vpō the rocks & clyffes of the ſea, they looked ouer the mayne ſea, towards the realme of EPIRVS, to ſee if they could diſcerne the ſhips returning backe, to trāſport thē ouer. *Cæſar* in the meane time being in the citie of APOLLONIA, hauing but a ſmall army to fight with *Pompey*, it greeued him for that the reſt of his army was ſo lōg a comming, not knowing what way to take.

*A great aduēture of Cæſar.*

In the end he followed a daungerous determination, to imbarke vnknowen in a litle pynnaſe of twelue ores only, to paſſe ouer the ſea again vnto BRVNDVSIVM: the which he could not do without great danger, cōſidering that all that ſea was full of *Pompeys* ſhips & armies. So he tooke ſhip in the night apparelled like a ſlaue, & went abord vpon this litle pynnaſe, & ſaid neuer a word, as if he had bene ſome poore man of meane cōdition.

*Anius fl.*

The pynnaſe lay in the mouth of the riuer of Anius, the which commonly was wont to be very calme & quiet, by reaſon of a litle wind that came frō the ſhore, which euery morning draue backe the waues farre into the maine ſea. But that night, by ill fortune, there came a great wind from the ſea that ouercame the land wind, in ſomuch as the force & ſtrength of the riuer fighting againſt the violence of the rage and waues of the ſea, the encounter was maruellous daungerous, the water of the riuer being driuen backe, and rebounding vpward, with great noyſe & danger in turning of the water. Therupon the Maiſter of the pynnaſe ſeeing he could not poſsibly get out of the mouth of this riuer, bad the Mariners to caſt about againe, & to returne againſt the ſtreame. *Cæſar* hearing that, ſtraight diſcouered himſelfe vnto the Maiſter of the pynnaſe, who at the firſt was amazed whẽ he ſaw him: but *Cæſar* thẽ taking him by the hãd ſayd vnto him, good fellow, be of good cheare, & forwards hardily, feare not, for thou haſt *Cæſar* & his fortune with thee. Then the Mariners forgetting the danger of the ſtorme they were in, layd on lode with ores & laboured for life what they could againſt the winde, to get out of the mouth of this riuer. But at length, perceiuing they laboured in vaine, and that the pynnaſe tooke in aboundance of water, & was ready to ſincke: *Cæſar* then to his great griefe was driuẽ to returne backe againe. Who when he was returned vnto his campe, his ſouldiers came in great companies vnto him, & were very ſory, that he miſtruſted he was not able with them alone to ouercome his enemies, but would put his perſon in danger, to go fetch them that were abſent, putting no truſt in them that were preſent. In the meane time *Antonius* arriued, and brought with him the reſt of his army frõ Brvndvsivm. Then *Cæſar* finding himſelfe ſtrõg enough, went & offered P*ompey* battell, who was paſsingly well lodged, for victualling of his campe both by ſea & land. *Cæſar* on the other ſide, who had no great plenty of victuals at the firſt, was in a very hard caſe: in ſomuch as his men gathered rootes, & mingled thẽ with milke, & eate them. Furthermore, they did make bread of it alſo, & ſometime when they skirmiſhed with the enemies, & came alõgeſt by them that watched & warded, they caſt of their bread into their trenches, & ſayd: that as long as the earth brought forth ſuch fruites, they would neuer leaue beſieging of P*ompey*. But P*ompey* ſtraightly commaunded them, that they ſhould neither cary thoſe wordes nor bread into their campe, fearing leaſt his mens harts would faile them, & that they would be affrayd, when they ſhould thinke of their enemies hardneſſe, with whom they had to fight, ſith they were weary with no paynes, no more then brute beaſts. *Cæſars* men did daily skirmiſh hard to the trenches of P*ompeys* campe, in the which *Cæſar* had euer the better, ſauing once only, at what time his men fled with ſuch feare, that all his campe that day was in great hazard to haue bene caſt away. For P*ompey* came on with his battell vpon them, and they were not able to abide it, but were fought with, and driuen into their campe, and their trenches were filled with dead bodies, which were ſlayne within the very gate and bulwarkes of their campe, they were ſo valiantly purſued. *Cæſar* ſtood before them that fled, to make them to turne head againe: but he could not preuaile. For when he would haue taken the enſignes to haue ſtayed them, the enſigne bearers threw them down on the ground: ſo that the enemies tooke two and thirtie of them, and *Cæſars* ſelfe alſo ſcaped hardly with life. For ſtriking a great bigge ſouldier that fled by him, commanding him to ſtay, and turne his face to his enemy: the ſouldier being affrayed, lift vp his ſword to ſtrike at *Cæſar*. But one of C*æſars* Pages preuenting him, gaue him ſuch a blow with his ſword, that he ſtrake off his ſhoulder. *Cæſar* that day was brought vnto ſo great extremitie, that (if *Pompey* had not either for feare, or ſpightfull fortune, left off to follow his victorie, and retired into his campe, being contented to haue driuen his enemies into their campe) returning to his campe with his friends, he ſayd vnto them: the victorie this day had bene our enemies, if they had had a Captaine, that could haue told how to haue ouercome. So when he was come to his lodging, he went to bed, and that night troubled him more, then any night that euer he had. For ſtill his minde ranne with great ſorow of the fowle fault he had committed in leading of his armie, of ſelfe will to remaine there ſo long by the ſea ſide, his enemies being the ſtronger by ſea: conſidering that he had before him a goodly country, riche and plentifull of all things, and goodly cities of Macedon and Thessalie, and had not the wit to bring the warre from thence, but to loſe his tyme in a place, where he was rather beſieged of his enemies for lacke of victuals, then that he did beſiege them by force of armes. Thus, fretting and chafing to ſee himſelfe ſo ſtraighted with victuals, and to thinke of his ill lucke, he raiſed his campe, intending to go ſet vpon *Scipio*, making account, that either he ſhould draw P*ompey* to battell againſt his will, whẽ he had not the ſea at his backe to furniſh him with plenty of

*Cæſars daungers and troubles in the Realme of Epirus.*

*Cæſars army fled frõ Pompey.*

*Cæſars wordes of Pompeys victorie.*

*Cæſar troubled in minde, after his loſſe.*

victuals: or elſe that he ſhould eaſily ouercome *Scipio*, finding him alone, vnleſſe he were ayded. This remoue of *Cæſars* campe, did much encourage *Pompeys* army and his Captaines, who would needes in any caſe haue followed after him, as though he had bene ouercome, and had fled. But for *Pompey* himſelfe, he would in no reſpect hazard battell, which was a matter of ſo great importance. For finding himſelfe well prouided of all things neceſſary to tary time, he thought it better to draw this warre out in length, by tract of time, the rather to conſume this litle ſtrength that remained in *Cæſars* army: of the which, the beſt men were maruellous well trained and good ſouldiers, & for valiantneſſe, at one dayes battell, were incomparable. But on the other ſide again, to remoue here & there ſo oft, & to fortifie their campe where they came, and to beſiege any wall, or to keepe watch all night in their armour: the moſt part of thẽ could not do it, by reaſon of their age, being then vnable to away with that paines, ſo that the weakeneſſe of their bodies did alſo take away the life and courage of their harts. Furthermore, there fell a peſtilent diſeaſe among them that came by ill meates hunger draue them to eate: yet was not this the worſt. For beſides, he had no ſtore of money, neither could tell how to come by victuals: ſo that it ſeemed in all likelihood, that in very ſhort time he would come to nothing. For theſe reſpectes, *Pompey* would in no caſe fight, & yet had he but *Cato* onely of his mind in that, who ſtucke in it the rather, becauſe he would auoyd ſheding of his coũtry mens bloud. For when *Cato* had viewed the dead bodies ſlaine in the campe of his enemies, at the laſt skirmiſh that was betweene thẽ, the which were no leſſe then a thouſand perſons: he couered his face, & went away weeping. All other but he, contrarily fell out with him, & blamed him, becauſe he ſo long refrained from battell: and ſome prickt him forward, and called him *Agamemnon*, and king of kings, ſaying, that he delayed this warre in this ſort, becauſe he would not leaue his authoritie to commaund them all, and that he was glad alwayes to ſee many Captaines round about him, which came to his lodging to honour him, and wait vpon him. And *Faonius* alſo, a harebraynd fellow, frantickly counterfeiting the round and plaine ſpeach of *Cato*, made as though he was maruellous angry, and ſayd: is it not great pitie, that we ſhall not eate this yeare of TVSCVLVM figges, and all for *Pompeys* ambitious minde to raigne alone? & *Afranius*, who not long before was but lately come out of SPAYNE, (where, becauſe he had but ill ſucceſſe, he was accuſed of treaſon, that for money he had ſold his army vnto *Cæſar*:) he went buſily aſking, why they fought not with that Marchant, vnto whom they ſayd he had ſold the prouince of SPAYNE? So that Põpey with theſe kind of ſpeaches, againſt his will, was driuen to follow *Cæſar*, to fight with him. Then was *Cæſar* at the firſt, maruellouſly perplexed, & troubled by the way: becauſe he found none that would giue him any victuals, being deſpiſed of euery man, for the late loſſe and ouerthrow he had receiued. But after that he had taken the citie of GOMPHES in THESSALY, he did not onely meete with plenty of victuals to relieue his army with: but he ſtraungely alſo did rid them of their diſeaſe. For the ſouldiers meeting with plentie of wine, drinking hard, and making mery: draue away the infection of the peſtilence. For they diſpoſed thẽſelues vnto dauncing, masking, and playing the BACCHERIANS by the way: in ſomuch that drinking druncke they ouercame their diſeaſe, and made their bodies new againe. When they both came into the country of PHARSALIA, and both campes lay before the other: *Pompey* returned againe to his former determination, and the rather, becauſe he had ill ſignes & tokens of misfortune in his ſleepe. For he thought in his ſleepe that whẽ he entred into the Theater, all the ROMAINES receiued him with great clapping of hands. Whereupon, they that were about him grew to ſuch boldneſſe and ſecuritie, aſſuring themſelues of victorie: that *Domitius*, *Spinther*, and *Scipio*, in a brauerie contended betweene themſelues, for the chiefe Biſhoppricke which *Cæſar* had. Furthermore, there were diuers that ſent vnto ROME to hyre the neareſt houſes vnto the market place, as being the fitteſt places for Prætors, and Conſuls: making their account already, that thoſe offices could not ſcape them, incontinently after the warres. But beſides thoſe, the young Gentlemen, and ROMAINE Knights were maruellous deſirous to fight, that were brauely mounted, and armed with gliſtering gilt armours, their horſes fat and very finely kept, and themſelues goodly young men, to the number of ſeuen thouſand, where the Gentlemen of *Cæſars* ſide, were but one thouſand onely. The number of his footemen alſo were much after the ſame reckoning. For he had

*Pompeys determinatiõ for the warre.*

*Pompey called Agamemnon, and king of kings.*

*The citie of Gomphes in Theſſalie.*

*Pompeys dreame in Pharſalia. The ſecuritie of the Pompeians.*

had fiue & forty thouſand againſt two & twenty thouſand. Wherefore *Cæſar* called his ſouldiers together, & told them how *Cornificius* was at hãd, who brought two whole legions, & that he had fifteen enſignes led by *Calenus*, the which he made to ſtay about MEGARA and ATHENS. Then he asked thẽ if they would tary for that ayde or not, or whether they would rather themſelues alone venture battell. The ſouldiers cryed out to him, and prayed him not to deferre battell, but rather to deuiſe ſome fetch to make the enemy fight aſſoone as he could. Then as he ſacrificed vnto the gods, for the purifying of his army: the firſt beaſt was no ſooner ſacrificed, but his Soothſayer aſſured him that he ſhould fight within three dayes. *Cæſar* asked him againe, if he ſaw in the ſacrifices, any lucky ſigne, or token of good lucke: The Soothſayer aunſwered, for that, thou ſhalt aunſwer thy ſelfe, better then I can do: for the gods do promiſe vs a maruellous great chaunge, & alteration of things that are now, vnto an other cleane contrary. For if thou beeſt well now, doeſt thou thinke to haue worſe fortune hereafter? & if thou be ill, aſſure thy ſelfe thou ſhalt haue better. The night before the battell, as he went about midnight to viſite the watch, men ſaw a great firebrand in the element, all of a light fire, that came ouer *Cæſars* campe, and fell downe in *Pompeys*. In the morning alſo when they relieued the watch, they heard a falſe allarme in the enemies campe, without any apparãt cauſe: which they commõly call, a ſodaine feare, that makes men beſides themſelues. This notwithſtanding, *Cæſar* thought not to fight that day, but was determined to haue raiſed his campe from thence, & to haue gone towardes the citie of SCOTVSA: and his tents in his campe were already ouerthrowen whẽ his ſcoutes came in with great ſpeed, to bring him newes that his enemies were preparing themſelues to fight. Thẽ he was very glad, & after he had made his prayers vnto the gods to helpe him that day, he ſet his men in battell ray, & deuided them into three ſquadrons: giuing the middle battell vnto *Domitius Caluinus*, and the left wing vnto *Antonius*, and placed himſelfe in the right wing, chooſing his place to fight in the tenth legion. But ſeeing that againſt that, his enemies had ſet all their horſemen: he was halfe affrayd when he ſaw the great number of them & ſo braue beſides. Wherfore he cloſely made ſix enſignes to come from the rereward of his battel, whom he had layd as an ambuſh behind his right wing, hauing firſt appointed his ſouldiers what they ſhould do, whẽ the horſemen of the enemies came to giue thẽ charge. On the other ſide, *Pompey* placed himſelfe in the right wing of his battell, gaue the left wing vnto *Domitius*, & the middle battel vnto *Scipio* his father in law. Now all the ROMAINE knights (as we haue told you before) were placed in the left wing, of purpoſe to enuiron *Cæſars* right wing behind, and to giue their hotteſt charge there, where the generall of their enemies was: making their account, that there was no ſquadrõ of footemẽ how thick ſoeuer they were, that could receiue the charge of ſo great a troupe of horſemen, and that at the firſt onſet, they ſhould ouerthrow them all, & march vpon their bellies. Whẽ the trumpets on either ſide did ſound the allarme to the battell, *Pompey* cõmanded his footemen that they ſhould ſtãd ſtill without ſturring, to receiue the charge of their enemies, vntill they came to throwing of their darts. Wherefore *Cæſar* afterwards ſayd, that *Pompey* had cõmitted a fowle fault, not to conſider that the charge which is giuen running with fury, beſides that it giueth the more ſtrength alſo vnto their blowes, doth ſet mẽs harts alſo a fire: for the cõmon hurling of all the ſouldiers that runne together, is vnto them as a boxe on the eare that ſets men a fire. Then *Cæſar* making his battell march forward to giue the onſet, ſaw one of his Captaines (a valiant man, and very skilfull in warre, in whom he had alſo great confidence) ſpeaking to his ſouldiers that he had vnder his charge, encouraging them to fight like men that day. So he called him aloude by his name, and ſayd vnto him: well, *Caius Craſſinius*, what hope ſhall we haue to day? how are we determined, to fight it out manfully? Then *Craſſinius* caſting vp his hand, aunſwered him aloud: this day, O *Cæſar*, we ſhall haue a noble victory, and I promiſe thee ere night thou ſhalt prayſe me alyue or dead. When he had told him ſo, he was himſelf the formoſt man that gaue charge vpon his enemies, with his band following of him, being about ſix ſcore men, and making a lane through the foremoſt ranckes, with great ſlaughter he entred far into the battell of his enemies: vntill that valiantly fighting in this ſort, he was truſt in at length in the mouth with a ſword, that the point of it came out againe at his necke. Now the footemen of both battels being come to the ſword, the horſemen of the left wing of *Pompey*, did march as fiercely

*Pompeys army as great again as Cæſars.*

*A wonder ſeene in the element, before the battell in Pharſalia.*

*Cæſars armie and his order of battell, in the fieldes of Pharſalia.*

*Pompeys army, and his order of battell.*

*An ill counſell and fowle fault of Pompey.*

*The battell in the fieldes of Pharſalia.*

alſo, ſpreading out their troupes, to compaſſe in the right wing of *Cæſars* battell. But before they began to giue charge, the ſix enſignes of footemen which *Cæſar* had layd in ambuſh behind him, they began to runne full vpon them, not throwing away their darts farre off as they were wont to do, neither ſtriking their enemies on the thighes nor on the legges, but to ſeeke to hit them full in the eyes, & to hurt them in the face, as *Cæſar* had taught them. For he hoped that theſe luſty young Gentlemen that had not bene often in the warres, nor were vſed to ſee themſelues hurt, & the which, being in the pryme of their youth and beautie, would be affrayd of thoſe hurts, aſwell for the feare of the preſent daunger to be ſlayne, as alſo for that their faces ſhould not for euer be deformed. As indeede it came to paſſe, for they could neuer abide that they ſhould come ſo neare their faces, with the points of their dartes, but hung downe their heads for feare to be hit with them in their eyes, and turned their backes, couering their face, becauſe they ſhould not be hurt. Then, breaking of themſelues, they began at length cowardly to flye, and were occaſion alſo of the loſſe of all the reſt of *Pompeys* armie. For they that had broken them, ranne immediatly to ſet vpon the ſquadron of the footemen behind, and ſlue them. Then *Pompey* ſeeing his horſemen from the other wing of his battell, ſo ſcattered and diſperſed, flying away: forgat that he was any more *Pompey* the great which he had bene before, but rather was like a man whoſe wits the goddes had taken from him, being affrayed and amazed with the ſlaughter ſent from aboue, and ſo retired into his tent ſpeaking neuer a word, and ſat there to ſee the end of this battell. Vntill at length all his army being ouerthrowen, and put to flight, the enemies came, and got vp vpon the rampers and defence of his campe, and fought hand to hand with them that ſtood to defend the ſame. Then as a man come to himſelfe againe, he ſpake but this onely word: What, euen into our campe? So in haſt, caſting off his coate armour and apparell of a generall, he ſhifted him, and put on ſuch, as became his miſerable fortune, and ſo ſtale out of his campe. Furthermore, what he did after this ouerthrow, and how he had put himſelfe into the handes of the ÆGYPTIANS, by whom he was miſerably ſlayne: we haue ſet it forth at large in his life. Then *Cæſar* entring into *Pompeys* campe, and ſeeing the bodies layed on the grounde that were ſlayne, and others alſo that were a killing, ſayd, fetching a great ſigh: it was their owne doing, and againſt my will. For *Caius Cæſar*, after he had won ſo many famous conqueſtes, and ouercome ſo many great battels, had bene vtterly condemned notwithſtanding, if he had departed from his army. *Aſinius Pollio* writeth, that he ſpake theſe words then in Latin, which he afterwards wrote in Greeke, and ſayth furthermore, that the moſt part of them which were put to the ſword in the campe, were ſlaues and bondmen, and that there were not ſlayne in all, at this battell, aboue ſix thouſand ſouldiers. As for them that were taken priſoners, *Cæſar* did put many of them amongſt his legions, and did pardon alſo many men of eſtimation, among whom *Brutus* was one, that afterwardes ſlue *Cæſar* himſelfe: and it is reported, that *Cæſar* was very ſory for him, when he could not immediatly be founde after the battell, and that he reioyced againe, when he knew he was aliue, and that he came to yeeld himſelfe vnto him. *Cæſar* had many ſignes and tokens of victorie before this battell: but the notableſt of all other that hapned to him, was in the citie of TRALLES. For in the temple of victorie, within the ſame citie, there was an image of *Cæſar*, and the earth all about it very hard of it ſelfe, and was paued beſides with hard ſtone: and yet ſome ſay that there ſprang vp a palme hard by the baſe of the ſame image. In the citie of PADVA, *Caius Cornelius* an excellent Soothſayer, (a country man and friend of *Titus Liuius* the Hiſtoriographer) was by chaunce at that time ſet to behold the flying of birdes. He (as *Liuie* reporteth) knew the very tyme when the battell began, and told them that were preſent, euen now they giue the onſet on both ſides, and both armies do meete at this inſtant. Then ſitting downe againe to conſider of the birdes, after he had bethought him of the ſignes: he ſodainly roſe vp on his feete, and cryed out as a man poſſeſſed with ſome ſpirit, oh, *Cæſar*, the victorie is thine. Euery man wondring to ſee him, he tooke the crowne he had on his head, and made an othe that he would neuer put it on againe, till the euent of his prediction had proued his art true. *Liuie* teſtifieth, that it ſo came to paſſe. *Cæſar* afterwardes giuing freedome vnto the THESSALIANS, in reſpect of the victory which he wan in their coũtry, he followed

after

*Cæſars ſtratageme.*

*Cæſar ouercōmeth Pompey.*

*Pompeys flight.*

*Brutus that ſlue Cæſar, taken priſoner at the battell of Pharſalia.*

*Signes and tokens of Cæſars victorie.*

*A ſtrange tale of Cornelius an excellent Prognoſticatour.*

after *Pompey*. When he came into Asia, he gaue freedom alſo vnto the Gvidians for *Theopompus* ſake, who had gathered the fables together. He did releaſe Asia alſo, the third part of the tribute which the inhabitants paid vnto the Romaines. Then he came into Alexandria, after *Pompey* was ſlaine: and deteſted *Theodotus* that preſented him *Pompeys* heade, and turned his head at toe ſide becauſe he would not ſee it. Nothwithſtanding, he tooke his ſeale, and beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he curteouſly vſed all *Pompeys* friends & familiars, who wandring vp & downe the country, were taken of the King of Ægypt, and wan them all to be at his cōmandement. Continuing theſe courteſies, he wrote vnto his friends at Rome, that the greateſt pleaſure he tooke of his victorie, was, that he daily ſaued the liues of ſome of his country men that bare armes againſt him. And for the warre he made in Alexandria, ſome ſay, he needed not haue done it, but that he willingly did it for the loue of *Cleopatra*: Wherein he wan litle honor, and beſides did put his perſon in great danger. Others do lay the fault vpon the king of Ægypts miniſters, but ſpecially on *Pothinus* the Eunuch, who bearing the greateſt ſway of all the kings ſeruants, after he had cauſed *Pompey* to be ſlaine, and driuen *Cleopatra* from the Court, ſecretly laide waite all the waies he could, how he might likewiſe kill *Cæſar*. Wherefore *Cæſar* hearing an inckling of it, beganne thenceforth to ſpend all the night long in feaſting and banqueting, that his perſon might be in the better ſafety. But beſides all this, *Pothinus* the Eunuch ſpake many things openly not to be borne, onely to ſhame *Cæſar*, and to ſtirre vp the people to enuie him. For he made his ſouldiers haue the worſt and oldeſt wheate that could be gotten: then if they did complaine of it, he told them, they muſt be contented, ſeeing they eate at an other mans coſt. And he would ſerue them alſo at the table in treene & earthen diſhes, ſaying, that *Cæſar* had away all their gold and ſiluer, for a debt that the kings father (that then raigned) did owe vnto him: which was, a thouſande ſeuen hundred and fiftie Myriades, whereof *Cæſar* had before forgiuen ſeuen hundred & fiftie thouſand vnto his children. Howbeit then he asked a Myllion to pay his ſouldiers withall. Therto P*othinus* anſwered him, that at that time he ſhould do better to follow his other cauſes of greater importance, & afterwards that he ſhould at more leaſure recouer his debt, with the kings good will and fauour. *Cæſar* replyed vnto him, and ſaid, that he would not aske counſell of the Ægyptians for his affaires, but would be paid: and therupon ſecretly ſent for *Cleopatra* which was in the country to come vnto him. She only taking *Apollodorus* Sicilian of all her friends, tooke a litle bote, & went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foote of the caſtle. Then hauing no other mean to come into the court without being knowen, ſhe laid her ſelfe down vpon a mattreſſe or flockbed, which *Apollodorus* her friend tied and bound vp together like a bundle with a great leather thong, & ſo tooke her vp on his backe, and brought her thus hamperd in this fardle vnto *Cæſar*, in at the caſtle gate. This was the firſt occaſion (as it is reported) that made *Cæſar* to loue her: but afterwardes, when he ſaw her ſweete conuerſation and pleaſant entertainment, he fell then in further liking with her, & did reconcile her againe vnto her brother the king, with condition, that they two ioyntly ſhould raigne together. Vppon this new reconciliation, a great feaſt being prepared, a ſlaue of *Cæſars* that was his barber, the fearfulleſt wretch that liued, ſtil buſily prying and liſtening abroad in euery corner, being miſtruſtfull by nature: found that *Pothinus* and *Achillas* did lie in waite to kill his maiſter *Cæſar*. This being proued vnto *Cæſar*, he did ſet ſuch ſure watch about the hall, where the feaſt was made, that in fine, he ſlew the Eunuch P*othinus* himſelfe. *Achillas* on the other ſide, ſaued himſelf and fled vnto the kings campe, where he raiſed a maruellous dangerous and difficult warre for *Cæſar*: becauſe he hauing then but a few men about him as he had, he was to fight againſt a great and ſtrong citie. The firſt danger he fell into, was for the lacke of water he had: for that his enemies had ſtopped the mouth of the pipes, the which conueyed the water vnto the caſtle. The ſecond danger he had, was, that ſeeing his enemies came to take his ſhippes from him, he was driuen to repulſe that danger with fire, the which burnt the arſenall where the ſhips lay, and that notable librarie of Alexandria withall. The third danger was in the battell by ſea, that was fought by the tower of Phar: where meaning to helpe his men that fought by ſea, he lept from the peere into a bote. Then the Ægyptians made towards him with their owers, on euerie ſide: but hee leaping into the ſea, with great hazard ſaued himſelfe by ſwimming.

*Cæſars clemencie in victory.*

*The cauſe of Cæſars warre in Alexandria.*

*Pothinus the Eunuch cauſed Pompey to be ſlaine.*

*Cleopatra came to Cæſar.*

*Cleopatra truſſed vp in a mattreſſe, and ſo brought to Cæſar, vpon Apollodorus backe.*

*The great librarie of Alexandria burnt.*

alſo, ſpreading out their troupes, to compaſſe in the right wing of *Cæſars* battell. But before they began to giue charge, the ſix enſignes of footemen which *Cæſar* had layd in ambuſh behind him, they began to runne full vpon them, not throwing away their darts farre off as they were wont to do, neither ſtriking their enemies on the thighes nor on the legges, but to ſeeke to hit them full in the eyes, & to hurt them in the face, as *Cæſar* had taught them. For he hoped that theſe luſty young Gentlemen that had not bene often in the warres, nor were vſed to ſee themſelues hurt, & the which, being in the pryme of their youth and beautie, would be affrayd of thoſe hurts, aſwell for the feare of the preſent daunger to be ſlayne, as alſo for that their faces ſhould not for euer be deformed. As indeede it came to paſſe, for they could neuer abide that they ſhould come ſo neare their faces, with the points of their dartes, but hung downe their heads for feare to be hit with them in their eyes, and turned their backes, couering their face, becauſe they ſhould not be hurt. Then, breaking of themſelues, they began at length cowardly to flye, and were occaſion alſo of the loſſe of all the reſt of *Pompeys* armie. For they that had broken them, ranne immediatly to ſet vpon the ſquadron of the footemen behind, and ſlue them. Then *Pompey* ſeeing his horſemen from the other wing of his battell, ſo ſcattered and diſperſed, flying away: forgat that he was any more *Pompey* the great which he had bene before, but rather was like a man whoſe wits the goddes had taken from him, being affrayed and amazed with the ſlaughter ſent from aboue, and ſo retired into his tent ſpeaking neuer a word, and ſat there to ſee the end of this battell. Vntill at length all his army being ouerthrowen, and put to flight, the enemies came, and got vp vpon the rampers and defence of his campe, and fought hand to hand with them that ſtood to defend the ſame. Then as a man come to himſelfe againe, he ſpake but this onely word: What, euen into our campe? So in haſt, caſting off his coate armour and apparell of a generall, he ſhifted him, and put on ſuch, as became his miſerable fortune, and ſo ſtale out of his campe. Furthermore, what he did after this ouerthrow, and how he had put himſelfe into the handes of the Ægyptians, by whom he was miſerably ſlayne: we haue ſet it forth at large in his life. Then *Cæſar* entring into *Pompeys* campe, and ſeeing the bodies layed on the grounde that were ſlayne, and others alſo that were a killing, ſayd, fetching a great ſigh: it was their owne doing, and againſt my will. For *Caius Cæſar*, after he had won ſo many famous conqueſtes, and ouercome ſo many great battels, had bene vtterly condemned notwithſtanding, if he had departed from his army. *Aſinius Pollio* writeth, that he ſpake theſe words then in Latin, which he afterwards wrote in Greeke, and ſayth furthermore, that the moſt part of them which were put to the ſword in the campe, were ſlaues and bondmen, and that there were not ſlayne in all at this battell, aboue ſix thouſand ſouldiers. As for them that were taken priſoners, *Cæſar* did put many of them amongſt his legions, and did pardon alſo many men of eſtimation, among whom *Brutus* was one, that afterwardes ſlue *Cæſar* himſelfe: and it is reported, that *Cæſar* was very ſory for him, when he could not immediatly be founde after the battell, and that he reioyced againe, when he knew he was aliue, and that he came to yeeld himſelfe vnto him. *Cæſar* had many ſignes and tokens of victorie before this battell: but the notableſt of all other that hapned to him, was in the citie of Tralles. For in the temple of victorie, within the ſame citie, there was an image of *Cæſar*, and the earth all about it very hard of it ſelfe, and was paued beſides with hard ſtone: and yet ſome ſay that there ſprang vp a palme hard by the baſe of the ſame image. In the citie of Padva, *Caius Cornelius* an excellent Soothſayer, (a country man and friend of *Titus Liuius* the Hiſtoriographer) was by chaunce at that time ſet to behold the flying of birdes. He (as *Liuie* reporteth) knew the very tyme when the battell began, and told them that were preſent, euen now they giue the onſet on both ſides, and both armies do meete at this inſtant. Then ſitting downe againe to conſider of the birdes, after he had bethought him of the ſignes: he ſodainly roſe vp on his feete, and cryed out as a man poſſeſſed with ſome ſpirit, oh, *Cæſar*, the victorie is thine. Euery man wondring to ſee him, he tooke the crowne he had on his head, and made an othe that he would neuer put it on againe, till the euent of his prediction had proued his art true. *Liuie* teſtifieth, that it ſo came to paſſe. *Cæſar* afterwardes giuing freedome vnto the Theſſalians, in reſpect of the victory which he wan in their coūtry, he followed

*Cæſars ſtratageme.*

*Cæſar ouercōmeth Pompey.*

*Pompeys flight.*

*Brutus that ſlue Cæſar, taken priſoner at the battell of Pharſalia.*

*Signes and tokens of Cæſars victorie.*

*A ſtrange tale of Cornelius an excellent Prognoſticatour.*

after *Pompey*. When he came into Asia, he gaue freedom alſo vnto the Gvidians for *Theopompus* ſake, who had gathered the fables together. He did releaſe Asia alſo, the third part of the tribute which the inhabitants paid vnto the Romaines. Then he came into Alexandria, after *Pompey* was ſlaine: and deteſted *Theodotus* that preſented him *Pompeys* heade, and turned his head at toe ſide becauſe he would not ſee it. Nothwithſtanding, he tooke his ſeale, and beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he curteouſly vſed all *Pompeys* friends & familiars, who wandring vp & downe the country, were taken of the king of Ægypt, and wan them all to be at his cōmandement. Continuing theſe courteſies, he wrote vnto his friends at Rome, that the greateſt pleaſure he tooke of his victorie, was, that he daily ſaued the liues of ſome of his country men that bare armes againſt him. And for the warre he made in Alexandria, ſome ſay, he needed not haue done it, but that he willingly did it for the loue of *Cleopatra*: Wherein he wan litle honor, and beſides did put his perſon in great danger. Others do lay the fault vpon the king of Ægypts miniſters, but ſpecially on *Pothinus* the Eunuch, who bearing the greateſt ſway of all the kings ſeruants, after he had cauſed *Pompey* to be ſlaine, and driuen *Cleopatra* from the Court, ſecretly laide waite all the waies he could, how he might likewiſe kill *Cæſar*. Wherefore *Cæſar* hearing an inckling of it, beganne thenceforth to ſpend all the night long in feaſting and banqueting, that his perſon might be in the better ſafety. But beſides all this, *Pothinus* the Eunuch ſpake many things openly not to be borne, onely to ſhame *Cæſar*, and to ſtirre vp the people to enuie him. For he made his ſouldiers haue the worſt and oldeſt wheate that could be gotten: then if they did complaine of it, he told them, they muſt be contented, ſeeing they eate at an other mans coſt. And he would ſerue them alſo at the table in treene & earthen diſhes, ſaying, that *Cæſar* had away all their gold and ſiluer, for a debt that the kings father (that then raigned) did owe vnto him: which was, a thouſande ſeuen hundred and fiftie Myriades, whereof *Cæſar* had before forgiuen ſeuen hundred & fiftie thouſand vnto his children. Howbeit then he asked a Myllion to pay his ſouldiers withall. Therto *Pothinus* anſwered him, that at that time he ſhould do better to follow his other cauſes of greater importance, & afterwards that he ſhould at more leaſure recouer his debt, with the kings good will and fauour. *Cæſar* replyed vnto him, and ſaid, that he would not aske counſell of the Ægyptians for his affaires, but would be paid: and therupon ſecretly ſent for *Cleopatra* which was in the country to come vnto him. She only taking *Apollodorus* Sicilian of all her friends, tooke a litle bote, & went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foote of the caſtle. Then hauing no other mean to come into the court without being knowen, ſhe laid her ſelfe down vpon a mattreſſe or flockbed, which *Apollodorus* her friend tied and bound vp together like a bundle with a great leather thong, & ſo tooke her vp on his backe, and brought her thus hamperd in this fardle vnto *Cæſar*, in at the caſtle gate. This was the firſt occaſion (as it is reported) that made *Cæſar* to loue her: but afterwardes, when he ſaw her ſweete conuerſation and pleaſant entertainment, he fell then in further liking with her, & did reconcile her againe vnto her brother the king, with condition, that they two ioyntly ſhould raigne together. Vppon this new reconciliation, a great feaſt being prepared, a ſlaue of *Cæſars* that was his barber, the fearfulleſt wretch that liued, ſtil buſily prying and liſtening abroad in euery corner, being miſtruſtfull by nature: found that *Pothinus* and *Achillas* did lie in waite to kill his maiſter *Cæſar*. This being proued vnto *Cæſar*, he did ſet ſuch ſure watch about the hall, where the feaſt was made, that in fine, he ſlew the Eunuch *Pothinus* himſelfe. *Achillas* on the other ſide, ſaued himſelf and fled vnto the kings campe, where he raiſed a maruellous dangerous and difficult warre for *Cæſar*: becauſe he hauing then but a few men about him as he had, he was to fight againſt a great and ſtrong citie. The firſt danger he fell into, was for the lacke of water he had: for that his enemies had ſtopped the mouth of the pipes, the which conueyed the water vnto the caſtle. The ſecond danger he had, was, that ſeeing his enemies came to take his ſhippes from him, he was driuen to repulſe that danger with fire, the which burnt the arſenall where the ſhips lay, and that notable librarie of Alexandria withall. The third danger was in the battell by ſea, that was fought by the tower of Phar: where meaning to helpe his men that fought by ſea, he lept from the peere into a bote. Then the Ægyptians made towards him with their owers, on euerie ſide: but hee leaping into the ſea, with great hazard ſaued himſelfe by ſwimming.

*Cæſars clemencie in victory.*

*The cauſe of Cæſars warre in Alexandria.*

*Pothinus the Eunuch cauſed Pompey to be ſlaine.*

*Cleopatra came to Cæſar.*

*Cleopatra truſſed vp in a mattreſſe, and ſo brought to Cæſar, vpon Apollodorus backe.*

*The great librarie of Alexandria burnt.*

It is ſaid, that then holding diuerſe bookes in his hand, he did neuer let them go, but kept them alwayes vpon his head aboue water, and ſwamme with the other hand, notwithſtanding that they ſhot maruellouſly at him, and was driuen ſomtime to ducke into the water: howbeit the bote was drowned preſently. In fine, the king comming to his men that made warre with *Cæſar*, he went againſt him, and gaue him battell, and wanne it with great ſlaughter, and effuſion of bloud. But for the king, no man could euer tell what became of him after. Thereupon *Cæſar* made *Cleopatra* his ſiſter, Queene of ÆGYPT, who being great with childe by him, was ſhortly brought to bed of a ſonne, whō the ALEXANDRIANS named *Cæſarion*. From thence he went into SYRIA, and ſo going into ASIA, there it was told him that *Domitius* was ouerthrowen in battell, by *Pharnaces* the ſonne of king *Mithridates*, & was fled out of the realme of PONTE, with a few men with him: and that this king *Pharnaces* greedily following his victorie, was not contented with the winning of BITHYNIA, and CAPPADOCIA, but further would needes attempt to win ARMENIA the leſſe, procuring all thoſe kings, princes, and gouernors of the prouinces thereabouts to rebell againſt the ROMAINES. Therupon *Cæſar* went thither ſtraight with three legions, and fought a great battell with king *Pharnaces* by the citie of ZELA, where he ſlew his armie, & draue him out of all the realme of PONTE. And becauſe he would aduertiſe one of his friends of the ſodainneſſe of this victorie, he onely wrote three words vnto *Anitius* at ROME: *Veni, Vidi, Vici*: to wit, I came, I ſaw, I ouercame. Theſe three wordes ending all with like ſound and letters in the Latin, haue a certaine ſhort grace, more pleaſant to the eare, then can be well expreſſed in any other tongue. After this, he returned againe into ITALY, and came to ROME, ending his yeare for the which he was made Dictator the ſecond time, which office before was neuer graunted for one whole yeare, but vnto him. Then he was choſen Conſull for the yeare following. Afterwards he was very ill ſpoken of, for that his ſouldiers in a mutine hauing ſlaine two Prætors, *Coſconius* and *Galba*, he gaue them no other puniſhment for it, but in ſtead of calling them ſouldiers, he named them citizens, and gaue vnto euery one of them a thouſand Drachmas a man, and great poſſeſſions in ITALIE. He was much miſliked alſo for the deſperate parts and madnes of *Dolabella*, for the couetouſneſſe of *Anitius*, for the drunkenneſſe of *Antonius* and *Cornificius*, which made *Pompeys* houſe be pulled downe and builded vp againe, as a thing not bigge enough for him, wherewith the ROMAINES were maruellouſly offended. *Cæſar* knew all this well enough, and would haue bene contented to haue redreſſed them: but to bring his matters to paſſe he pretended, he was driuen to ſerue his turne by ſuch inſtruments. After the battell of Pharſalia, *Cato* and *Scipio* being fled into AFRICKE, king *Iuba* ioyned with them, & leauied a great puiſant army. Wherefore *Cæſar* determined to make warre with them, & in the middeſt of winter, he tooke his iorney into SICILE. There, becauſe he would take all hope from his Captaines and ſouldiers to make any long abode there, he went and lodged vpon the very ſands by the ſea ſide, and with the next gale of winde that came, he tooke the ſea with three thouſand footemen, and a fewe horſemen. Then hauing put them a land, vnwares to them, he hoyſed ſaile againe, to go fetch the reſt of his armie, being affraid leaſt they ſhould meete with ſome daunger in paſſing ouer, and meeting them mid way, he brought them all into his campe. Where, when it was tolde him that his enemies truſted in an ancient Oracle, which ſaid, that it was predeſtined vnto the family of the *Scipioes* to be conquerors in AFRICK: either of purpoſe to mocke *Scipio* the Generall of his enemies, or otherwiſe in good earneſt to take the benefite of this name (giuen by the Oracle) vnto himſelfe, in all the skirmiſhes and battels fought, he gaue the charge of his army, vnto a man of meane qualitie and account, called *Scipio Salutius*, who came of the race of *Scipio* AFRICAN, & made him alwaies his Generall when he fought. For he was eftſoones compelled to wearie and harrie his enemies: for that neither his men in his campe had corne enough, nor his beaſts forrage, but the ſouldiers were driuen to take ſea weedes, called Alga: and (waſhing away the brackiſhneſſe thereof with freſh water, putting to it a litle herbe called dogges tooth) to caſt it ſo to their horſe to eate. For the NVMIDIANS (which are light horſemen, and very readie of ſeruice) being a great number together, would be on a ſodaine in euery place, and ſpred all the fieldes ouer thereabout, ſo that no man durſt peepe out of the campe to goe for forrage. And one day as the men of armes were ſtaying to beholde an AFRICAN

*Cæſars ſwimming with bookes in his hand.*

*Cæſar made Cleopatra Queene of Ægypt.*

*Cæſarion, Cæſars ſonne, begotten of Cleopatra.*

*Cæſars victorie of king Pharnaces.*

*Cæſar writeth three wordes to certifie his victorie.*

*Cæſars iorney into Africke, againſt Cato and Scipio.*

*Cæſars troubles in Africke.*

*Alga and dogs tooth giuen to the horſe to eate.*

*Cæſars dangers in Africke.*

doing notable things in dauncing and playing with the flute: they being ſet downe quietly to take their pleaſure of the view thereof, hauing in the meane time giuen their ſlaues their horſes to hold, the enemies ſtealing ſodainly vpon them, compaſſed them in round about, and ſlew a number of them in the field, and chaſing the other alſo that fled, followed them pell mell into their campe. Furthermore had not *Cæſar* himſelfe in perſon, and *Aſinius Pollio* with him gone out of the campe to the reſcue, and ſtaied them that fled: the warre that day had bene ended. There was alſo an other skirmiſh where his enemies had the vpper hand, in the which it is reported, that *Cæſar* taking the enſigne bearer by the coller that caried the Eagle in his hand, ſtayed him by force, and turning his face, told him: ſee, there be thy enemies. Theſe aduantages did lift vp *Scipioes* heart aloft, and gaue him courage to hazard battell: and leauing *Afranius* on the one hand of him, and king *Iuba* on the other hand, both their campes lying neere to other, he did fortifie himſelfe by the citie of THAPSACVS, aboue the lake, to be a ſafe refuge for them all in this battell. But whileſt he was buſie intrenching of himſelfe, *Cæſar* hauing maruellous ſpeedily paſſed through a great country full of wood, by bypathes which men would neuer haue miſtruſted: he ſtale vpon ſome behinde, and ſodainely aſſailed the other before, ſo that he ouerthrew them all, and made them flie. Then following this firſt good happe he had, he went forthwith to ſet vpon the campe of *Afranius*, the which he tooke at the firſt onſet, and the campe of the NVMIDIANS alſo, king *Iuba* being fled. Thus in a litle peece of the day only, he tooke three campes, and ſlew fifty thouſand of his enemies, & loſt but fiftie of his ſouldiers. In this ſort is ſet downe the effect of this battell by ſome writers. Yet others do write alſo, that *Cæſar* ſelfe was not there in perſon at the execution of this battell. For as he did ſet his men in battell ray, the falling ſickneſſe tooke him, whereunto he was giuen, and therefore feeling it comming, before he was ouercome withall, he was caried into a caſtle not farre from thence, where the battell was fought, and there tooke his reſt till the extremitie of his diſeaſe had left him. Now, for the Prætor and Conſuls that ſcaped from this battell, many of them being taken priſoners, did kill themſelues, and others alſo *Cæſar* did put to death: but he being ſpecially deſirous of all men elſe to haue *Cato* aliue in his hands, he went with all poſſible ſpeede vnto the citie of VTICA, whereof *Cato* was Gouernour, by meanes whereof he was not at the battell. Notwithſtanding being certified by the way that *Cato* had ſlaine himſelf with his own hands, he then made open ſhew that he was very ſory for it, but why or wherfore, no man could tell. But this is true, that *Cæſar* ſaid at that preſent time: O *Cato*, I enuie thy death, becauſe thou diddeſt enuy my glory, to ſaue thy life. This notwithſtanding, the booke that hee wrote afterwards againſt *Cato* being dead, did ſhew no very great affection nor pitifull hart towards him. For how could he haue pardoned him, if liuing he had had him in his hands: that being dead did ſpeake ſo vehemently againſt him? Notwithſtanding, men ſuppoſe he would haue pardoned him, if he had taken him aliue, by the clemencie he ſhewed vnto *Cicero*, *Brutus*, and diuers others that had borne armes againſt him. Some report, that he wrote that booke, not ſo much for any priuate malice he had to his death, as for ciuill ambition, vpon this occaſion. *Cicero* had written a booke in praiſe of *Cato*, which he intituled, *Cato*. This booke in likelihood was verie well liked of, by reaſon of the eloquence of the Orator that made it, and of the excellent ſubiect thereof. *Cæſar* therewith was maruellouſly offended, thinking that to praiſe him, of whoſe death he was author, was euen as much as to accuſe himſelfe: and therefore he wrote a letter againſt him, and heaped vp a number of accuſations againſt *Cato*, and intituled the booke *Anticaton*. Both theſe bookes haue fauourers vnto this day, ſome defending the one for the loue they bare to *Cæſar*, & others allowing the other for *Catoes* ſake. *Cæſar* being now returned out of AFRICKE, firſt of all made an oration to the people, wherein he greatly praiſed and commended this his laſt victorie, declaring vnto them, that he had conquered ſo many countries vnto the Empire of ROME, that he could furniſh the common wealth yearely, with two hundred thouſand buſhels of wheate, and twentie hundred thouſand pound weight of oyle. Then he made three triumphs, the one for ÆGYPT, the other for the kingdome of PONTE, and the third for AFRICKE; not becauſe he had ouercome *Scipio* there, but king *Iuba*. Whoſe ſonne being likewiſe called *Iuba*, being then a young boy, was led captiue in the ſhewe of this triumph. But this his impriſonment fell out happily for him: for where he was but a barbarous

*Cæſars great victorie and ſmall loſſe.*

*Cæſar troubled with the falling ſickneſſe.*

*Cæſar was ſorie for the death of Cato.*

*Cæſar wrote againſt Cato being dead.*

*Cicero wrote a booke in praiſe of Cato being dead.*

*Iuba, the ſonne of king Iuba, a famous hiſtoriographer.*

*Cæſars feaſting of the Romaines.*

*The muſter taken of the Romaines.*

*Cæſar Conſull the fourth time.*

*Battell fought betwixt Cæſar and the young Pompeys, by the citie of Munda.*

*Cæſars victorie of the ſonnes of Pompey.*

*Cæſars triumph of Pompeys ſonnes.*

*Cæſar Dictator perpetuall.*

*The temple of clemencie, dedicated vnto Cæſar, for his courteſie.*

NVMIDIAN, by the ſtudie he fel vnto when he was priſoner, he came afterwards to be reckoned one of the wiſeſt hiſtoriographers of the GRECIANS. After theſe three triumphes ended, he very liberally rewarded his ſouldiers: & to curry fauor with the people, he made great feaſts and common ſports. For he feaſted all the ROMAINES at one time, at two and twenty thouſand tables, and gaue them the pleaſure to ſee diuers ſword plaiers to fight at the ſharpe, & battels alſo by ſea, for the remembrance of his daughter *Iulia*, which was dead long before. Then after all theſe ſports, he made the people (as the manner was) to be muſtered: and where there were at the laſt muſters before, three hundred and twentie thouſande citizens, at this muſter only there were but a hundred and fiftie thouſand. Such miſery and deſtruction had this ciuill warre brought vnto the common wealth of ROME, and had conſumed ſuch a number of ROMAINES not ſpeaking at all of the miſchieues and calamities it had brought vnto all the reſt of ITALY, and to the other prouinces pertaining to ROME. After all theſe things were ended, he was choſen Conſull the fourth time, & went into SPAINE to make warre with the ſonnes of *Pompey*: who were yet but very young, but had notwithſtanding raiſed a maruellous great army together, and ſhewed to haue had manhoode and courage worthie to commaund ſuch an armie, inſomuch as they put *Cæſar* himſelfe in great daunger of his life. The greateſt battell that was fought betwene them in all this warre, was by the citie of MVNDA For then *Cæſar* ſeeing his men ſorely diſtreſſed, and hauing their hands full of their enemies: he ranne into the preaſe among his men that fought, and cried out vnto them: what, are ye not aſhamed to be beaten and taken priſoners, yeelding your ſelues with your owne handes to theſe young boyes? And ſo, with all the force he could make, hauing with much a doe put his enemies to flight: he ſlew aboue thirtie thouſand of them in the fielde, and loſt of his owne men a thouſand of the beſt he had. After this battell he went into his tent, and told his friends, that he had often before fought for victorie, but this laſt time now, that he had fought for the ſafety of his owne life. He wanne this battell on the very feaſt day of the BACCHANALIANS, in the which men ſay, that *Pompey* the great went out of ROME, about foure yeares before, to beginne this ciuill warre. For his ſonnes, the younger ſcaped from the battell: but within few dayes after, *Diddius* brought the head of the elder. This was the laſt warre that *Cæſar* made. But the triumph he made into ROME for the ſame, did as much offend the ROMAINES, and more, then any thing that euer he had done before: becauſe he had not ouercome Captaines that were ſtrangers, nor barbarous kings, but had deſtroyed the ſonnes of the nobleſt man in ROME, whom fortune had ouerthrowen. And becauſe he had plucked vp his race by the rootes, men did not thinke it meete for him to triumph ſo, for the calamities of his countrie, reioycing at a thing for the which he had but one excuſe to alleage in his defence, vnto the gods and men: that he was compelled to doe that he did. And the rather they thought it not meete, becauſe he had neuer before ſent letters nor meſſengers vnto the common wealth at ROME, for any victorie that he had euer wonne in all the ciuill warres: but did alwaies for ſhame refuſe the glorie of it. This notwithſtanding, the ROMAINES inclining to *Cæſars* proſperitie, and taking the bit in the mouth, ſuppoſing that to be ruled by one man alone, it would be a good meane for them to take breath a litle, after ſo many troubles and miſeries as they had abidden in theſe ciuill warres: they choſe him perpetuall Dictator. This was a plaine tyranny: for to this abſolute power of Dictator, they added this, neuer to be affraide to be depoſed: *Cicero* propounded before the Senate, that they ſhould giue him ſuch honors, as were meete for a man: howbeit others afterwards added to, honours beyonde all reaſon. For, men ſtriuing who ſhould moſt honor him, they made him hatefull and troubleſome to themſelues that moſt fauoured him, by reaſon of the vnmeaſurable greatnes and honors which they gaue him. Thereupon, it is reported, that euen they that moſt hated him, were no leſſe fauorers and furtherers of his honors, then they that moſt flattered him: becauſe they might haue greater occaſions to riſe, and that it might appeare they had iuſt cauſe and colour to attempt that they did againſt him. And now for himſelfe, after he had ended his ciuill warres, he did ſo honorably behaue him ſelfe, that there was no fault to be found in him: and therefore mee thinkes, amongſt other honors they gaue him, he rightly deſerued this, that they ſhould build him a temple of clemencie, to thanke him for his courteſie he had vſed vnto them in his victorie. For he pardoned many of them that had borne armes againſt him, and furthermore, did preferre ſome of them to honour and office in the common wealth: as amongſt others, *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, both the which were made Prætors. And where *Pompeys* images had bene throwen downe, he cauſed them to be ſet vp againe: whereupon *Cicero* ſaid then, that *Cæſar* ſetting vp *Pompeys* images againe he made his owne to ſtand the ſurer. And when ſome of his friends did counſell him to haue a guard for the ſafetie of his perſon, and ſome alſo did offer themſelues to ſerue him: he would neuer conſent to it, but ſaide, it was better to die once, then alwaies to be affraide of death. But to win himſelfe the loue and good will of the people, as the honorableſt guard and beſt ſafetie he could haue: he made common feaſts againe, and generall diſtributions of corne. Furthermore, to gratifie the ſouldiers alſo, hee repleniſhed many cities againe with inhabitantes, which before had bene deſtroyed, and placed them there that had no place to repaire vnto: of the which the nobleſt & chiefeſt cities were theſe two, CARTHAGE & CORINTH, and it chaunced alſo, that like as aforetime they had beene both taken and deſtroyed together, euen ſo were they both ſet a foote againe, and repleniſhed with people, at one ſelfe time. And as for great perſonages, he wanne them alſo, promiſing ſome of them, to make them Prætors and Conſuls in time to come, and vnto others, honors and preferrements, but to all men generally good hope, ſeeking all the waies he could to make euery man contented with his raigne. Inſomuch as one of the Conſuls called *Maximus*, chauncing to die a day before his Conſulſhippe ended, he declared *Caninius Rebilius* Conſull onely for the day that remained. So, diuers going to his houſe (as the maner was) to ſalute him, and to congratulate with him of his calling and preferrement, being newly choſen officer: *Cicero* pleaſantly ſaide, come, let vs make haſte, and be gone thither before his Conſulſhippe come out. Furthermore, *Cæſar* being borne to attempt all great enterpriſes, and hauing an ambitious deſire beſides to couet great honors: the proſperous good ſucceſſe he had of his former conqueſtes bred no deſire in him quietly to enioy the frutes of his labours, but rather gaue him hope of things to come, ſtill kindling more and more in him, thoughts of greater enterpriſes, and deſire of new glory, as if that which he had preſent, were ſtale and nothing worth. This humor of his was no other but an emulation with himſelfe as with an other man, and a certaine contention to ouercome the things he prepared to attempt. For he was determined, and made preparation alſo, to make warre with the PERSIANS. Then when he had ouercome them, to paſſe through HYRCANIA (compaſſing in the ſea Caſpium, and mount Caucaſus) into the realme of PONTVS, and ſo to inuade SCYTHIA: and ouerrunning all the countries, and people adioyning vnto high GERMANY, and GERMANY it ſelfe, at length to returne by GAVLE into ITALIE, and ſo to enlarge the ROMAINE Empire round, that it might be euery way compaſſed in with the great ſea Oceanum. But whileſt he was preparing for this voiage, he attempted to cut the barre of the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, in the place where the citie of CORINTH ſtandeth. Then he was minded to bring the riuers of Anienes and Tiber, ſtraight from ROME, vnto the citie of CIRCEES, with a deepe channell and high bankes caſt vp on either ſide, and ſo to fall into the ſea at TERRACINA, for the better ſafety and commoditie of the marchants that came to ROME to trafficke there. Furthermore, he determined to draine and ſeaw all the water of the mariſhes betwixt the cities of NOMENTVM and SETIVM, to make it firme lande, for the benefit of many thouſandes of people: and on the ſea coaſt next vnto ROME, to caſt great high bankes, and to clenſe all the hauen about OSTIA, of rockes and ſtones hidden vnder the water, and to take away all other impedimentes that made the harborough dangerous for ſhippes, and to make new hauens and arſenals meete to harbour ſuch ſhippes, as did continually trafficke thither. All theſe things were purpoſed to be done, but tooke no effect. But, the ordinance of the kalender, and reformation of the yeare, to take away all confuſion of time, being exactly calculated by the Mathematicians, and brought to perfection, was a great commoditie vnto all men. For the ROMAINES vſing then the ancient computation of the yeare, had not only ſuch incertainty and alteration of the moneth and times, that the ſacrifices and yearely feaſtes came by litle and litle to ſeaſons contrarie for the purpoſe they were ordained: but alſo in the reuolution of the ſunne (which is called *Annus Solaris*) no other nation agreed with them in account: and of the ROMAINES themſelues, only the prieſts vnder-

*Caſſius and Brutus Prætors.*

*Cæſars ſaying of death.*

*Good will of ſubiects, the beſt guard and ſafetie for Princes.*

*Caninius Rebilius Conſull for one day.*

*Anienes. Tiber. flu.*

*Cæſar reformed the inequalitie of the yeare.*

** Mercedonius menſis intercularis.*

ſtood it. And therefore when they liſted, they ſodainly (no man being able to controll them) did thruſt in a moneth aboue their ordinarie number, which they called in old time,* Mercedonius. Some ſay, that *Numa Pompilius* was the firſt, that deuiſed this way, to put a moneth betwene: but it was a weake remedie, and did litle helpe the correction of the errors that were made in the account of the yeare, to frame them to perfection. But *Cæſar* committing this matter vnto the Philoſophers, and beſt expert Mathematicians at that time, did ſet foorth an excellent and perfect kalender, more exactly calculated, then any other that was before: the which the ROMAINES doe vſe vntill this preſent day, and do nothing erre as others, in the difference of time. But his enemies notwithſtanding that enuied his greatneſſe, did not ſticke to finde fault withall. As *Cicero* the Orator, when one ſaide, to morow the ſtarre Lyra will riſe: yea, ſaid he, at the commandement of *Cæſar*, as if men were compelled ſo to ſay and thinke, by *Cæſars* edict.

*Why Cæſar was hated.*

But the chiefeſt cauſe that made him mortally hated, was the couetous deſire he had to be called king: which firſt gaue the people iuſt cauſe, and next his ſecret enemies, honeſt colour to beare him ill will. This notwithſtanding, they that procured him this honor & dignitie, gaue it out among the people, that it was written in the Sybiline prophecies, how the ROMAINES might ouercome the PARTHIANS, if they made warre with them, and were led by a king, but otherwiſe that they were vnconquerable. And furthermore they were ſo bold beſides, that *Cæſar* returning to ROME from the citie of ALBA, when they came to ſalute him, they called him king. But the people being offended, and *Cæſar* alſo angry, he ſaid he was not called king, but *Cæſar*. Then euery man keeping ſilence, he went his way heauy & ſorowfull. When they had decreed diuers honors for him in the Senate, the Conſuls and Prætors accõpanied with the whole aſſembly of the Senate, went vnto him in the market place, where he was ſet by the pulpit for orations, to tell him what honors they had decreed for him in his abſence. But he ſitting ſtill in his maieſtie, diſdaining to riſe vp vnto them when they came in, as if they had bene priuate men, anſwered them: that his honours had more neede to be cut off than enlarged. This did not onely offend the Senate, but the common people alſo, to ſee that he ſhould ſo lightly eſteeme of the Magiſtrates of the common wealth: inſomuch as euerie man that might lawfully goe his way, departed thence very ſorrowfully. Thereupon alſo *Cæſar* riſing, departed home to his houſe, and tearing open his dublet coller, making his necke bare, he cried out aloud to his friendes, that his throte was readie to offer to any man that would come and cut it. Notwithſtanding, it is reported, that afterwards to excuſe this follie, he imputed it to his diſeaſe, ſaying, that their wittes are not perfit which haue his diſeaſe of the falling euil, when ſtanding on their feete they ſpeake to the common people, but are ſoone troubled with a trembling of their bodie, and a ſodaine dimneſſe and guidineſſe. But that was not true. For he would haue riſen vp to the Senate, but *Cornelius Balbus* one of his friends (but rather a flatterer) would not let him, ſaying: what, doe you not remember that you are *Cæſar*, and will you not let them reuerence you, and doe their dueties? Beſides theſe occaſions and offences, there followed alſo his ſhame and reproach, abuſing the Tribunes of the people in this ſort.

*The feaſt Lupercalia.*

At that time, the feaſt Lupercalia was celebrated, the which in olde time men ſay was the feaſt of ſheapheards or heard men, and is much like vnto the feaſt of the LYCÆIANS in ARCADIA. But howſoeuer it is, that day there are diuers noble mens ſonnes, young men, (and ſome of them Magiſtrates themſelues that gouerne then) which run naked through the citie, ſtriking in ſport them they meete in their way, with leather thongs, haire and all on, to make them giue place. And many noble women and gentle women alſo, goe of purpoſe to ſtand in their way, and doe put forth their handes to be ſtriken, as ſchollers hold them out to their ſchoolemaſter, to be ſtriken with the ferula: perſwading themſelues that being with childe, they ſhall haue good deliuerie, and alſo being barren, that it will make them to conceiue with childe. *Cæſar* ſate to beholde that ſport vpon the pulpit for orations, in a chaire of golde, apparelled in triumphing manner.

*Antonius being Conſull, was one of the Lupercalians.*

*Antonius preſented the Diademe to Cæſar.*

*Antonius* who was Conſull at that time, was one of them that ranne this holy courſe. So when he came into the market place, the people made a lane for him to runne at libertie, and he came to *Cæſar*, and preſented him a Diademe wreathed about with laurell. Whereupon there roſe a certaine cry of reioycing, not very great, done onely by a few, appointed for the purpoſe. But when *Cæſar* refuſed the Diademe, then all the people together made an outcery of ioy. Then *Antonius* offering it him again, there was a ſecond ſhout of ioy, but yet of a few. But when *Cæſar* refuſed it againe the ſecond time, then all the whole people ſhouted. *Cæſar* hauing made this proofe, found that the people did not like of it, and thereupon roſe out of his chaire, and commanded the crowne to be caried vnto *Iupiter* in the Capitoll. After that, there were ſet vp images of *Cæſar* in the city with Diadems vpon their heades, like kings. Thoſe, the two Tribunes, *Flauius* and *Marullus*, went and pulled downe: and furthermore, meeting with them that firſt ſaluted *Cæſar* as king, they committed them to priſon. The people followed them reioycing at it, and called them *Brutes*: becauſe of *Brutus*, who had in old time driuen the kings out of ROME, and that brought the kingdome of one perſon, vnto the gouernment of the Senate and people. *Cæſar* was ſo offended withall, that he depriued *Marullus* and *Flauius* of their Tribuneſhips, and accuſing them, he ſpake alſo againſt the people, and called them *Bruti*, and *Cumani*, to wit, beaſts, and fooles. Hereuppon the people went ſtraight vnto *Marcus Brutus*, who from his father came of the firſt *Brutus*, and by his mother, of the houſe of the *Seruilians*, a noble houſe as any was in ROME, and was alſo nephew and ſonne in law of *Marcus Cato*. Notwithſtanding, the great honors and fauor *Cæſar* ſhewed vnto him, kept him backe that of him ſelfe alone, hee did not conſpire nor conſent to depoſe him of his kingdome. For *Cæſar* did not onely ſaue his life, after the battell of Pharſalia when *Pompey* fled, and did at his requeſt alſo ſaue many moe of his friends beſides: but furthermore, he put a maruellous confidence in him. For he had already preferred him to the Pretorſhip for that yeare, and furthermore was appointed to be Conſull, the fourth year after that, hauing through *Cæſars* friendſhip, obtained it before *Caſsius*, who likewiſe made ſute for the ſame: and *Cæſar* alſo, as it is reported, ſayd in this contention, in deed *Caſsius* hath alleaged beſt reaſon, but yet ſhall he not be choſen before *Brutus*. Some one day accuſing *Brutus* while hee practiſed this conſpiracy, *Cæſar* would not heare of it, but clapping his hand on his body, told them, *Brutus* will looke for this skinne: meaning thereby, that *Brutus* for his vertue, deſerued to rule after him, but yet, that for ambitions ſake, hee would not ſhew him ſelfe vnthankefull or diſhonorable. Now they that deſired chaunge, and wiſhed *Brutus* onely their Prince and Gouernor aboue all other: they durſt not come to him them ſelues to tell him what they would haue him to doe, but in the night did caſt ſundry papers into the Prætors ſeate where hee gaue audience, and the moſt of them to this effect. Thou ſleepeſt *Brutus*, and art not *Brutus* in deede. *Caſsius* finding *Brutus* ambition ſturred vp the more by theſe ſeditious bils, did pricke him forward, and egge him on the more, for a priuat quarrell he had conceiued againſt *Cæſar*: the circumſtance whereof, we haue ſet downe more at large in *Brutus* life. *Cæſar* alſo had *Caſsius* in great gealouſie, and ſuſpected him much: whereuppon he ſayed on a time to his friends, what will *Caſsius* doe, thinke ye? I like not his pale looks. An other time when *Cæſars* friends complained vnto him of *Antonius* and *Dolabella*, that they pretended ſome miſchiefe towards him: he anſwered them againe, as for thoſe fat men and ſmooth comed heads, ꝙ hee, I neuer reckon of them: but theſe pale viſaged and carian leane people, I feare them moſt, meaning *Brutus* and *Caſsius*. Certainely, deſtiny may eaſier be foreſeene, then auoyded: conſidering the ſtrange and wonderfull ſignes that were ſayd to be ſeene before *Cæſars* death. For, touching the fires in the element, and ſpirites running vp and downe in the night, and alſo the ſolitary birdes to be ſeene at noone dayes ſitting in the great market place: are not all theſe ſignes perhappes worth the noting, in ſuch a wonderfull chaunce as happened. But *Strabo* the Philoſopher writeth, that diuers men were ſeene going vp and downe in fire: and furthermore, that there was a ſlaue of the ſouldiers, that did caſt a maruellous burning flame out of his hand, inſomuch as they that ſaw it, thought he had bene burnt, but when the fire was our, it was found he had no hurt. *Cæſar* ſelfe alſo doing ſacrifice vnto the goddes, found that one of the beaſtes which was ſacrificed had no heart: and that was a ſtrange thing in nature, how a beaſt could liue without a heart. Furthermore, there was a certaine Soothſayer that had giuen *Cæſar* warning long time afore, to take heede of the day of the Ides of March, (which is the fifteenth of the moneth) for on that day he ſhould be in great daunger. That day being come, *Cæſar* going vnto the Senate houſe, and ſpeaking merily vnto the Soothſayer, tolde him, the Ides of Marche be come: ſo be they, ſoftly aunſwered the Soothſayer, but yet are they not paſt. And

*Cæſar ſaued Marcus Brutus life, after the battell of Pharſalia.*

*Brutus conſpireth againſt Cæſar.*

*Caſſius ſtirreth vp Brutus againſt Cæſar.*

*Predictions & foreſhewes of Cæſars death.*

*Cæſars day of his death prognoſticated by a Soothſayer.*

the very day before, *Cæſar* ſupping with *Marcus Lepidus*, ſealed certaine letters as he was wont to do at the bord: ſo talke falling out amongeſt them, reaſoning what death was beſt: hee preuenting their opinions, cried out aloud, death vnlooked for. Then going to bed the ſame night as his maner was, and lying with his wife *Calpurnia*, all the windowes and dores of his chamber flying open, the noiſe awoke him, and made him afraied when he ſaw ſuch light: but more, when he heard his wife *Calpurnia*, being faſt a ſleepe, weepe and ſigh, and put forth many ſumbling lamentable ſpeaches. For ſhee dreamed that *Cæſar* was ſlaine, and that ſhee had him in her armes. Others alſo do deny that ſhee had any ſuch dreame, as amoneſt other, *Titus Liuius* writeth, that it was in this ſort. The Senate hauing ſet vpon the top of *Cæſars* houſe, for an ornament and ſetting forth of the ſame, a certaine pinnacle: *Calpurnia* dreamed that ſhee ſaw it broken down, and that ſhee thought ſhee lamented and wept for it. Inſomuch that *Cæſar* riſing in the morning, ſhee prayd him if it wer poſſible, not to go out of the dores that day, but to adiorne the ſeſſion of the Senate, vntill an other day. And if that hee made no reckoning of her dreame, yet that he would ſearch further of the Soothſayers by their ſacrifices, to know what ſhould happen him that day. Thereby it ſeemed that *Cæſar* likewiſe did feare and ſuſpect ſomewhat, becauſe his wife *Calpurnia* vntill that time, was neuer giuen to any feare or ſuperſtition: and then, for that he ſaw her ſo troubled in minde with this dreame ſhee had. But much more afterwards, when the Soothſayers hauing ſacrificed many beaſts one after an other, tolde him that none did like them: then he determined to ſend *Antonius* to adiorne the ſeſſion of the Senate. But in the meane time came *Decius Brutus*, ſurnamed *Albinus*, in whom *Cæſar* put ſuch confidence, that in his laſt will and teſtament he had appointed him to be his next heire, and yet was of the conſpiracy with *Caſsius* and *Brutus*: he fearing that if *Cæſar* did adiorne the ſeſſion that day, the conſpiracy would out, laughed the Soothſaiers to ſcorne, and reproued *Cæſar*, ſaying: that he gaue the Senate occaſion to miſlike with him, and that they might thinke hee mocked them, conſidering that by his commaundement they were aſſembled, and that they were ready willingly to graunt him all things, and to proclaime him king of all the prouinces of the Empire of ROME out of ITALY, and that he ſhould weare his Diadem in all other places both by ſea and land. And furthermore, that if any man ſhould tell them from him, they ſhould depart for that preſent time, and returne againe when *Calpurnia* ſhould haue better dreames: what would his enemies and ill willers ſay, and how could they like of his friends words? And who could perſwade them otherwiſe, but that they would thinke his dominion a ſlauery vnto them, and tyrannicall in him ſelfe? And yet if it be ſo, ſayd he, that you vtterly miſlike of this day, it is better that you goe your ſelfe in perſon, and ſaluting the Senate, to diſmiſſe them till an other time. Therewithall he tooke *Cæſar* by the hand, and brought him out of his houſe. *Cæſar* was not gone farre from his houſe, but a bondman, a ſtranger, did what hee could to ſpeake with him: and when he ſaw he was put backe by the great preaſe and multitude of people that followed him, he went ſtraight into his houſe, and put him ſelfe into *Calpurniaes* hands to be kept, till *Cæſar* came backe againe, telling her that he had great matters to impart vnto him. And one *Artemidorus* alſo borne in the Ile of GNIDOS, a Doctor of Rethoricke in the Greeke tongue, who by meanes of his profeſsion was very familiar with certaine of *Brutus* confederates, and therefore knew the moſt part of all their practiſes againſt *Cæſar*: came and brought him a litle bill written with his owne hand, of all that he ment to tell him. He marking how *Cæſar* receiued all the ſupplications that were offered him, and that hee gaue them ſtraight to his men that were about him, preſſed nearer to him, and ſayed: *Cæſar*, reade this memoriall to your ſelfe, and that quickly, for they be matters of great waight and touch you nearely. *Cæſar* tooke it of him, but could neuer read it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did ſalute him: but holding it ſtill in his hand, keeping it to him ſelfe, went on withall into the Senate houſe. Howbeit other are of opinion, that it was ſome man elſe that gaue him that memoriall, and not *Artemidorus*, who did what he could all the way as he went to giue it *Cæſar*, but he was alwayes repulſed by the people. For theſe things, they may ſeeme to come by chaunce: but the place where the murther was prepared, and where the Senate were aſſembled, and where alſo there ſtood vp an image of *Pompey* dedicated by him ſelfe amongeſt other ornaments which he gaue vnto the Theater: all theſe were

*The dreame of Calpurnia, Cæſars wife.*

*Decius Brutus Albinus perſwaſion to Cæſar.*

*Decius Brutus brought Cæſar into the Senate houſe.*

*The tokens of the conſpiracy againſt Cæſar.*

*The place where Cæſar was ſlaine.*

manifeſt proofes that it was the ordinaunce of ſome god, that made this treaſon to be executed, ſpecially in that very place. It is alſo reported, that *Caſſius* (though otherwiſe hee did fauour the doctrine of *Epicurus*) beholding the image of *Pompey*, before they entred into the action of their traiterous enterpriſe: hee did ſoftly call vppon it, to aide him. But the inſtant danger of the preſent time, taking away his former reaſon, did ſodainly put him into a furious paſſion, and made him like a man halfe beſides him ſelfe. Now *Antonius*, that was a faithfull friend to *Cæſar*, and a valiant man beſides of his handes, him, *Decius Brutus Albinus* entertained out of the Senate houſe, hauing begunne a long tale of ſet purpoſe. So *Cæſar* comming into the houſe, all the Senate ſtoode vp on their feete to doe him honor. Then part of *Brutus* company and confederates ſtoode round about *Cæſars* chayre, and part of them alſo came towardes him, as though they made ſute with *Metellus Cimber*, to call home his brother againe from baniſhment: and thus proſecuting ſtill their ſute, they followed *Cæſar*, till hee was ſet in his chaire. Who, denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after an other, becauſe the more they were denied, the more they preſſed vppon him, and were the earneſter with him: *Metellus* at length, taking his gowne with both his hands, pulled it ouer his necke, which was the ſigne giuen the confederats to ſet vppon him. Then *Caſca* behinde him ſtrake him in the necke with his ſword, howbeit the wound was not great nor mortall, becauſe it ſeemed, the feare of ſuch a deuiliſh attempt did amaze him, and take his ſtrength from him, that he killed him not at the firſt blow. But *Cæſar* turning ſtraight vnto him, caught hold of his ſword, and held it hard: & they both cried out, *Cæſar* in Latin: O vile traitor *Caſca*, what doeſt thou? And *Caſca* in Greeke to his brother, brother, helpe mee. At the beginning of this ſtur, they that were preſent, not knowing of the conſpiracy, were ſo amazed with the horrible ſight they ſaw: they had no power to flie, neither to helpe him, not ſo much, as once to make any outcry. They on the other ſide that had conſpired his death, cōpaſſed him in on euerie ſide with their ſwords drawen in their hands, that *Cæſar* turned him no where, but hee was ſtriken at by ſome, and ſtill had naked ſwords in his face, and was hacked and mangled among them, as a wilde beaſt taken of hunters. For it was agreede among them, that euery man ſhould giue him a wound, becauſe all their parts ſhould be in this murther: and then *Brutus* him ſelfe gaue him one wound about his priuities. Men report alſo, that *Cæſar* did ſtill defend him ſelfe againſt the reſt, running euery way with his body: but when he ſaw *Brutus* with his ſword drawen in his hand, then he pulled his gowne ouer his head, and made no more reſiſtaunce, and was driuen either caſually, or purpoſedly, by the counſell of the conſpirators, againſt the baſe whereupon *Pompeys* image ſtoode, which ran all of a goare bloud till he was ſlaine. Thus it ſeemed, that the image tooke iuſt reuenge of *Pompeys* enemy, being throwen downe on the ground at his feete, and yeelding vp his ghoſt there, for the number of wounds he had vpon him. For it is reported, that he had three and twenty wounds vpon his body: and diuers of the conſpirators did hurt themſelues, ſtriking one body with ſo many blowes. When *Cæſar* was ſlaine, the Senate (though *Brutus* ſtood in the middeſt amongſt them as though he would haue ſaied ſomewhat touching this fact) preſently ran out of the houſe, and flying, filled all the city with maruellous feare and tumult. Inſomuch as ſome did ſhut to their dores, others forſooke their ſhops and warehouſes, and others ranne to the place to ſee what the matter was: and others alſo that had ſeene it, ran home to their houſes again. But *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, which were two of *Cæſars* chiefeſt friends, ſecretly conueying them ſelues away, fled into other mens houſes, and forſooke their own. *Brutus* and his confederats on the other ſide, being yet hot with this murther they had committed, hauing their ſwords drawen in their hands, came all in a troupe together out of the Senate, and went into the market place, not as men that made countenaunce to flie, but otherwiſe boldly holding vp their heades like men of courage, and called to the people to defend their liberty, and ſtayed to ſpeake with euery great perſonage whom they met in their way. Of them, ſome followed this troupe, and went amongeſt them, as if they had bene of the conſpiracy, and falſely chalenged part of the honor with them: amongeſt them was *Caius Octauius*, and *Lentulus Spinther*. But both of them were afterwards put to death, for their vaine couetouſnes of honour, by *Antonius*, and *Octauius Cæſar* the younger: and yet had no part of that honor for the which they were put to death, neither did any man beleeue that they were

*Antonius Cæſars faithfull friend.*

*Caſca, the firſt that ſtrake at Cæſar.*

*Cæſar ſlaine and had 23. wounds vpon him.*

*The murtherers of Cæſar doe goe to the Capitoll.*

any of the confederats, or of counſell with them. For they that did put them to death, tooke reuenge rather of the wil they had to offend, then of any fact they had committed. The next morning, *Brutus* and his confederates came into the market place to ſpeake vnto the people, who gaue them ſuch audience, that it ſeemed they neither greatly reproued, nor allowed the fact: for by their great ſilence they ſhewed, that they were ſory for *Cæſars* death, and alſo that they did reuerence *Brutus*. Now the Senate granted generall pardon for all that was paſt, and to pacifie euery man, ordained beſides, that *Cæſars* funerals ſhould bee honored as a god, and eſtabliſhed all things that he had done: and gaue certain prouinces alſo, and conuenient honors vnto *Brutus* and his confederates, whereby euery man thought all things were brought to good peace and quietnes againe. But when they had opened *Cæſars* teſtament, and found a liberall legacie of money, bequeathed vnto euery citizen of ROME, and that they ſaw his body (which was brought into the market place) all bemangled with gaſhes of ſwords: then there was no order to keepe the multitude and cōmon people quiet, but they plucked vp formes, tables, & ſtooles, and layed them all about the body, and ſetting them a fire, burnt the corſe. Then when the fire was well kindled, they tooke the firebrands, and went vnto their houſes that had ſlaine *Cæſar*, to ſet them a fire. Other alſo ran vp and downe the city to ſee if they could meete with anie of them, to cut them in peeces: howbeit they could meete with neuer a man of them, becauſe they had locked them ſelues vp ſafely in their houſes. There was one of *Cæſars* friends called *Cinna*, that had a maruellous ſtrange and terrible dreame the night before. He dreamed that *Cæſar* bad him to ſupper, and that he refuſed, & would not go: then that *Cæſar* tooke him by the hand, and led him againſt his will. Now *Cinna* hearing at that time, that they burnt *Cæſars* body in the market place, notwithſtanding that he feared his dreame, and had an ague on him beſides: he went into the market place to honor his funerals. When he came thither, one of the meane ſort asked him what his name was? He was ſtraight called by his name. The firſt man tolde it to an other, and that other vnto an other, ſo that it ranne ſtraight through them all, that hee was one of them that murdered *Cæſar*: (for in deede one of the traitors to *Cæſar*, was alſo called *Cinna* as him ſelfe) wherefore taking him for *Cinna* the murderer, they fell vppon him with ſuch fury, that they preſently diſpatched him in the market place. This ſturre and fury made *Brutus* and *Caſsius* more afraied, then of all that was paſt, and therefore within few dayes after, they departed out of ROME: and touching their doings afterwards, & what calamity they ſuffered till their deaths, we haue written it at large, in the life of *Brutus*. *Cæſar* died at ſix and fifty yeares of age: and *Pompey* alſo liued not paſſing foure yeares more then he. So he reaped no other fruite of all his raigne and dominion, which he had ſo vehemently deſired all his life, and purſued with ſuch extreame danger: but a vaine name only, and a ſuperficial glory, that procured him the enuy and hatred of his countrey. But his great proſperity and good fortune that fauored him al his life time, did cōtinue afterwards in the reuenge of his death, purſuing the murtherers both by ſea and land, till they had not left a man more to be executed, of all them that were actors or counſellers in the conſpiracy of his death. Furthermore, of all the chaunces that happen vnto men vpon the earth, that which came to *Caſsius* aboue all other, is moſt to be wōdred at. For he being ouercome in battel at the iorney of Philippes, ſlue him ſelfe with the ſame ſword, with the which he ſtrake *Cæſar*. Againe, of ſigns in the element, the great comet which ſeuen nights together was ſeene very bright after *Cæſars* death, the eight night after was neuer ſeene more. Alſo the brightnes of the ſun was darkened, the which all that yeare through roſe very pale, & ſhined not out, whereby it gaue but ſmall heat: therefore the aire being very cloudy and dark, by the weaknes of the heat that could not come forth, did cauſe the earth to bring forth but raw and vnripe fruit, which rotted before it could ripe. But aboue all, the ghoſt that appeared vnto *Brutus* ſhewed plainely, that the gods were offended with the murther of *Cæſar*. The viſion was thus. *Brutus* being ready to paſſe ouer his army from the city of ABYDOS, to the other coaſt lying directly againſt it, ſlept euery night (as his manner was) in his tent, and being yet awake, thinking of his affaires: (for by report hee was as carefull a Captaine, and liued with as litle ſleepe, as euer man did) he thought he heard a noiſe at his tent dore, and looking towards the light of the lampe that waxed very dimme, he ſaw a horrible viſion of a man, of a wonderfull greatnes, and dreadfull looke, which at the firſt made him maruellouſly afraid.

*Cæſars funerals.*

*Cinnaes dream of Cæſar.*

*The murther of Cinna.*

*Cæſar 56. yeare old at his death*

*The reuenge of Cæſars death.*

*Caſsius being ouerthrowen at the battell of Philippes, ſlue himſelfe with the ſelfe ſame ſword, wherewith he ſtrake Cæſar.*

*Wonders ſeene in the element after Cæſars death.*

*A great comet.*

*Brutus viſion.*

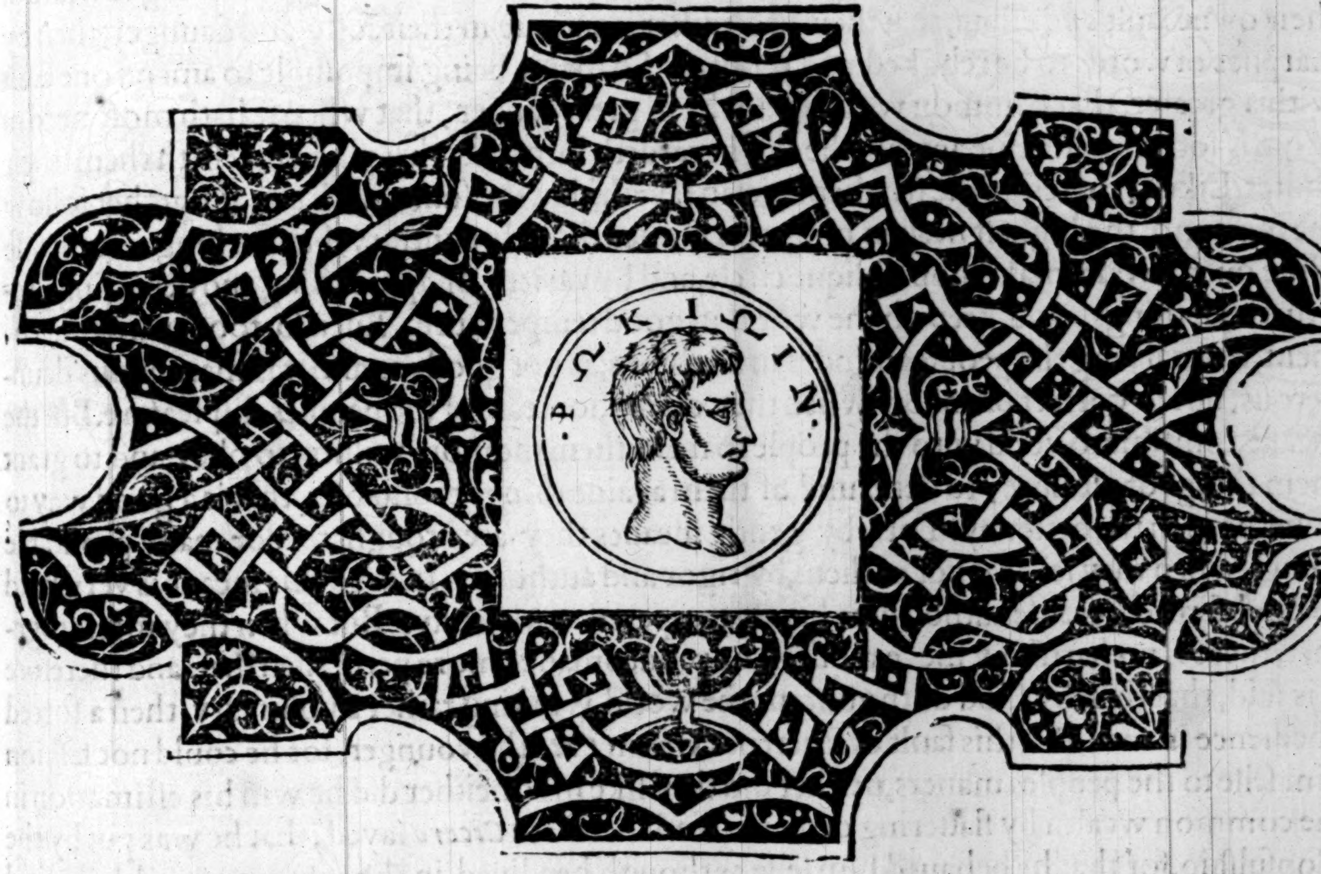
*A ſpirit appeared vnto Brutus.*

But when he ſaw that it did him no hurt, but ſtoode by his bed ſide, and ſayd nothing: at length he asked him what he was. The image aunſwered him: I am thy ill angell, *Brutus*, and thou ſhalt ſee me by the city of PHILIPPES. Then *Brutus* replied againe, and ſayed: well, I ſhall ſee thee then. Therewithall, the ſpirite preſently vaniſhed from him. After that time *Brutus* being in battell neare vnto the city of PHILIPPES, againſt *Antonius* and *Octauius Cæſar*, at the firſt battell he wan the victory, and ouerthrowing all them that withſtoode him, he draue them into young *Cæſars* campe, which he tooke. The ſecond battell being at hand, this ſpirit appeared againe vnto him, but ſpake neuer a word. Thereuppon *Brutus* knowing hee ſhould die, did put him ſelfe to all hazard in battell, but yet fighting could not be ſlaine. So ſeeing his men put to flight and ouerthrowen, he ranne vnto a litle rocke not farre off, and there ſetting his ſwordes point to his breſt, fell vpon it, and ſlue him ſelſe, but yet as it is reported, with the helpe of his friend that diſpatched him.

*The ſecond appearing of the ſpirite vnto Brutus.*

*The end of Cæſars life.*

# THE LIFE OF *Phocion.*



THe Orator *Demades* on a time floriſhed in ATHENS, becauſe in all his doings and ſayings in the adminiſtration and gouernment of the common wealth, he alwayes fauored the MACEDONIANS and *Antipater*: in reſpect whereof he was eftſoones compelled, both in his counſell and lawes, to preferre many things to the diſhonor of his city, ſaying, that they muſt pardon him, becauſe he gouerned the ſhippewracks of his country. This was an arrogant ſpeach: but yet referring it to the gouernment of *Phocion* he ſayd truely. For in deede *Demades* ſelfe was the ſhipwracke of the common weale, becauſe hee liued ſo inſolently, and gouerned ſo lewdly. Inſomuch as *Antipater* ſayd of him, after he was very old: that there was nothing left of him, no more then of a beaſt ſacrificed, but the tongue and belly. But the vertues of *Phocion*, which had to fight againſt the cruell and bitter enemy of the time, were ſo obſcured by the calamities of GREECE: that his fame was nothing ſo great as he deſerued. For we muſt not credit *Sophocles* words, making vertue of it ſelſe but weake, in theſe verſes.

*Demades arrogant ſaying.*

*VVhen ſtormes of ſore aduerſities (ô king) doe men aſſaile,*
*It daunts their corage, cuts their combs, and makes their hearts to quaile.*

*The power of vertue and fortune.*

*Aduerſity maketh men haſty.*

But we muſt onely giue place to fortune, who when ſhee frowneth vppon any good and vertuous men, her force is ſo great, that where they deſerue honor and fauor, ſhe violently heapeth falſe and malicious accuſations againſt them, which maketh their vertue lame, and not of that credite which in deede it deſerueth. And yet it ſeemeth to many, that free cities are moſt cruel vnto their good citizens in time of proſperity: becauſe they flow in wealth & liue at eaſe, which maketh them of haughty minds But it is cleane contrary. For aduerſity commonly maketh mens maners ſower, chollericke, and very haſty: beſides, ſlow to heare, churliſh, and offended with euery litle ſharpe word. For he that correcteth them that offend, ſeemeth to caſt their aduerſity in their teeth: and hee that telleth them plainely of their faultes, ſeemeth alſo to deſpiſe them. For like as honny ſweete by nature, applied vnto woundes, doth bring both ſmart and paine: euen ſo, ſharpe wordes, though profitable, doe bite the vnfortunate man, if they be not tempered with diſcretion & curteſie. And therefore *Homer* the Poet calleth ſweete and pleaſaunt things μενοεικῆ, as yeelding and not ſtriuing with contrariety, againſt that part of the minde, whereby we be angry and froward. For euen as ſore eyes doe like to looke on blacke and darke colors, and can not abide the bright and glaring: ſo in a city, where for want of foreſight and gouernment, things goe not well, men be ſo diuers and vnwilling to heare of their owne fault and eſtate, that they had rather continue in their folly and daunger, then by ſharpnes of words to be rebuked and reſtored. So that it being impoſſible to amend one fault with a greater, that common wealth muſt be in great danger, that when it hath moſt need of helpe, is lotheſt to receiue any: and he alſo hazardeth him ſelfe, that plainely telleth them their faultes. Like as therefore the Mathematician ſayeth, that the ſunne doth not altogether follow the motion of the higheſt heauen, nor yet is moued directly contrary, but fetching a compaſſe a litle ouerthwart, maketh an oblique circle, and by variety of approching and departing preſerueth all things, and keepeth the world in good temperature. Euen ſo, too ſeuere gouernment, contrarying the peoples mindes in all things, is not good: as alſo it is maruellous daungerous, not to correct offendors when they offend, for feare of the peoples diſpleaſure. But the meane, ſomtime to yeeld vnto the people to make them the more willing to obey, and to grant them things of pleaſure, to demaund of them againe things profitable: that is a good way to gouerne men the better by. For, by gentle meanes they are brought to doe many profitable things, when they ſeeke it not of them, by rigor and authority. In deed this meane is very hard to be obſerued, becauſe authority is hardly tempered with lenity. But when they meete together, there is no harmony more muſicall, nor concordance more perfit then that: and therefore it is ſaid, that thereby God doth gouerne the world, working rather a voluntary, then a forced obedience in men. But this fault of ſeuerenes was in *Cato* the younger, for he could not faſhion him ſelfe to the peoples maners, neither did they like his: neither did he win his eſtimation in the common wealth by flattering of them. And therefore *Cicero* ſayed, that he was put by the Conſulſhip, for that he behaued him ſelfe as though hee liued in the common wealth deuiſed by *Plato*, and not amongeſt the diſordered and corrupt poſterity of *Romulus* Me thinketh I can liken him properly vnto vntimely fruite: the which though men doe take pleaſure to ſee and wonder at, yet they eate them not. Euen ſo, the auncient ſimplicity of *Catoes* maner (hauing ſo long time bene out of vſe, and comming then to ſhew it ſelfe in that corrupt time & ill maners of the city) was in deede much praiſe worthy: but yet not the conuenienteſt, nor the fitteſt for him, becauſe it aunſwered nor reſpected not the vſe and manners of his time. For he found not his country (as *Phocion* did) vtterly deſtroyed, but toſſed in a dangerous tempeſt: and being not of authority like the pilot to take the ſterne in hand, and gouerne the ſhip: hee tooke him ſelfe to tricking the ſailes, and preparing the tacle, ſo to aſſiſt men of greater power. And yet being in no greater place, he ſo thwarted fortune (which ſeemed to haue ſworne the ouerthrowe of the eſtate of ROME) that with much a do, with great difficulty, and a long time after, ſhe executed her malice. And yet the common wealth had almoſt gotten the victory of her, by meanes of *Cato* and his vertue: with whom I do compare the vertue of *Phocion*, who yet in my opinion were not in all things alike, neither in their honeſty, nor policy of gouernment. For there is

*Ciceroes ſaying of Cato, and the common wealth at Rome.*

*Catoes plaine maner, became not the corrupt and ſubtill time.*

difference betwixt manhood and manhood,as there was betwixt that of *Alcibiades*, & that of *Epaminondas* : betwixt wiſdom and wiſdom,as betwixt that of *Ariſtides*, & that of *Themiſtocles*:& betwixt iuſtice and iuſtice, as betwixt that of *Numa*,& that of *Ageſilaus*.But the vertues of theſe men(to him that ſhall ſuperficially regard, and lightly conſider them) ſeeme all one in qualitie,in maner,& vſe,both alike in temperance of curteſy with ſeueritie,& manhood with wiſdom:a vigilant care for others, with preſence of corage & ſecuritie of mind for thẽſelues, abhorring all filthines & corruptiõ,and imbraſing cõſtancy & loue of iuſtice : that for any mã to diſcerne the difference betwene thẽ, it requireth an excellent good wit & iudgment. Now touching *Cato*,euery man knoweth that he was of a noble houſe,as we wil ſhew you hereafter in his life:but for *Phocion*,I geſſe he came of no baſe parentage. For if he had bene the ſonne of a ſpoonmaker, as *Idomeneus* teſtifieth : *Glaucippus* the ſon of *Hyperides*,hauing in an inuectiue he wrote againſt him,rehearſed all the miſchiefs he could of him,he would not haue forgottẽ to haue vpbraid him with his baſe parẽtage, neither he himſelf alſo(if that had bene true)had bene ſo well brought vp as he was.For when he was but a yong man,he was *Platoes* ſcholler, and afterwards *Xenocrates* ſcholler,in the ſchoole of Academia : and ſo,euen from his firſt beginning, he gaue himſelfe to followe them that were learned. For as *Duris* writeth , neuer ATHENIANS ſaw him weepe nor laugh,nor waſh himſelfe in any common bath,nor his hands out of his ſleeues when he wore a long gown. For when he went to the warres,he would alwaies goe a foote,and neuer wore gowne, vnles it were extreame cold : and then the ſouldiers to mocke him withall, would ſay it was a ſigne of a ſharpe winter, when they ſawe *Phocion* in his gowne. Now, though in deede he was very courteous and gentle of nature , yet he had ſuch a grymme looke withall,that no man had any deſire to talke with him,but ſuch as were of his familiar acquaintance . And therefore when *Chares* the Orator one day mocked him for the bending of his browes , and that the ATHENIANS fell in a laughter withall : My Maſters, ꝙ *Phocion*,the bending of my browes haue done you no hurt, but the foolery and laughing of theſe flatterers , haue made ye oftentimes to weepe. Furthermore, his maner of ſpeech was very profitable, for the good ſentences and counſels he vttered : but it was mixed with an imperious, auſtere, and bitter ſhortnes. For as *Zeno* the Philoſopher ſaieth , that the wiſe man ſhould temper his wordes with wit and reaſon , before he vtter them : euen ſo was *Phocions* ſpeech,the which in few words comprehended much matter. And thereupon it ſeemeth that *Polyeuctus* SPHETTIAN ſaid, that *Demoſthenes* was an excellent Orator, but in ſpeech, *Phocion* was very wittie. For like as coynes of gold or ſiluer,the lighter they weigh,the finer they be of goodneſſe : euen ſo the excellencie of ſpeech conſiſteth in ſignifying much by fewe wordes. And touching this matter, it is reported that the Theater being full of people, *Phocion* walked all alone vpon the ſcaffold where the players played , and was in a great muſe with himſelfe : whereupon, one of his friendes ſeeing him ſo in his muſes, ſaid vnto him , Surely *Phocion*, thy minde is occupied about ſomewhat. Indeed it is ſo ſayed he : for I am thinking with my ſelfe , if I could abridge any thing of that I haue to ſay to the people. For *Demoſthenes* ſelfe litle eſteeming all other Orators , when *Phocion* roſe vp to ſpeake, he would round his friendes in the eares,and told them: See,the cutter of my wordes riſeth. Peraduenture he ment it by his manners alſo: For when a good man ſpeaketh,not a word only,but a wincke of an eie, or a nod of his head, doth counteruaile many artificiall words & ſpeeches of Rethoricians. Furthermore, when he was a young man,he went to the wars vnder Captaine *Chabrias*,and followed him: of whom he learned to be a perfit ſouldier, and in recompence thereof, hee reformed many of his Captaines imperfections,and made him wiſer then he was. For *Chabrias* otherwiſe being very dull and ſlothfull of him ſelfe, when he came to fight, he was ſo hot and couragious, that he would thruſt him ſelfe into danger,with the deſperateſt perſons:and therefore for his raſhenes,it afterwards coſt him his life,in the city of CHIO , where lanching out with his gally before the reſt, he preſſed to land in deſpite of his enemies.But *Phocion* being wiſe to looke to him ſelfe,and very quicke to execute: on the one ſide quickned *Chabrias* ſlownes , and on the other ſide alſo,by wiſdome cooled his heate and fury. *Chabrias* therefore,being a good man and curteous,loued *Phocion* very well,and did preferre him in matters of ſeruice, making him famous amongeſt the GRECIANS, and employed him in his hardieſt enterpriſes. For by his meanes

*The parentage of Phocion.*

*Phocion neuer wept nor laughed.*

*Phocions maners.*

*Wherein excellencie of ſpeech conſiſteth.*

*Phocions firſt ſouldierfare.*

*The victorie of Chabrias & Phocion in the Ile of Naxos.*

he atchieued great fame and honor in a battell by ſea, which he wanne by the Ile of Naxos, giuing him the left wing of his armie, on which ſide the fight was ſharpeſt of all the battell, and there he ſooneſt put the enemies to flight. This battell being the firſt which the citie of Athens wanne with their owne men onely, after it had bene taken: gaue the people cauſe to loue *Chabrias*, and made them alſo to make account of *Phocion*, as of a noble ſoldier, and worthy to haue charge. This victory was gotten on the feaſt day of the great miſteries, in memory whereof *Chabrias* did yerely on the ſixtenth day of the moneth Boedromion (now called Auguſt) make all the people of Athens drinke. After that time *Chabrias* ſending *Phocion* to receiue the tribute of the Ilanders, their confederates, and the ſhippes which they ſhould ſend him: he gaue him twentie gallies to bring him thither. But *Phocion* then (as it is reported) ſaid vnto him: if he ſent him to fight with his enemies, he had need to haue more ſhips: but if he ſent him as an Ambaſſador vnto his friendes, then that one ſhippe would ſerue his turne. So he went with one galley onely: and after he had ſpoken with the cities, and courteouſly dealt with the gouernors of euery one of them, he returned backe, furniſhed of their confederates, with a great fleete of ſhippes and money, to carie vnto Athens. So *Phocion* did not onely reuerence *Chabrias* while he liued, but after his death alſo he tooke great care of his friends and kinſmen, and ſought to make his ſonne *Cteſippus*, an honeſt man: whom though he ſaw very wilde and vntoward, yet he neuer left to reforme him, and hide his fault. It is ſayed alſo, that when this yong man did trouble him much with vaine friuolous queſtions, ſeruing then vnder him, he being Captaine, and taking vpon him to giue him counſell, to reproue him, and to teach him the dutie of a Captaine: he could not but ſay, O *Chabrias Chabrias*: nowe doe I pay for the loue thou diddeſt beare me when thou wert aliue, in bearing with the folly of thy ſonne. But when he ſaw that the heads of the citie of Athens had as it were by lot deuided among themſelues the offices of warre and peace, and that ſome of them, as *Eubulus*, *Ariſtophon*, *Demoſthenes*, *Lycurgus*, and *Hyperides* were common ſpeakers and preferrers of matters in councels and Senate: and that others, as *Diopithes*, *Meneſtheus*, *Leoſthenes*, and *Chares*, became great men by the warres, and had charge of armies: he determined rather to follow the manner of gouernment, of *Pericles*, *Ariſtides*, and *Solon*, as being mingled of both. For either of them ſeemed (as the Poet *Archilochus* ſaith)

*To be both champions ſtout, of Marſis warlike band,*
*And of the Muſes eke, the artes to vnderſtand.*

He knew alſo, that *Pallas* the goddeſſe and protector of Athens, was called *Polemica*, and *Politica*: to wit, ſkilfull to rule both in warre and peace. So, hauing thus diſpoſed of himſelfe in gouernment, he alwaies perſwaded peace and quietnes, and yet was often choſen Captaine, and had charge of armies, being the onely man that of all the Captaines afore him, and in his time, did neuer ſue for charge, neither yet refuſed it at any time, when he was called to ſerue the common wealth. It is certaine that hee was choſen fiue and forty times Prætor, and was alwaies abſent at the elections, but yet ſent for. Whereuppon all the wiſe men wondered to ſee the manner of the people towards him, conſidering that *Phocion* had neuer done nor ſayed any thing to flatter them withall, but commonly had bene againſt their deſires: and how they vſed other gouernours notwithſtanding, that were more pleaſant and delightfull in their orations, like men to ſport at, as it is ſayed of kings, who after they haue waſhed their handes to go to their meate, doe vſe to haue Ieſters and flatterers to make them merry: but on the other ſide when they had occaſion of warres in deed, how then like wiſe men they could bethinke themſelues, and chooſe the wiſeſt and ſtouteſt man of the city, and that moſt would withſtand their mindes and deſires. For on a time an oracle of *Apollo Delphias*, being openly red before them, which ſayd, that all the other Athenians being agreed, yet there was one among them that was contrary to all the reſt of the city: *Phocion* ſtepping forth before them all, bad them neuer ſeeke further for the man, for it was he that liked none of al their doings. An other time he chaunced to ſay his opinion before all the people, the which they all praiſed and approued: but he ſaw they were ſo ſodainely become of his minde, he turned backe to his friends, and aſked them: alas, hath not ſome euill thing ſlipped my mouth vnwares? An other time a generall collection being gathered of the people at Athens, towards the ſolemnizing of a ſacrifice:

*Phocions notable ſayings.*

fice: other men of his ſtate hauing payed their parte, he was often alſo called vpon to pay his. But he anſwered them againe, aske them that be rich, for it were a ſhame for me to giue you any thing, being yet in this mans debt: pointing to *Callicles* the vſurer, who had lent him money. But when they left him not for all this, to cry out vpon him for the contribution, he begã to tell them this tale: that on a time there was a coward preparing to goe to the warres, and as he was readie to depart, he heard the rauens what a crying they made, and taking it for an ill ſigne, he put off his harnes, and kept him at home. After that he put on his harnes again, and went on his way towardes the campe: the rauens beganne againe to make a goodlier crie behind him. But thereupon he ſtaied ſtraight, and at length ſayed: ye ſhall crooke as loude as ye liſt, before ye feede on my carkas. Another time the ATHENIANS being in warre vnder his charge, would needes haue him to leade them to giue charge vppon their enemies, but he would not: thereupon they called him coward, and ſayed he durſt not. Well ſayd he againe, it is not you can make me valiant, no more then my ſelfe can make you cowards: and yet one of vs know an other. Another time in a maruellous dangerous time, the people handled him very churliſhly, and would needes haue him preſently deliuer account of his charge: but he anſwered them, O my friendes, firſt ſaue your ſelues. Furthermore, the people being very lowly and humble, for feare, in time of warres: and preſently in peace againe waxing braue in words againſt *Phocion*, charging him that he had taken the victorie out of their handes: he onely ſaid this to them, you are happy that haue a Captaine that knowes you, elſe you would ſing a new ſong. An other time there was a quarrell betwixt the BOEOTIANS, and them, about their bounds and fronters: the which they would not trie by law, but by battell. But *Phocion* told them, they did they wiſt not what, & counſelled them rather to fight it out in words, in which they were the ſtronger, & not with weapons, where they were the weaker. Another time they ſo much miſliked his opinion in the aſſembly, that they would not abide to heare him, nor ſuffer him to ſpeak. Well, my Maiſters, ꝙ he then, you may make me do that which is not to be done: but you ſhall neuer compell me againſt my minde, to ſay that which is not to be ſpoken. He would as gallantly alſo gird the Orators his aduerſaries, when they were buſie with him. As on a time he anſwered *Demoſthenes*, that ſaid vnto him: the people, *Phocion* will kill thee one day, and if it take them in the heads. Yea thee, ꝙ he, if they be wiſe. Againe, when *Polyeuctus* SPHETTIAN, in a hot day perſwaded the people of ATHENS to make warre with king *Philip*, ſweating, and with much a doe fetching his breath, being a fatte man, that he was driuen oftentimes to drinke water, to end his oration: ſurely ſaide *Phocion*, yee ſhall doe maruellous wiſely, to make warre at ſuch a mans motion. Why, what thinke ye will he do, when he hath his curates and his target vpon him, and that the enemies be ready to fight: that now in making an oration onely before you, which he hath ſtudied long before, is almoſt ſtifled? Another time alſo whẽ *Lycurgus* in his oratiõ had openly reproued him for many things before the people, and among the reſt, for that *Alexander* demaunding tenne Citizens of ATHENS to do with them what he thought good, that he had counſelled them to deliuer them: *Phocion* aunſwered him, I haue oftentimes counſelled them for the beſt, but they would neuer follow my counſell. There was one *Archibiades* at that time in ATHENS, that counterfeated the LACEDÆMONIAN, with a maruellous long beard, a beggerly cloke, & a ſower looke. *Phocion* being checkt one day before the people, appealed vnto *Archibiades* for a witneſſe, to confirme that he ſpake. But he riſing vp, counſelled the people contrarily, to flatter them withall. *Phocion* perceiuing it, took him by the beard, and ſaid vnto him: alas *Archibiades*, why diddeſt thou not then clippe thy beard, ſeeing thou wouldeſt needes flatter? There was an other great pleader, one *Ariſtogiton*, that in all the aſſemblies of the city, did nothing but buze wars continually in their eares. Afterwards when men were to be leauied and muſtered, and their names entred that ſhould goe to the warres: *Ariſtogiton* came halting into the market place with a ſtaffe in his hand, and both his legs bound vp, to make the people beleeue that he was ſicke and diſeaſed. *Phocion* ſpying *Ariſtogiton* far off, cried out to the Clearke that wrote the billes: put in *Ariſtogiton*, lame, and impudent. So that oftentimes it makes me muſe, how, or wherefore ſo ſharpe and ſeuere a man (as by theſe examples it appeareth hee was) could come to the ſurname of good. Notwithſtanding, in the end I finde it a hard thing, but not impoſſible, that

*Ariſtogiton, a Sycophant, and coward.*

a man ſhould be like wine, both ſweet and ſharpe together: as there are others to the contrary, that at the firſt ſight, ſeeme very courteous and gentle of conuerſation, and vpon better acquaintance, proue churliſh and dogged. It is reported alſo, that *Hyperides* the Orator one day ſhould ſay to the Athenians: I pray you (my Lords) note me not for my ſharpenes, but conſider if my ſharpenes be without profit. As who ſhould ſay, men are not troubleſom, but for couetouſnes only, and as if the people did not rather feare and hate them, that of inſolencie and malice, did abuſe & contemne their authoritie. *Phocion* on the other ſide, he neuer did Citizen hurt, for any priuate malice he bare him: but was euer ſharpe and cruell to them, which were againſt any matter he preferred, for the benefit of the common wealth. For in all other things, he ſhewed himſelfe maruellous lowly and curteous to euery bodie, & would be familiar with his aduerſaries, and helpe them if they wanted, or were otherwiſe in danger of diſpleaſure with the ſtate. Inſomuch as his friends therefore reproued him on a time, when he ſpake in the behalfe of a naughtie man, an offender: O ſayed he, honeſt men neede no helpe. An other time, *Ariſtogiton* the Sycophant, being clapped vp in priſon, ſent vnto *Phocion* to pray him to come and ſpeake with him, after he was condemned. *Phocion* went into the priſon to him, though his friends perſwaded him to the contrary, and anſwered them: O let me alone, ſaid he, for where could I ſee *Ariſtogiton* more gladly then in priſon? Furthermore, when there went any army to ſea out of Athens, if there were any other choſen generall but *Phocion*: the townes and Ilandes all alongeſt the ſea coaſt, (which were friends and confederates of the Athenians) fortified their wals, filled vp their hauens, and brought their wiues, ſlaues, and cattell, and all their goods into their townes and cities, as if they had bene enemies, & open war proclaimed. Contrarily alſo, if *Phocion* had bene Captaine and generall, they would ſend out their ſhippes to the ſea to meete him a farre off, crowned with garlands in token of common ioy, and ſo would bring him to their cities. King *Philip* ſecretly ſeeking to winne the Ile of Evboea, ſent an armie thither out of Macedon, and intiſed the townes by tyrantes to rebell: whereupon *Plutarke* Eretrian prayed in aide of the Athenians, to take this Iland from the Macedonians, which they daily wanne more and more, if they came not preſently to ayde them. So *Phocion* was ſent generall thither, but with a few men only, becauſe they made account the men of that countrie would ſtraight ioyne with him, for the good will they bare him. But when he came thither, he found them all traytors, and rebels, and brybed with king *Philippes* money, which he lauiſhed out amongſt them: ſo that he was brought into great danger. Thereupon he retyred to a litle hill that is ſeuered from the fields of Tamines, with a great large valley, and there fortified himſelfe with that litle armie he had. Then he perſwaded his Captaines not to care for all thoſe rebels, pratlers, and cowards which fled out of their tents, and forſooke their enſignes and Captaines, but that they ſhould let them goe out of the campe where they would. For ſayd he, ſuch diſobedient ſouldiers here will do vs no ſeruice, and moreouer will hinder them that haue good will to ſerue well: and at home alſo, knowing them ſelues in fault, for that they forſooke the campe without licence, they dare not complaine vppon vs. Afterwards when the enemies came to ſet vppon him, he commaunded his men to arme, and put them ſelues in readineſſe, and not to ſturre, vntill he had done ſacrifice: but he ſtaied long before he came, either becauſe he could haue no lucky ſignes of the ſacrifices, or elſe for that he would draw his enemies nearer. Thereupon *Plutarke* Eretrian ſuppoſing he deferred to march for feare, went him ſelfe firſt into the field, with certaine light horſemen he had in pay. Then the men of armes ſeeing them giue charge, could hold no longer, but followed him alſo, ſtragling out of the campe one after an other diſorderly, and ſo did ſet vpon their enemies. The firſt being ouerthrowen, all the other diſperſed them ſelues, and *Plutarke* him ſelf fled. Then certaine bands of the enemies thinking all had bin theirs, followed them euen into their campe, and came to throw downe their rampiers. In the meane time, *Phocion* hauing ended his ſacrifice, the Athenians came out of their campe, and ſet vpon them, and made part of them flie immediatly, and part of them alſo they ſlue hard by the trenches of their campe. Then *Phocion* commaunded that the battell ſhould ſtand ſtill, to receiue their men that were ſcattered vp and downe the fieldes: and in the meane ſpace, he him ſelfe, with the choiſeſt men of his army gaue charge vppon the enemies. The fight was cruell betweene

*Phocion called by ſurname, Good.*

*Phocions iorny into Eubœa.*

*Phocion perſwadeth his Captaines, to ſuffer the mutinous ſouldiers and cowards to depart the campe.*

*Phocions victory in Eubœa.*

twene them. For the ATHENIANS ſought very valiantly, venturing their perſons: but of thē all, two young men fighting by their generall, (*Glaucus* the ſon of *Polymedes*, and *Thallus*, the ſonne of *Cineas*) caried the praiſe awaye. And ſo did *Cleophanes* that daye alſo ſhewe himſelfe very valiant. For he crying out ſtill vpon the horſemen that fled, & perſwading them to come and helpe their generall that was in danger: brought them backe againe, and thereby gotte the footmen the victorie. After this battell, he draue *Plutarke* out of ERETRIA, and tooke the caſtell of ZARETRA, ſtanding in a very commodious place for this warre, where the Ile draweth to a ſtraightnes, enuironned on either ſide with the ſea: and would not ſuffer his men to take any GRECIANS priſoners, fearing leaſt the Orators at ATHENS might moue the people ſodainely in a rage, to put them to death. After all theſe things were done, *Phocion* returned backe to ATHENS. But then did the confederats of the ATHENIANS ſtraight wiſh for his iuſtice and courteſie: and the ATHENIANS themſelues alſo knew his ſkilfulnes and manhood. For his ſucceſſor *Moloſſus*, that was generall for the reſt of the warre, delt ſo vndiſcreetly: that he himſelfe was taken priſoner there. Then king *Philip* being put in maruellous great hope, went with all his army into HELLESPONT, perſwading himſelfe, that he ſhould ſtraight take all CHERRONESVS, the cities of PERINTHE and BIZANTIVM. The ATHENIANS therupō determining to ſend aide, to preuent king *Philips* comming: the Orators made great ſute, that *Chares* might be choſen Captaine: but he being ſent thither with a good number of ſhippes, did no ſeruice worthy commendation, neither would the cities receiue his nauie into their hauens: but being ſuſpected of euery man, and deſpiſed of his enemies, he was driuen to ſaile vp and downe, and to get money of the allyes. The people being incenſed by the Orators, were maruellouſly offended, & repented themſelues that they had ſent aide vnto the BIZANTINES. Then *Phocion* riſing vp, ſpake vnto the people, & told them, that it was no reaſon that miſtruſting their confederates they ſhould be offended with them: but to be angry with their Captaines that deſerued to be miſtruſted. For they, ſaid he, doe make your confederates affraid of you, who without you notwithſtanding can not ſaue themſelues. The people changing their mindes by his oration, made *Phocion* againe their Captaine, and ſent him with an armie into HELLESPONT to helpe their confederates there, which was of great importance to ſaue the city of BYZANTIVM. Furthermore, *Phocions* fame was ſo great, that *Cleon*, the greateſt man of vertue and authoritie in BYZANTIVM, and had before bene *Phocions* companion and familiar in the Academy: he made ſute for him vnto the city. Thē the BYZANTINES would not ſuffer him (though he deſired it) to campe without the wals of their citie, but opening their gates, receiued him in, and mingled the ATHENIANS amongſt them. Who, perceiuing how much the Citizens truſted them, did ſo honeſtly behaue themſelues in their conuerſation amongſt them, that they gaue them no maner of cauſe to complaine of them: and ſhewed themſelues ſo valiant beſides in all battels and conflicts, that *Philip* (which before was thought dreadfull and inuincible, euery man being afraied to fight any battell with him) returned out of HELLESPONT without any thing done, and to his great diſcredite: where *Phocion* wanne ſome of his ſhippes, and recouered againe the ſtrong holds, in the which he had placed his garriſons. Furthermore, making diuers inuaſions into his countries, he deſtroied his borders: till that at length he was ſore hurt there, and ſo driuen to returne home againe, by meanes of a great army that came againſt him to defend the country: Shorty after, the MEGARIANS ſecretly ſent vnto him, to deliuer their city into his hands. *Phocion* fearing if the BOEOTIANS vnderſtood it, that they would preuent him: he called a common aſſembly earely in the morning, and told the people what meſſage the MEGARIANS had ſent vnto him. The people vpon this motion being determined to aid them: *Phocion* ſtraight ſounding the trumpet at the breaking vp of the aſſembly, gaue them no further leyſure, but to take their weapons, and ſo led them incontinently to MEGARA. The MEGARIANS receiuing him, *Phocion* ſhut vp the hauen of NISÆA, and brought two long wals from the city vnto it, and ſo ioyned it vnto the ſea: whereby he ſtood not greatly in feare of his enemies by land, and for the ſea, the ATHENIANS were Lordes of it. Now when the ATHENIANS had proclaimed open war againſt king *Philip*, and had choſen other Captaines in his abſence, and that hee was returned from the Iles: aboue all things, he perſwaded the people (king *Philip* requiring peace, and greatly fearing the daunger) to accept

*Phocion ſaued the citie of Byzantium.*

*Phocion draue Philip out of Helleſpont.*

*Phocion ioyned Megara vnto Athens.*

the conditions of peace. Then one of theſe buſie orators that was ſtill accuſing one or other, ſaid vnto him: why *Phociō*, how dareſt thou, attēpt to turn the ATHENIANS from war, hauing now their ſwords in their hands? yes truly, ſayd *Phocion*: though in warre I know I ſhall command thee, and in peace thou wilt command me. But when the people would not harken to him, and that *Demoſthenes* caried them away with his perſwaſions, who counſelled them to fight with king *Philip*, as farre from ATTICA as they could: I pray thee frend ꝙ *Phocion* vnto him, let vs not diſpute where we ſhall fight, but conſider how we ſhall ouercome, the which if we can ſo bring to paſſe, be ſure we ſhall put the warre far enough from vs. For men that are ouercome, be euer in feare and danger, whereſoeuer they be. When the ATHENIANS had loſt a battell againſt *Philip*, the ſeditious Orators, that hunted after innouation, preferred *Charidemus* to be choſen generall of the ATHENIANS: whereupon the magiſtrates and Senators being afraid, and taking with them all the Court and Senate of the AREOPAGITS, they made ſuch earneſt ſute to the people, with the teares in their eyes, that at laſt (but with much a doe) they obtained, that the affaires of the citie might be put into *Phocions* hands and gouernment. He thought good to accept the articles and gentle conditions of peace which *Philip* offered them. But after that the orator *Demades* moued that the citie of ATHENS would enter into the common treatie of peace, and cōmon aſſembly of the ſtates of GRECE, procured at king *Philips* requeſt: *Phocion* would not agree to it, vntill they might vnderſtand what demaunds *Philip* would make at the aſſembly of the GRECIANS. When his opinion through the peruerſnes of time could not be liked of them, and that he ſaw the ATHENIANS ſoone after repented them that they did not followe his counſell, when they heard they ſhould furniſh king *Philip* with ſhips and horſemen: then he told them, the feare whereof ye now complaine, made me to withſtand that, which now ye haue conſented vnto. But ſithence it is ſo that you haue now paſt your conſents, you muſt be contented, and not be diſcouraged at it: remembring that your aunceſtors in times paſt haue ſometime commaunded, and other while obeyed others, and yet haue ſo wiſely and diſcreetely gouerned themſelues in both fortunes, that they haue not onely ſaued their citie, but all GRECE beſides. When newes came of king *Philips* death, the people for ioy would ſtraight haue made bonfires and ſacrifices to the goddes for the good newes: but *Phocion* would not ſuffer them, and ſaid, that it was a token of a baſe minde, to reioyce at any mans death, and beſides that, the armie which ouerthrewe you at CHÆRONEA, hath not yet loſt but one man. And when *Demoſthenes* alſo would commonly ſpeake ill of *Alexander*, and ſpecially when he was ſo neere THEBES with his armie: *Phocion* rehearſed vnto him theſe verſes of *Homer*:

*To reioyce at any mans hurt ſheweth a baſe mind, and vile nature.*

*How great a folly is it for to ſtand*
*Againſt a cruell king,*
*VVhich being armd and hauing ſword in hand,*
*Seekes fame of euery thing?*

What, when there is ſuch a great fire kindled, wilt thou caſt the city into it? for my part therefore, though they were willing, yet will I not ſuffer them to caſt them ſelues away: for to that end haue I taken vpon me this charge and gouernment. And afterwards alſo, when *Alexander* had raſed the city of THEBES, and had required the ATHENIANS to deliuer him *Demoſthenes*, *Lycurgus*, *Hyperides*, and *Charidemus*, and that the whole aſſembly and councell not knowing what aunſwere to make, did all caſt their eyes vpon *Phocion*, and cried vnto him to ſay his opinion: he then roſe vppe, and taking one of his friendes vnto him called *Nicocles*, whom he loued and truſted aboue all men elſe, he ſayed thus openly vnto them. Theſe men whome *Alexander* requireth, haue brought this city to this extremity, that if he required *Nicocles* here, I would giue my conſent to deliuer him: For I would thinke my ſelfe happy to loſe my life, for all your ſafety. Furthermore, though I am right heartely ſory (ſaid he) for the poore afflicted THEBANS, that are come into the city for ſuccour: yet I aſſure yee, it is better one city mourne, then two. And therefore I thinke it is beſt to intreate the Conquerour for both, rather then to our certaine deſtruction to fight with him that is the ſtronger. It is ſayed alſo that *Alexander* refuſed the firſt decree which the people offered him vppon *Phocions* requeſt, and ſent away the Ambaſſadours, and would not ſpeake with them. But the ſecond, which *Phocion* himſelfe brought, he tooke: being told by his fathers olde ſeruantes that king *Philip* made great account of him, whereuppon *Alexander*, did not onely giue him audience, and grant his requeſt, but further followed his counſell. For *Phocion* perſwaded him, if he loued quietnes, to leaue warre if he deſired fame, then that he ſhould make warre with the barbarous people, but not with the GRECIANS. So *Phocion* feeding *Alexanders* humor with ſuch talke and diſcours as he thought would like him beſt: he ſo altered and ſoftned *Alexanders* diſpoſitiõ, that when he went from him, he willed him that the ATHENIANS ſhould looke to their affaires, for if he ſhould dye, he knew no people fitter to commaund then they. Furthermore, becauſe he would be better acquainted with *Phocion*, and make him his friend: he made ſo much of him, that he more honored him, then all the reſt of his friends. To this effect, *Duris* the hiſtoriographer writeth that when *Alexãder* was grown very great, and had ouercom king *Darius*: he left out of his letters this word Chærin (to wit, ioy, & health) which he vſed commonly in all the letters he wrote, and would no more honor any other with that manner of ſalutation, but *Phocion*, and *Antipater*. *Chares* alſo writeth the ſame. And they all doe confeſſe, that *Alexander* ſent *Phocion* a great gift out of ASIA, of a hundreth ſiluer talents. This money being brought to ATHENS, *Phocion* asked them that brought it, why *Alexander* gaue him ſuch a great reward, aboue all the other Citizens of ATHENS. Becauſe ſayd they, he only eſteemeth thee to be a good, and honeſt man. *Phocion* replied again, then let him giue me leaue to be that I ſeeme, and am whilſt I liue. The meſſengers would not ſo leaue him, but followed him home to his houſe, where they ſaw his great husbãdry and thriftines. For they foũd his wife her ſelfe baking, & he himſelf drew water before them, out of the well to waſh his feet. But then they were more earneſtly in hand with him than before, and prayed him to take the kings preſent, and were offended with him, ſaying it was a ſhame for *Alexanders* friend to liue ſo miſerably and beggarly as he did. Then *Phocion* ſeing a poore olde man goe by, in a threadbare gowne, asked them whether they thought him worſe then he? No, God forbid, anſwered they againe. Then replyed he againe, he liues with leſſe then I doe, and yet is contented, and hath enough. To be ſhort, ſayed he, if I ſhould take this ſumme of money and occupie it not, it is as much as I had it not: on the other ſide, if I occupie it, I ſhall make all the cittie ſpeake ill of the king and me both. So this great preſent was ſent backe from ATHENS, whereby he ſhewed the GRECIANS, that he was richer that needed not ſuch gold and ſiluer, then he that gaue it him. But when *Alexander* wrote again vnto *Phociõ*, that he did not reckõ them for his frends, that would take nothing of him: *Phocion* notwithſtanding would not take the money, but onely requeſted him for his ſake, that he would ſet theſe men at libertie, which were kept priſoners in the citie of SARDIS, for certen accuſations layed againſt them: *Echecratides* the Rethoritian, *Athenodorus* borne in the citie of IMBROS, and two CORINTHIANS, *Demaratus* & *Spartus*. *Alexander* preſently ſet them at liberty, & ſent *Craterus* into MACEDON, cõmanding him to giue *Phociõ* the choice of one of theſe foure cities of ASIA which he liked beſt: CIOS, GERGITHA, MYLASSIS, ELEA: ſending him worde, that he would be much more angrier with him now, if he did refuſe this offer, than he was at the firſt. But *Phocion* would neuer accept any one of them: and *Alexander* ſhortly after died. *Phocions* houſe is ſene yet at this day in the village of MELITA, ſet forth with plates of copper, but otherwiſe very meane, and without curioſitie. For his wiues he married, there is no mention made of the firſt, ſauing that *Cephiſodotus* the image grauer was her brother. But for his ſecond wife ſhe was no leſſe famous at ATHENS, for her honeſtie and good houſewiuerie: then *Phocion* for his iuſtice and equitie. And for proofe thereof, it is reported that the ATHENIANS being one day aſſembled in the Theater, to ſee new tragedies plaied, one of the players when he ſhould haue come vpon the ſcaffold, to haue played his part, asked the ſetter forth of the plaies the apparell of a Queene, and certaine Ladies to waite vppon her, becauſe he was to playe the part of the Queene. The ſetter forth of the plaies denying him, the player went away in a rage, and left the people ſtaring one at another, & would not come out vpon the ſtage. But *Melanthius* the ſetter forth of the plaies, compelling him, brought him by force on the ſtage, and cried out vnto him: doeſt thou not ſee *Phocions* wife that goeth vppe and downe the cittie with one mayde onely waiting vpon her? and wilt thou playe the foole, and marre the modeſtie of

*Alexander pacified with the Athenians, by Phocions meanes.*

*Phocions vertue and integritie, refuſing of Alexanders money.*

*Phocions houſe and wiues.*

*Phocus Phocions ſonne what he was.*

*Phocion deſpiſeth Harpalus money.*

the women of ATHENS? the people hearing his wordes, filled all the Theater with ioy and clapping of hands. The ſame Ladye, when a certen gentlewoman of IONIA came to ATHENS to ſee her, and ſhewed her all her rich iewels and pretious ſtones ſhe had: ſhe anſwered her againe, all my riches and iewels, is my husband *Phocion*, who theſe twentie years together hath continually bene choſen generall for the ATHENIANS. *Phocions* ſonne telling his father on a time, that he was deſirous to contend with other young men for the victorie, who ſhould cunninglieſt leape out, and get vp againe into the charets or coches, running full courſe at the feaſts Panathenæa at ATHENS: his father was contented he ſhould, not that he was deſirous his ſonne ſhould haue the honor of the victorie, but becauſe by this honeſt exerciſe he ſhould grow to better manner, for that he was a diſſolute young man, and much giuen to wine. Yet he wanne the victorie at that time, and there were diuerſe of his fathers friends, that prayed him to doe them that honor, that they might keepe the feaſte of this victorie in their houſes. *Phocion* denied them all, but one man, and him he ſuffred to ſhew his good will vnto his houſe and went thither himſelfe to ſupper to him. Where amongeſt many fine and ſuperfluous things prepared, he found paſſing bathes of wine and ſweet ſmelling ſpices to waſh the feete of the bidden gueſts as they came to the feaſt. Whereupon he called his ſon to him, and asked him, how canſt thou abide *Phocus*, that our friend ſhould thus diſgrace thy victorie with exceſſe? but becauſe he would withdraw his ſonne from that licentious life, he brought him to SPARTA, and placed him there among young boyes brought vp after the LACONIAN diſcipline. The ATHENIANS were much offended at it, to ſee that *Phocion* did ſo much deſpiſe his owne countrie maner and faſhions. Alſo when *Demades* the orator one day ſayd vnto *Phocion*: why do we not perſwade the ATHENIANS to liue after the LACONIAN manner? As for me (ſayd he if thou wilt make one to ſet it forward: I am ready to be the firſt man to moue the matter. Indeed ꝙ *Phocion*, thou art a meet man to perſwade the ATHENIANS to liue LACONIAN like, in cōmon together at their meales, & to praiſe *Lycurgus* ſtrait law: that art thy ſelf cōmonly ſo perfumed, & fine in thy apparel. Another time when *Alexāder* writ letters vnto ATHENS to ſend him ſome ſhips, and that the Orators perſwaded them not to grant him, the people called vpon *Phocion* chiefly to ſay his opinion: then *Phociō* told thē plainly, me thinks ye muſt either make your ſelues the ſtrongeſt in warres, or being the weaker, procure to be friends vnto the ſtronger. *Pythias* a new come orator, being full of tongue, and impudent, would ſtill make one to ſpeake in euery matter: Wherefore *Phocion* ſayed to him, good gods, will this noueſſe neuer leaue babling? And when *Harpalus* king *Alexanders* Lieutenant of the prouince of BABYLON, fled out of ASIA, and came to ATTICA with a great ſumme of gold and ſiluer: ſtraight theſe men that ſolde their tongues to the people for money, flocked about him like a ſight of ſwallowes. And he ſtuck not to giue euery one of them a peece of money to baſt them with: for it was a trifle to him, conſidering the great ſummes of money he brought. But to *Phocion* himſelfe, he ſent vnto him ſeuen hundreth talents, and offered himſelfe and all that he had into his hands of truſt. But *Phocion* gaue him a ſharpe anſwer, and tolde him, that he would make him repent it, if he corrupted the citie of ATHENS in that manner. So *Harpalus* being amated therewith, left him at that time, and went vnto them that had taken money of him. But ſhortly after, when the ATHENIANS ſate in councell about him, he perceiued that thoſe which had taken his money were ſhrunk from him, and that they did accuſe him, where they ſhould haue excuſed him, to bleere the world, that men ſhould not ſuſpect them they had bene corrupted: and that *Phocion* on the other ſide which had refuſed his money, hauing reſpect to the cōmon wealth, had alſo ſome regard to ſaue his life: he once more attempted all the waies he could to win him. Howbeit he found him ſo conſtant, that no money could carie the man. Then *Harpalus* falling in friendſhip with *Chariles* (*Phocions* ſonne in lawe) he made him to be ill ſpoken of, and greatly ſuſpected, becauſe men ſaw that he truſted him in all things, and imployed him in all his affaires. As in committing to his truſt the making of a ſumptuous tombe for *Pythonicè*, the famous Curtiſan that was dead, whom he loued, and by whom he had a daughter: the taking vpon him whereof was no leſſe ſhame vnto *Chariles*, then the finiſhing thereof was diſgrace vnto him. This tombe is ſene vnto this day in a place called Hermium, in the high way from ATHENS to ELEVSIN: the workmanſhip thereof being nothing like neare the charge of thirtie talents, which was reported to be giuen by *Harpalus* vnto *Chariles*, for the finiſhing of the ſame. Furthermore after *Harpalus* death, *Chariles* and *Phocion* tooke his daughter, and carefully brought her vp. Afterwards alſo, *Chariles* being accuſed for the money he had taken of *Harpalus*, he beſought his father in law *Phociō*, to help to eaſe him in his iudgment. But *Phocion* flatly denied him, and ſaid: *Chariles* I took thee for my ſonne in law, in al honeſt and iuſt cauſes only. Furthermore, when *Aſclepiades* the ſon of *Hipparchus*, brought the firſt newes of the death of king *Alexander*, *Demades* the Orator would not beleue him: for ſaid he, if it were true, all the earth would ſmell of the ſauor of his corſe, *Phocion* then perceiuing the people began to be high minded, and ſought innouation: he went about to bridle and pacifie them. But when many of the Orators got vp to the pulpit for orations, and cryed out that *Aſclepiades* newes was true of *Alexanders* death: well then quoth *Phocion*, if it be true to day, it ſhalbe true alſo to morrow, and the next day after. And therfore my Maiſters, be not too haſty, but thinke of it at better leiſure, and ſet your affayres at a ſure ſtay. When *Leoſthenes* alſo by his practiſe had brought the citie of ATHENS into the warre called the GREEKES warre, and in skorne asked *Phocion* that was offended at it, what good he had done vnto the common wealth ſoe many yeares together, as he had bene generall ouer the ATHENIANS: *Phocion* aunſwered him, no ſmall good ſayed he, for all my countrye men haue bene buryed at home in their owne graues. Another time alſo, *Leoſthenes* ſpeaking proudly and inſolently vnto the people, *Phocion* one daye ſayed vnto him: young man my friende, thy wordes are lyke vnto a Cypreſſe tree, which is high and greate, but beareth no fruite. Then *Hyperides* riſing vppe, asked *Phocion*: when wilt thou then counſell the ATHENIANS to make warre? when I ſhall ſee young men ſayed he not to forſake theirranckes, rich men liberall, and Orators leaue to robbe the common wealth. When the ATHENIANS wondred to ſee ſuch a goodly greate armie as *Leoſthenes* had leauied: and that they asked *Phocion* how he lyked it: A goodly armie, quoth he, for a furlong, but I feare their returne, and the continuance of this warre: for I doe not ſee the citie able to make any more money, nor more ſhippes, neither yet any more ſouldiers than theſe. The which proued true, as it fell out afterwardes: for at the firſt, *Leoſthenes* did many notable exploytes. He ouercame the BOEOTIANS in battell, and draue *Antipater* into the citie of LAMIA: the which did put the ATHENIANS in ſuch a hope and iolitie, that they made continuall feaſtes and ſacrifices through the citie to thanke the goddes for theſe good newes. And there were ſome among them, that to take *Phocion* in a trippe, asked him if he did not wiſh that he had done all thoſe things? yes indeed anſwered he, I would I had done them, but yet I would not haue giuen the counſell to haue done them. Another time alſo when letters came daily, one after another, bringing good newes, good gods, ſayd he, when ſhall we leaue off to ouercome? When *Leoſthenes* was dead in this voyage, they that feared *Phocion* ſhoulde be appoynted Captaine in his place, and that he would pacifie the warre: did thruſt in a man of meane hauior, and vnknowen, that ſayed in the aſſembly, that he was *Phocions* friend, and ſchoolefellowe, and therefore beſought the people that they would ſpare *Phocion*, becauſe they had not ſuch another man as he, and that they would make *Antiphilus* Generall of their armie. The people were contented withall. But then *Phocion* ſtoode vppe, and ſayed, that this man was neuer ſcholler with him, neither did he euer knowe him before that time: but nowe ſayed he, from henceforth I will take thee for my friend, for thou haſt giuen the people the beſt counſell for mee. The people notwithſtanding determining to make warre with the BOEOTIANS, *Phocion* ſpake againſt it all he coulde, Thereupon his friendes bidding him beware of ſuch ſpeeches, howe he did offende the people, leaſt they killled him: he anſwered them, they ſhall wrongfully put me to death quoth he, ſpeaking for the benefitte of my countrie, but otherwiſe they ſhall haue reaſon for to doe it, if I ſpeake to the contrarie. But when he ſawe nothing would pacifie them, and that they went on ſtill with their intent: then he commaunded the Herauld to proclayme by ſound of trumpet, that all Citizens from fourete̔ene yeeres vnto threeſcore, able to carrie weapon, ſhould preſently vpon breaking vp of the aſſembly, arme themſelues, and follow him with fiue dayes prouiſion for victuals. Then was there great ſturre amongſt

*Phocion refuſed to defend his ſonne in law in an ill cauſe.*

them in the citie, and the olde men came and complained vnto him, for his ouer ſtraight commandement. He told them againe, I doe you no wrong: for I am foure ſcore my ſelfe, and yet will goe with you. By this meanes he pacified them at that time, and quenched their fonde deſire of warre. But when all the ſea coaſt was full of ſouldiers, both of the MACEDONIANS, and other ſtrangers which were led by *Micion* their Captaine, that landed in the territorie of the village RHAMNVS, and ſpoyled the countrie thereabouts: then *Phocion* led the ATHENIANS thither. But when he was there, diuers taking vpon them the office of a Lieutenant, & going about to counſell him, ſome to lodge his camp vpon ſuch a hill, & others to ſend his horſmen to ſuch a place, and others to campe heere: O *Hercules* ꝙ he, how many Captains do I ſee, and how few ſouldiers? Afterwards when he had ſet his footmẽ in battel ray, there was one among them that left his ranck, & ſtepped out before them al. Therupon one of his enemies alſo made towards him to fight with him: but the ATHENIANS hart failed him, and he went backe again to his place. Then ſaid *Phocion* vnto him: art thou not aſhamed yong lout to haue forſaken thy ranck twiſe? the one, where thy captain had placed thee, & the other in the which thou haddeſt placed thy ſelf? So *Phocion* giuing charge vpon the enemies, he ouerthrew them, and ſlue *Micion* their Captain, with diuers others.

*Phociõs victorie of the Macedonians.*

Furthermore, the army of the GRECIANS being at that time in THESSALY, wan a battell of *Antipater*, & *Leonatus*, that ioyned with him with the MACEDONIANS which he had brought out of ASIA: where *Leonatus* was ſlaine in the field, *Antiphilus* being generall of the footmen, & *Menon* THESSALIAN, Collonell of the horſmen. Shortly after *Craterus* cõming out of ASIA into EVROPE with a great armie, they fought a battell by the citie of CRANON, where the GRECIANS were ouerthrowen: yet was not the ouerthrow nor ſlaughter great, although it came through the diſobedience of the ſouldiers to their captains, which were but yong men & vſed them ouer gently.

*The Grecians ouercome by Antipater.*

Moreouer, when *Antipater* practiſed to make the cities reuolt, they betrayed them, and ſhamefully forſooke to defend their cõmon libertie: whereupon *Antipater* marched forthwith with his armie, to the citie of ATHENS. *Demoſthenes* & *Hyperides* vnderſtanding that, forſook the citie. Then *Demades*, that was in diſgrace & defamed for lack of payment of ſuch fines as were ſet vpon his head (being 7 ſeuerall times condemned, becauſe he had ſo many times moued matters contrary to the law) & could not therfore be ſuffered any more to ſpeake in the aſſembly, was then diſpenced withall, & licenſed to ſpeake: whereupon he moued the people to ſend ambaſſadors vnto *Antipater*, with ful cõmiſſion & authoritie to treate with him of peace. The people fearing to put to any mans truſt this abſolute authoritie to treat of peace: they called for *Phocion*, ſaying that he only was to be truſted with the ambaſſade. Thẽ *Phocion* anſwered them: if you had beleued my former coũcels I alwaies gaue you, ſuch weighty matters ſhould not now haue trobled you at all. So the decree being confirmed by the people, *Phocion* was ſent ambaſſador vnto *Antipater*, that lay at the caſtle of Cadmea, being ready at that time to inuade the coũtry of ATTICA.

*Phocion Ambaſſador vnto Antipater.*

*Phocion* firſt requeſted him, that before he remoued from thence, he would make peace with the ATHENIANS *Craterus* preſently anſwered him: *Phocion*, thy requeſt is vnreaſonable, that lying here we ſhould eate out our frends, & deſtroy their country: when we may liue of our enemies, & enrich our ſelues with their ſpoile. But *Antipater* taking *Craterus* by the hand, told him: we muſt needs doe *Phocion* this pleaſure. And for the reſt, touching the capitulations of peace, he willed that the ATHENIANS ſhould ſend them a blanck, & refer the conditions of peace to them: like as himſelf being beſieged in the citie LAMIA, had referred all capitulations and articles of peace, vnto the diſcretion of *Leoſthenes* their generall. So when *Phocion* was come backe to ATHENS, the ATHENIANS ſeing there was no remedie, were compelled to be contented with ſuch offer of peace, as the enemie made thẽ. Then *Phocion* was ſent back again to *Antipater* at THEBES, with other ambaſſadors ioyned in commiſſion with him: amongſt whom alſo was that famous Philoſopher *Xenocrates*? The eſtimatiõ of his vertue was ſo great with all men, that it was thought there was no liuing mã ſo proud, cruell, diſdainfull, nor haſty of nature, but that the onely looke of *Xenocrates* would ſoften and qualifie him, and make him to reuerence him: but yet with *Antipater* it fell out contrary, by his peruerſe nature, which hated all vertue: for he embraced all the reſt, and would not once ſalute *Xenocrates*. Whereupon,

*Xenocrates authoritie.*

*Xenocrates deſpiſed of Antipater.*

ſome ſay, that *Xenocrates* ſaid then, *Antipater* doth well to be aſhamed, to ſee me a witnes of the diſcourteſie and euill he meaneth vnto the ATHENIANS. So when *Xenocrates* beganne to ſpeake, *Antipater* would not abide to heare him, but interrupted him, and checked him, and in the end commaunded him to holde his peace. When *Phocion* had ſpoken, *Antipater* anſwered them, that he would make peace with the ATHENIANS, ſo they deliuered him *Demoſthenes* and *Hyperides*: that they ſhould keep their ancient lawes and gouernment, that they ſhould receiue a garriſon into the hauen of Munychia, that they ſhould defraye the charges of this warre, and alſo pay a ranſome beſides. All the other Ambaſſadours but *Xenocrates*, willingly accepted theſe conditions of peace, as very reaſonable and fauorable: but he ſayed that for ſlaues, *Antipater* did handle them fauourably, but for free men, he dealt too hardly with them. Then *Phocion* beſought him that he woulde yet releaſe them of their garriſon. But *Antipater* (as it is ſayed) anſwered him: *Phocion*, we would gladly graunt thee any thing, ſauing that which ſhould vndoe thee, and vs both. Some other write notwithſtanding, that *Antipater* ſayed not ſo, but asked him, if he would become ſuertie for the ATHENIANS, that they ſhould attempt no alteration, but faithfully keepe the articles and conditions of this peace, if he did releaſe them of this garriſon. *Phocion* then holding his peace, & delaying anſwer, there was one *Callimedon* ſurnamed *Carabos*, (a bold man, and hated the libertie of the people) that brake forth in theſe wordes: if *Phocion* were ſo fonde to giue his word for the ATHENIANS, wouldeſt thou *Antipater* beleue him therefore, and leaue to doe that thou haſt determined? Thus were the ATHENIANS, driuen to receiue the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS of the which *Menillus* was Captaine, an honeſt man, and *Phocions* friend. This commandement to receiue the garriſon within the hauen of Munychia, was found very ſtately, and done by *Antipater* rather of a vaine glorie to boaſt of his power: then for any profit could otherwiſe come of it. For not long after, on that day when he tooke poſſeſſiõ of the caſtle, he further increaſed their griefe: becauſe the garriſon entred the twentith day of Bœdromion (to wit, the month of Auguſt) on the which the feaſt day of their miſteries was celebrated, at what time they make their proceſſion called Iacchus, from the citie of ATHENS, vnto ELEVSIN. Therfore the ſolemnitie of this holy feaſt being thus confuſed, many began to conſider, that in old time when their realme did flouriſh, there were heard and ſene voices and images of the gods on that day, which made the enemies both afraied, and amazed: and nowe in contrary manner in the very ſelfe ſame ſolemnitie of the goddes, they ſaw the greateſt calamitie that could haue happened vnto GRECE. And the holieſt feaſt which was kept all the yere through before, became then too prophaned with the title of the greateſt miſfortune and euent, that euer happened vnto the GRECIANS, which was, the loſſe of their libertie. For, not many yeres before, there was brought an Oracle from DODONE vnto ATHENS: that they ſhould looke well to the rockes of *Diana*, that ſtraungers ſhoulde not poſſeſſe them. And about that time alſo the couerings with the which they doe adorne the holy beddes of the myſteries, being wette with water, became from a purple colour which they had before, to looke yealowe and pale, as if it had bene the couering of a dead bodie. Yea, and that which was moſt to be wondred at of all other, was this: that taking other couerings which were not holy, and putting them in the ſame water, they did without changing keepe their colour they had before. When one of the miniſters of the temple alſo did waſh a white pig in the ſea in a cleane place, by the wharfe: there ſodainly came a great fiſh that bytte at it, and caried the hinder partes of the pigge cleane away with it. Whereby men coniectured that the goddes did ſignifie vnto them, that they ſhoulde loſe the loweſt part of their cittie, neareſt vnto the ſea, and ſhould keepe the higheſt partes thereof. This notwithſtanding, the garriſon did not offend nor trouble the ATHENIANS, becauſe of the honeſtie of their Captaine *Menillus*. Now there were aboue 12000 Citizens, that for their pouertie loſt the benefit of their freedome of the which, part of them remained at ATHENS, vnto whom it ſeemed that they offered great wrong and iniurie: and parte of them alſo went into THRACIA, where *Antipater* aſſigned them townes and landes to inhabit. They ſeemed to be menne like vnto them, that had bene taken by aſſaulte, or by ſeege within a citie, which had bene compelled to forſake their countrie. Furthermore, the ſhamefull death of *Demoſthenes* in the Ile of CALAVRIA, and of HY-

*Preſages of the miſeries of the Athenians.*

PERIDES, by the citie of CLEONES, (whereof we haue written heretofore) were almoſt occaſion giuen them to lament the times of the raigne of king *Philip* and *Alexander*. As it is reported that when *Antigonus* was ſlaine, they that had ouercome him, were ſo cruell vnto their ſubiects: that a laborer in the countrie of PHRYGIA digging the earth, being asked what he ſought for, anſwered ſighing: I ſeeke for *Antigonus*. Then many men beganne to ſay as much, when they remembred the noble mindes of thoſe two Princes, how mercifull they were to pardon in their anger, forgetting their diſpleaſure: not like vnto *Antipater*, who craftily cloaked his tyrannicall power, which he vſurped, by being familiar, going ſimply apparelled, and faring meanely: and yet ſhewed himſelfe notwithſtanding a more cruell Lorde and tirant vnto them whom he had ouercome. Neuertheleſſe *Phocion* obtained of him the reſtoring againe of diuerſe men, whom he had baniſhed: and thoſe whom he could not get to be reſtored, yet he procured that they ſhould not be baniſhed into ſo farre countries, as others which had bene ſent beyond the Mountaines Acroceraunians, and the head of Tænarus out of GRECE, but that they had libertie to remaine within the countrie of PELOPONNESVS: among the which was one *Agnonides* a Sycophant, and falſe accuſer. Furthermore, he gouerned them that remained in ATHENS with great iuſtice and lenitie, and ſuch as he knew to be good men and quiet, them he alwayes preferred to ſome office: but ſuch as he ſawe were fantaſticall people, and deſirous of change, he kept them from office, and tooke all occaſion from them, ſo that they vaniſhed away of themſelues, and learned in time to loue the countrie, and to followe tillage. When he ſawe *Xenocrates* alſo paye a certen penſion or tribute to the common wealth, which all ſtrangers dwelling in ATHENS did vſe yearely to paye: he would haue made him a freeman, and offered to put his name amongſt the number of free Cittizens. But *Xenocrates* refuſed it, ſaying he would haue no part of that freedom, for the hinderance whereof, he had bene ſent Ambaſſador. And when *Menyllus* had ſent *Phocion* money, he made him anſwer: that *Menyllus* was no greater Lord then *Alexander* had bene, neither had he at that time any greater occaſion to receiue his preſent, then when he had refuſed King *Alexanders* gifte. *Menyllus* replying againe, ſayd that if he had no neede of it for himſelfe, yet he might let his ſone *Phocus* haue it. But *Phocion* anſwered: if my ſonne *Phocus* will leaue his naughtie life, and become an honeſt man, that which I will leaue him, ſhall ſerue his turne very well: but if it be ſo that he will ſtill holde on the courſe he hath taken, there is no riches then that can ſuffice him. Another time alſo he anſwered *Antipater* more roundly, when he would haue had him done an vnhoneſt thing: *Antipater*, ſayed he, cannot haue me to be his friend, and flatterer both. *Antipater*, ſelfe was wont to ſaye, that he had two friendes at ATHENS, *Phocion* and *Demades*: of the which he could neuer make the one to take any thing of him, and the other, he could neuer ſatiſfie him. And truly *Phocions* pouertie was a great glorie vnto his vertue, ſithence he was growen olde, continuing in the ſame, after he had bene ſo many times generall of the ATHENIANS, and had receiued ſuch friendſhip and courteſie of ſo many Kings and Princes. Where *Demades* to the contrarie delighted to ſhew his riches, in things that were contrarie to the lawes of the citie. For, a decree being made at ATHENS, commaunding that no ſtranger, vpon forfeiture of a thouſand Drachmas to be payed by the defrayer of the daunces of the citie, ſhould be any of the Dauncers that Daunced at any common plaies or ſportes: *Demades* one day making certen games and ſportes at his owne charges, brought a hundreth Dauncers of ſtrangers at one time, and withall, brought alſo a hundreth thouſand Drachmas to pay the forfeyture thereof. Another time, when he married his ſonne *Demas*, he ſayed vnto him: ſonne, when I married thy mother there was no ſmall roſte, that my next neighbour knewe not of it: where nowe at thy mariage, Kings and Princes are at the charge of the feaſt. Furthermore, when the ATHENIANS were importunate with *Phocion* to goe vnto *Antipater*, to intreat him to take his garriſon out of their citie: he ſtil refuſed the ambaſſade either becauſe he had no hope to obtaine it, or for that he ſaw the people more obedient vnto reaſon, for feare of the garriſon. Howbeit, he obtained of *Antipater*, that he ſhould not be too haſtye in the demaunding of his money, but ſhoulde deferre it vntill a further time. So the ATHENIANS perceiuing they could do no good with *Phocion*, they intreated *Demades*, who willingly tooke

*Phocion refuſeth Menillus giftes.*

*Phocion loued pouertie.*

*The inſolencie of Demades the Orator.*

the matter vpon him, and went with his ſonne into MACEDON, whither doubtleſſe his deſtinie caried him to his vtter deſtruction, euen at that very time when *Antipater* was fallen ſicke of a diſeaſe whereof he dyed: whereby the affaires of the Realme went through the hands of *Caſſander* his ſonne, who had intercepted a letter of this *Demades*, which he had ſent vnto *Antigonus* in ASIA, willing him to come in all poſſible ſpeede to win GRECE and MACEDON, which hung but of an old rottē threed, mocking *Antipater* in this maner. Wherfore *Caſſander* being aduertiſed of his arriuall, he made him preſently to be apprehended, & ſetting his ſonne hard by him, ſlew him before his father, ſo neere him, that the bloud of his ſonne ſprang vpon him: ſo that the father was all bloudied with the murther of his ſonne. Then *Caſſander* caſting in *Demades* teeth his ingratitude, and trecherous treaſon againſt his father, giuing him all the reproachfull words he could deuiſe: at the length he ſlew him with his own hands. Now *Antipater* before his death, had eſtabliſhed *Polyperchon* Generall of the army of the MACEDONIANS, & *Caſſander* his ſonne only Colonell of a thouſand footemen. He notwithſtanding, after his fathers deceaſe, taking vpon him the gouernment of the realme: ſent *Nicanor* with ſpeede to ſucceede *Menillus* in the Captaineſhip of the garriſon of ATHENS, before his death ſhould be reuealed, commaunding him firſt in any caſe, to take the caſtle of Munychia, which hee did. Shortly after, the ATHENIANS vnderſtanding of the death of *Antipater*, they accuſed *Phocion* for that he had knowen of his death long before, and yet kept it ſecret to pleaſe *Nicanor*. But *Phocion* regarded not this accuſation, but fell in acquaintance notwithſtanding with *Nicanor*: whō he handled ſo wiſely, that he made him not only friendly vnto the ATHENIANS but furthermore perſwaded him to be at ſome charge to giue the people the paſtime of common playes, which he made to be done at his coſt. In the meane time, *Polyperchon*, who had the gouernment of the kings perſon, meaning to giue *Caſſander* a ſlampant and blurt, he ſent letters pattentes vnto the people at ATHENS, declaring how the young king did reſtore vnto them their popular ſtate againe, and commaunded that all the ATHENIANS ſhould vſe their former ancient lawes of their citie. This was a wile and crafty fetch againſt *Phocion*. For *Polyperchon* deuiſing this practiſe to get the city of ATHENS into his hands (as it fell out afterwards by proofe) had no hope to obtaine his purpoſe, vnleſſe he found meanes firſt to baniſh *Phocion*: and thought that he ſhould eaſily bring that to paſſe, when ſuch as had before beene put off their freedome, by his meanes, ſhould come againe to haue voices in the aſſembly, & that the ſeditious Orators and accuſers might be turned at liberty againe, to ſay what they would. The ATHENIANS hauing heard the contentes of theſe letters pattentes, beganne to be ſomewhat quickned and moued withall: whereupon *Nicanor* deſiring to ſpeake with the ATHENIANS in their Senate, which was aſſembled in the hauen of Piræa: he went and hazarded his perſon amongſt them, vpon *Phocions* faith and word. *Dercyllus* Captaine for the king, being ſecretly aduertiſed thereof, and in the field, not farre from the citie, did what he could to take *Nicanor*: but *Nicanor* hauing warning of it in time, ſaued himſelfe. Then it appeared, that *Nicanor* would preſently be reuenged of the citie, and they accuſed *Phocion* becauſe he kept him not, but did let him goe. Whereunto he anſwered: that he truſted *Nicanors* worde, and that he did not thinke he would offer the citie any hurt, but if it ſhould fal out otherwiſe, he had rather the world ſhould knowe, that he had the wrong offred him, then that he ſhould offer any. This truely appeared to be nobly ſpoken, in reſpect of himſelfe. But conſidering that he being then Generall, did thereby hazard the ſafetie of his countrie: I can not tell whether he did not breake a greater faith which he ought to haue had to the ſafetie of his countriemen. Neither could he alſo alleage for his excuſe, that hee did not lay handes on *Nicanor*, for feare to bring the citie into manifeſt warre: but that for a colour he did preferre the faith which he had ſworne and promiſed vnto him, and the iuſtice that he would obſerue in his behalfe: that for his ſake, *Nicanor* ſhould afterwardes keepe himſelfe in peace, and doe no hurt to the ATHENIANS. Howbeit in truth it ſeemed, that nothing deceiued *Phocion*: but by the other truſt hee had in this *Nicanor*. The which ſeemeth to be ſo, becauſe when diuers came to him to complaine of *Nicanor*, that he ſought all the ſecret meanes he could to ſurpriſe the hauen of Piræa, and that he daily paſſed ouer ſouldiers in the Ile of SALAMINA, and practiſed to bribe certaine of the inhabitants within the precinct of the hauen: he would neuer heare of it, and

*Caſſander king Antipaters ſonne.*

*The vnfortunate end of Demades.*

*Polyperchon Generall of the armie of the Macedonians.*

*Polyperchons conſpiracie againſt Phocion*

*Better to receiue then to offer an iniury.*

much leſſe beleeue it. Furthermore, when *Philomedes* LAMBRIAN made a motion, that the ATHENIANS ſhould prepare to be in readines to waite vpon their Captaine *Phocion*, to do as he commaunded them: he made no account of it, vntill he ſaw *Nicanor* come out with his ſouldiers from the fort of Munychia, and that he beganne to caſt trenches to compaſſe in the hauen of Piræa. But then, when *Phocion* thought to lead out the people to preuent him: he found they mutined againſt him, and no man would obey his commandement. In the meane time, *Alexander* the ſonne of *Polyperchon* came with an armie, pretending to aide them of the citie againſt *Nicanor*, where in deede he ment (if he could) to get the reſt of the citie into his hands, then ſpecially, when they were in greateſt broile one againſt an other, and the rather, becauſe the baniſhed men entred hand ouer head with him, and diuerſe ſtraungers alſo, and other defamed men: ſo that there was a confuſed councell and aſſembly of Omnigatherum kept within the citie, without any order, in the which *Phocion* was depriued of his office of Generall, and others were alſo choſen Captaines in his place. And had they not ſeene this *Alexander* talking alone with *Nicanor*, and returning many times hard to the walles of the citie, which made the ATHENIANS affraid and miſtruſtfull: they had neuer ſaued it from taking. At that time *Phocion* was preſently accuſed of treaſon by the Orator *Agnonides*: the which *Callimedon* and *Pericles* fearing got them out of the citie betimes. And *Phocion* alſo with his friendes that were not fled, went vnto *Polyperchon*: with whom alſo *Solon* PLATÆIAN, and *Dinarchus* CORINTHIAN, went for company, who thought to haue found friendſhip and familiarity with *Polyperchon*. Howbeit *Dinarchus* falling ſicke by the way, in the citie of ELATIA, they ſtayed there many daies, hoping of his recouerie. But in the meane time, the people at the perſwaſion of the Orator *Agnonides*, and at the requeſt of *Archeſtratus*, ſtabliſhed a decree, to ſende Ambaſſadors vnto *Polyperchon*, to accuſe *Phocion*: inſomuch as both parties met at one ſelfe time, & found him in the field with the king about a village of the country of PHOCIDE, called PHARYGÆS, ſtanding at the foote of the mountaine Acrorion, which they ſurname alſo Galaten. There *Polyperchon* commaunded a cloth of gold to be ſet vp, and cauſed the king to be ſet vnder the ſame, and all his chiefeſt friends about him. But to beginne withall, he made *Dinarchus* to be taken, and commaunded them to put him to death after they had racked him: then he willed the ATHENIANS to tell what they had to ſay. Then they beganne to quarrell, and to be loud one with an other, accuſing one an other in the preſence of the king and his councell: vntill *Agnonides* at length ſtepped forth, and ſaid: my Lords of MACEDON, put vs all in priſon, and then ſende vs bound handes and feete to ATHENS, to giue account of our doings. The king laughed to heare him ſay ſo. But the noble men of MACEDON that were preſent then, and diuerſe ſtrangers beſides to heare their complaints: made ſigne to the Ambaſſadors to vtter their accuſations before the king, rather then to referre them to the hearing of the people at ATHENS. Howbeit both parties had not alike indifferent hearing: for *Polyperchon* checked vp *Phocion* oftentimes, and did ſtill cut off his tale, as he thought to purge him ſelfe: inſomuch as in anger, he beat his ſtaffe he had in his hand againſt the ground, and commaunded him at length to hold his peace, & to get him thence. And when *Hegemon* alſo told *Polyperchon*, that he himſelfe could beſt witneſſe, how *Phocion* had alwaies faithfully ſerued and loued the people: he angrily aunſwered him, come not hither to lie falſly vpon me, in the preſence of the king. Therewith the king roſe out of his ſeate, and tooke a ſpeare in his hand, thinking to haue killed *Hegemon*: had not *Polyperchon* ſodainly embraced him behind, and ſtayed him. So the councell roſe, and brake vp, but preſently *Phocion* was apprehended, and they that ſtood by him. Certaine of his friendes ſeeing that, which ſtood further off, muffeled their faces, and ſtraight conueyed themſelues away. The reſt were ſent priſoners to ATHENS by *Clitus*, not ſo much to haue their cauſes heard there, as to haue them executed for condemned men. Furthermore, the manner of the carying of them to ATHENS was ſhamefull. For they were caried vpon cartes through the great ſtreete Ceramicum, vnto the Theater: where *Clitus* kept them, vntill the Senate had aſſembled the people, excepting no bondman, no ſtraunger, nor defamed perſon out of this aſſembly, but left the Theater wide open to all comers in whatſoeuer they were, and the pulpit for Orations free for euery man that would ſpeake againſt them. So firſt of all, the kings letters were read openly, by the which he

*Alexander the ſonne of Polyperchon practiſeth treaſon againſt the Athenians.*

*Phocion accuſed of treaſon.*

*Polyperchon did put Dinarchus to death.*

*Phocion ſent priſoner to Athens to be condemned.*

did aduertiſe the people, that he had found theſe offendors conuicted of treaſon: notwithſtanding, that he referred the ſentence of their condemnation vnto them, for that they were free men. Then *Clitus* brought his priſoners before the people, where the noble men when they ſaw *Phocion*, were aſhamed, and hiding their faces, wept to ſee him. Howbeit, there was one that roſe vp and ſaide: my Lordes ſith the king referreth the iudgement of ſo great perſons vnto the people, it were great reaſon all the bondmen and ſtrangers which are no free citizens of ATHENS; ſhould be taken out of this aſſembly. The people would not agree to it, but cried out, that ſuch traitors ſhould be ſtoned to death, that fauour the authority of a few, and are enemies of the people: whereupon ſilence was made, and no man durſt ſpeake any more for *Phocion*. Neuertheleſſe when *Phocion* with much a doe had obtained audience, hee asked them: my Lordes, will ye iuſtly or wrongfully put vs to death? Some anſwered him: iuſtly. How then can ye do it, quoth he, that will not heare our iuſtifications? Yet could they not be heard for all this. Then *Phocion* comming neerer, ſaide vnto them. For my ſelfe, my Lordes, I confeſſe I haue done you wrong, & haue in gouernment committed faults deſeruing death: but for theſe priſoners with mee, what haue they done why you ſhould put them to death? The common people aunſwered him: becauſe they are thy friendes. With this anſwere *Phocion* departed, and ſpake neuer a word more. Then the Orator *Agnonides* holding a decree in his hand readie written, read it openly to the people, declaring how they ſhould be iudged by voyces, whether the offendors had deſerued death or not: & if it were found they had, then that they ſhould all be put to death. And there were that when this decree was red, cried out, that they ſhould adde further vnto the decree, that before *Phocion* ſhould be put to death, they ſhould firſt torment him: and therewithall commandement was giuen that the wheele ſhould be ſette vp to breake his ioynts vpon it, and alſo that the hangman ſhould be ſent for. But then *Agnonides* perceiuing that *Clitus* was offended with it, and thinking beſides it were too beaſtly and barbarous a part to vſe him in that ſort, he ſaide openly: my Lordes, when you ſhall haue ſuch a varlet in your handes at *Callimedon*, then you may caſt him on the wheele: but againſt *Phocion*, I would not wiſh ſuch crueltie. Then roſe vp a noble man among them, and added to his words: thou haſt reaſon to ſay ſo, *Agnonides*: for if *Phocion* ſhould be laid on the wheele, what ſhould we then doe with thee? The decree being confirmed according to the contentes thereof, iudgement was giuen by voices of the people, no man ſitting but all ſtanding vp, and moſt of them with garlandes on their heades, for the ioy they had to condemne theſe priſoners to death. With *Phocion* there were condemned, *Nicocles*, *Thudippus*, *Hegemon*, and *Pythocles*: but *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, *Callimedon* & *Charicles* were alſo in their abſence condemned to die. Now when the aſſembly was broken vp, and that the perſons condemned were caried backe to priſon, from thence to be conueighed to execution: others imbracing their friends, and taking their laſt leaue of them as they went, wept, and lamented their curſed fortune. But *Phocion* looking as cheerefully of it as he was wont to doe being Generall, when they honorably waited on him to his houſe from the aſſembly: he made many of them pitie him in their hearts to conſider his conſtancie and noble courage. On the other ſide alſo, there were many of his enemies that came as neere vnto him as they could, to reuile him, amongſt whom there was one that ſtepped before him, and did ſpit in his face. Then *Phocion* turning him vnto the Magiſtrates, ſaide: will ye not cauſe this impudent fellow to leaue his rayling? When they were in priſon, *Thudippus* ſeeing the hemlocke which they brayed in a morter to giue them to drinke: he beganne deſperately to curſe and banne, ſaying, that they wrongfully put him to death with *Phocion*. Why, ſaid *Phocion* againe: and doeſt thou not rather reioyce to die with me? When one that ſtoode by asked *Phocion*, if he would any thing to his ſonne *Phocus*: yes, ꝙ he, that I will: bid him neuer reuenge the wrong the ATHENIANS do me. Then *Nicocles* one of *Phocions* deareſt friends, prayed him to let him drinke the poyſon before him. *Phocion* anſwered him, thy requeſt is grieuous to me, *Nicocles*: but becauſe I neuer denyed thee any thing in my life, I will alſo grant thee this at my death. When al the reſt had drunke, there was no more poyſon left, and the hangman ſaide he would make no more vnleſſe they gaue him twelue Drachmas, for ſo much the pound did coſt him. *Phocion* perceiuing then that the hangman delayed time, he called one of his friends vnto him, and prayed him to giue the

*The furie of the Athenians againſt Phocion.*

*The crueltie of the Athenians vnto Phocion.*

*Phocion condemned to death.*

*The conſtancie and courage of Phocion, being condemned to die.*

*Phocion gaue money to be put to death.*

*Phocions funerals.*

hangman that litle money he demaunded, ſith a man can not die at Athens for nothing, without coſt. It was the nineteenth day of the moneth of Munichion, ( to wit, March ) on which day the Knights were wont to make a ſolemne proceſsion in the honour of *Iupiter*: howbeit ſome of them left off the garlands of flowers which they ſhould haue worn on their heads, and others alſo looking towards the priſon dore as they went by, burſt out a weeping. For, they whoſe hearts were not altogether hardned with cruelty, & whoſe iudgements were not wholly ſuppreſſed with enuie, thought it a grieuous ſacriledge againſt the goddes, that they did not let that day paſſe, but that they did defile ſo ſolemne a feaſt, with the violent death of a man. His enemies notwithſtanding, continuing ſtill their anger againſt him, made the people paſſe a decree, that his bodie ſhould be baniſhed, and caried out of the boundes of the country of Attica, forbidding the Athenians that no fire ſhould be made for the ſolemniſing of his funerals. For this reſpect no friend of his durſt once touch his bodie. Howbeit a poore man called *Conopion*, that was wont to get his liuing that way, being hyred for money to burne mens bodies: he tooke his corſe, and caried it beyond the citie of Elevsin, and getting fire out of a womans houſe of Megara, he ſolemniſed his funerals. Furthermore, there was a gentlewoman of Megara, who comming by chaunce that way, with her gentlewomen, where his bodie was but newly burnt: ſhe cauſed the earth to be caſt vp a litle where the bodie was burnt, and made it like to a hollow tombe, wherupon ſhe did vſe ſuch ſprincklings and effuſions, as are commonly done at the funerals of the dead: and then taking vp his bones in her lappe in the night, ſhe brought them home, and buried them in her harth, ſaying: O deare harth, to thee I bequeath the reliques of this noble and good man, and pray thee to kepe them faithfully, to bring them one day to the graue of his aunceſters, when the Athenians ſhall come to confeſſe the fault & wrong they haue done vnto him. And truly it was not long after, that the Athenians found by the vntowardnes of their affaires, that they had put him to death, who only maintained iuſtice, and honeſtie at Athens. Whereupon they made his image to be ſet vp in braſſe, and gaue honorable buriall to his bones, at the charges of the citie. And for his accuſers, they condemned *Agnonides* of treaſon, and put him to death them ſelues. The other two, *Epicurus* and *Demophilus* being fled out of the citie, were afterwardes met with by his ſonne *Phocus*, who was reuenged of them. This *Phocus* as men report, was otherwiſe no great good man, who fancying a young maide which a bawde kept, comming by chance one day into the ſchoole of Lycæum, he heard *Theodorus* the Atheiſt (to wit, that beleeued not there were any goddes) make this argument. If it be no ſhame, ſaid he, to deliuer a mans friend from bondage, no more ſhame is it to redeeme his leman which he loueth: euen ſo it is all one to redeeme a mans leman, as his friend. This young man taking this argument to ſerue his turne, beleeuing that he might lawfully do it, got the young maide he loued from the baude. Furthermore, this death of *Phocion* did alſo reuiue the lamentable death of *Socrates* vnto the Grecians: for men thought that it was a like hainous offence and calamitie vnto the citie of Athens.

*The end of Phocions life.*

# THE LIFE OF *Cato Utican.*

C A T O
V T I C E N.
M.

*The parentage of Cato.*

*Liuius Druſus Catoes vncle.*

*Catoes maners.*

THe family and houſe of *Cato*, tooke his firſt glory & name of his great grandfather, *Cato* the Cenſor: who for his vertue (as we haue declared in his life) was one of the famouſeſt and worthieſt men of ROME in his time. This *Cato* whom we now write of, was left an orphan by his father and mother, with his brother *Capio*, and *Porcia* his ſiſter. *Seruilia* was alſo *Catoes* halfe ſiſter, by his mothers ſide. All theſe were brought vp with their vncle *Liuius Druſus*, at that time the greateſt man of the citie: for he was paſſing eloquent, and very honeſt, and of as great a courage beſides, as any other ROMAINE. Men report, that *Cato* from his childhood ſhewed himſelfe both in word and countenance, and alſo in all his paſtimes and recreations, verie conſtant and ſtable. For he would goe through with that he tooke vpon him to doe, and would force himſelfe aboue his ſtrength: and as he could not away with flatterers, ſo was he rough with them that went about to threaten him. He would hardly laugh, and yet had euer a pleaſant countenance. He was not chollericke, nor eaſie to be angred: but when the bloud was vp, he was hardly pacified. When he was firſt put to ſchoole, he was very dull of vnderſtanding, and ſlow to learne: but when he had once learned it, he would neuer forget it, as all men elſe commonly doe. For ſuch as are quicke of conceite, haue commonly the worſt memories: and contrarily, they that are hard to learne, doe keepe that better which they haue learned. For euery kinde of learning is a motion and quickening of the minde. He ſeemed beſides not to be light of credite, & that may be ſome cauſe of his ſlowneſſe in conceite. For truely he ſuffereth ſomewhat that learneth, and thereof it commeth, that they that haue leaſt reaſon to reſiſt, are thoſe which doe giue lighteſt credite. For young men are eaſilier perſwaded then old men, and the ſicke then the whole. And where a man hath leaſt reaſon for his doubts: there he is ſooneſt brought to beleeue any thing. This notwithſtanding, it is reported that *Cato* was obedient vnto his ſchoolemaiſter, and would doe what he commaunded him: howbeit he would aske him ſtill the cauſe and reaſon of euery thing. In deede his ſchoolemaſter was very gentle, and readier to teach him, then to ſtrike him with his fiſt. His name was *Sarpedo*. Furthermore, when *Cato* was but a young boy, the people of ITALY which were confederates of the ROMAINES, ſued to be made free citizens of ROME. At that time it chaunced one *Pompedius Silo*, a valiant ſouldier, and of great eſtimation among the confederates of

*Why quicke wits haue neuer good memorie.*

*Sarpedo, Catoes ſchoolemaſter.*

the ROMAINES, and a great friend beſides of *Druſus*: to be lodged many daies at his houſe. He in this time falling acquainted with theſe young boyes, ſaid one day vnto them: good boyes, intreate your vncle to ſpeake for vs, that we may be made free citizens of ROME. *Cæpio* ſmiling nodded with his head, that he would. But *Cato* making no anſwere, looked very wiſely vpon the ſtrangers that lay in the houſe. Then *Pompedius* taking him aſide, asked him: and thou, my pretie boy, what ſayeſt thou to it? Wilt thou not pray thine vncle as well as thy brother, to be good to his gueſtes? *Cato* ſtill held his peace and aunſwered nothing, but ſhewed by his ſilence and looke, that he would not heare their requeſt. Then *Pompedius* taking him vp in his armes, did put him out of the window, as if he would haue let him haue gone: and ſpeaking more ſharply to him then he did before, he caſt him many times out of his armes without the window, and ſaid, promiſe vs then, or elſe I will let thee fall. But *Cato* abid it a long time, and neuer quinched for it, nor ſhewed countenance of feare. Thereupon *Pompedius* ſetting him downe againe, told his friends that ſtood by him: O what good happe doth this child promiſe one day vnto ITALIE, if he liue? ſure if he were a man, I beleeue we ſhould not haue one voice of all the people of our ſide. An other time, there were ſome of *Catoes* neere kinſemen, that keeping the feaſt day of his birth, bad many young boyes to ſupper, and amongſt others this *Cato*. The boyes to occupie themſelues till ſupper was readie, gathered themſelues together great and ſmall, into ſome priuate place of the houſe. Their play was, counterfaiting pleadings before the iudges, accuſing one an other, and carying them that were condemned to priſon. Amongſt them, a goodly young boy was caried by a bigger boy into a litle chamber, bounde as a condemned perſon. The boy perceiuing he was locked vp, cryed out vnto *Cato*: who miſtruſting what it was, went ſtraight to the chamber dore & putting them by by force that withſtood him to come vnto it, he tooke out the young boy, and caried him very angrily with him to his owne houſe, and all the other young boyes followed him alſo. So *Cato* had ſuch name among the young boyes, that when *Sylla* made the game of young boyes running a horſebacke, which the ROMAINES call Troia: to appoint them before that they might be ready at the day of the ſhew, he hauing gotten all the young boyes of noble houſes together, appointed them two Captaines. Of them, the boyes tooke the one, becauſe of his mother *Metella*, which was the wife of *Sylla*: but they would none of the other called *Sextus*, who was nephew to *Pompey* the great, neither would they be exerciſed vnder him, nor followe him. Wherefore *Sylla* asked them, which of them they would haue: they all cryed then *Cato*, and *Sextus* himſelfe did willingly giue him the honor, as the worthier of both. *Sylla* was their fathers friend, and therefore did ſend for them many times to come vnto him, & he would talke with them: the which kindnes he ſhewed to few men, for the maieſtie and great authoritie he had. *Serpedo* alſo (*Catoes* ſchoolemaiſter) thinking it a great preferrement and ſafetie for his ſchollers, did commonly bring *Cato* vnto *Syllaes* houſe, to waite vpon him: the which was rather like vnto a iayle or priſon, for the great number of priſoners which were daily brought thither, and put to death. *Cato* being then but foureteene yeares of age, and perceiuing that there were many heads brought which were ſaied to be of great men, and that euerie bodie ſighed and mourned to ſee them: he asked his ſchoolemaſter, how it was poſſible the tyrant ſcaped, that ſome one or other killed him not? Becauſe, ꝗ *Serpedo*, that all men feare him, more then they hate him. Why then, replyed *Cato* againe, diddeſt thou not giue me a ſword that I might kill him, to deliuer my country of this ſlauery & bondage? *Serpedo* hearing the boy ſay ſo, and ſeeing his countenance and eyes on fire with choller, he maruelled much at it, and afterwardes had a very good eye vnto him, leaſt raſhly he ſhould attempt ſome thing againſt *Sylla*. When he was but a litle boy, ſome asked him whom he loued beſt? My brother, ſaide he. Then the other continuing ſtil to aske him, & who next: he anſwered likewiſe, his brother. Then the third time againe, likewiſe his brother. Till at length he that asked him, was weary with asking him ſo oft. Yea and when he was come of age alſo, he then confirmed the loue he bare to his brother in his deedes. For twenty yeares together he neuer ſupped without his brother *Cæpio*, neither went he euer out of his houſe into the market place, nor into the fieldes without him: but when his brother did noint himſelfe with ſweete oyles of perfume, hee would none of that, and in all things elſe, he led a ſtraight and hard life. So that his brother

*Catoes auſteritie.*

*The maruellous conſtancie of Cato when he was a child.*

*Syllaes loue vnto Cato being but a boy.*

*Catoes hate being a boy againſt a tyrant.*

*Catoes loue to his brother.*

*Cæpio*

*Capio* being commended of euery man for his temperaunce, honeſty, and ſober life: he graunted in deede that in reſpect of others, he led a ſober and temperate life: but when I doe (ſayed he) compare my life with my brother **Catoes**, me thinkes then there is no difference betwixt me and *Sippius*. This *Sippius* was at that time noted and pointed at, for his fine and curious effeminate life. After that *Cato* was once choſen *Apolloes* Prieſt, he went from his brother, and tooke his portion of the goods of his father, which amounted to the ſumme of a hundred and twenty talents. Then he liued more hardly then hee did before. For he fell in acquaintaunce with *Antipater* TYRIAM, a Stoicke Philoſopher, and gaue him ſelfe chiefly vnto the ſtudie of morall and ciuill Philoſophy, imbracing all exerciſe of vertue with ſuch an earneſt deſire, that it ſeemed he was prickt forward by ſome god: but aboue all other vertues, he loued the ſeuerity of iuſtice, which he would not wreſt for any gift nor fauor. He ſtudied alſo to be eloquent, that he might ſpeake openly before the people, becauſe he would there ſhould be certaine warlike forces entertained in ciuill Philoſophy, as alſo in a great city. Notwithſtanding, he would not exerciſe it before any body, neither would he euer haue any man to heare him ſpeake when he did learne to ſpeake. For when one of his friends told him one day, that men did miſlike he ſpake ſo litle in company: it skilleth no matter, ꝙ he, ſo they can not reproue my life, for I will beginne to ſpeake, when I can ſay ſome thing worthy to be ſpoken. Hard by the market place there was the common pallace or towne houſe of the citie, called Baſilica Porcia, the which *Porcius Cato* the elder had built, in the time of his Cenſorſhip. There the Tribunes were wont to keepe their audience: and becauſe there was a piller that troubled their ſeates, they would either haue taken it away, or elſe haue ſet it in ſome other place. That was the firſt cauſe that made *Cato* againſt his will to goe into the market place, and to get vp into the pulpit for orations, to ſpeake againſt them: where hauing giuen this firſt proofe of his eloquence and noble minde, he was maruellouſly eſteemed of. For his oration was not like a young man, counterfeating fineneſſe of ſpeach and affectation, but ſtout, full of wit and vehemency: and yet in the ſhortneſſe of his ſentences, he had ſuch an excellent grace withall, that he maruellouſly delighted the hearers: and furthermore, ſhewing in nature a certaine grauity beſides, it did ſo pleaſe them, that he made them laugh. Hee had a very full and audible voyce that might be heard of a maruellous number of people, and ſuch a ſtrong nature beſides, that he neuer fainted, nor brake his ſpeach: for many times hee would ſpeake a whole day together, and was neuer wearie. So when he had obtained his cauſe againſt the Tribunes, he returned againe to keepe his former great ſilence, and to harden his body with painefull exerciſes, as to abide heate, froſt, and ſnow bare headed, and alwayes to goe a foote in the fielde, where his friends that did accompany him rode a horſebacke, and ſometime hee would come and talke with one, ſometime with an other, as he went a foote by them. He had a wonderfull patience alſo in his ſickneſſe. For when he had any ague, he would be alone all day long, and ſuffer no man to come and ſee him, vntill he perceiued his fit was off him, and that he founde he was better. When he ſupped with his friendes and familiars, they drew lots who ſhould chooſe their parts. If he chaunced not to chooſe, his friendes notwithſtanding gaue him the preferment to chooſe: but he refuſed it, ſaying it was no reaſon, ſith the goddeſſe *Venus* was againſt him. At the firſt he did not vſe to ſitte long at the table, but after he had drunke one draught onely, he would ſtraight riſe. But when he came to be elder, he ſate long at the table: ſo that oftentimes he would ſit it out all night with his friendes, till the next morning. But they ſeeking to excuſe it, ſayed, that his great buſineſſe and affaires in the common wealth was the cauſe of it. For following that all the day long, hauing no leyſure nor time to ſtudie when night came, he delighted to talke with learned men, and Philoſophers, at the bord. Wherefore when *Memmius* on a time being in company, ſayed, that *Cato* did nothing but drinke all night: *Cicero* taking his tale out of his mouth, aunſwered him, thou doeſt not adde this vnto it, that all the daie he doth nothing but plaie at diſe. To be ſhort, *Cato* thinking that the manners and faſhions of mens liues in his time were ſo corrupt, and required ſuch great chaunge and alteration: that to goe vprightly, he was to take a contrary courſe in all things. For hee ſaw that purple, red, and the lighteſt colours were beſt eſteemed of: he in contrary manner deſired to weare blacke. And many times alſo after dinner hee would goe abroade bare footed

*Antipater the Stoicke, Catoes ſchoolemaiſter.*

*Catoes act for Baſilica Porcia*

*Catoes exerciſes.*

*Catoes drinking.*

*Ciceroes ſaying of Cato.*

without ſhooes, and without any gowne: not becauſe he would be wondered at for any ſuch ſtrangeneſſe, but to acquaint him ſelfe to be aſhamed onely of ſhameleſſe and diſhoneſt things, and to deſpiſe thoſe which were not reproued, but by mens opinions. Furthermore, land being left him to the value of an hundred talentes by the death of a couſin of his, that likewiſe was called *Cato*: he put it all into ready money: to lend to his friends that lacked, and without vſury. And there were ſome of his frends alſo that would morgage his land, or his ſlaues, to the chamber of the city, for their owne priuate buſines: the which he him ſelfe would either giue them to morgage, or els afterwards confirme the morgage of thē. Furthermore, when he was come of age to mary, hauing neuer knowen woman before, he was made ſure to *Lepida*. This *Lepida* had bene precontracted vnto *Metellus Scipio*: but afterwardes the precontract being broken, he forſooke her, ſo that ſhee was free, when *Cato* was contracted to her. Notwithſtanding, before *Cato* maried her, *Scipio* repenting him that he had refuſed her, made all the means he could to haue her againe: and ſo he had. *Cato* tooke it ſo grieuouſly, that he thought to goe to law for her: but his friendes diſſwaded him from it. Then ſeeing no other remedie, to ſatisfie his angry minde, he wrote verſes againſt *Scipio*, in the which hee reuiled him all he could: vſing the bitter taunts of *Archilocus* verſes, but not ſuch impudent, lewde, and childiſh reproaches as be there. After that, he maried *Attilia*, *Soranus* daughter, being the firſt woman he euer knew: yet not the onely woman whom hee did know, as is reported of *Lælius*, *Scipioes* friend, who therein was counted the happier, becauſe all that long time wherein he liued, hee neuer knew other woman but his firſt wife. Furthermore, in the warre of the bondemen (otherwiſe called *Spartacus* warre) one *Gellius* was choſen Prætor of the army vnder whom *Cato* ſerued of his own good will, for the loue he bare vnto his brother *Cæpio*, who in that army had charge of a thouſand footemen. Now *Cato* could not as he wiſhed, ſhew his valiantneſſe and good ſeruice, becauſe of the inſufficiency of the Prætor that gaue ill direction. This notwithſtanding, in the middeſt of all the ryot and inſolencie of them in the campe, he ſhewing him ſelfe a ſtayed man in all his doings, valiant where neede was, and very wiſe alſo: all men eſteemed him to be nothing inferiour vnto *Cato* the elder. Whereupon *Gellius* the Prætor gaue him many honors in token of his valiantnes, which are giuen in reward of mens good ſeruice: howbeit *Cato* refuſed them, and ſayed, that he was nothing worthy of thoſe honors. Theſe things made him to be thought a maruellous ſtraunge man. Furthermore, when there was a law made, forbidding all men that ſued for any office in the common wealth, that they ſhould haue no prompters in any of the aſſemblies, to blow into their eares the names of priuat citizens: he alone making ſute to be Colonell of a thouſand footemen, was obedient to the law, and committed all the priuate citizens names to memory, to ſpeake vnto euery one of them, and to call them by their names: ſo that he was enuied euen of them that did commend him. For, by how much they knew his deedes praiſe worthy, by ſo much more were they grieued, for that they could not follow them. So *Cato* being choſen Colonell of a thouſand footemen, he was ſent into MACEDON, vnto *Rubrius*, Prætor there. Some ſay, that at his departure from thence, his wife lamenting, and weeping to ſee him goe: one *Munatius* a friend of his ſayd vnto her, take no thought *Attilia*, and leaue weeping, for I promiſe thee I will keepe thy husband for thee. It is well ſayd, anſwered *Cato*. Then when they were a daies iorney frō ROME, *Cato* after ſupper ſaid vnto this *Munatius*: thou muſt looke well to thy promiſe thou haſt made *Attilia*, that thou wouldeſt keepe me for her, and therefore forſake me not night nor day. Thereuppon he commaunded his men that from thence forth they ſhould prepare two beds in his chamber, that *Munatius* alſo might lye there: who was rather pleaſantly him ſelfe looked vnto by *Cato*, then *Cato* by him. He had fifteen ſlaues with him, two free men, and foure of his friends, which rode, and he him ſelfe went a foote: ſometime talking with one, otherwhile with another as he went. Whē he came to the campe, where there were many legions of the ROMAINS, the Prætor immediatly gaue him charge of one of them: who thinking it ſmall honor to him for him ſelf only to be valiant, ſith he was but one man, he practiſed to make all his ſouldiers vnder him, like vnto him ſelf. The which he did not by feare & terror, but by lenity and gentle perſwaſion, training and inſtructing them in euery point what they ſhould do: adding to his gentle inſtruction & perſwaſions, reward to thoſe that did well,

*Catoes mariages.*

*Attilia Catoes wife.*

*Lelius mariage.*

*Catoes firſt ſouldierfare in the war of the bondmen.*

*Cato choſen Tribunus militum.*

*How Cato trained his men, and made them valiant.*

and puniſhment to them that offended. Whereby it was hard to iudge, whether hee had made them more quiet, then warlicke: more valiant, then iuſt. So dreadfull they ſhewed them ſelues to their enemies, and curteous to their friendes: fearefull to doe euill, and ready to winne honour. Whereof followed that which *Cata* leaſt accounted of, that is, he wanne fame, and good will: for his ſouldiers did greatly honour and loue him, becauſe he him ſelfe would euer firſt ſet his hand to any thing he commaunded them, and becauſe alſo both in his diet, in his apparell, and in any iorney or paines, he was rather like vnto the meaneſt ſouldier, then any of the other Captaines. In contrary manner alſo, in good nature, noble courage, and eloquence, he farre exceeded all the other Colonels and Captaines. For the true loue of vertue, (to wit, the deſire to follow it) taketh no roote in mens mindes, vnleſſe they haue a ſingular loue and reuerence vnto the perſon, whome they deſire to follow. When *Cato* vnderſtoode that *Athenodorus* ſurnamed *Cordylion*, a Stoicke Philoſopher, excellently well learned, dwelt at that time in the city of PERGAMVM, being a very old man, and one that ſtiffely refuſed the friendſhip of kings, princes, and noble men, deſirous to haue him about them: to write to him, he thought it was but loſt labor. Wherefore hauing two moneths liberty by the laws of the ROMAINES, to follow his owne affaires: he tooke ſea, and went into ASIA to him, hoping he ſhould not loſe his iourney, for the great vertues he knew in him. So when he had ſpoken with him, and talked of diuerſe matters together: at length he brought him from his firſt determination, and caried him to the campe with him, eſteeming this victory more, then all the conqueſtes of *Lucullus* or *Pompey*, who had conquered the moſt part of all the prouinces and realmes of the Eaſt parts of the world. In the meane time, whileſt hee lay at his charge in the campe, being Colonell of a thouſand footemen: his brother preparing to goe into ASIA, fell ſicke in the city of ÆNVS, in the countrey of THRACIA. *Cato* hauing ſpeedy intelligence thereof, tooke ſea preſently, when it was maruellous rough and boyſterous, and imbarked in a litle crayer of a marchants of THESSALY, with two of his friends, and three bondmen only, & did eſcape drowning very narrowly: and yet by good fortune arriued ſafely, a litle after his brother *Capioes* death. He tooke his death more ſorrowfully, then became a Philoſopher, not onely mourning and lamenting for him, imbracing the dead corps of his brother: but alſo for the exceeding charge and ſumptuous funerals, which he beſtowed vpon him, in perfumes, ſweete ſauors, and ſumptuous ſilkes that were burnt with his bodie: and furthermore, in the ſtately tombe of THRACIAN marble which he made for him, and ſet vp in the market place of the ÆNIANS, that coſt eight talents. Some did miſlike this vaine charge that *Cato* beſtowed, conſidering the modeſty and temperance he vſed in all things elſe, not regarding with iudgement his tender loue and affection towards his kinſmen, which was mingled in him with his ſeuerity and hardnes, againſt all voluptuouſnes, feare, and ſhameleſſe requeſtes. Diuers cities, Princes and noble men ſent him many ſundry preſents, to honour the funerals of his brother *Capio*: howbeit he tooke no money of all them, ſauing only ſpices, and ſweete ſauors, and ſuch other ornaments, as honored the obſequies of the dead, and yet payed for them, vnto thoſe that brought them, as much as they were worth. Furthermore, in the land that fell vnto him, and a litle daughter of his, by the death of his brother: notwithſtanding the charge hee had bene at, in his funerals, he did not reckon it in the partition of the land, betwixt him and his brother *Capioes* daughter. All the which things when they were ſolemniſed, ſome* write notwithſtanding, that he did clenſe the imbers where his brothers body had bene burnt, through a ſieue or riddell, where through they clenſe corne, and all to get out the gold and ſiluer that was molten there. But ſuch thinke that their writings ſhould be as farre from controlement, as their doings. So when *Catoes* time of his charge was expired, they did accompany him at his departure, not only with ordinary praiſes, vowes, and prayers to the goddes for his health: but with imbracings, teares, and maruellous lamentations of the ſouldiers, which ſpred their garments on the ground as he went, and kiſſing of his hands, which honor the ROMAINS did but to very few of their Generalles. Furthermore, *Cato* being determined before he returned to ROME to deale in the affaires there, to go and ſee ASIA, partly to be an eye witneſſe of the maners, cuſtomes, and power of euery prouince as he went: and partly alſo to ſatisfie king *Deiotarus* requeſt, who hauing bene his fathers friend, had earneſtly intreated him to come and ſee

*The loue of vertue from whence it proceedeth.*

*Athenodorus the ſtoicke, Catoes friend.*

*The death of Capio, Catoes brother.*

*Catoes mourning for his brother Capioes death.*

** It ſeemeth to be ment of Caſar, which wrote the booke called Anticaton.*

*Catoes iorney into Aſia.*

*Catoes modeſty.*

*A laughing matter hapned vnto Cato.*

*Demetrius a ſlaue, great with Pompey.*

*Cato honored of Pompey in Aſia.*

*Pompey rather ſuſpected Cato, then loued him.*

him: he went the iourney, and vſed it in this ſort. Firſt, by peepe of day, he ſent his baker and cooke before, where he ment to lie that night. They comming ſoberly into the city or village, inquired if there were none of *Catoes* friendes and acquaintance there, and if they found none, then they prepared his ſupper in an Inne, and troubled no man: but if there were no Inne, then they went to the Gouernors of the towne, and prayed them to helpe them to lodging, and did content them ſelues with the firſt that was offered them. Oftentimes the townes men did not beleeue they were *Catoes* men, and made no accompt of them: becauſe they tooke all things ſo quietly, and made no a doe with the officers. Inſomuch as *Cato* ſometime came him ſelfe, and found nothing ready for him, and when he was come, they made as ſmall account of him, ſeeing him ſet vpon his cariages, and ſpeake neuer a word: for they tooke him for ſome meane man, and a timerous perſon. Notwithſtanding, ſometime he called them vnto him, and tolde them O poore men, learne to be more curteous to receiue trauelling ROMAINS that paſſe by you, and looke not alwaies to haue *Catoes* to come vnto you: & therefore ſee that you vſe them with ſuch curteſie and entertainement, that they may bridle the authority they haue ouer you: for you ſhall finde many that will deſire no better colour nor occaſion, by force to take from you that they would haue: becauſe you vnwillingly alſo do grant them the things they would, and need. There is a report of a prety ieſt hapned him in SYRIA. Whē he came to ANTIOCH, he found a great number of people deuided on either ſide of the ſtreete, ſtanding a row one by an other very decently: the yong men by them ſelues in faire clokes, boyes by them ſelues in ſeemely aray, and prieſts and other officers of the city alſo, al in white garments, crowned with garlands. *Cato* thought ſtraight they had made this ſolemne proceſſion to honor him, and fell out with his men he had ſent before, becauſe they did ſuffer them to make ſuch preparation for his comming. So he made his friends light from their horſes, and go a foot to accompany him. But when they came neare to the gate of the city, the maiſter of theſe ceremonies that had aſſembled all that company (an old man, hauing a rodde in his hand, and a crowne on his head) came to *Cato* without ſaluting of him, and asked him only, where they had left *Demetrius*, and when he would come. This *Demetrius* had bin one of *Pompeis* ſlaues, and becauſe *Pompeis* fame was great with all men, his ſeruant *Demetrius* alſo was much honored and made of aboue his deſert, for that he was in great credite with *Pompey*. *Catoes* friends hearing what queſtion the olde man asked him, burſt out a laughing as they went through this proceſſion. *Cato* being aſhamed of it, ſaied no more then: but, O vnfortunate city. Afterwards notwithſtanding, when he told it to any body, he would laugh at it him ſelfe. So *Pompey* rebuked them, that through ignorance had failed to honor *Cato*. When *Cato* came to the city of EPHESVS, and was comming towardes *Pompey* to ſalute him, being the elder man, and of greater dignity and eſtimation then he, who at that time alſo was Generall of a great and puiſaunt army: *Pompey* ſeeing him comming towards him a farre off, would not tary till he came to him, ſitting in his chaire of eſtate, but riſing vp went to meete him, as one of the greateſt and nobleſt perſons of ROME, and taking him by the hand, after he had imbraced and welcommed him, he preſently fell in praiſe of his vertue before his face, and afterwards alſo commended him in his abſence, when he was gone from him. Whereuppon, euery man after that had him in great veneration for thoſe things, which before they deſpiſed in him, when they conſidered better of his noble and curteous mind. For men that ſaw P*ompeis* entertainment towards him, knew wel enough that *Cato* was a man which he rather reuerenced, & for a kinde of duty obſerued, more then for any loue he bare him: & they noted further, that he honored him greatly while he was with him, but yet that he was glad when *Cato* went from him. For he ſought to keepe backe all the yong gentlemen of ROME that went to ſee him, and deſired them to remaine with him: but for *Cato*, he was nothing deſirous of his company, for that in his preſence hee thought he could not cōmand as he would, & therefore was willing to let him go, recommending his wife & his children to him, the which he neuer did before vnto any other ROMAIN that returned to ROME: howbeit in deed *Cato* was partly allied vnto him. After that time, all the cities whereby he paſſed, deuiſed (in emulation one of the other) which of thē ſhould honor him moſt, & made him great feaſts & bankets: in the which he praid his friends to haue an eie to him, leaſt vnwares he ſhold proue *Curioes* words true. For *Curio* ſomtime being his frēd, & a familiar of his, miſliking notwithſtanding his ſeuerity: asked *Cato* if he would go ſee Asia, when his charge were expired. *Cato* anſwered againe, that it was his full determination. Oh well ſayd, ꝙ *Curio*, I hope then thou wilt returne more pleaſant and ciuill. And theſe were *Curioes* words. Furthermore, *Deiotarus* king of Galatia, being a very old man, ſent for *Cato* to come into his countrey to recommend his ſonnes and houſe vnto him: who, when he arriued there, had great riche preſents of all ſortes offered him by the king, intreating him all he could to take them. This ſo much miſliked and angered *Cato*, that he comming thither in the euening, (after he had taried there one whole day only) the next morning he went his way from thence at the third houre. Howbeit he had not gone one daies iuorney, but he found greater gifts that taried him, with *Deiotarus* letters, at the city of Pessinunta: in the which he inſtantly requeſted him to take them, or at the leaſt if he would refuſe them him ſelfe, that then he would let them be deuided amongeſt his friends, ſith euery way they did deſerue it, but ſpecially for his ſake, for that his goodes alſo were not ſo great, as could content all his friends. But *Cato* would not ſuffer them to take any iot of it more then before, although he ſaw well enough that there were ſome of them ſo tender hearted, that they complained of him, for that hee would not ſuffer them to take any of it. For he told them, that otherwiſe, corruption and bribery could lacke no honeſt colour to take: and for his friendes, they ſhoulde alwayes haue part with him of that which was his owne iuſtly. So hee returned king *Deiotarus* preſents backe againe. Now when he was ready to imbarke, to paſſe ouer the ſea againe vnto Brundusium: ſome of his friendes perſwaded him, that it was better to put the aſhes of his brother *Capioes* bones into an other ſhippe. But he aunſwered them, that he would rather loſe his owne life, then to leaue his brothers reliques. Thereuppon he preſently hoyſed ſaile, and it is reported that he paſſed ouer in great danger, where other ſhippes arriued very ſafely. When he was returned vnto Rome, he was alwayes either talking Philoſophy with *Athenodorus* the Philoſopher, or elſe in the market place to pleaſure his friends. When his turne came that he was to make ſute to be Quæſtor, he would neuer ſue for it, before he had firſt diligently peruſed all the ordinaunces touching the office of Quæſtor, and that hee had particularly made enquiry of men of greateſt experience to know what the authority of the office was. So, he no ſooner came to his office, but he preſently made great alteration amongeſt the clearkes and officers of the treaſurie: who hauing the lawes and recordes in their handes, and exerciſing the office commonly vnder young men which were choſen treaſurers (who for their ignoraunce and lacke of experience, ſtoode rather in neede of maiſters to teache them, then that they were able to correct others) they them ſelues were the officers, and controlled them. But *Cato* not contenting him ſelfe with the name and honour of the thing, did throughly vnderſtand what the clearkes and regiſters ſhould be, and therefore would haue them to be as they ought to be, miniſters vnder the Quæſtors onely, telling them of their bribery and corruption which they committed, and reformed them alſo, that faulted through ignorance. And when hee ſaw ſome inſolent and impudent perſons, that curried fauour with other treaſurers to be againſt him: he cauſed the chiefeſt of them to be condemned for falſhoode, in making diuiſion betwixt two coheires, and conſequently turned him cleare out of his office, for euer doing any thing there any more. He accuſed an other alſo for forging of a will, whome *Catulus Luctatius* defending, being then Cenſor, and a man of great honor for the dignity of his office, but chiefly for his vertue, being counted the iuſteſt man one of them in his time at Rome, and one of thoſe alſo that highly commended *Cato*, & was conuerſant with him for his honeſt life: when hee perceiued that he could not defend his man by no reaſon, he prayed them at his requeſt that they would pardon him. But *Cato* would in no wiſe graunt it. But *Catulus* earneſtly intreating ſtill for him: then *Cato* plainely ſayed vnto him. It is ſhame for thee (*Catulus*) thou that art Cenſor, and ſhouldeſt reforme all our liues, thus to forget the duetie of thine office, to pleaſe our miniſters. *Catulus* looking at *Cato* when he had ſpoken, as though he would anſwere him: whether it were for ſhame, or anger, he went his way, and ſaid neuer a word more. Yet was not the party condemned, though there was one voice more that did condemne then cleare him, becauſe of the abſence of one of the Iudges. For *Marcus Lollius*, one of *Catulus* colleagues in the Quæſtorſhip, being ſicke at that time, and abſent, *Catulus* ſent vnto him,

*Catoes iorney vnto king Deiotarus, and his abſtinence from gifts.*

*Cato made Quæſtor.*

*Catulus Luctatius what he was.*

to pray him to come and helpe the poore man. Thereuppon *Lollius* being brought thither in a litter after iudgement giuen, gaue his laſt voice, which abſolutely cleared him. *Cato*, this notwithſtanding, would neuer vſe him as a clearke, nor pay him his wages, nor would count of *Lollius* voyce among others. Thus hauing pulled downe the pride and ſtomacke of theſe clearkes, and brought them vnto reaſon: in ſhort time he had all the tables and recordes at his commaundement, and made the treaſure chamber as honourable, as the Senate it ſelfe: ſo that euery man thought, and ſayd, that *Cato* had added vnto the Quæſtorſhippe the dignity of the Conſulſhip.

*Cato made the Quæſtorſhip of great dignity.*

For finding diuers men indebted before vnto the common wealth, and the common wealth alſo vnto diuerſe men: he ſette downe ſuch an order, that neither the common wealth ſhould be deceiued by any man, nor that any man alſo ſhould haue wrong of it. For being rough with them that were indebted to the chamber, hee compelled them to pay their debt, and willingly and quickly alſo payed them to whom the chamber ought any thing: ſo that the people were aſhamed to ſee ſome pay which neuer thought to haue payed any thing, and on the contrary ſide alſo others payed, which neuer looked to haue had any part of their debts paid them. Furthermore, diuers men did before make falſe bils of their debts, & brought them ſo to be put into the coffer of the Quæſtors: and many times alſo his predeceſſors were wont of fauor and friendſhip to receiue falſe meſſages. For whileſt he was Quæſtor, he neuer did paſſe away matters ſo lightly. For one day, he being doubtfull of a meſſage that was ſent vnto him, to know whether it was true or no: albeit diuerſe men did witneſſe it was true, yet would he not beleeue it, vntill ſuch time as the Conſuls them ſelues came in their owne perſons to iuſtifie it was true, and to ſweare, that it was ſo ordained. Now there were many vnto whom *Lucius Sylla* being Dictator, had appointed in his ſecond proſcription twelue thouſand ſiluer Drachmas for euery citizen and outlaw which they had ſlaine with their owne handes. Theſe men, though euery man did hate them, and knew them to be wicked people and cruell murtherers: yet no man durſt offer to be reuenged of them.

*Cato was reuenged of Syllaes bloody murther.*

*Cato* called theſe men in ſute, as thoſe that did wrongfully detaine the money of the common treaſure, and compelled them to repay it backe againe: ſharpely reproouing (and iuſtly) the wicked deuiliſh fact they had committed. So when they had repayed the money, they were ſtraight accuſed by others for murder: & as if they had bene wrongfully condemned by one iudgement, they were brought into an other, to the great ioy of all the ROMAINS, who then thought they ſaw all the tyranny of that time rooted out, and *Sylla* him ſelfe puniſhed. Beſides all this, *Catoes* continuall paines and care of the treaſure, was ſo well thought of, and liked of the people as could be. For he was alwaies the firſt that came to the coffer of the treaſurers, and alſo the laſt that went from thence, and was neuer weary of any paines. Furthermore, he neuer miſſed to be at any aſſembly of the people or Senate, fearing, and being alwayes carefull, leaſt lightly by fauour, any money due to the common wealth ſhould be forgiuen: or elſe that they ſhould abate the rent of the farmers, or that they ſhould giue no money but to them that had iuſtly deſerued it. Thus hauing ridde all accuſers, and alſo filled the coffers with treaſure: hee made men ſee, that the common wealth might be rich, without oppreſſing of any man. In deede at his firſt comming into the office, his colleagues and companions founde him maruellous troubleſome and tedious, for that they thought him too rough and ſeuere: howbeit they all loued him in the end, becauſe he onely withſtood the complaints and cries of all men againſt them (which complained that they would not for any mans reſpect or fauor let go the money of the common treaſure) and was contented his companions ſhould excuſe them ſelues vnto their friends that were importunate, and lay the fault vppon him, ſaying, that it was vnpoſſible for them to bring *Cato* vnto it.

*Catoes notable leauing of his office.*

The laſt day that he went out of his office, being very honorably brought home to his houſe by the people: it was tolde him that *Marcellus*, being in the treaſure chamber, was attempted and enuironned with many of his friends, and men of great authority, that were earneſtly in hand with him to record a certaine gift of money, as a thing that had bene due by the common wealth. This *Marcellus* had bene *Catoes* frend euen from their childhood, and whileſt *Cato* was in office, he did orderly execute his office with him: but whē he was left alone, he was of ſo gentle a nature, that he would eaſily be intreated, and was as much aſhamed to deny any man, as he was alſo ouerreadie to graunt euery man that he required. *Cato* ſtraight returned backe vpon it, and finding that *Marcellus* had yeelded vnto their importunacie, and recorded the gift: he cauſed the bookes to be brought vnto him, and did raſe it out before his face, *Marcellus* ſpeaking neuer a word to the contrary. After that, *Marcellus* brought *Cato* home, and neuer once repined againſt that he had done, neither then, nor at any time after, but continued ſtill friendſhip with him, as he had done before. But now, though *Cato* was out of his office of Quæſtor, he was not without ſpials of his men in the treaſure chamber: who marked alwayes, and wrote what was done and paſſed in the treaſurie. And *Cato* himſelfe hauing bought the bookes of account for the ſumme of fiue talents conteyning the reuenue of the whole ſtate of the common wealth, from *Syllaes* time vntill the very yeare of his Quæſtorſhip: he euer had them about him, and was the firſt man that came to the Senate and the laſt that went out of it. There many times the Senatours tarying long before they came, he went and ſate downe in a corner by himſelfe, and read cloſely the booke he had vnder his gowne, clapping his gowne before it, and would neuer be out of the citie on that day when he knew the Senate ſhould aſſemble. After that, P*ompey* and his conſorts perceiuing that it was vnpoſsible to compell *Cato*, & much leſſe to winne or corrupt him, to fauour their vniuſt doings, they ſought what meanes they could to keepe him from comming to the Senate, and defending certaine of his friends cauſes, and to occupy him ſome other wayes about matters of arbiterment. But *Cato* finding their wiles and craft, to encounter them, he told his friendes once for all, whom he would pleaſure: that when the Senate did ſit, no mans cauſe could make him be abſent from thence. For he came not to ſerue the common wealth to enrich himſelfe as many did, neither for any glory or reputation, nor yet at all aduenture: but that he had aduiſedly choſen to ſerue the common wealth, like a iuſt and honeſt man, & therefore thought himſelfe bound to be as carefull of his dutie, as the bee working her waxe in the honny combe. For this reſpect therefore, to performe his dutie the better, by the meanes of his friendes which he had in euery prouince belonging to the Empire of ROME: he got into his handes the copies of all the chiefeſt actes, edicts, decrees, ſentences, and the notableſt iudgements of the gouernours that remained in record. Once *Cato* perceiuing that P*ublius Clodius* a ſeditious Orator amongeſt the people, did make great ſturre, and accuſed diuers vnto the aſſembly, as the Prieſtes and Veſtall Nunnes: among the which *Fabia Terentia*, *Ciceroes* wiues ſiſter was accuſed) he taking their cauſe in hand, did ſo diſgrace C*lodius* their accuſer, that he was driuen to flie the citie. C*icero* therefore giuing *Cato* thankes, *Cato* told him, that he muſt thanke the common wealth, not him, for whoſe ſake onely he both ſayd and did that he had done. Hereby *Cato* wanne him great fame. For when a certain Oratour or common counſeller preferred one witnes vnto the Iudges, the counſeller on the other ſide told them, that one witneſſe was not to be credited, though it were *Cato* himſelfe. In ſomuch as the people tooke it vp for a prouerbe among them, that when any man ſpake any ſtraunge and vnlikely matter, they would ſay: Nay, though *Cato* himſelfe ſayd it, yet were it not to be beleeued. When on a time a certaine prodigall man had made a long Oration in the Senate, in prayſe & cõmendation of ſobrietie, temperance, & thriftines: one *Amnæus* a Senator riſing vp, ſaid vnto him, alas, friend, what thinkeſt thou? who can abide to heare thee any longer with patience: that fareſt at thy table like C*raſſus*, buildeſt like *Lucullus*, & ſpeakeſt to vs like *Cato*? So men commõly (in ſport) called them *Catoes*, which were graue and ſeuere in their wordes, and diſſolute in their deeds. When diuers of his friends were in hand with him to ſue to be Tribune of the people, he told them he thought it not meete at that time: for ſuch an office (quoth he) of great authoritie as that, is not to be imployed, but like a ſtrong medicine in time of neede. So, the terme and matters of law ceaſing for that time, *Cato* went into the coũtry of LVKE to take his pleaſure there, where he had pleaſant houſes: and tooke with him both his bookes & Philoſophers to keepe him company. Becauſe, meeting as he went, with diuers ſumpters and great cariage, and a great traine of men beſides, he asked them whoſe cariage it was: they told him it was *Metellus Nepos* that returned to ROME, to make ſute to be Tribune. Thereupon *Cato* ſtayd ſodainly, and bethinking himſelfe, commaunded his men to returne backe againe. His friends maruelling at it, he aunſwered them: Do not you know that *Metellus* is to be feared of himſelfe, for his raſhnes & folly? & now that he commeth inſtructed by P*ompey*, like a lightning he would

*Cotoes care & integritie to the common wealth.*

*Catoes minde and determination to take charge in the cõmon wealth*

*Cato draue Clodius out of Rome.*

*The authoritie and credit of Cato.*

*Cato tooke Philoſophers with him whẽ he went into the countrey.*

ſet all the common wealth a fire? for this cauſe therefore, we muſt not now go take our pleaſure in the coũtry, but ouercome his folly, or otherwiſe dye honorably in defence of our libertie. Yet at his friendes perſwaſions, he went firſt vnto his houſe in the country, but taried not long there, and returned ſtraight again to ROME. When he came thither ouernight, the next morning betimes he went into the market place, & ſued to the Tribune of the people, purpoſely to croſſe *Metellus* enterpriſe, becauſe the power & authoritie of the Tribune cõſiſteth more in hindring, then doing any thing: for if all men elſe were agreed of a matter, and that he onely were againſt it, the Tribune would cary it from them all.

*The office and authoritie of the Tribune, what it is.*

*Cato* at the firſt had not many of his friendes about him, but when they heard of his intent, why he made ſute for the Tribuneſhip all his friendes and noble men ſtraight tooke part with him, confirmed his determination, and incouraged him to go on withall, for that he did it rather to ſerue the common wealth, thẽ his owne turne, conſidering, that where many times before he might (without reſiſtance or deniall) haue obteined the ſame, the ſtate being toward no trouble, he then would neuer ſue for it, but now that he ſaw it in danger, where he was to fight for the common wealth, and the protection of her libertie.

*Catoes Tribuneſhip.*

It is reported that there was ſuch a number of people about him to fauour his ſute, that he was like to haue bene ſtifled amõg them, & thought he ſhould neuer haue come to the market place, for the preaſſe of people that ſwarmed about him. Thus when he was choſen Tribune with *Metellus* and others, he perceiued how they bought & ſold the voyces of the people when the Conſuls were choſen: whereupon he made an Oration, & ſharply tooke them vp for this deteſtable marchãdiſe, and after his Oration ended, ſolemnly proteſted by oth that he would accuſe him, and bewray his name, which had giuen money to be choſen Cõſul. Howbeit he ſpake nothing of *Syllanus*, whoſe ſiſter, *Seruilia*, he had maried: but he flatly accuſed *Lucius Muræna*, that had obtained to be Cõſul with *Syllanus*, by meanes of his money. Now a law being prouided, that the party accuſed might haue a keeper or ſpiall to follow the accuſer, to ſee what he would accuſe the party with, that he might the better be able to defend himſelfe, knowing what ſhould be obiected againſt him: *Muræna* hauing one for him to wait vpon *Cato*, to conſider throughly what courſe he tooke, when he ſaw that he went not malitiouſly to worke, but tooke a plaine common way of a iuſt accuſer: he had ſo great confidence in Catoes vpright mind and integritie, that not regarding the narrow ſifting of him otherwiſe, he did one day aske him himſelfe in the market place, (or at home in his owne houſe) if that day he were determined to proſecute any matter againſt him touching his accuſation. If *Cato* aunſwered him that he did not: thẽ he went his way and ſimply beleeued him.

*Cicero defended Muræna againſt his accuſer Cato.*

When the day came indeed that his cauſe was to be heard, & pleaded vnto: *Cicero* being Conſull that yeare, defending *Muræna*, played ſo pleaſantly with the STOICKE Philoſophers, and their ſtrange opinions, that he made all the Iudges laugh: in ſomuch as *Cato* himſelfe ſmiling at him, told them that were by him: ſee, we haue a pleaſant Conſull that makes men laugh thus. So *Muræna* being diſcharged by this iudgement, did neuer after malice *Cato* for that, but ſo long as he remained Conſull, he was alwayes ruled by his counſell in all his affaires, & continued euer to honour him, following his counſell in all things touching his office. Hereof *Cato* himſelf was cauſe, who was neuer rough nor terrible, but in matters of counſell, and in his orations before the people, for the maintenance onely of equitie and iuſtice: for otherwiſe, he was very ciuil & curteous to all mẽ. But before he entred into his Tribuneſhip, *Cicero* being yet Conſull, he did helpe him in many things touching his office, but ſpecially, in bringing *Catilins* conſpiracie to good end, which was a noble act done of him.

*The conſpiracie of Catilin againſt Rome.*

For *Catilin* did practiſe a generall commotion and ſturre in the common wealth, to ouerthrow the whole ſtate of ROME, by ciuill diſcord within ROME, and open warres abroad: who being diſcouered and ouercome by *Cicero*, he was driuen in the end to flie ROME. But *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and many other of the accomplices of this conſpiracie, blamed *Catilin* for his faint and cowardly proceeding in it. For their parts, they had determined to burne the whole citie of ROME, and to put all the Empire thereof in vprore, by ſtraunge warres, and rebellions of forreine nations and prouinces. Howbeit this treaſon being diſcouered, as appeareth more largely in the life of *Cicero*, the matter was referred vnto the iudgement of the Senate, to determine what was to be done therein. *Syllanus* being the firſt who was asked his opinion therein, ſayd, that he thought it good they ſhould ſuffer cruell paines : and after him alſo,all the reſt ſaid the like , vntill it came to *Cæſar*.*Cæſar* being an excellent ſpoken man,& that rather deſired to nouriſh then to quench any ſuch ſturres or ſeditions in the common wealth , being fit for his purpoſe lõg determined of: made an Oration full of ſweet pleaſant wordes, declaring vnto them , that to put ſuch men as them to death without lawfull condemnation , he thought it altogether vnreaſonable, and rather that they ſhould do better to keepe them in priſon . This Oration of C*æſar* ſo altered all the reſt of the Senators minds,for that they were affrayd of the people : that *Syllanus* ſelfe mended his opinion againe,& ſayd,that he meant not they ſhould put them to death, but keepe thẽ faſt in priſon , becauſe that to be a priſoner, was the greateſt paine a ROMAINE Citizen could abide. Thus,the Senators minds being ſo ſodainly chaunged, & bent to a more fauourable ſentence: C*ato* riſing vp to ſay his opinion,began very angrily with maruellous eloquence, grieuouſly to reproue *Syllanus* for changing his mind,& ſharply to take vp C*æſar*, that vnder a popular ſemblance,& maſke of ſweet ſuggred words , he ſought vnder hand to deſtroy the common wealth,and alſo to terrifie and make the Senate affrayed: where he himſefe ſhould haue ” bene affrayd , and thinke himſelfe happy , if he could ſcape from being ſuſpected , giuing ſuch ” apparant cauſe of ſuſpition as he did, going about ſo openly to take the enemies and traitours ” of the common wealth out of the hands of iuſtice,ſeeming to haue no pitie nor compaſsion of ” his naturall citie,of ſuch nobilitie and fame,being euen brought in maner to vtter deſtruction, ” but rather to lament the fortune of theſe wicked men,that it was pity they were euer borne, & ” whoſe death preſerued ROME from a thouſand murthers & miſchiefs. Of all the Orations that ” euer C*ato* made,that onely was kept:for C*icero* the Conſull, that day had diſperſed diuers pen ” men in ſundry places of the Senate houſe,which had maruellous ſwift hands , and had further taught them how to make briefe notes and abridgements , which in few lines ſhewed many words. For vntill that time,writers were not knowen that could by figures & ciphers expreſſe a whole ſentence and word,as afterwardes they could:being then the firſt time that euer they were found out. So C*ato* at that time preuailed againſt *Cæſar*,and made them all chaunge their mindes againe , that theſe men were put to death . But that we may not leaue out a iot of his maners,as the very pattern and impreſsion of his mind: It is reported, that when C*ato* that day was ſo hot , and vehement againſt *Cæſar*,that all the Senate could but looke at them , to heare them both:a letter was deliuered *Cæſar*,ſent him into the houſe. C*ato* began preſently to ſuſpect it,and ſo earneſtly miſliked of it,that many of the Senatours being offended, commaunded his letter ſhould be ſeene & read opẽly. *Cæſar* thereupon reached his letter vnto C*ato*,that ſate not farre from him. When C*ato* had read it,& found that it was a loue letter which his ſiſter *Seruilia* had written vnto C*æſar*,whõ ſhe loued,& had knowen:he caſt it againe to C*æſar* , & ſaid there,drunkard. After that he went on againe with his matter,which he had begun before. In, fine,it ſeemeth that C*ato* was very vnfortunate in his wiues: for this *Seruilia* , as we haue ſayd, had an ill name by C*æſar* . And the other *Seruilia* alſo , which was his ſiſter , was worſe defamed. For ſhe being maried vnto *Lucullus*,one of the greateſt men of ROME, by whom ſhe had a ſon was in the end put away frõ him,for her naughty life . But worſt of all,his own wife *Attilia* alſo was not altogether cleare without ſuſpitiõ: For though he had two ſonnes by her , yet he was driuen to be diuorced from her,ſhe was ſo naught and common . After that, he maried *Martia*,the daughter of P*hilip*,which by report ſeemed to be a very honeſt gentlewoman. It is ſhe that is ſo famous among the ROMAINES. For in the life of C*ato*,this place (as a fable or comedie) is diſputable,and hard to be iudged. For thus it was, as *Thraſeas* writeth : who referreth all to the report and credit of one *Munatius* , *Catoes* very familiar friend . Among many that loued C*atoes* vertues,& had them in admiration , ſome of them did ſhew him more what he was,then other ſome did: amongeſt the which, was *Q. Hortenſius*,a man of great honeſtie and authoritie . He,deſiring not onely to be C*atoes* friend and familiar , but alſo to ioyne with him in alliance,and by affinitie to make both their houſes one: was not abaſhed to moue him, to let him haue his daughter P*orcia* in mariage,(which was *Bibulus* wife, & had brought him two children) that he might alſo caſt abroad the ſeede of goodly children , in that pleaſant fertile ground . And though to men this might ſeeme a ſtraunge minde and deſire , yet that in reſpect of nature, it was both honeſt and profitable to the common wealth,not to ſuffer a young

*Catoes oration againſt Cæſar, touching Catilins conſpiracie.*

*Cicero taught them how to write briefly, by notes and figures.*

*Cato vnfortunate in his wiues.*

*Martia Catoes wife.*

*Platoes felowſhip and communitie of women.*

*Cato perſwaded corne to be diſtributed vnto the people.*

*Cato reſiſteth Metellus, Tribune of the people.*

*Iulius Cæſar Prætor.*

woman in the prime of her youth, to loſe the frute of her wombe, being apt to beare children; nor alſo that he ſhould impouerish his ſonne in law with moe children, then one houſe needed. And further, that communicating women in this ſort from one to an other, ſpecially being beſtowed vpon worthy and vertuous men: that vertue ſhould thereby be increaſed the more, being ſo diſperſed in diuers families, and the citie likewiſe ſhould be the ſtronger, by making alliances in this ſort together. And if it be ſo, quoth he, that *Bibulus* do loue his wife ſo dearely, that he will not depart from her altogether, then that he would reſtore her to him againe, when he had a child by her, that thereby he might be the more bound in friendſhip to him, by meanes of this communication of children with *Bibulus* ſelfe, and with him. *Cato* aunſwered him, that he loued *Hortenſius* well, and liked of his alliance howbeit that he maruelled he would ſpeake to him to let him haue his daughter to get children of, ſith he knew that ſhe was maried to an other. Thẽ *Hortenſius* altering his tale, ſtucke not to tell him his mind plainly, & to deſire his wife of him, the which was yet a yong woman, & *Cato* had childrẽ enough. But a man can not tell whether *Hortenſius* made this ſute, becauſe he ſaw *Cato* make no reckoning of *Martia*, for that ſhe was then with child by him. In fine, *Cato* ſeeing the earneſt deſire of *Hortẽſius*, he did not deny him her, but told him, that he muſt alſo get *Philips* good will, the father of *Martia*. He knowing that *Cato* had graunted his good will, would not therefore let him haue his daughter, before that *Cato* himſelfe by his preſence did confirme the contract and mariage with him. Though theſe things were done long after, yet hauing occaſion to talke of *Catoes* wiues, I thought it not amiſſe to anticipate the time. Now *Lentulus*, & his cõſorts of *Catilines* conſpiracie being put to death: *Cæſar*, to cloke the accuſations wherewith *Cato* charged him in opẽ Senate, did put himſelfe into the peoples hands, and gathering the rakehels & ſeditious perſons together, which ſought to ſet all at ſix & ſeuen, he did further encourage them in their miſchieuous intent and practiſes. Whereupon, *Cato* fearing leaſt ſuch a rabble of people ſhould put all the commõ wealth in vproare & daunger: he perſwaded the Senat to winne the poore needy people that had nothing, by diſtributing of corne amongſt them, the which was done: For the charge thereof amounted yearely vnto twelue hundred and fiftie talents. This liberalitie did manifeſtly drinke vp and quench all thoſe troubles which they ſtood in feare of. But on the other ſide, *Metellus* entring into his Tribuneſhip, made certaine ſeditious Orations and aſſemblies, & preferred a law to the people, that Pompey the great ſhould preſently be called into ITALIE with his army, that he ſhould keepe the citie by his comming, from the preſent daunger of Catilins conſpiracie. Theſe were but wordes ſpoken for faſhions ſake, but indeede the law had a ſecret meaning, to put the whole cõmon wealth & Empire of ROME into Pompeys hands. Hereupõ the Senate aſſembled, wherein *Cato* at his firſt comming, ſpake ſomwhat gently, and not too vehemẽtly againſt *Metellus*, as his manner was to be ſharpe vnto them that were againſt him: but modeſtly perſwaded him, and fell to intreate him in the end, and highly to extoll his houſe, for that they had alwayes taken part with the Senate and nobilitie. But *Metellus* therewith tooke ſuch pride & conceit of himſelf, that he began to deſpiſe Cato, thinking he had vſed that mildneſſe, as though he had bene affrayde of him: in ſomuch as he gaue out proud ſpeaches againſt him, and cruell threats, that in deſpight of the Senate he would do that which he had vndertaken. Then Cato chaunging his countenance, his voyce and ſpeach, after he had ſpoken very ſharply againſt him; in the end he roughly proteſted, that while he liued, he would neuer ſuffer Pompey to come into ROME with his armie. The Senate hearing them both, thought neither of both well in their wits, but that *Metellus* doings was a furie, which proceeding of a cancred ſtomacke and extreme malice, would put all in hazard: & that which Cato did, was a rauiſhment and extacie of his vertue, that made him beſide himſelfe, contending for iuſtice and equitie. When the day came that this law ſhould paſſe by voyces of the people, *Metellus* failed not to be in the market place with a world of ſtraungers, ſlaues, and fenſers, armed, and ſet in battell ray, beſides a number of the common people that were deſirous to ſee Pompeys returne, hoping after chaunge. Beſides all thoſe, *Cæſar* then being Prætor, gaue aide likewiſe with his men, in the behalfe of *Metellus*. On the contrary part alſo, the noble men & Senators of the citie were as angry as Cato, and ſayd it was a horrible ſhame: howbeit they were his friendes, rather in miſliking the matter, then in defending the common wealth.

Whereupon, all his friendes at home, and his whole family, were maruellouſly perplexed and ſorowfull, that they both refuſed their meate, and alſo could take no reſt in the night for feare of *Cato*. But he, as one without feare, hauing a good hart with him, did comfort his people, and bad them not ſorow for him: and after he had ſupped, as he commonly vſed to do, he went to bed, and ſlept ſoundly all night, till the morning that *Minutius Thermus*, his collegue & fellow Tribune, came and called him. So they both went together into the market place, accompanied with a very few after them: Whereupon diuers of their friends came and met them by the way, & bad them take heede vnto themſelues. When they were come into the market place, and that *Cato* ſaw the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* full of armed men, and the degrees or ſteps kept by ſword players and fenſers, and *Metellus* on the top of them ſet by *Cæſar*: turning to his friends he ſayd, ſee I pray you the coward there, what a number of armed men he hath gotten together, againſt one man naked, & vnarmed. Therewithall he ſtraight went forward with his companion *Thermus* vnto that place, and they that kept the degrees, opened of them ſelues to let him paſſe, but they would let no other go vp but himſelfe: But *Cato* with much a do, taking *Minutius* by the hand, got him vp with him, and when he was come vp, he ſate him downe betwixt *Metellus* and *Cæſar*, to keepe them aſunder, that they ſhould not whiſper one in an others eare. Neither of them both could tell what to ſay to him. Whereupon the noble men that conſidered *Catoes* countenaunce and boldnes, wondring to ſee it, drew neare and by their cryes willed him not to be affrayd, but encouraged one an other to ſticke by him, that ſtood for defence of their libertie. So, there was a ſeruaunt that tooke the written law in his hand, and would haue read it to the people: but *Cato* would not let him. Then *Metellus* tooke it himſelfe in his handes to read it: but *Cato* alſo ſnatched it out of his handes. *Metellus* notwithſtanding, hauing it perfect without booke, would needes declare the effect of it by hart. But *Thermus* clapped his hand before his mouth to keepe him that he ſhould not ſpeake. *Metellus* ſeeing theſe two men bent by all meanes to keepe this law from paſsing, and that the people did leane on their ſide: he beckned to his men to go for the armed men which were at home in his houſe, that they ſhould come with terrour and cries to make them affrayd, and ſo they did. The people thereupon were diſperſed here and there for feare, that *Cato* was left alone in the market place, and they threw ſtones at him from beneath. But then *Muræna*, who had before accuſed *Cato* for buying of the Conſulſhip, forſooke him not in that daunger, but holding his long gowne before him, cryed out vnto them beneath, that threw at *Cato*, to leaue. So ſhewing him the daunger he had brought himſelfe vnto, holding him ſtill by the armes, he brought him into the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. Then *Metellus* ſeeing the pulpit for Orations voided, and his enemies flying out of the market place, he thought he had wonne the gole: Whereupon commaunding his ſouldiers to depart, then proceeding gently, he attempted to paſſe his law. But his enemies that fled for feare, being gathered againe together in the market place, began a freſh to cry out againſt *Metellus*, with greater boldneſſe and courage then before. Then *Metellus* and his adherents being affrayd and amazed, doubting that their enemies had gotten weapons, and were prouided, and therefore were the bolder: they fled, and all of them left the pulpit for Orations. So when *Metellus* and his company were gone, *Cato* came againe to the pulpit for Orations, and greatly commended the people for the good will they had ſhewed, and perſwaded them to continue in their well doing. Whereupon the common people were then againſt *Metellus*, and the Senate alſo being aſſembled gaue order, that *Cato* ſhould haue better ayde then he had before, and that by all meanes poſsible they ſhould reſiſt *Metellus* law, which onely tended to moue ſedition and ciuill warre in ROME. For *Metellus* ſelfe, he was yet vehemently bent to follow his attempt and enterpriſe: but perceiuing that his friendes were maruellouſly affrayed of *Cato*, as a man whom they thought inuincible, he ſodainly came into the market place, and aſſembling the people, told them many reaſons in his Oration, ſuppoſing to bring *Cato* in diſgrace with the people, and amongeſt other things he ſayd, that he would withdraw himſelfe out of this tyrannicall power of *Catoes*, and his conſpiracie againſt *Pompey*, the which peraduenture the citie before it were long, ſhould repent, for that they had ſhamed and defaced ſo noble a man. After that, he preſently departed ROME, and went into ASIA to informe *Pompey* of all this

*Catoes noble courage and conſtancie.*

matter. *Cato* on the other ſide was greatly eſteemed for his doings, for that he had freed the cõmon wealth from the great trouble of ſuch a fooliſh Tribune, and by ouerthrowing *Metellus*, he had alſo ſuppreſſed the power of *Pompey*. But he was yet much more commended, when he was againſt the Senate, who would haue noted *Metellus* of infamie, and depriued him of his office, the which he would not ſuffer them to do. The common people thought him of a curteous and gentle nature, becauſe he would not tread his enemie vnder his foote, when he had the vpper hand of him, nor be reuenged of him when he had ouercome him: but wiſe men iudged it otherwiſe, that it was wiſely done of him not to prouoke *Pompey*. About this time returned *Lucullus* frõ the warre, of the which it ſeemed that *Pompey* had taken the honor & glory from him for the ending of it, & was likely alſo to haue bene put frõ his honour of triumph, for that *Caius Memmius* was his aduerſary, who layd many accuſations againſt him before the people, rather to pleaſe *Pompey*, then for any malice elſe he had towards him. But *Cato*, both for that *Lucullus* was his brother in law, and had maried his owne ſiſter *Seruilia*, as alſo for that he ſaw they did him wrong: reſiſted this *Memmius*, & defended many accuſatiõs againſt him. So that in the end, though *Memmius* had laboured that *Cato* ſhould be depriued of his office, as from a tyrannicall power: yet *Cato* compelled *Memmius* at the laſt to leaue off his accuſations, and to proſecute law no more againſt him. Thus *Lucullus* hauing obteined honor of triumph, did embrace *Catoes* friendſhip more then before, taking him for a ſure bulwarck and defence againſt the power of *Pompey* the great. But *Pompey* ſhortly after returning home againe, with great honour from his conqueſts, truſting that for reſpect of his welcome he ſhould be denyed nothing at the peoples hands when he came home: ſent before vnto the Senate, to pray them for his ſake to deferre the election of the Conſuls, vntill he came to ROME, that being preſent he might fauour *Piſoes* ſute, ſuing to be Conſull. Thereunto the moſt part of the Senate gaue their conſent, but *Cato* on the other ſide was againſt it, not that the deferring of time was a matter of ſuch importance, but to cut all hope from *Pompey* to go about to attempt any new deuiſes, inſomuch that he made the Senate chaunge opinion againe, and *Pompeys* requeſt was denied. *Pompey* being maruellouſly troubled withall, & perceiuing that *Cato* would be againſt him in all things if he found not ſome deuiſe to winne him: he ſent for his friend *Munatius*, by his meanes to demaund *Catoes* two neeces of him which were mariable: the eldeſt for himſelfe, & the yongeſt for his ſonne. Others ſay alſo, that they were not his neeces, but his own daughters. *Munatius* did *Pompeys* meſſage, & brake the matter vnto him, his wife, & to his ſiſters, who maruellouſly deſired *Pompeys* alliance, for the greatneſſe & dignitie of his perſon. But *Cato* making no farther delay, without other deliberation, as not greatly pleaſed with the motion, aunſwered him preſently. *Munatius*, go thy way vnto *Pompey* againe, and tell him that *Cato* is not to be wonne by women, though otherwiſe I miſlike not of his friendſhip: and withall, that ſo long as he ſhall deale vprightly in all cauſes, & none otherwiſe, that he ſhall finde him more aſſuredly his friend, then by any alliance of mariage: and yet, that to ſatisfie *Pompeys* pleaſure and will againſt his country, he will neuer giue him ſuch pledges. The women & his friends at that time were angry with his aunſwer & refuſall, ſaying, it was too ſtately and vncurteous. But afterwardes it chaunced, that *Pompey* ſuing to haue one of his friendes made Conſull, he ſent a great ſumme of money to bribe the voyces of the people, which liberalitie was noted, & ſpoken of, becauſe the money was told in *Pompeys* own garden. Then did *Cato* tell the women of his houſe, that if he had now bene bound by alliance of mariage vnto *Pompey*, he ſhould then haue bene driuen to haue bene partaker of *Pompeys* ſhamefull acts. When they heard what he had told them, they all confeſſed then that he was wiſer to refuſe ſuch alliance, then they were that wiſhed and deſired it. And yet, if men ſhould iudge of wiſedome, by the ſucceſſe and euent of things: I muſt needes ſay, that *Cato* was in great fault for refuſing of this alliance. For thereby he was the cauſe of *Pompeys* matching with *Cæſar*, who ioyning both their powers together, was the whole deſtruction of the Empire of ROME: Whereas peraduenture it had not fallen out ſo, if *Cato* fearing *Pompeys* light faultes, had not cauſed him by increaſing his power with an other, to commit farre greater faultes. Howbeit thoſe things were yet to come. Furthermore. *Pompey* being at iarre with *Lucullus*, touching certain ordinãces which he had made in the Realme of PONTVS, becauſe both the one & the other would haue their ordinances to

*Catoes doings for Lucullus.*

*Cato reſiſteth Pompey.*

*Cato refuſeth allyance with Pompey.*

take place: *Cato* fauoured *Lucullus*, who had open wrong. Pompey therefore ſeeing that he was the weaker in the Senate, tooke part with the people, and put forth the law for diuiuing of the landes amongeſt the ſouldiers. But *Cato* ſtoutly reſiſting that law againe, he put it by, and made Pompey thereby in a rage to acquaint himſelſe with Publius Clodius, the moſt ſeditious and boldeſt perſon of all the Tribunes, and beſides that, made allyance euen at that time with *Cæſar*, whereof *Cato* himſelſe was the onely Authour. *Cæſar* returning out of SPAYNE from his Prætorſhip, required the honour of triumphe, and withall made ſute to be Conſull. But being a law to the contrary, that they that ſued to be Conſuls ſhould be preſent themſelues in the citie, and ſuch alſo as deſired honour of triumphe, ſhould be without the citie: he earneſtly required the Senate, that he might ſue for the Conſulſhip by his friendes. The moſt part of the Senate were willing vnto it, but *Cato* was flatly againſt it. He perceiuing that the other Senatours were willing to gratifie *Cæſar*, when it came to him to deliuer his opinion, he ſpent all the whole day in his Oration, and by this pollicie preuented the Senate, that they could not conclude any thing. Then *Cæſar* letting fall his triumphe, made ſute to be Conſull, and entring the citie, ioyned friendſhip with Pompey. Hereupon he was choſen Conſull, and immediatly after maried his daughter *Iulia* vnto Pompey: and ſo hauing made in manner a conſpiracie againſt the common wealth betweene themſelues, *Cæſar* preferred the law Agraria, for diſtributing the landes vnto the Citizens, and Pompey was preſent to mainteine the publication thereof. *Lucullus* and *Cicero* on the other ſide taking part with *Bibulus* the other Conſull, did what they could againſt it, but ſpecially *Cato*: who fearing much this alliance of *Cæſar* and Pompey, that it was a pact and conſpiracie to ouerthrow the common wealth, ſayd, that he cared not ſo much for this law Agraria, as he feared the reward they looked for, who by ſuch meanes did intiſe and pleaſe the common people. Therewithall, the Senate were wholly of his opinion, and ſo were many other honeſt men of the people beſides, that were none of the Senate, and tooke his part: maruelling much, and alſo being offended with *Cæſars* great vnreaſonableneſſe and importunitie, who by the authoritie of his Conſulſhip did preferre ſuch things, as the moſt ſeditiouſeſt Tribunes of the people were wont commonly to do, to currie fauour with the people, and by ſuch vile meanes ſought to make them at his commaundement. Wherefore, *Cæſar* and his friends fearing ſo great enemies, fell to open force. For to begin withall, as the Conſull *Bibulus* was going to the market place, there was a basket of dung powred vpon his head: and furthermore, the Officers roddes were broken in their handes, which they caried before him. In fine, dartes were throwen at them out of euery corner, and many of them being hurt, they all at length were driuen to flye, and leaue the market place. But Cato, he came laſt of all, keeping his wonted pace, and often caſt backe his head, and curſed ſuch Citizens. So, they did not onely paſſe this law Agraria by voyces of the people, but furthermore they added to it: that the Senate ſhould be ſworne to ſtabliſh that law, and be bounde to defende the ſame, (if any attempted the alteration thereof) vpon great penalties and fines to be ſet on his head, that ſhould refuſe the othe. All the other Senatours ſware againſt their wils, remembring the example of the miſchiefe that chanced vnto the old *Metellus*, who was baniſhed out of ITALIE, becauſe he would not ſweare to ſuch a like law. Whereupon, the women that were in *Catoes* houſe, beſought him with the teares in their eyes, that he would yeeld and take the othe: and ſo did alſo diuers of his friendes beſides. Howbeit, he that moſt inforced and brought *Cato* to ſweare, was *Cicero* the Oratour: who perſwaded him, that peraduenture he would be thought vnreaſonable, that being but one man, he ſhould ſeeme to miſlike that, which all other had thought meete and reaſonable: and that it were a fonde part of him wilfully to put himſelfe in ſo great daunger, thinking to hynder a matter already paſt remedie. But yet that beſides all this, a greater inconuenience would happen, if he forſooke his country (for whoſe ſake he did all theſe things) and left it a prey vnto them, which ſought the vtter ſubuerſion of the ſame, as if he were glad to be ridde from the trouble of defending the common wealth. For (ſayd he) though *Cato* haue no neede of ROME, yet ROME hath neede of *Cato*, and ſo haue all his friends: of the which, *Cicero* ſayd he was the chiefe, and was moſt maliced of *Publius Clodius* the Tri-

*Lex agraria.*

*The allyance and friendſhip betwixt Cæſar and Pompey.*

*Cicero by his oration brake Catoes ſtifnes.*

bune, who ſought to driue him out of the country. It is ſayd that *Cato* being wonne by theſe like wordes and perſwaſions at home, and openly in the market place, they ſo ſoftened him, that he came to take his othe laſt of all men, but one *Phaonius*, a very friend of his. *Cæſars* hart being then lift vp, for that he had brought his firſt purpoſe to paſſe: began now to preferre an other law, to diuide all CAMPANIA, and the country called TERRA DI LAVORO, (the land of labour) vnto the poore needy people of ROME, and no man ſtood againſt him but *Cato*. Whereupon *Cæſar* made his officers to take him from the pulpit for Orations, to carie him to priſon. All this made not *Cato* ſtoupe, nor leaue his francke ſpeach, but as he went he ſtill ſpake againſt this edict, and perſwaded the people to beware of them that preferred ſuch lawes. All the Senate, and the beſt ſort of Citizens followed *Cato* with heauie hartes, ſhewing by their ſilence that they were offended and angry for the iniurie they did vnto him, being ſo worthy a man. In ſomuch as *Cæſars* ſelfe perceiued that the people were offended with it, and yet of ambition and ſtomacke, he looked alwayes when *Cato* would haue appealed vnto the people. So when he ſaw that *Cato* meant no ſuch matter, at length ouercome with ſhame and diſhonour, he himſelfe procured one of the Tribunes to take *Cato* from the Sergeaunts. In fine, all *Cæſars* practiſe tended to this end, that when he had wonne the peoples fauour by ſuch lawes: they ſhould then graunt him the gouernement of all the GAVLES, (aſwell on this ſide, as beyond the mountaines) and all ILLYRIA, with an armie of foure legions, for the ſpace of fiue yeares, notwithſtanding that *Cato* told the people before, that they themſelues with their owne voyces did ſet vp a tyrant, that one day would cut their thoats. They did alſo chuſe *Publius Clodius* Tribune of the people, which was of a noble houſe: a thing directly contrary to the law. But this *Clodius* had promiſed them, ſo that they would helpe him to baniſh *Cicero* out of ROME, to do all that he could for them. Furthermore, they made *Calphurnius Piſo* (*Cæſars* wiues father) and *Gabinius Paulus*, (a man wholly at *Pompeys* commaundement, as they write which knew his life and manners) Conſuls the next yeare following. Now, notwithſtanding they had the rule of the common wealth in their owne handes, and that they had wonne part of the citie with bribes, and the other part alſo with feare: yet they were both affrayed of *Cato*, when they conſidered what trouble they had to ouercome him, which they did very hardly notwithſtanding, and to their great ſhame, being driuen to vſe force, and yet thought they ſhould neuer haue done it. Furthermore, *Clodius* vtterly diſpaired that he could poſſiblie baniſh *Cicero*, ſo long as *Cato* was there. So deuiſing wayes how to do it, when he had taken poſſeſſion of his office, he ſent for *Cato*, and began to tell him, that he thought him the honeſteſt and iuſteſt man of ROME, and that he was ready to performe it to him by deede. For, where many made ſute vnto him to be ſent into CYPRVS, to make warre with king *Ptolomie*: he thought none ſo worthy as himſelfe, and therefore for the good will he bare him, he was very willing to offer him that pleaſure. *Cato* ſtraight cryed out with open mouth, that this was a deuiſe to intrappe him, not to pleaſure him. Then *Clodius* proudly and fiercely aunſwered him, well, ſeeing thou wilt not go with good will, thou ſhalt go then againſt thy will: and ſo he did. For at the firſt aſſembly of the citie, he cauſed the people to graunt his commiſſion for his iourney thither: but they neither appointed him ſhippes, nor ſouldiers, nor any Miniſters to go with him, ſauing two Secretaries onely, of the which, the one of them was a very villaine and arrant theefe, and the other, one of *Clodius* followers. Beſides all this, as if they had appointed him but litle to do in CYPRVS againſt *Ptolomie*, he made them commaunde him after that, to go and reſtore the outlawes and baniſhed men of the citie of BYZANTIVM, vnto their country and goodes againe, of purpoſe onely to keepe *Cato* farre enough from ROME, whileſt he continued Tribune. *Cato* being driuen by neceſſitie to obey, he counſelled *Cicero* (whom *Clodius* purſued) to beware that he made no ſturre againſt him, for feare of bringing ROME into ciuill warre and murther for his ſake; but rather, to abſent himſelfe, that he might an other tyme preſerue his countrey. After that, he ſent his friend *Canidius* before into CYPRVS, vnto *Ptolomie*, to perſwade him to be quiet without warre: declaring vnto him, that he ſhould neither lacke honour nor riches, for the ROMAINES would graunt him the Prieſthood of *Venus* in the citie of PAPHOS. *Cato* in the meane

*Cato committed to priſon by Cæſar.*

*P. Clodius, Tribune of the people.*

*The craftie iuggling betwixt Cæſar and Pompey with P. Clodius.*

*Cato ſent Ambaſſadour into Cyprus.*

meane tyme remained in the Ile of RHODES, preparing himſelfe there, and abiding his aunſwere. In the time of theſe ſturres *Ptolomie* king of ÆGYPT, for a certaine offence and diſcorde with his ſubiectes, departing out of ALEXANDRIA, ſayled towardes ROME, hoping that *Cæſar* and *Pompey* with a great armie would reſtore him to his crowne and kingdome againe. He being deſirous to ſee *Cato*, ſent vnto him, ſuppoſing he would come at his ſending for. *Cato* by chaunce was occupied at that tyme about ſome buſineſſe, and bad the meſſenger will *Ptolomie* to come to him, if he would ſee him. So when *Ptolomie* came, he neither went to meete him, nor roſe vp vnto him, but onely welcomed him, and bad him ſit downe. It amazed the king at the firſt, to ſee vnder ſo ſimple and meane a trayne, ſuch a ſtatelineſſe and maieſtie in *Catoes* behauiour. But he heard him boldly talke with him of his affaires, and ſuch graue talke come from him, reprouing his follie he had committed, to forſake ſuch princely pleaſure and wealth, to go and ſubiect himſelfe vnto ſuch diſhonour, ſuch extreme paynes, and ſuch paſsing great giftes and preſents, as he ſhould throw away, to ſatisfie the couetouſneſſe of the rulers at ROME, the which was ſo vnſatiable, that if all the Realme of ÆGYPT were conuerted into ſiluer to giue among them, it would ſcarce ſuffice them: in reſpect whereof, he counſelled him to returne backe with his nauie, and to reconcile himſelfe againe with his ſubiectes, offering himſelfe alſo to go with him, to helpe to make his peace. Then *Ptolomy* comming to himſelfe, and repenting him of his follie, knowing that *Cato* told him truly, and wiſely: he determined to follow his counſell, had not his friendes turned his minde to the contrarie. So when *Ptolomie* came to ROME, and was driuen to wait at the gates of the Magiſtrates that were in authoritie: he ſighed then, and repented his follie, for that he had not onely deſpiſed the counſell of a wiſe man, but rather the Oracle of a god. Furthermore, the other *Ptolomie* that was in CYPRVS (a happie turne for *Cato*) poyſoned himſelfe. *Cato* being alſo informed that he left a wonderfull ſumme of money behind him, he determined to go himſelfe vnto BYZANTIVM, and ſent his nephew *Brutus* into CYPRVS, becauſe he durſt not truſt *Canidius* ſo farre. Then hauing reſtored the baniſhed men vnto the peoples fauour againe, ſetting agreement betwixt them, he returned into CYPRVS. There he founde a maruellous great treaſure, and plate both of gold and ſiluer, tables, precious ſtones, hangings, and purple ſilkes, all the which he was to make ready money of. There he tooke great care and paynes to raiſe all things to the vtmoſt and deareſt pryces that could be, and he himſelfe was preſent at all, to keepe reckoning of the laſt peny. Wherefore, to bring this to paſſe, he would not ſtand to the common vſe of the ſale of the cryer, but ſuſpected them all, both cryers, prayſers, and his owne friendes, and therefore talked himſelfe with the prayſers, and made them ſet high priſes vpon euery thing that was to be ſold. And thus were the moſt part of the goodes ſold and caryed away, at the deareſt prices. This did maruellouſly offende the moſt of his friendes, when they ſaw that he did miſtruſt them: but *Munatius* ſpecially, his deareſt friend, tooke it ſo inwardly, that he thought neuer to be friendes with him againe. In ſomuch as in the booke *Cæſar* wrote againſt *Cato*, in this place he forceth moſt the accuſation againſt him. *Munatius* notwithſtanding writeth, that he was not angry ſo much with *Cato* for that he miſtruſted him, but for a certaine diſdaine he had himſelfe of *Cato*, and for the emulation betwixt him and *Canidius*. For *Munatius* wrote a booke of *Catoes* deeds and ſayings, whom *Thraſeas* in his hiſtory chiefly followed. In this booke he ſheweth that he came late into CYPRVS, and was very ill lodged. And furthermore alſo, that when he would haue come into *Catoes* houſe, they kept him out of the gates, for that *Cato* was buſie, doing ſome thing with *Canidius*. He modeſtly complaining of it vnto *Cato*, had this churliſh aunſwer: ouermuch loue, ſaith *Theophraſtus*, oftentimes cauſeth hate. So fareth it with thee, who ouerlouing me, doeſt thinke that I eſteeme thee not as thou deſerueſt, & therfore art angry with me. And for *Canidius*, I muſt tell thee truely, I do rather employ him for his skill and faithfulneſſe in things, then any man elſe: for that he hath bene with me from the beginning, and as farre as I learne, was neuer bribed, but cleane handed ſtill. Theſe wordes *Cato* told *Munatius* ſecretly betweene them two but afterwardes he knew that he had alſo reported them vnto *Canidius*. When he ſaw that, he would no more go and ſup with *Cato* as he was wont, and when he was alſo called to coun-

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*Catoes diligẽce about money in Cyprus.*

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ſell, he would not come there neither. Wherfore *Cato* threatned him, that he would ſeaze vpon all his goods and cariage, as they vſe to handle them that are diſobedient vnto iuſtice. This notwithſtanding, *Munatius* cared not for it, but tooke ſea, and returned againe to Rome, bearing *Cato* grudge a long time. Then *Martia*, being at that time *Catoes* wife, ſpake with him, & were both bidden to ſupper together, vnto a friend of theirs, called *Barca*. Thereupon *Cato* alſo arriued, and came thither, when they were all ſet at ſupper, and asked where he ſhould ſit, *Barca* told him againe, where it pleaſed him. Then caſting his eyes about, he ſayd he would ſit by *Munatius*: and ſo fetching a compaſſe about the bord, he went and ſate by him, but offered him no friendſhip and familiaritie all ſupper tyme. Afterwardes notwithſtanding, at the requeſt of *Martia*, that was earneſtly in hand with *Cato* for him: he wrote vnto him, & willed him to come and ſpeake with him. *Munatius* went to *Catoes* houſe in the morning, where *Martia* ſtayed him, and kept him companie, vntill all the reſt that came to ſalute *Cato*, were departed. Then Cato comming to him, embraced him in his armes, and made very much of him. We haue the willinglier dilated this matter at length, becauſe mens natures and manners might be diſcerned euen in theſe ſmall matters of friendſhip priuately, as otherwiſe in the greateſt publicke cauſes. Now touching *Catoes* commiſsion, he got together litle leſſe then ſeuen thouſand ſiluer talents. Furthermore, fearing the farreneſſe of the iourney he had to go by ſea, he made diuers litle cofers, and put into euery one of them two talents, and fiue hundred Drachmas, and tyed vnto eache of them a long rope, and a great peece of corcke: becauſe that if the ſhippe ſhould fortune to miſcarie, thoſe corckes might ſhew where the cheſtes with money lay in the bottome of the ſea. Thus was all the money ſaued, ſauing a litle, & brought ſafely to Rome. *Cato* hauing made two bookes wherin he had noted all things done in his iourney, he could neither ſaue the one nor the other of thē. For one of his bondmen made free, called *Philargyrus*, tooke the one away: who taking ſhip at the hauen of Cenchrees, was himſelfe drowned, and the booke he had alſo, loſt with him. The other booke which he himſelfe had kept, vntill he came vnto Corfov: he lying in the market place of the citie in his tents, which he cauſed to be ſet vp: the Mariners being very cold in the night, made ſo great a fire, that it burnt the tents, ſtuffe, booke and all. Notwithſtanding, he brought certaine of the late king P*tolomies* ſlaues with him, who while he liued, had the charge and cuſtodie of all his treaſure and riches, the which he brought as witneſſes, to ſtoppe the mouthes of his malitious enemies, that would haue accuſed him in any thing. But yet the loſſe of them did grieue him, not ſo much for the great care and paynes he had taken in ſetting downe the account of his charge, for the iuſtification and proofe of his fidelitie and good ſeruice: but alſo, for that they might haue ſerued for a good memoriall and example vnto all others, to haue bene a like carefull in their charge, as himſelfe. But the goddes denyed him this good hap. Newes being brought that he was come to Rome by water, when they vnderſtood that he was at hand, by and by all the Magiſtrates, the Prieſtes, the Senate, & the moſt part of the people alſo went out to meete him by the riuers ſide: ſo that both ſides of the riuer of Tyber were full of people, & the receiuing of him in, ſeemed not inferiour to the entry of a triumphe. Notwithſtanding, ſome thought him very preſumptuous, that the Conſuls and Prætors comming out to meete him, he did not ſtay his gally, but rowed ſtill vp the ſtreame (being in a kings galley of ſix owers to euery bancke) and neuer ſtayed, vntill all his fleete arriued in the hauen. This notwithſtanding, when the cofers with money were caried through the market place into the treaſure chamber, the people wondred to ſee ſo great a quantitie of it. And thereupon the Senate being aſſembled, with great and honourable words they gaue *Cato* an extraordinary Prætorſhip, and priuiledge alſo, at any common ſports to weare a purple gowne. *Cato* refuſed all theſe honours, and onely beſought the Senate to make *Nicias* a free man, Steward of the late deceaſed king P*tolomy*, being a witneſſe of his faith and great paines he had taken in this ſeruice. P*hilip* the father of *Martia*, was that yeare Conſull, ſo that after a ſort, the authoritie of the Conſull was in *Cato*: becauſe *Lentulus*, collegue and fellow Conſull with P*hilip*, did no leſſe reuerence *Cato* for his vertues, then P*hilip* did for his allyance with him. Furthermore, when *Cicero* was reſtored againe from his baniſhment, the which P*ublius Clodius* (being then Tribune of the people) had put vpon him, and being againe

*Money gotten together by Cato in Cyprus.*

*Cato receiued into Rome with great honour, of the people.*

againe growen to great credit: he went one day into the Capitoll, in the abſence of *Clodius*, by force to take away the tables which *Clodius* had conſecrated there, in the which were compriſed all his doings during the time he was Tribune. Thereupon the Senate being aſſembled, *Clodius* did accuſe *Cicero* of this violent fact. *Cicero* aunſwered him againe: that becauſe *Clodius* was choſen Tribune, directly againſt the law, therefore all his doings were voyde, and of no validitie. Then ſtood vp *Cato*, and ſayd: he knew that all that which *Clodius* did when he was Tribune, was ſcantly good and allowable, but yet if generally any man ſhould vndo all that he had paſſed by that authoritie: then all that he himſelfe had done likewiſe in CYPRVS, muſt of neceſſitie be reuoked. For the commiſſion that was graunted vnto him (by vertue whereof he had done many things) ſhould be vnlawfull: becauſe the Tribune alſo that did graunt it him, was not lawfully choſen. And therefore, that *Publius Clodius* was not made Tribune againſt the law, who by conſent of the law was taken out from a noble houſe, and made a popular perſon: howbeit, if he had behaued himſelfe vndutifully in his office, as other men that happely had offended, then he was to be accuſed to make him mend his fault, and not to deſtroy the authoritie of the officer, which in it ſelfe was lawfull. After that, there fell miſliking betwixt *Cicero* and *Cato*, for this counter buffe he had giuen him: and *Cicero* continued a long time after, before he did ſhew him any countenaunce of friendſhip as he had at other times done. But afterwardes they were reconciled together againe, by this occaſion. *Pompey* and *Craſſus* hauing bene with *Cæſar* to talke with him (who for that purpoſe came out of GAVLE beyond the Alpes) made an agreement there betwixt them, to demaund the ſecond Conſulſhip together, and when they had it, then to proroge *Cæſars* gouernement for fiue yeares more, & alſo they would haue the beſt prouinces & greateſt, for themſelues, with great armies, & money enough to pay thẽ with. This was indeed a plaine conſpiracie to deuide the Empire of ROME betweene them, & vtterly to ouerthrow the ſtate of the common wealth. At that time there were many noble men, which came to make ſute for the Conſulſhip. But when they ſaw *Pompey* and *Craſſus* offer to make ſute for it, all the reſt gaue ouer, but *Lucius Domitius* that had maried *Porcia*, *Catoes* ſiſter: through whoſe perſwaſion he would not relinquiſh his ſute, conſidering that it was not the office onely of the Conſulſhip that was the chiefeſt matter of importance, but the libertie of the Senate and people. Straight there ranne a rumour through the moſt part of the people, that they were not to ſuffer *Pompeys* power to be ioyned with *Craſſus*, by meanes of this office: for then his authoritie would be too great and ſtrong, and therefore, that of neceſſitie one of theſe two were to be denied. For this cauſe therefore, the good men tooke *Domitius* part, and did encourage him to go on with his ſute, aſſuring him of ayde vnder hand of diuers, which durſt not be ſene openly for feare of thoſe two great men, who at the day of the election would procure him voyces in his fauour. *Pompey* and *Craſſus* miſtruſting this, made *Domitius* be ſet vpon, going with torch light before day into the field of *Mars*, where the election was alwayes made: and firſt ſtriking the torch bearer that went before him, they hurt him ſo ſore, that he fell downe dead at his feete, Then they layed at the reſt in like caſe, who finding themſelues cruelly hurt, ranne away euery man of them, and left *Domitius* and *Cato* poſt alone. But *Cato*, notwithſtanding he was hurt in one of his armes, ſtill held *Domitius* faſt, and prayed him to tary, and not to leaue to defend the libertie of their country, againſt tyrants, which plainly ſhewed after what manner they would gouerne, ſith by ſuch wicked meanes they aſpired to tyrannicall gouernement. All this notwithſtanding, *Domitius* would tary no longer, but betooke him to his legges, and ranne home. Thus were *Craſſus* and *Pompey* without deniall proclaimed Conſuls. *Cato* neuer yeelded therefore, but came and ſued to be Prætor, becauſe that thereby he might yet make it ſome ſtrength and countenaunce to him againſt their Conſulſhip, that being no priuate perſon, he ſhould haue ſome better authoritie to reſiſt them that were the chiefeſt perſons. But they fearing, that the Prætorſhip by the eſtimation of *Cato*, would come to equall their authoritie of the Conſulſhip: firſt aſſembled the Senate (the moſt part of the Senatours not hearing of it) and in that aſſembly cauſed the Senate to decree: that all ſuch as were choſen Prætors, ſhould preſently go to their charge, not attending the time and libertie appointed by the law, during which time men might accuſe

*Why Cato ſued to be Prætor.*

*Cato put from the Prætorſhip by Pompey.*

*Cato was againſt the law for the prouinces of Pompey and Craſſus.*

*Cato foreſhewed Pompey the things which happened vnto him, by Cæſar.*

thoſe which had bought the voyces of the people with money. Then hauing by this colour and decree ſet ill doers at libertie, without feare of puniſhment, they pretending to vſe corruption, did preferre ſome of their owne Miniſters to make ſute for the Prætorſhip, them ſelues giuing money to corrupt the people, and being preſent alſo at the election. But notwithſtanding all theſe practiſes, the vertue and reputation of *Cato* ouercame them. For the people had him in ſo great reuerence, that they thought it too ſhamefull a part to ſell *Cato* by voyces, who deſerued rather to be hyred to take the Prætorſhip vpon him. Then the firſt Tribe being called to giue their voyces, declared him Prætor. *Pompey* ſeeing that, ſtraight brake off the aſſemblie, making a ſhamefull lye, telling that he heard it thunder: the which the ROMAINES do maruellouſly deteſt, and will conclude nothing when it thundereth. Howbeit afterwardes they gaue more money, then they had done before, and thereby draue away the chiefeſt men out of the field of *Mars*, and by practiſe obtained, that *Vatinius* was choſen Prætor for *Cato*. And the report went, that they that had ſo wickedly giuen their voyces, feeling themſelues pricked in conſcience, fled immediatly out of the field: and the honeſt men that remained, were both very ſory and angry, for the iniurie they had offered *Cato*. At that tyme one of the Tribunes keeping an aſſemblie of the citie, *Cato* ſtood vp, and told (as if he had prophecied) before them all, what would happen to the common wealth by theſe practiſers, and ſtirred vp the people againſt *Pompey*, and *Cæſar*, ſaying: that they were giltie of thoſe things, and therefore procured them to be done, becauſe they were affrayed that if *Cato* had bene Prætor, he would too narrowly haue ſifted out their deuiſes. In fine, *Cato* going home to his houſe, had more companie to waite vpon him alone, then all the other Prætors that had bene choſen. When *Caius Trebonius*, Tribune of the people, had preferred a law for the deuiding of the prouinces vnto the new Conſuls, SPAYNE and AFRICKE vnto the one, and ÆGYPT & SYRIA vnto the other, with full power to make warre as they thought good both by ſea and land: all other men hauing no hope to keepe it backe, did let it alone, and ſpake nothing to contrary it. Then *Cato* getting vp into the pulpit for Orations, before the people began to giue their voyces, could hardly haue two houres ſpace to ſpeake: but at length, they perceiuing that he delayed time by foretelling things to come, would ſuffer him to ſpeake no longer, but ſent a Sergeaunt to him, and plucked him by force out of the pulpit. But when he was beneath, and cryed out notwithſtanding, and diuers gaue good eare vnto him: the Sergeaunt went to him againe, and tooke him, and caryed him out of the market place. Howbeit the officer had no ſooner left him, but he went ſtraight towardes the pulpit for Orations, and there cried out more vehemently then before, and willed the people to haue an eye to ayde the libertie of their commõ wealth, which went to ruine. When he oftentimes together did this, *Trebonius* the Tribune being mad withall, commaunded his Sergeaunt to cary him to priſon. The people followed him hard notwithſtanding, to heare what he ſayd vnto them. Whereupon *Trebonius* fearing ſome ſturre, was forced to commaund his Sergeaunt to let *Cato* go. So *Cato* draue off all that day without any matter concluded. The next morning notwithſtanding, the contrary faction hauing partly put the ROMAINES in feare, and wonne the other part alſo by fayre wordes and money, and by force of armes likewiſe kept *Aquilius*, one of the Tribunes, from comming out of the Senate, and after they had alſo violently driuen *Cato* out of the market place, for ſaying that it thundred, and hauing hurt many men, and alſo ſlayne ſome out of hand in the market place: in the end they forcibly paſſed the decree by voyces of the people. Many being offended therewith, went a company of them together to plucke downe *Pompeys* images: but *Cato* would not ſuffer them. And afterwardes alſo, when they preferred an other law for the prorogation of the prouinces & armies which *Cæſar* demaunded: *Cato* would ſpeake no more to the people to hinder it, but proteſted vnto *Pompey* himſelf, that he ſaw not how he plucked *Cæſar* vpon him, and that he ſhould feele the weight of his force before he looked for it: and then when he could neither ſuffer nor remedy it, he would euen caſt his burthen and himſelfe vpon the common wealth, and too late would remember *Catoes* warnings, which were priuatly as profitable for *Pompey*, as openly iuſt and reaſonable for the cõmon wealth. *Cato* vſed many of theſe perſwaſions ſundry times vnto him, but *Pompey* neuer made account of them: for he would not be perſwaded that *Cæſar* would euer change in that ſort, and beſides he truſted too much to his owne power and proſperitie. Furthermore *Cato* was choſen Prætor for the next yeare following, in the which it appeared (though he miniſtred iuſtice vprightly) that he rather defaced and impaired the maieſtie and dignitie of his office, then that he gaue it grace and countenance by his doings: for he would oftentimes go a foot barelegged, and without any coate, vnto his Prætors chaire, & there giue ſentence of life & death, otherwhiles of men of great account. And ſome report, that he would giue audience when he had dyned, and drunke wine: but that is vntrue. Now *Cato* perceiuing that the citizens of ROME were marred by bribes & gifts of thoſe which aſpired vnto offices, and that the people made it an art and faculty to gaine by: to roote this vice altogether out of the common wealth, he perſwaded the Senate to make a law, that ſuch as hereafter ſhould be choſen Conſuls or Prætors, ſhould (if there were no man to accuſe them) come and offer themſelues before the iudges, and taking their oath, ſhould truely declare what meanes they had vſed to attaine to their office. This offended the ſuters for the offices, but much more the mercenarie multitude. Whereupon, a great number of them went in a morning together where he kept his audience, and all cryed out vpon him, reuiled him & threw ſtones at him: inſomuch as they that were there, were forced to flie thence, & himſelfe alſo was driuen out of the place by the preaſe of people, and had much a doe to get to the pulpit for orations, where ſtanding on his feete, he preſently pacified the tumult of the people, by the boldneſſe and conſtancie of his countenance only. Then when all was pacified by the preſent perſwaſions he vſed, aptly ſpoken to purpoſe for the inſtant, they giuing attentiue eare, without ſturre or vprore. The Senate giuing him great commendation therefore, he told them roundly & plainly: but I haue no cauſe to praiſe you, to leaue a Prætor in ſuch daunger of his life, offering no aide to helpe him. But the ſuters for the offices, they were in a maruellous caſe: for one way, they were affraide to giue money to buy the peoples voices, and on the other ſide, they were affraid alſo if any other did it, that they ſhould go without their ſute. So they were all agreed together, euerie man to put downe twelue Myriades and a halfe a peece, and then they ſhould make their ſute iuſtly and vprightly: and whoſoeuer were taken faultie, and that had otherwiſe made his way by corruption, that he ſhould loſe the money he had laid downe. This agreement being concluded betwene them, they choſe *Cato* (as it is reported) for their arbitrator, and keeper of all the ſame money. This match was made in *Catoes* houſe, where they all did put in caution or ſureties to anſwere the mony: the which he tooke, but would not meddle with the money. The day being come, *Cato* aſſiſting the Tribune that gouerned the election, & carefully marking how they did giue their voices: he ſpied one of the ſuters for the office breake the accord agreed vpon, and condemned him to pay the forfeiture vnto the reſt. But they greatly cōmending his iuſtice and integritie, forgaue the forfeiture, thinking it puniſhment enough vnto him that had forfeited, to be condemned by *Cato*. But thereby *Cato* procured himſelfe the diſpleaſure of the other Senators, for that he ſeemed therein to take vpon him the power and authoritie ouer the whole court and election. For there is no vertue, whereof the honor and credite doth procure more enuy, than iuſtice doth: becauſe the people doe commonly reſpect and reuerence that more than any other. For they doe not honor them as they doe valiant men, nor haue them in admiration, as they do wiſe men: but they loue and truſt them better. As for the two firſt, the one they are affraide of, and the other they diſtruſt: beſide, they ſuppoſe that valiancie and wiſedome commeth rather by the benefite of nature, then of our intent and choice, eſteeming wiſedome as a readines of conceit: and fortitude, a preſence & courage of the mind. For euery man may be iuſt that will, and therſore iniuſtice is of all other vices moſt ſhamefull: for it is a wilfull and malicious default, and therefore can not be excuſed. Lo this was the cauſe why all the noble men in manner were againſt *Cato*, as though he only had ouercome them. *Pompey*, he thought that the eſtimation of *Cato* was altogether the diſcountenāce of his power and greatneſſe, and therefore did daily raiſe vp many railers againſt him. Of them *Publius Clodius* that ſeditious Tribune, who was againe fallen in friendſhip with *Pompey*: he accuſed *Cato* and cried out vpon him, how he had robbed the common wealth of a wonderfull treaſure, by his cōmiſſion in CYPRVS: and that he was enemy vnto *Pompey*, becauſe he did refuſe to marry his daughter. *Cato* thereto made aunſwere, that he had brought more golde and ſiluer out of

*Cato choſen Prætor.*

*Cato preferred a law for vnlawfull bribing*

*The power of iuſtice.*

thoſe which had bought the voyces of the people with money. Then hauing by this colour and decree ſet ill doers at libertie, without feare of puniſhment, they pretending to vſe corruption, did preferre ſome of their owne Miniſters to make ſute for the Prætorſhip, them ſelues giuing money to corrupt the people, and being preſent alſo at the election. But notwithſtanding all theſe practiſes, the vertue and reputation of *Cato* ouercame them. For the people had him in ſo great reuerence, that they thought it too ſhamefull a part to ſell *Cato* by voyces, who deſerued rather to be hyred to take the Prætorſhip vpon him.

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Then the firſt Tribe being called to giue their voyces, declared him Prætor. P*ompey* ſeeing that, ſtraight brake off the aſſemblie, making a ſhamefull lye, telling that he heard it thunder: the which the ROMAINES do maruellouſly deteſt, and will conclude nothing when it thundereth. Howbeit afterwardes they gaue more money, then they had done before, and thereby draue away the chiefeſt men out of the field of *Mars*, and by practiſe obtained, that *Vatinius* was choſen Prætor for C*ato*. And the report went, that they that had ſo wickedly giuen their voyces, feeling themſelues pricked in conſcience, fled immediatly out of the field: and the honeſt men that remained, were both very ſory and angry, for the iniurie they had offered *Cato*. At that tyme one of the Tribunes keeping an aſſemblie of the citie, *Cato* ſtood vp, and told (as if he had prophecied) before them all, what would happen to the common wealth by theſe practiſers, and ſtirred vp the people againſt P*ompey*, and C*æſar*, ſaying: that they were giltie of thoſe things, and therefore procured them to be done, becauſe they were affrayed that if *Cato* had bene Prætor, he would too narrowly haue ſifted out their deuiſes. In fine, *Cato* going home to his houſe, had more companie to waite vpon him alone, then all the other Prætors that had bene choſen. When *Caius Trebonius*, Tribune of the people, had preferred a law for the deuiding of the prouinces vnto the new Conſuls, SPAYNE and AFRICKE vnto the one, and ÆGYPT & SYRIA vnto the other, with full power to make warre as they thought good both by ſea and land: all other men hauing no hope to keepe it backe, did let it alone, and ſpake nothing to contrary it.

*Cato was againſt the law for the prouinces of Pompey and Craſſus.*

Then C*ato* getting vp into the pulpit for Orations, before the people began to giue their voyces, could hardly haue two houres ſpace to ſpeake: but at length, they perceiuing that he delayed time by foretelling things to come, would ſuffer him to ſpeake no longer, but ſent a Sergeaunt to him, and plucked him by force out of the pulpit. But when he was beneath, and cryed out notwithſtanding, and diuers gaue good eare vnto him: the Sergeaunt went to him againe, and tooke him, and caryed him out of the market place. Howbeit the officer had no ſooner left him, but he went ſtraight towardes the pulpit for Orations, and there cried out more vehemently then before, and willed the people to haue an eye to ayde the libertie of their commõ wealth, which went to ruine. When he oftentimes together did this, *Trebonius* the Tribune being mad withall, commaunded his Sergeaunt to cary him to priſon. The people followed him hard notwithſtanding, to heare what he ſayd vnto them. Whereupon *Trebonius* fearing ſome ſturre, was forced to commaund his Sergeaunt to let *Cato* go. So *Cato* draue off all that day without any matter concluded. The next morning notwithſtanding, the contrary faction hauing partly put the ROMAINES in feare, and wonne the other part alſo by fayre wordes and money, and by force of armes likewiſe kept *Aquilius*, one of the Tribunes, from comming out of the Senate, and after they had alſo violently driuen C*ato* out of the market place, for ſaying that it thundred, and hauing hurt many men, and alſo ſlayne ſome out of hand in the market place: in the end they forcibly paſſed the decree by voyces of the people. Many being offended therewith, went a company of them together to plucke downe P*ompeys* images: but C*ato* would not ſuffer them.

*Cato foreſhewed Pompey the things which happened vnto him, by Cæſar.*

And afterwardes alſo, when they preferred an other law for the protogation of the prouinces & armies which C*æſar* demaunded: C*ato* would ſpeake no more to the people to hinder it, but proteſted vnto P*ompey* himſelf, that he ſaw not how he plucked C*æſar* vpon him, and that he ſhould feele the weight of his force before he looked for it: and then when he could neither ſuffer nor remedy it, he would euen caſt his burthen and himſelfe vpon the common wealth, and too late would remember C*atoes* warnings, which were priuatly as profitable for P*ompey*, as openly iuſt and reaſonable for the cõmon wealth. C*ato* vſed many of theſe perſwaſions ſundry times vnto him, but P*ompey* neuer made account of them: for he would not be perſwaded that C*æſar* would euer change in that ſort, and beſides he truſted too much to his owne power and proſperitie.

Cato choſen Prætor.

Furthermore *Cato* was choſen Prætor for the next yeare following, in the which it appeared (though he miniſtred iuſtice vprightly) that he rather defaced and impaired the maieſtie and dignitie of his office, then that he gaue it grace and countenance by his doings: for he would oftentimes go a foot barelegged, and without any coate, vnto his Prætors chaire, & there giue ſentence of life & death, otherwhiles of men of great account. And ſome report, that he would giue audience when he had dyned, and drunke wine: but that is vntrue.

Cato preferred a law for vnlawfull bribing

Now *Cato* perceiuing that the citizens of ROME were marred by bribes & gifts of thoſe which aſpired vnto offices, and that the people made it an art and faculty to gaine by: to roote this vice altogether out of the common wealth, he perſwaded the Senate to make a law, that ſuch as hereafter ſhould be choſen Conſuls or Prætors, ſhould (if there were no man to accuſe them) come and offer them ſelues before the iudges, and taking their oath, ſhould truely declare what meanes they had vſed to attaine to their office. This offended the ſuters for the offices, but much more the mercenarie multitude. Whereupon, a great number of them went in a morning together where he kept his audience, and all cryed out vpon him, reuiled him & threw ſtones at him: inſomuch as they that were there, were forced to flie thence, & himſelfe alſo was driuen out of the place by the preaſe of people, and had much a doe to get to the pulpit for orations, where ſtanding on his feete, he preſently pacified the tumult of the people, by the boldneſſe and conſtancie of his countenance only. Then when all was pacified by the preſent perſwaſions he vſed, aptly ſpoken to purpoſe for the inſtant, they giuing attentiue eare, without ſturre or vprore. The Senate giuing him great commendation therefore, he told them roundly & plainly: but I haue no cauſe to praiſe you, to leaue a Prætor in ſuch daunger of his life, offering no aide to helpe him. But the ſuters for the offices, they were in a maruellous caſe: for one way, they were affraide to giue money to buy the peoples voices, and on the other ſide, they were affraid alſo if any other did it, that they ſhould go without their ſute. So they were all agreed together, euerie man to put downe twelue Myriades and a halfe a peece, and then they ſhould make their ſute iuſtly and vprightly: and whoſoeuer were taken faultie, and that had otherwiſe made his way by corruption, that he ſhould loſe the money he had laid downe. This agreement being concluded betwene them, they choſe *Cato* (as it is reported) for their arbitrator, and keeper of all the ſame money. This match was made in *Catoes* houſe, where they all did put in caution or ſureties to anſwere the mony: the which he tooke, but would not meddle with the money. The day being come, *Cato* aſſiſting the Tribune that gouerned the election, & carefully marking how they did giue their voices: he ſpied one of the ſuters for the office breake the accord agreed vpon, and condemned him to pay the forfeiture vnto the reſt. But they greatly cōmending his iuſtice and integritie, forgaue the forfeiture, thinking it puniſhment enough vnto him that had forfeited, to be condemned by *Cato*. But thereby *Cato* procured himſelfe the diſpleaſure of the other Senators, for that he ſeemed therein to take vpon him the power and authoritie ouer the whole court and election.

The power of iuſtice.

For there is no vertue, whereof the honor and credite doth procure more enuy, than iuſtice doth: becauſe the people doe commonly reſpect and reuerence that more than any other. For they doe not honor them as they doe valiant men, nor haue them in admiration, as they do wiſe men: but they loue and truſt them better. As for the two firſt, the one they are affraide of, and the other they diſtruſt: beſide, they ſuppoſe that valiancie and wiſedome commeth rather by the benefite of nature, then of our intent and choice, eſteeming wiſedome as a readines of conceit: and fortitude, a preſence & courage of the mind. For euery man may be iuſt that will, and therfore iniuſtice is of all other vices moſt ſhamefull: for it is a wilfull and malicious default, and therefore can not be excuſed. Lo this was the cauſe why all the noble men in manner were againſt *Cato*, as though he only had ouercome them. *Pompey*, he thought that the eſtimation of *Cato* was altogether the diſcountenãce of his power and greatneſſe, and therefore did daily raiſe vp many railers againſt him. Of them *Publius Clodius* that ſeditious Tribune, who was againe fallen in friendſhip with *Pompey*: he accuſed *Cato* and cried out vpon him, how he had robbed the common wealth of a wonderfull treaſure, by his cōmiſſion in CYPRVS: and that he was enemy vnto *Pompey*, becauſe he did refuſe to marry his daughter. *Cato* thereto made aunſwere, that he had brought more golde and ſiluer out of

*M. Faonius, Catoes friend.*

*Cato doth ſet forth the playes for Faonius Ædilis.*

*Catoes wiſe counſell for playes.*

CYPRVS, into the treaſure of ROME, without the allowance of either horſe or ſouldier: then *Pompey* had done with all his triumphes and warres, with the which he had troubled all the world. And moreouer, that he did neuer ſeeke alliance with *Pompey*, not that he thought him vnworthie of it, but becauſe he ſaw he delt not as vprightly in the common wealth as he him ſelfe did. I, ſaid he, haue refuſed a prouince offred me when I came out of my Prætorſhippe: but *Pompey* hath taken ſome by force, and giuen away vnto others. And to conclude, he lent *Cæſar* not long ſince, an armie of ſixe thouſand men to ſerue him in the warres in GAVLE: the which he neuer required of vs, nor *Pompey* graunted them him by our conſent. But wee ſee, that ſo many armies, armors and weapon, ſo many men and horſes by common pleaſures of our priuate citizens, giuen and lent at our charge. And P*ompey* himſelfe reſeruing onely the name of Emperour, and Lieutenant generall, aſſigneth ouer his armies and prouinces to the gouernement of others, whileſt he himſelfe beſiegeth here the walles of the citie, with ſeditious & tumultuous election of officers, craftily vndermining thereby the ſtate of the common wealth, to bring all to confuſion, that he himſelfe might be abſolute Prince, and rule alone. Thus was he reuenged of P*ompey*. Among Ca*toes* friends, he had one called *Marcus Faonius*, ſuch a one as *Apollodorus* PHALERIAN was ſaid to be in old time, vnto *Socrates*, who did counterfaite to be an other himſelfe, in doing all things as he did. This man would be farre out of reaſon, and paſſionate in his talke, ſtorming like a drunkard. He one yeare made ſute to be Ædilis, but he was reiected. Howbeit C*ato* that furthered his ſute, marked, that the tables wherein the voices were written, were all one hande. So, he finding out the falſehoode, appealed thereupon vnto the Tribunes, and made the election voyde for that time. After that *Faonius* was created Ædilis, C*ato* did helpe him forth in all the other charges of his office, and ſpecially in ſetting foorth playes in the Theater, which are cuſtomably done at the comming in of euery ſuch new officer, to giue the people paſtime: and gaue vnto the common players and dauncers in thoſe playes, no golden crownes, as other Ædiles did, but crownes of wilde oliue twigges, as they commonly vſe in GRECE at the Olympian games. And where others gaue vnto the poore rich giftes, he gaue the GRECIANS leekes, lettiſes, radiſhes, and peares: and vnto the ROMAINES, they had earthen pots full of wine, porke, figges, cowcombers, and fagots of wood of ſmall value. Inſomuch as ſome thought ſcorne of them they were ſo meane, others were very glad of them, ſeeing that *Cato* which was ſeuere and hard of nature, had a doing in them, and by litle and litle they turned this auſteritie of his into pleaſure. In fine, *Faonius* himſelfe ſitting downe amongſt the people, which looked vpon the players, clapped his handes for ioy at C*ato*: and cried out to him, that he ſhould giue them good rewards that played well, alluring them alſo about him to doe the like, and told them that he had made *Cato* the whole ruler of thoſe ſportes. At the ſelfe ſame time, C*urio*, *Faonius* colleague and companion in the office of Ædilis, had likewiſe goodly playes in an other Theater: but all the people forſooke his, and went to ſee *Faonius* playes, who ſate among them like a priuate man, and C*ato* as the maiſter of the playes. C*ato* did this in ſcorne and mockerie of vaine charge and expences, which men are wont to beſtow in ſuch trifles, ſhewing thereby, that whoſoeuer will make any playes, he ſhould make the charge but a ſport alſo, furniſhing it onely with a conuenient grace, but with no vaine expence or charge about ſuch a trifle. Shortly after, when *Scipio*, *Hypſeus* and *Milo*, ſued all three together to be Conſuls, not only by briberie of money (a common fault then in ſuing for any of the offices in the common wealth) but by plaine force of armes, ſlaying and killing as in a ciuill warre, they were ſo deſperate and inſolent: ſome preferred a lawe, that they ſhould make *Pompey* Præſident in theſe elections, becauſe men ſhould moue their ſute after a lawfull ſort. But C*ato* ſtraight was againſt it, ſaying, that the law could haue no ſafetie by P*ompey*, but P*ompey* might haue ſafetie by the law. Notwithſtanding, when he ſaw this trouble continue of a long time, without any Conſuls in ROME, and that daily there were three campes in the market place, that it was almoſt impoſſible to preuent the miſchiefe at hand, and to ſtay that it ſhould goe no further: then he thought it better, that the Senate of their owne good willes, rather then by compulſion, ſhould put the gouernment of the ſtate into P*ompeys* hands alone, chooſing the leſſer euill, to withſtand the greater, and ſo to yeeld to the abſolute gouernment without conſtraint, which the ſedition would bring it vnto.

Therefore *Bibulus* Catoes friend and kinſeman, made a motion to the Senate, that they would chooſe *Pompey* ſole Conſull. For, ſaid he, either the common wealth ſhall be well gouerned by him, or elſe ROME ſhall ſerue an ill Lord. *Cato* then riſing vp, beyonde all mens expectation confirmed *Bibulus* opinion, and ſaid: that the citie were better to haue one ſoueraigne Magiſtrate then none, and that he hoped *Pompey* could giue preſent order for the pacifying of this confuſion, and that he would be carefull to preſerue the citie, when he ſawe that they truſted him with the gouernment thereof. Thus was *Pompey* by *Catoes* meanes choſen ſole Conſull. Then he ſent for *Cato* to come to his gardens to him, which were in the ſuburbes of the citie. *Cato* went thither, and was receiued with as great honor & courteſie of *Pompey* as could be deuiſed: and in the end, after he had giuen him great thankes for the honors he had done him, he prayed him to afford him his aduiſe and counſell in his gouernment. *Cato* anſwered him thus, that he had not ſpoken any thing before that time in reſpect of any ill will he bare him, neither that he deliuered this laſt opinion of his in reſpect of his friendſhippe, but wholly for the common wealthes ſake: howbeit otherwiſe, that for his owne priuate affaires, if he thought good to vſe his aduiſe, whenſoeuer it pleaſed him to aske his opinion, he would tell him the beſt he could. But for common cauſes, that he would alwaies tell what he thought, though he neuer asked him: and in fine, he performed all he ſaid. For firſt of all, when *Pompey* did ſet grieuous penalties & new fines vpon their heades, which had bought the peoples voyces for money: *Cato* counſelled him to prouide for things to come, and to let that alone which was alreadie paſt. For, ſaid he, it is a hard thing to determine any certaine time, in the which a man ſhould ſeeke to reforme the faults that are paſt: and furthermore, if the puniſhmentes appointed were newer then the offences committed, then they ſhould doe wrong vnto them that were alreadie accuſed, to puniſh them by a new law which they had not offended. Afterwards alſo, certaine men of good calling (*Pompeys* friends) being accuſed, *Cato* perceiuing that *Pompey* grew remiſſe, and yeelded in many things: he ſharpely reproued, and reformed him. Furthermore, where *Pompey* had by law taken away the praiſes which were wont to be ſpoken of the offenders that were accuſed: he himſelfe notwithſtanding hauing written an oration in the praiſe of *Munatius Plancus*, ſent it vnto the Iudges, whileſt his cauſe was a hearing. *Cato* being one of the Iudges at that time, ſtopped his eares with both his hands, and would not haue it read. Wherefore *Plancus* refuſed him for one of his Iudges, after his cauſe was pleaded vnto: howbeit he was condemned notwithſtanding. To conclude, *Cato* was ſuch a griefe and trouble vnto them that were accuſed, that they could not tell well howe to deale with him. For, once they durſt not let him be any of their Iudges, neither could they well alſo refuſe him. For there were many that were condemned, which refuſing *Cato*, ſeemed vnto others that they were guiltie: & many alſo were ſhamefully reproued, becauſe they would not accept *Cato* for their Iudge, when he was offered them. Things proceeding in this ſort at ROME, *Cæſar* remained in GAVLE with his armie, where he made warres: neuertheleſſe he wanne him friends ſtill in ROME, by gifts and money, and made himſelfe very ſtrong. Now appeared *Catoes* predictions & forewarnings true vnto *Pompey*, and began to quicken his ſpirits which had ſlept ſo long, and made him then to conſider of the daunger, the which before he could not be perſwaded to beleeue. But perceiuing his ſlacknes and feare withall, doubting how to proceede: to preuent *Cæſars* practiſes, *Cato* determined to ſue to be Conſul, with intent either to make him leaue his army, or elſe to find out the practiſe he entended. *Catoes* competitors, they were both of thẽ very honeſt men alſo, of the which, *Sulpitius* had receiued great honor and preferrement by *Catoes* credite and authoritie: in reſpect wherof, many thought that it was ſcant honeſtly done of *Sulpitius*, to ſhew himſelfe ſo vnthankful, as to ſtand againſt *Cato* in this ſute. Howbeit *Cato* neuer complained of the matter, but ſaid, that it was no maruell he would giue place to no man in that, ſith it was the greateſt good happe that euer came vnto him. This notwithſtanding he perſwaded the Senate to make a law, that from thence forth, ſuch as ſued for any office, they ſhould themſelues be ſuters to the people, and not preferre their ſute by others. This cauſed the people to be more offended with him, then before, becauſe thereby he did not only take away their fingering of money, which they got by their voices in elections: but tooke from them the meanes they had alſo to pleaſure many, bringing them now

*Pompey was created ſole Conſull, by Catoes ſentence.*

*Cato ſued to be Conſull to reſiſt Cæſar.*

*Cato was denied the Conſulſhip.*

*Cicero blameth Cato.*

*Catoes opinion againſt Cæſar.*

*Cato inueyeth againſt Cæſar.*

*Cato prognoſticated Cæſars tyrannie.*

into pouertie and contempt. He therefore hauing no face to flatter the people and to currie fauour with them, but rather ſticking to his graue maner and modeſt life, then to ſeeke the dignitie of a Conſull by ſuch meanes: made ſute himſelfe in perſon, and would not ſuffer his friends to take the ordinarie courſe which might win the peoples harts, wherupon he was put from his Conſulſhippe. This denyall was wont not only to haue made the parties refuſed, very ſorrowfull, but their friends and kinſemen alſo greatly aſhamed a long time after. Howbeit *Cato* made no reckoning of that, but went the next morning, and played at tennis with his friendes in the field of *Mars*, and after he had dyned, walked againe in the market place, as his maner was, without ſhooes on his feete, and coate. But *Cicero* blamed him much for that, becauſe the common wealth requiring then ſuch a Conſull as he, he had not carefully endeuoured himſelfe by courteſie and gentle meanes to winne the fauour of the people, neither would euer after make ſute for it, although at an other time he ſued to be Prætor. Thereunto *Cato* anſwered, that for the Prætorſhippe he was not denyed it by the good will of the people, but rather for that they were bribed with money. And for the election of the Conſuls, where there was no deceit vſed, he knew plainly he went without it, for his maners which the people miſliked: the which he thought were no wiſe mans part to chaunge for any mans pleaſure, nor yet by making the like ſute againe to hazard the refuſall. Furthermore, *Cæſar* making war with very ſtout nations, & hauing with no ſmall danger and trauell ſubdued them: and hauing alſo ſet vpon the GERMAINES, with whom the ROMAINES were at peace, & alſo ſlaine three hundred thouſand perſons: his friends made ſute that the people ſhould do ſolemne ſacrifice to giue thankes vnto the gods. But *Cato* in open Senate was of opinion, that they ſhould deliuer *Cæſar* into their handes, whom he had iniured, to receiue ſuch puniſhment as they thought good: to the end the whole offence, for the breach of peace, might be caſt vpon him, that the citie might be no partaker of it, ſith they could not do withall. Neuertheleſſe, ſaid he, we are to doe ſacrifices vnto the goddes, to giue them thankes, for that they turned not the reuenge of the furie and raſhnes of the Captaine, vpon our poore ſouldiers which were in no fault, but haue pardoned the common wealth. *Cæſar* being aduertiſed thereof, wrote a letter vnto the Senate, contayning many accuſations againſt *Cato*. The letter being read, *Cato* roſe, not as a man put in a chafe with choller, nor pricked with enuie, but coldly and quietly (as if he had long before premeditated what he would ſay) declared that the accuſations which *Cæſar* heaped againſt him in his letters, were but pretie mockes and ſleights which he had gathered together to make the people merry withall. But on the other ſide, when he beganne to vnrip his whole intents and practiſes from the beginning, not as if he had beene his enemie, but rather a confederate with him in his conſpiracy, declaring that they were not the GERMAINES, nor the GAVLES, which they were to be affraid of, but of himſelfe, if they were wiſe: he thereupon ſo offended the Senate, and made ſuch ſturre among them, that *Cæſars* friends repented them they had cauſed his letters to be read in the Senate, giuing *Cato* therby occaſion iuſtly to complaine of *Cæſar*, & to alleage much good matter againſt him. At that time therefore there was nothing decreed in the Senate againſt *Cæſar*, but this was ſaide onely, that it were good reaſon to let him haue a ſucceſſor. Then *Cæſars* friendes made ſute that *Pompey* ſhould put away his army, and reſigne vp the prouinces he kept, or elſe that they ſhould compell *Cæſar* no more then him to doe it. Then *Cato* opened his mouth, and ſaid, the thing was now come to paſſe, which he had euer told them of, and that *Cæſar* came to oppreſſe the common wealth, openly turning the armie againſt it, which deceitfully he had obtained of the ſame. All this preuailed not, neither could he thereby winne any thing of the Senate, becauſe the people fauoured *Cæſar*, and would alwaies haue him great: for the Senate did beleeue all that he ſaid, but for all that they feared the people. When newes was brought that *Cæſar* had wonne the citie of ARIMINVM, and was comming on with his armie towards ROME: then euery man looked vpon *Cato*, and the people and *Pompey* confeſſed, that he only from the beginning had found out the marke *Cæſar* ſhot at, and had hit the white of his ſlie deuiſe. Then ſaid *Cato* vnto them, if you would haue beleued me, my Lordes, and followed my counſell: you ſhould not now haue bene affraid of one man alone, neither ſhould you alſo haue put your onely hope in one man. *Pompey* aunſwered thereunto, that *Cato* in deede had geſſed more truely, howbeit that he alſo had dealt more friendly. Thereupon *Cato* gaue counſell that the Senate ſhould refer all vnto *Pompeys* order: for, ſaid he, they that can do great miſchiefe, know alſo how to helpe it. *Pompey* perceiuing that he had no armie conuenient about him to tarie *Cæſars* comming, and that the men alſo which he had, were but faint hearted: he forſooke the citie. *Cato* being determined to go with him, ſent his younger ſonne before vnto *Munatius*, which lay in the country of the BRVTIANS, & tooke his eldeſt ſonne with him. Now, becauſe he was to prouide a ſtay and gouernor of his houſe and daughters, he tooke *Martia* againe, which was left a widow and very rich, for that *Hortenſius* dying, made her his heire of all that he had. Therein *Cæſar* vpbraydeth *Cato* much, reprouing his couetouſnes to marry for goods. For, ſaide he, if he had neede of a wife, why then did he before graunt her vnto an other? If he had no neede of a woman, why then did he take her afterwardes againe? Vnleſſe ſhe were before a baite vnto *Hortenſius*, to keepe her whileſt ſhee was young, that he might haue her againe when ſhe was rich. But againſt that me thinkes it is ſufficient to recite theſe verſes of *Euripides*:

*Cato followeth Pompey.*

*Cæſar reproueth Catoes couetouſnes.*

*Vnlikelihoods firſt I will diſproue. For why? what man can ſay,*
*That euer feare made Hercules to turne his face away?*

For I take it to be all one, to reproue *Hercules* cowardlines, and *Catoes* couetouſnes. But if his marriage be to be reproued, peraduenture it is in an other ſort. For ſo ſoone as he had maried *Martia* againe, he left his houſe and his daughters to her gouernment, and followed *Pompey*. But after that time, men report that he neuer polled his head, clipped his beard, nor ware any garland, but to his dying day, lamented, and bewailed in his heart, the miſerie and calamitie of his countrie, whether they had victorie, or were ouercome. So hauing the prouince of SICILE allotted to him, he went vnto SYRACVSA. There vnderſtanding that *Aſinius Pollio* was arriued at MESSINA, with men of warre from his enemies: *Cato* ſent vnto him, to know wherefore he came thither. *Pollio* againe asked of him, who was the cauſer of all this warre. Againe, when *Cato* was aduertiſed that *Pompey* had forſaken ITALIE, & that he lay in campe beyond the ſea by the citie of DYRRACHIVM, then he ſaid, he ſaw a maruellous great chaunge and incertaintie in the prouidence of the goddes: that when *Pompey* did all things beyond reaſon, and out of courſe, he was inuincible: and now that he ſought to preſerue his country, he ſaw he lacked his former good happe. Now he knewe he was ſtrong enough at that time to driue *Aſinius Pollio* out of SICILE if he would: but becauſe there came a greater aide vnto him, he would not plague that Iland, with the miſerie of warre. Then after he had aduiſed the SYRACVSANS to take the ſtronger part, and to looke to their ſafetie: he tooke the ſea & went towards *Pompey*. When he was come vnto him, he did alwaies cōſel him to prolong the war, hoping ſtill of ſome treatie of peace: & would in no caſe they ſhould come to fight any battell, where the weaker part ſhould of neceſſitie be put to the ſword, by the ſtronger. Therefore he perſwaded *Pompey* and the counſellers about him, to eſtabliſh certaine lawes to this effect. That they ſhould ſacke no citie in this warre, the which belonged vnto the Empire of ROME: and alſo, that they ſhould kill no citizen of ROME, but in furie of battell, when their ſwordes were in their hands. Thereby he wanne himſelfe great honor, and brought many men to take *Pompeys* part, by the lenitie and clemencie he vſed vnto them that were taken. Thereupon *Cato* being ſent into ASIA, to aide them that had commiſſion to preſſe ſhips and men of warre, he tooke his ſiſter *Seruilia* with him, and the boy which *Lucullus* had by her: for all the time of her widowhood, ſhe had followed *Cato*, and thereby had worne out her ill name ſhe had before, ſith they ſaw ſhe had ſo willingly giuen her ſelfe to follow him in his flying, and contented her ſelf with this ſtraight maner of life. This notwithſtāding, *Cæſar* did not let to ſhame her to *Cato*. *Pompeys* Captaines had no neede of *Cato* any where but at the RHODES. For he wanne the people there with his courteous vſage & perſwaſion, leauing with them *Seruilia* & her litle ſonne, and went from thence to *Pompeys* campe, who had leauied a great armie both by ſea and land. There did *Pompey* moſt of all diſcouer his minde and intent. For firſt he ment to haue giuen *Cato* the charge of the armie by ſea, which were aboue fiue hundred ſhippes of warre, beſides an infinite number of foyſtes & pinaſes, & ſuch ſmall bottomes vncouered: but ſodainly cōſidering better of it (or poſſibly being informed by ſome of his friends, that al *Catoes* regard & counſell in matters of gouernment was, to deliuer ROME from tyranny, & that if he

*Cato is ſent into Sicile.*

*Cato leaueth Sicile.*

*Catoes lawes in Pompeys army*

had ſo great a charge vnder him, *Cæſar* being once ouercome, he would alſo force **Pompey** to leaue his armie, & ſo make him ſubiect to the law) he changed his minde, notwithſtanding he had already moued it to *Cato*, & leauing him, gaue **Bibulus** the charge of al his army by ſea. But *Cato* therefore ſhewed no leſſe good will vnto **Pompey**, then before. For it is reported, that in a certaine skirmiſh & conflict before the city of DYRRACHIVM, *Pompey* encouraging his ſouldiers, & commanding euery Captaine alſo to do the like in his quarter: the ſouldiers gaue but faint eare vnto them, & made no manner of ſhew of men whoſe hearts had beene any whit the more encouraged thereby. But when *Cato* after them all came and told them (as the time ſerued) the reaſon of Philoſophie, and the effect of libertie, manhoode, death, and honor, and that with a great vehement affection: and laſt of all ending his oration, calling vpon the gods, turning his ſpeech vnto them, as if they had bene preſent to haue ſeene how valiantly the ſouldiers fought for the libertie of their countrie: they gaue ſuch a luſtie cry, & had ſuch a braue conceite & vehement deſire to fight like men, that all the Captaines were filled with good hope, and ſo led them to battell, where they gaue ſuch a cruell charge and fierce onſet vpon their enemies, that they ouerthrewe them, and put them that day to flight. Howbeit *Cæſars* good fortune tooke the finall ende of this victorie from **Pompey**, by his ouergreat feare and miſtruſt: who could not tell how to take the benefite of his victorie, as we haue written more amply in his life. But when all the reſt reioyced that they had done ſo noble an exploite, and made their vaunts of the great aduantage they had of their enemies: *Cato* to the contrarie bewailed the calamitie of his country, and lamented that curſed ambition which cauſed ſo many good and valiant citizens of one ſelfe citie, ſo to kill and murther one an other. After this ouerthrowe, *Cæſar* taking his way into THESSALIE, *Pompey* raiſed his campe to follow him, and leauing a great power at DYRRACHIVM, of men, armor, munition and friends: he gaue **Cato** the charge of them all, and fifteene enſignes of footemen beſides. The which he did for the feare and miſtruſt he had of him, being aſſured, that if by ill fortune he ſhould loſe the battell, he knew well enough that he could not commit them to a truſtier man then he: but on the other ſide if he wanne the victory, he doubted ſore that he could not command as he would, where **Cato** was. There were alſo many other noble men, as a man would ſay, caſt away, and left at DYRRACHIVM, with *Cato*. In fine, the ouerthrow of the battel at Pharſalia being blowen abroad, **Cato** reſolued with himſelfe if **Pompey** were dead, that he would paſſe ouer all his men into ITALY, and then like a baniſhed man would himſelfe alone wander as farre as he could from the tyrannie: and contrarily, if he were aliue, that then he would keepe his armie together for him, as long as he could. With this determination, he paſſed ouer the ſea into the Ile of CORFV, where *Pompeys* armie by ſea lay. There **Cato** finding C*icero*, he would haue ſurrendered vp his charge vnto him, as to a man of greater dignitie, for that he had bene Conſull, and **Cato** onely but Prætor. Howbeit C*icero* would in no wiſe receiue it, but returned immediatly into ITALY. C*ato* then perceiuing that **Pompey** the younger (ſonne vnto P*ompey* the great) of a raſh & hauty minde, would haue puniſhed all them that went into ITALIE, and left the army by ſea, and that ſpecially he was bent firſt of all to begin with C*icero*: C*ato* reproued him priuately for it, ſo that he certainly ſaued C*iceroes* life, and many other moe beſides. Now C*ato* ſuppoſing that *Pompey* the great had ſaued himſelfe in ÆGYPT, or in AFRICKE, he determined to take the ſeas, to meete him with all his men: but before he tooke ſhippe, he gaue all men leaue to depart that were not willing to follow him. **Cato** being arriued in AFRICK, ſailing vp & down the coaſt there, he met with **Sextus**, the youngeſt ſonne of P*ompey*, who firſt told him, that his father was ſlaine in ÆGYPT: when the ſouldiers heard it, they tooke it very heauily, and not one of them after the death of P*ompey* the great, would ſerue vnder any other Captaine then **Cato**. He therupon being aſhamed, & thinking it pity alſo to leaue ſo many noble & good men that had ſerued ſo faithfully vnder him, without a Captaine, not knowing what way to take, nor whither to goe: at their requeſt he was contented to take charge of them, and went firſt vnto the citie of CYRENES, where not many daies before, the citizens had ſhut the gates againſt *Labienus*. Being there, it was told him that *Scipio*, **Pompeys** father in law, was gotten vnto king *Iuba*, who had receiued him: and that **Actius Varus**, vnto whom P*ompey* had giuen the charge of the prouince of AFRICKE, was in their company with an army, and determined to

goe

*Why Pompey chaunged his minde for the gouernment of the armie by ſea.*

*Why Pompey left Cato at Dyrrachium.*

*Cato ſaueth Ciceroes life, from Pompeys ſonne.*

*Cato went into Africke.*

goe ioyne with them. So he went by land in the winter time, and had gotten a maruellous number of aſſes together, to cary water and victuals, which followed him with a great number of carts beſides, and of thoſe men, which the AFRICANES call PSILLES, to wit, they that doe heale the ſtinging of ſerpents, and do ſucke out the poiſon with their mouths, and doe furthermore: charme and enchaunt the ſnakes, that they haue no power to doe any hurt. He was ſeuen dayes together marching continually, and went a foote as a guide vnto his men, without helpe of horſe or beaſt. From that day foorth, on the which he vnderſtoode of the battell loſt at Pharſalia, he neuer ſupped, but ſitting, * and added that vnto the reſt of his ſorrow, that he neuer layed him downe, but when he went to bedde for all night. *Cato* hauing paſſed the winter in LYBIA, he brought his ſouldiers into the fielde, which were about tenne thouſand perſons. The affaires on their ſide had but hard ſucceſſe, for the contention and variance betwixt *Scipio*, and *Varus*, for the which, they both flattered king *Iuba* to winne his fauour: being a maruellous proud man for his greatnes and riches: as he ſhewed the firſt time hee ſpake with *Cato*. For when *Cato* came, he cauſed his owne chaire to be ſet betwixt *Scipio* and *Cato*, to haue the honour to be in the middeſt. But *Cato* perceiuing it, tooke vp his owne chaire, and ſet it on the other ſide by *Scipio* to put him in the middeſt, notwithſtanding that he was his enemy, and had written a ſhamefull booke againſt him. Many make no accompt of this fact of *Cato*, but reproue him, becauſe that walking one day with *Philoſtratus* in SICILE, he gaue him the vpper hand, honoring him for his Philoſophy. Thus *Cato* did pull downe the pride of the king at that time, who before had vſed *Scipio*, and *Varus*, as his noble men and ſubiects: howbeit *Cato* did reconcile them together againe. Furthermore, when all the company prayed him to take charge of the whole army, and that *Scipio* him ſelfe, and *Varus* both, did firſt giue him place, and willingly reſigned vnto him the honour to command the whole campe: he aunſwered them, he would not offend the law, ſith he made warre onely to preſerue the authority and priuiledge thereof, neither would take vppon him to commaund all, himſelfe being but Viceprætor, where there was a Viceconſull preſent. For *Scipio* was created Proconſull, and furthermore, the people had a certaine confidence that their affaires woulde proſper the better, if they had but the name of a *Scipio* to leade them in AFRICK. Now when *Scipio* was Generall ouer them, he would ſtraight, for *Iubaes* ſake, haue put all the inhabitants of the city of VTICA (without reſpect of age) vnto the ſword, and haue raſed the houſes to the ground as thoſe that had taken *Cæſars* part. Howbeit *Cato* would not ſuffer him, but proteſting vnto them that were preſent, and calling the goddes to witneſſe in open councell, with great difficulty he ſaued the poore people of VTICA from that cruell tragedy and ſlaughter. Afterwards, partly at the requeſt of the people, and partly alſo at *Scipioes* inſtance, *Cato* tooke vppon him to keepe the city, fearing leaſt by treaſon, or againſt their wils, it ſhould come into *Cæſars* hands: becauſe it was a ſtrong place of ſituation, and well repleniſhed with all things neceſſary for him that ſhould keepe it. *Cato* did both furniſh it, & alſo fortifie it. For he brought in great ſtore of corne, he repaired the rampers of the walles, made great high towers, and caſt deepe trenches round about the city, paling them in: and betwixt the trenches and the towne, he lodged all the young men of VTICA, and compelled them to deliuer vp their armour and weapon and kept all the reſt within the city it ſelfe, carefully prouiding, that neuer a man of them ſhould be hurt by the ROMAINS, and beſides, did alſo ſend corn, armor, munition & money vnto the campe: ſo that the city of VTICA was the ſtaple & ſtorehouſe of the wars. Moreouer, as he had before counſelled *Pompey* not to come to battell, the like counſell he now gaue alſo vnto *Scipio*: not to hazard battell againſt a man of great skill and experience in wars, but to take time, whereby, by litle and litle, he ſhould conſume the power and ſtrength of *Cæſars* tyranny. But *Scipio* was ſo ſtout, that he regarded not *Catoes* counſell, but wrote otherwhile vnto him, twitting him with his cowardlines in this maner: that it was enough for him to be ſafe in a good city compaſſed about with wals, though otherwiſe hee ſought not to hinder men to be valiant, to execute any enterpriſe as occaſion was offered. *Cato* wrote againe vnto him, that he was ready to goe into ITALY with his footemen and horſmen which he had brought into AFRICKE to draw *Cæſar* from them, and to turne him againſt him. *Scipio* made but a ſport at it. Then *Cato* ſhewed plainly, that he did repent him hee had giuen him the preferment to

*Pſilles, be men which heale the ſtinging of ſerpents.*

** Men in old time bathed and waſhed them ſelues, and then laied them downe in their bed to ſuppe.*

*The modeſty and noble mind of Cato.*

*Cato ioyneth with Scipio in Africke.*

*Cato was made Gouernour of the city of Vtica.*

*Scipio deſpiſeth Catoes counſell.*

be generall of the army, becauſe he ſaw he would but fondly proſecute this war: and alſo, that if he chaunced to ouercome, he could not moderatly vſe the victory againſt his countrey men. Then he beganne to miſtruſt the good ſucceſſe of this warre (and ſo he told his friendes) for the Generals haſtineſſe and vnſkilfulneſſe: and yet if beyond expectation it fell out well, and that *Cæſar* were ouerthrowen, he would neuer dwell at ROME any more, but would flie the cruelty and bitterneſſe of *Scipio*, who euen at that preſent time did proudly threaten many. But in the end, that fell out ſooner then looked for. For a poſte came to him late that night, who but three dayes before departed from the campe, and brought newes that all was loſt, in a great battell, by the city of THAPSES, which *Cæſar* had wonne: that hee had taken both campes, that *Scipio* and king *Iuba* were fled with a few men, and that all the reſt of their army was ſlaine. Theſe newes did put the citizens in ſuch a feare and maze, (and ſpecially being in the warre, and in the night time) that for very feare they could ſcant keepe them ſelues within the walles of their city.

*Catoes conſtancy in extremity*

But *Cato* meeting with them, ſtayed them that ranne vp and downe crying in the ſtreetes, and did comfort them the beſt he could. Yet he tooke not all their feare from them, though he brought them againe vnto them ſelues from the extaſie they were in, declaring vnto them, that the loſſe was nothing ſo great as it was made, and that it was a common matter to enlarge ſuch newes with wordes enough. By theſe perſwaſions, he ſomewhat pacified the tumult and vprore, and the next morning by breake of day, he made proclamation, that the three hundred men which he had choſen for his counſellers, ſhould come and aſſemble in the temple of *Iupiter*, they all being citizens of ROME, which for trafficke of marchaundiſe lay in AFRICKE, and all the ROMAINE Senators and their children alſo. Now whileſt they gathered them ſelues together, *Cato* him ſelfe went very grauely with a ſet modeſt countenaunce, as if no ſuch matter had happened, hauing a litle booke in his hande, which he read as he went. This booke contayned the ſtore and preparation of munition hee had made for this warre, as corne, armor, weapons, bowes, ſlings and footemen.

*Catoes oration to the Romains at Vtica.*

When they were all aſſembled, he began greatly to commend the good loue and faithfulnes of theſe three hundred ROMAINS, which had profitably ſerued their country with their perſons, money, & counſell, and did counſell them not to depart one from an other, as men hauing no hope, or otherwiſe ſeeking to ſaue them ſelues ſcatteringly. For remaining together, *Cæſar* would leſſe
” deſpiſe them, if they would make warre againſt him: and would alſo ſooner pardon them, if
” they craued mercy of him. Therefore he counſelled them to determine what they would do,
” and for his owne part, he ſayed he would not miſlike whatſoeuer they determined of: for if
” their mindes followed their fortune, he would thinke this chaunge to proceede of the neceſ-
” ſitie of time. But if they were reſolued to withſtand their miſfortune, and to hazard them-
” ſelues to defend their liberty: he then would not only commend them, but hauing their noble
” corage in admiration, would him ſelfe be their chieftaine and companion, euen to proue the
” fortune of their countrey to the vttermoſt. The which was not VTICA, nor ADRVMETVM,
” but the city ſelfe of ROME: the which oftentimes through her greatneſſe, had raiſed her ſelfe
” from greater daungers and calamities. Furthermore, that they had many waies to ſaue them-
” ſelues, and the greateſt meane of all was this: that they ſhould make warre with a man, who by
” reaſon of his warres was compelled to be in many places. For SPAINE of the one ſide was vp
” againſt him, and tooke part with the younger *Pompey*: and the city of ROME alſo not being
” vſed to be bridled with the ſnaffle of ſuch inſolency, could not abide it, but woulde rather riſe
” with any other change. Furthermore, that they were not to refuſe any danger, but to take exam-
” ple of their enemy: who, to worke his miſchieuous intent, ſpareth not his perſon in any daun-
” ger. And contrarily alſo, that vnto them, the incertainety of the war, if victory followed, would
” make them happy, as alſo in being ouerthrowen, their death would turne to immortall glory.
” Notwithſtanding, they were to thinke of the matter among thẽſelues, & to make their prayers
” to the gods, that in recompence of their vertue & good ſeruice which they had ſhewed thither-
” unto, they would grant them grace to determine for the beſt. After *Cato* had ended his oration,
” there were diuers of thẽ that were ſtirred vp by his liuely perſwaſions, but the moſt part of thẽ were incoraged by his conſtãcy & noble mind, and alſo by his kindnes: ſo that they preſently forgat the danger they were in, & praid him to command their perſons, goods, and weapons,

as he thought good, taking him for their only inuincible Captaine, of whom fortune had no power, thinking it better to die obeying his counſell, then to ſaue them ſelues, forſaking ſo valiant & worthy a man. Then, when one of the aſſembly made a motion that they ſhould make their bondmen free, and that diuers alſo did confirme it, *Cato* ſayd he would by no meanes ſuffer it, becauſe it was neither meet nor lawful: howbeit if their maſters would manumiſſe them, that he was contented to receiue them for ſouldiers, that could weare any weapon. Diuers promiſed him to do it: and *Cato* commaunded their names ſhould be enrolled that would, and ſo went his way. Immediatly after, letters were broght him frõ king *Iuba*, & *Scipio*: of the which, king *Iuba* was hiddẽ in a moũtain with few men with him, who ſent vnto him to know what he would determine to do. For if he ment to forſake VTICA, he would tary him there: and if otherwiſe he determined to keep VTICA, then that he would come & helpe him with an army. *Scipio* on the other ſide riding at anker, at a point of the land not far from VTICA, ſtaid for the like aunſwere. Then *Cato* thought it beſt to ſtay the meſſengers which had brought him their letters, till he ſaw what was the determination of the three hundred. For all they that were Senators of ROME, were very glad men, and did preſently make their bondmen free, & gaue them weapons. But the other thre hundred which were marchant venturers, and that liued by vſury and exchange, who had the moſt part of their goods in ſlaues and bondmen, did not long follow *Catoes* counſell: but like men, whoſe bodies ſoone receiue heat, and are ſoone cold againe, when they are once gone from the fire: euen ſo thoſe marchants, while *Cato* was preſent amõg them, had ſome good prety wil & deſire: but when by them ſelues they had caſt their account, the feare they had of *Cæſar*, made them forget the reuerence they bare vnto *Cato*, & vnto their duty. For, ſaid they, what are we, and what is he whom we diſdain to obey? Is it not *Cæſar* him ſelfe, who at this day is Lord & Emperor of ROME? Neuer a one of vs is *Scipio*, *Pompey*, nor *Cato*: and yet now, when al men for feare (and in maner compelled) do yeeld and ſubmit thẽſelues, we will needs take vpon vs within the wals of VTICA to fight for the liberty of ROME againſt him, for whom, *Cato* flying with *Pompey*, forſooke ITALY: & we now make our bondmen free to fight with *Cæſar*, hauing no better liberty our ſelues, then it pleaſeth him to giue vs. Let vs therefore now know our ſelues whileſt we haue time, and craue mercy at his hands that is the ſtronger, & ſend vnto him, to pray him to pardon vs. The greateſt & wiſeſt men of thoſe three hundred marchants, had this ſpeache. But the moſt part of them ſought meanes how to entrap the Senators, hoping the better of mercy at *Cæſars* hand, if they did deliuer them vnto him. *Cato* did looke for this change in them, but yet vttered not that he thought, and returned the meſſengers backe againe vnto king *Iuba*, and *Scipio*, and wrote vnto them: that they ſhould beware they came not near VTICA, becauſe he did miſtruſt theſe three hũdred marchants. Now there were a great number of horſemen which had eſcaped from the battel, who comming towards VTICA, ſent three of their company vnto *Cato*, the which brought him not one ſelfe determination from all the company. For ſome of them went to go vnto king *Iuba*, others alſo to ioyne with *Cato*, and part of them were afrayd to come into VTICA. Theſe things being thus reported vnto *Cato*, he commaunded *Marcus Rubrius* to take care of theſe three hundred men, & to receiue the names of the bondmẽ which they willingly manumiſſed, without compelling of any man. In the mean time, *Cato* with all the Senators went out of VTICA, to meete with theſe horſemen, & there he ſpake to the Captains, & praid them that they would not forſake ſo many noblemen & Senators of ROME as were there: & that they would not haue king *Iuba* for their captaine before *Cato*, but to come into VTICA: where they might ſaue thẽ ſelues the city was of ſuch ſtrength, and beſides, ſo well armed and victualed for many years. The like requeſt did the Senators alſo make vnto them, with the teares running downe their cheekes. Thereupon the Captaines went & ſpake with their ſouldiers. *Cato* in the meane time ſate him downe on a litle hill, with the Senators, tarying for aunſwere. But then on the ſodaine came *Rubrius* vnto him in great haſt, complaining of the tumult of theſe three hundred marchants, which went about to make the city to rebell: whereupon, the reſt their harts failing them, fell to bewaile their miſerable fortune. But *Cato* ſought to comfort them, and then ſent vnto the three hundred marchauntes, to pray them to haue a litle patience. So the Captaines returned againe with vnreaſonable demaundes of the horſemen. For they ſayed, that they cared not for

*The equity of Cato.*

*Cato forſaken of three hundred Romaine marchants at Vtica.*

*Catoes pity and regard vnto the Senators.*

king *Iubaes* pay, neither were they afrayed of *Cæſars* malice, ſo that they had *Cato* for their generall: yet to be pend vp within the wals of a city with AFRICANES, that were PHOENICIANS, and a traiterous nation as could be: that grieued them moſt of all. For, ſayed they, though now they ſturre not, and be quiet: yet when *Cæſar* comes, they will be the firſt that will betray vs, and cut our throates. And therefore, if *Cato* would haue them to ioyne with him in this warre: that he ſhould either kill or driue away all the VTICANS out of the city, and then that they would come into it, when it was cleare of all thoſe barbarous people their enemies. *Cato* thought this a cruell and barbarous condition, neuertheleſſe he told them that he would talke with the three hundred: and ſo returning againe into VTICA, he ſpake vnto them. But they then not regarding the reuerence vnto *Cato*, diſſembling no longer, ſaid opēly, that they would not like of him whatſoeuer he were, that ſhould compell them to make war with *Cæſar*, both becauſe they would not, nor could not doe it. Further, there were ſome of them that mumbled to them ſelues, that the Senators ſhould be kept there, till *Cæſar* came. *Cato* ouerheard them, for in deede his hearing was not very quicke. At that very inſtant one came to him, and tolde him, that the horſemen were going their way. *Cato* therefore fearing leaſt theſe three hundred marchants would lay hands vpon the Senators: he went vnto them him ſelfe with his friends, and perceiuing they were gone a great way off, he tooke his horſe and rode after them. They reioycing to ſee him come, receiued him among them, and prayed him to ſaue him ſelfe with them. But *Cato* prayed them againe to ſaue the Senators, and that with ſuch affection, as it forced tears in him, beſides, he held vp his hands vnto them, tooke their horſes by the bridles, and them ſelues by their weapons, that at length hee obtained of them, that they would remaine there one day at the leaſt, to helpe the Senatours to ſaue them ſelues. So *Cato* returning with them into the city, he appointed ſome of them to ward at the gates, and put others alſo in garriſon into the caſtell: ſo that the three hundred marchants quaked for fear, leaſt he would haue bene reuenged of them, becauſe of their returne with him. Thereuppon they ſent vnto *Cato*, humbly to pray him to come vnto them in any caſe. But the Senatours flocking about him, would not ſuffer him to goe, & ſaid, that they would not caſt away their ſauior and protector, to put him into traitors hands. Then doubtles, al that were within VTICA, plainly ſaw the vertue and ſimplicity of *Cato*, and found that there was no fraud nor deceite in him: who hauing long time reſolued to kill him ſelfe, he only tooke that extreame pains and care for others that their liues being ſaued, he might then rid himſelf of his own. For men might eaſily ſee, though he diſſembled it, that he was reſolued to die. Whereupon, hauing comforted the Senators, he yeelded vnto the requeſts of the three hundred marchants, & went him ſelfe alone vnto them. Then they thanked him much for his comming, and praied him to command them, & boldly to truſt them: ſo that he would pardon them if they could not be all *Catoes*, and would take pity of their faint harts, though they were not ſo conſtant & noble minded as he. For they were determined to ſend vnto *Cæſar*, ſpecially to intreat him for him: and if that they could not obtaine pardon for him, then they were aſſured they could haue none for them ſelues, and therefore would fight for the ſafety of him, while they had any breath in their bodies. *Cato* thanking them for their good wils, aunſwered: that they ſhould ſend quickely to craue pardon for them ſelues, but to aske none for him. For ſayd he, men that be ouercome, and haue offended, it ſtandeth them vpon to make humble ſute, and to craue pardon: but for him ſelfe, he was neuer ouercome in his life, and yet had ouercome as much as he deſired, and had alwayes beene better then *Cæſar* in iuſtice, who only (not him ſelfe) was now taken and ouercome: the thing being apparantly proued in ſight againſt him, which he had alwaies denied to haue practiſed againſt his country. When he had made this anſwere vnto the three hundred marchants, he departed from them. Newes being brought that *Cæſar* was in his way with all his army, comming towards VTICA: O goddes, ſayd he, then he commeth againſt vs, as againſt men. Then turning vnto the Senatours, he gaue them counſell quickely to ſaue them ſelues, whileſt the horſemen were yet in the city. So ſhutting all the gates of the city, ſauing that towardes the hauen: he appointed ſhippes for them all, and ſet euery thing at a ſtay, without tumult or diſorder, no man hauing iniury offered him, and gaue euery one money to make way for their ſafety. When *Marcus Octauius*) who came with two legions, & camped hard by VTICA) ſent vnto *Cato*, to

*Cato an earneſt ſuter for the Senators.*

*The ſincerity of Cato.*

*Catoes minde vnconquerable*

determine which of them two ſhould be Generall: he made no aunſwere, but turning to his friends ſaid: How can we wonder any more that all goeth to wracke with vs, ſith there is ſuch ambition amongſt vs for the gouernment, euen now, when we are at the laſt caſt? In the mean time word was brought him, how the horſmen going their way were ſpoiling of the citizens goods, as a lawfull prey in warre. He ſtraight ran thither him ſelfe, and the firſt he met withall, he tooke from them that they had gotten. The reſt, before he came vnto them, threw downe that they were carying away, and hanging downe their heads for ſhame, they went their way, and ſaid nothing. Then *Cato* calling all the citizens of VTICA together, praied them not to incenſe nor moue *Cæſar* againſt the three hundred, but rather to craue of him pardon for thē all. Then he went againe to the peere, and there imbracing his friends, & taking his leaue of them all, he brought them to their ſhips. Now for his ſonne, he did not counſell him to goe, neither did he thinke it meete to vrge him to forſake his father. Furthermore, there was one *Statilius* a young man in his company, of a noble corage, that was determined to follow the inuincible conſtancy of *Cato*: who counſelled him to take the ſea, and to ſaile away with the reſt, becauſe he knew he was *Cæſars* mortall enemy. *Statilius* ſaid he would not go. Then *Cato* turning him vnto *Apollonides* a Stoick Philoſopher, & vnto *Demetrius* a Peripatetick Philoſopher, ſaid: you muſt take this ſtout young man, to perſwade him to obey vnto neceſſity. *Cato* him ſelfe in the meane time ſent away the reſt, and did miniſter iuſtice vnto them that required it: ſpending all that night, and the next day, about thoſe matters. Then *Lucius Cæſar*, the kinſman of *Iulius Cæſar* the conqueror, being choſen by the three hundred, to go and make ſute vnto him for them all, came and praied *Cato* to helpe him to make his oration, which he ſhould ſay vnto *Cæſar* for them all: and as for thee, *Cato*, ſaid he, I will kiſſe his hands, and fall downe on my knees before him to intreat him for thee. Nay ſaid *Cato*, thou ſhalt not do ſo. For if I would ſaue my life by *Cæſars* grace, I could do it, if I would but go vnto him: howbeit I will not be bound to a tyrant for iniuſtice. For it is an iniuſtice in him to take vpon him, as a Lord & ſoueraign to ſaue a mās life, when him ſelfe hath no authority to command. But yet let vs conſider if thou wilt, what thou ſhalt ſay, to craue pardon for the three hundred. So they were a while together conſidering the matter, and in fine, *Lucius Cæſar* being ready to depart, *Cato* recommended his ſonne and friends vnto him, and imbracing him, tooke his leaue of him. Then he returned vnto his lodging, and calling his ſonne and friends before him, and talking of many matters: among others he charged his ſonne in no caſe to meddle in the affairs of the common wealth. For ſayd he, to deale vprightly like *Catoes* ſonne, the corruption of the time and ſtate will not abide it: and contrarily, obſeruing the time, thou canſt not do like an honeſt man. Towards euening he went into his bath to waſh him ſelfe, and as he was a bathing, thinking vpon *Statilius*, he cried out aloud: well *Apollonides*, thou haſt at length yet perſwaded *Statilius*, to goe his way and pulled downe his ſtout courage he had: and is he gone without bidding vs farewell? How, gone ſaid *Apollonides*? Nay, his heart is now more ſtout and coragious then euer it was, notwithſtanding all the perſwaſions we could vſe vnto him: for he is determined to tary, & to take ſuch part as thou doeſt. After he had bathed him ſelfe, he went to ſupper, and ſate at his meate, as he had alwaies vſed after the battell of Pharſalia, and neuer lay, but when he went to bed. So he had all his frends, & the chiefe Magiſtrats of VTICA to ſupper with him. After ſupper, they fell into graue talke and matters of Philoſophy: till at length they came vnto the ſtraunge opinion of the Stoicke Philoſophers, which was this: that onely the good man is free, and all the euill be ſlaues. The Peripateticke Philoſopher that was preſent there, was ſtraight againſt it. But *Cato* was very earneſt againſt the Peripateticke, and argued the matter a long time, with a vehement ſpeach and contention: inſomuch as they that heard him, found then that he was determined to end his life, and to rid him him ſelfe out of all thoſe troubles. But then when he had ended his argument, and ſaw that euery man held his peace, and looked ſadly of it: to comfort them againe, and to put the ſuſpition of his death out of their heades: he beganne againe to fall in talke of their affaires, and ſeemed to be carefull of them, as though he hadde bene afrayed leaſt ſome misfortune were come vnto them vppon the ſea, or vnto them that were gone by land, becauſe they paſſed through deſerts, where there was no water to be had. Now when ſupper was done, and the ſtraungers gone, he walked as his manner was with his

*Cato reproueth the ambition of men.*

*Statilius, a follower of Cato.*

*Cato would not haue pardon begged of Cæſar for him.*

*Cato forbad his ſonne to meddle with matters of State in a corrupt time.*

*The Paradoxes of the Stoicks.*

friendes,and hauing taken order with the Captaines of the watch for matters of ſeruice,as the time required:going into his chamber he embraced his ſon and his frends more louingly then he was wont to do,whereby he made them againe ſuſpect the execution of his determination.

*Platoes dialogues of the ſoule.*

When he was come into his chamber and laied in his bed,he tooke *Platoes* dialogues in hand treating of the ſoule, and red the moſt part of it. Then looking by his beds ſide,and miſſing his ſword(which his ſon had taken from him when he was at ſupper)he called one of the groomes of his chamber to him,and asked him who had taken his ſword away: his man made him no anſwer,and he fell again to read his booke. Then a prety while after,not ſeeming to be importunate,or ouerhaſty of the matter,but as though he would only know what became of it: hee willed them to bring him his ſword againe. They taried long,& he had red ouer al the booke, but yet his ſword was not brought him againe. Whereupon he called for all his men one after an other,and very angrily asked them his ſword, and gaue one of them ſuch a blow in the face,that his noſe fell a bleeding,and his hand was all bloudy withall, and cried out that his ſon and his ſeruants would deliuer him naked into the hands of his enemy: vntil his ſon and frends at length ranne vnto him,and falling downe on their knees, lamented,and beſought him to be contented. *Cato* then riſing out of his bed, looked grimly vppon them, and ſaied vnto them: O gods,who euer ſaw me in this taking? Why doth no man by reaſon perſwade me,if they ſee me out of the way:and not to keep me from my determination by plucking my weapons from me? why doeſt not thou bind thy father (my ſonne) his hands behinde him, that when *Caſar* commeth,he may find me in caſe not to defend my ſelfe? I do not deſire my ſword to hurt my ſelfe, for if I had any ſuch minde, I neede but hold my breath a litle,or giue but a knocke of my head againſt the wall onely,and diſpatch my ſelfe quickly.

*Catoes laſt words vnto the Philoſophers his friends.*

When he had ſayd thus, his ſonne went out of his chamber weeping, and all his friendes alſo, no man remaining with *Cato*, but *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*,vnto whom he ſpake more gently,and reaſoned in this ſort. What, do you thinke to keepe an old man as I am, aliue by force? And haue you taried behind but to ſit ſtaring vpon me, & ſay nothing vnto me? If otherwiſe els,by reaſon you come to perſwade me,that it ſhall be no ſhame for *Cato*, diſpairing of the ſafety of his life, to ſeeke it by the grace and mercy of his enemy: why then doe you not now tell me your reaſons to perſwade me,that forſaking all other fancies and determinations which hitherunto we haue holden for good, being on a ſodaine become wiſer by *Caſars* meanes, wee ſhould be bound the more therefore to giue him thanks? I do not tell you this that I haue determined any thing of my life,but that it is in my power(if I liſt)to put the thing in execution I haue determined: but yet I will conſult with you,when I am ſo determined,to heare the reaſons & opinion of your books,which your ſelues do vſe in diſcourſe and argument together. Go your way therfore hardily vnto my ſon,and tell him,that he muſt not thinke to cōpell his father vnto that,which he cannot proue good vnto him by reaſon. After this talke, *Demetrius* and *Apollonides* being nothing comforted,weeping,departed out of his chamber. Then his ſworde was brought him by a litle boy.

*Cato conſidered his ſword wherewith he killed him ſelfe.*

When he had it, he drew it out,& looked whether the point and edge of his ſword was ſharp and would cut: when he ſaw it was well,O,ſaid he,now I am where I would be,and ſo laying down the ſword naked by him,he tooke his booke againe in his hand,and red it ouer(as they ſay):wiſe together. Then hee ſlept ſo ſoundly after it, that his men which were without his chamber heard him ſnort againe. About midnight,he called for two of his freemen, *Cleanthes* his Phiſitian, and *Butas*, whom he chiefly employed in his waighteſt affaires of the common wealth. So hee ſent him vnto the hauen to ſee, if all his men that were imbarked were vnder ſaile:and gaue his hand to the Phiſitian to be bound vp,becauſe it was ſwollen with the blowe he gaue one of his ſlaues when he hit him on the face. All his ſeruants were glad to hear of that, hoping then that he deſired to liue. Soone after came *Butas* backe againe from the hauen, and brought him word that all were gone but *Craſſus*, who ſtayed about ſome buſines he had,and yet that he was going to take ſhippe: howbeit that the ſea was very roughe, and wind exceeding great *Cato* hearing this,ſighed,being ſory for them that were vpon the ſea: and ſent *Butas* backe againe to the hauen, to ſee if any man came backe for any matter they had to ſay vnto him. The litle birdes began to chirpe,and *Cato* fell againe in a litle ſlumber. But thereupon *Butas* returned,and brought him word that all was quiet in the hauen,& there was no ſtur. Then

*Cato*, bad him goe his way, and ſhut to the dore after him, and layed him downe in his bed, as though he had ment to haue ſlept out all the reſt of the night. **But as** backe was no ſooner turned, but *Cato* taking his naked ſword in his hand, thruſt it into his breaſt: howbeit the ſwelling of his hand made the blow ſo weake, that it killed him not preſently, but drawing on to his latter ende, he fell downe vpon his bedde, and made ſuch a noyſe with his fall (ouerthrowing a litle table of geometrie hard by his bedde, that his ſeruantes hearing the noiſe, gaue a great ſhreeke for feare. Thereupon his ſonne and his friendes ranne into the chamber, and founde him all of a gore blood, and the moſt part of his bowels comming out of his bodie, himſelfe being yet aliue and ſeing them. They were all ſtriken with ſuch ſorrow to behold it, that at the firſt they were ſo amaſed, as they could not tell what to ſay to it. His Phiſitiã comming to him, he went about to put in his bowels againe which were not periſhed, and to ſow vp his woūd. But *Cato* comming to himſelfe, thruſt backe the Phiſitian, and tore his bowels with his owne hands, and made his wound very great, and immediately gaue vp the ghoſt. Whereupon the three hundred Romains (in leſſe time then a man would haue thought *Catoes* own houſhold ſeruantes could haue knowen of his death) were at his dores, and immediatly after, all the people of Vtica alſo came thither, and with one voice called *Cato* their benefactor and ſauior, and ſayed he onely was a free man, and had an inuincible mind: and this was done, when they hard ſay that *Cæſar* was not farre from Vtica. Furthermore, neither feare of the preſent danger, nor the deſire to flatter the Conqueror, neither any priuate quarrell amongſt them ſelues, could keepe them from honoring *Catoes* funerals. For, ſumptuouſly ſetting out his bodie, and honorably accompanying his funerals as might be, they buried him by the ſea ſide, where at this preſent time is to be ſeene his image, holding a ſworde in his hande. After that they made their beſt way to ſaue themſelues and their citie. Nowe *Cæſar* being aduertiſed by them that came vnto him, how *Cato* ſturred not from Vtica, nor fled not, but ſent all others away, ſauing himſelfe and his ſonne, and a few of his friends that remained there, being affraid of nothing: he could not deuiſe what he ment by it. Therefore eſteeming *Cato* much, he made haſte with all the ſpeede he could with his armie, to come thither. But when he vnderſtoode that *Cato* had ſlaine himſelfe, writers doe report he ſaide thus: O *Cato*, I enuie thy death, ſith thou haſt enuied mine honour to ſaue thy life. For indeede, had *Cato* beene contented *Cæſar* ſhould haue ſaued his life, he had not ſo much impaired his owne honor, as he had augmented *Cæſars* glorie. And yet what *Cæſar* would haue done, men make it doubtfull, ſauing that they coniecture well of *Cæſars* clemency. *Cato* died when he was but eight and forty yeare old. For his ſonne, *Cæſar* neuer did him hurt: howbeit it is reported of him, that he was very idlely giuen, and laſciuious beſides. For when he lay in Cappadocia, in a noble mans houſe of the kings bloud, called *Maphradates*, who had a faire woman to his wife: he taried longer there then he might well with honeſtie, whereuppon he fell to be a laughing ſtocke to the people, and in mockery they ſayd, *Cato* will goe to morrow, a thirty dayes hence. And further, that *Maphradates* and *Porcius* are two good friends, but they haue but one minde. And the reaſon was becauſe *Maphradates* wife was called *Pſyche*, which in the Greeke ſignifieth, minde: and *Cato* is a noble fellow, and hath a princely mind, howbeit his famous death did ſtoppe this infamous ſpeech. For he valiantly fighting againſt *Auguſtus*, and *Antonius*, at the battell of *Philippes*, for the liberty of his country: their army being ouerthrowen and fled, he would neither flie nor hide him ſelfe, but running in amongeſt his enemies, he made them know what hee was, by incoraging thoſe of his ſide, which yet did defend them ſelues, till he was ſlaine in the field, to the great admiration of his valiantnes. Furthermore, *Porcia*, the Daughter of *Cato*, gaue no place vnto her father, neither for chaſtity, nor greatnes of mind. For ſhe being maried vnto *Brutus*, who ſlue *Cæſar*, was of the conſpiracie, and ſlue her ſelfe as couragiouſly as became the vertue and nobility of her bloud from whence ſhee came, as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Brutus*. *Statilius* alſo, who had ſayd he would runne *Catoes* fortune (as we haue told you before) was kept from killing of him ſelfe by the Philoſophers, *Demetrius*, and *Apollonides*. But after that time hauing ſhewed him ſelfe very faithfull and ſeruiceable vnto *Brutus* in all his affaires, he was ſlaine in the field alſo at the battell of *Philppes*.

*The death of Cato.*

*Catoes funerals*

*Cæſars ſaying vnto Cato the dead.*

*The ſonne of Cato what conditions he had.*

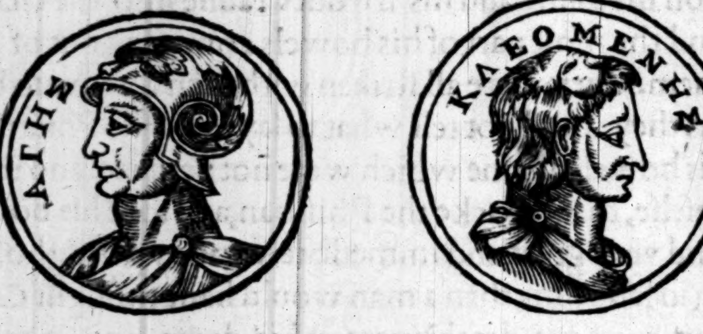
*Pſyche, ſignifieth minde.*

*The death of Porcia, the daughter of Cato the younger, and wife of Brutus.*

*The death of Statilius.*

*The end of* Catoes *life.*

# AGIS AND CLEOMENES.



The fable of Ixion againſt ambitious perſons.

TRuely the fable of *Ixion* was not il deuiſed againſt ambitious perſons: who imbracing a cloud for the goddeſſe *Iuno*, begot (as it is ſaid) the Centavri. For euen ſo ambitious men, imbracing glory for the true image of vertue, doe neuer any act that is good nor perfect: but being caried away with diuers fancies, and following others humors with deſire to pleaſe the people, they may as the herdmen in the tragedie of *Sophocles* (ſpeaking of their cattell) ſay:

*VVe waite vpon their beaſtes, though we their maſters be,*
*And whereſoeuer they become, there alſo follow we.*

Theophraſtus for the praiſe of vertue.

Immoderate praiſe very dangerous.

Phocions ſaying.

The fable of the Dragons head and taile.

Such in deede are they compared to, that gouerne common weales, after peoples luſt and fancie: who doubtleſſe are as their ſeruants obedient at call, becauſe they onely may enioy the glorious title and name of an Officer. For like as in a ſhippe the Mariners that ſtande in the prowe, doe better ſee before them, then the Pilots that ſteere the helme in the poope, and yet lookes alwaies backe vnto them to ſee what they commaunde: euen ſo, they that gouerne in the cõmon wealth for honors ſake, are no better then honorable ſlaues of the people, hauing no more but the bare name of a gouernour. But in deede, the perfect good and honeſt man ſhould neuer couet outwarde glory, but as a meane to bring him to noble attempts, whereby he might procure the better credite of his doings. And for a young man that coueteth honor by vertue, giue him leaue a litle to glory in his well doing: for as *Theophraſtus* ſayeth, vertue buddeth and floriſheth in youth, and taketh faſt roote by praiſes giuen, as wit & corage groweth in them. But ouermuch praiſe is dangerous in euery perſon, but chiefly in ambitious gouernors. For if they be men of great power, it makes them commit many deſperate parts: for they will not allow that honor proceedes of vertue, but that honor is vertue it ſelfe. But in deed they ſhould ſay as *Phocion* did vnto *Antipater*, that requeſted an vnlawful matter of him: Thou canſt not, ſaied he, haue *Phocion* a friend and flatterer both. This, or the very like, may be ſayd vnto the people: you can not both haue one, a Maiſter and a ſeruaunt, that can commaund and obey together. Or els the miſchiefe ſpoken of in the tale of the Dragon muſt needes happen, which was: the taile on a time fell out with the head, and complained, ſaying, it would another while go before, & would not alwaies come behind. The head graunted the taile, which fell out verie ill for it, not knowing how to guide the head, and beſides that the head thereby was tormented euery way, being compelled againſt nature to follow that part and member, which could neither heare, nor ſee how to guid it. The like matter haue we ſeene happen vnto many, which in the adminiſtration of the common wealth, did ſeeke to pleaſe the humors of the multitude. For when they haue once put their heads vnder their girdles to pleaſe the common people, which without cauſe and reaſon doe ſoone rebell: they can by no poſſible meanes afterwards bridle their furie & inſolency. Now the reaſon that made vs to enter into diſcourſe againſt the ambition and vaine glorie amongſt the people: was the conſideration I had of their great power, remembring the miſſortunes of *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchi*: both of the which comming of a noble houſe, and hauing bene maruellous wel brought vp, & managing alſo the affaires of the common wealth with a good deſire, were notwithſtanding in the ende caſt away: not ſo much through couetouſnes of glory, as for feare of diſhonor, which came alſo of no baſe mind. For they hauing receiued great pleaſures and friendſhips of the people, were aſhamed to be indebted to them, and therefore earneſtly ſought to exceede the people in good will, by new decrees and deuiſes, which they preferred for common benefit: and the people alſo for their partes contended to honor them the more, by how much they ſtriued to ſhewe themſelues thankefull. So with like ſtrife on either ſide, they to gratifie the common people, and the people alſo to honor them, were ſo vnwares entangled with publike cauſes, that they could no more follow the common prouerbe, which ſayeth:

*Plutarch excuſeth the Gracchi.*

*Although our deedes diſſent from equitie*
*Yet can we not deſiſt with honeſtie*

This thou ſhalt eaſily finde by the declaration of the hiſtorie. With theſe we doe compare two other popular men, both kings of LACEDÆMON, *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. For they as the *Gracchi*, ſeeking to increaſe the power of the common people, and to reſtore the iuſt and honeſt gouernment again of the common wealth of LACEDÆMON, which of long time had bene out of vſe: did in like manner purchaſe the hate of the nobilitie, which were loth to loſe any part of their wonted couetouſnes. In deed theſe two LACONIANS were no brethrē borne but yet did both follow one ſelfe courſe & forme of gouernment, which had beginning in this ſort. After that couetouſnes of gold and ſiluer crept againe into the citie of SPARTA, and with riches, couetouſnes alſo and miſerie, and by vſe, voluptuouſnes and licentious life: SPARTA then was voide of all honor and goodnes, and was long time drowned in ſhame & diſhonor, vntill king *Agis* and *Leonidas* came to raigne there. *Agis* was of the houſe of the *Eurytiontides*, the ſonne of *Eudamedas*, the ſixt of lineall deſcent after *Ageſilaus*, who had bene the greateſt Prince of all GRECE in his time. This *Ageſilaus* had a ſonne ſlain in ITALY by the MESSAPIANS, called *Archidamus*, before the citie of MANDONIVM. *Archidamus* had iſſue two ſonnes, *Agis* & *Eudamidas* that was king, who ſucceeded his brother *Agis*, whom *Antipater* ſlew before the city of MEGALOPOLIS, & left no childrē behind him. *Eudamidas* begat *Archidamus*, which *Archidamus* begat another *Eudamidas*: which *Eudamidas* alſo begat *Agis*, whoſe life we now write of. *Leonidas* alſo, the ſonne of *Cleonymus*, was of the other familie of the *Agiades*, the eight of ſucceſſion after *Pauſanias*, who ſlew *Mardonius*, the kings Lieutenant general of PERSIA, in a battell fought before the citie of PLATEES. This *Pauſanias* had a ſonne called *Pliſtonax*, and *Pliſtonax* alſo an other, called *Pauſanias*: who flying from SPARTA vnto the citie of TEGEA, his eldeſt ſon *Ageſipolis* was made king in his fathers roome, who dying without iſſue, his yonger brother *Cleombrotus* ſucceeded him in the kingdom. *Cleombrotus* had two ſons, *Ageſipolis* and *Cleomenes*: of the which, *Ageſipolis* raigned not long king, and died without iſſue. Then *Cleomenes* his brother, who was king after him, had two ſonnes, *Acrotatus* the elder, that died in his fathers life time: and *Cleonymus* the yonger which ſuruiued him, & was not king, but one *Areus* his Nephew, the ſonne of *Acrotatus*. This *Areus* died before the city of CORINTHE: who hauing an other *Acrotatus* to his ſonne, he ſucceeded him in the kingdom. He alſo died at a battell before the city of MEGALIPOLIS, and was ſlaine there by the tyrant *Ariſtodemus*, leauing his wife great with childe. Shee being brought to bedde after his death of a ſonne, whom *Leonidas* the ſonne of *Cleonymus* taught and brought vp: the childe dying verie young, the crowne by his death was caſt vpon *Leonidas* himſelfe. Howbeit his maners & conditions neuer liked the people. For though all men generally were corrupted through the cōmon wealth, and cleane out of order: yet *Leonidas* of all other exceeded, deforming moſt the auncient LACONIAN life: becauſe he had bene long time brought vp in Princes houſes, & followed alſo *Seleucus* Court, from whence hee had brought all the pride and pompe of thoſe Courts into GREECE, where law and reaſon ruleth. *Agis* on the contrary part did not only far excell *Leonidas*, in honor and magnanimity of mind: but all other almoſt alſo which had raig-

*The lynage of Agis.*

*The lynage of Leonidas.*

*Ariſtodemus, tyrant of Megalipolis.*

*Leonidas brought ſuperfluity and exceſſe into Sparta.*

*The continency of Agis.*

ned in SPARTA from the time of *Ageſilaus* the great. So that when *Agis* was not yet twentie yeare old, and being daintily brought vp with the fines of two women, his mother *Agiſtrata*, and *Archidamia* his grandmother, which had more gold and ſiluer, then all the LACEDÆMONIANS elſe, he began to ſpurn againſt theſe womaniſh delights & pleaſures, in making him ſelfe fayer to be the better beliked, and to be fine and trimme in his apparell, and to caſt vpon him a plaine Spaniſh cape, taking pleaſure in the diet, bathes, and manner of the ancient LACONIAN life: and openly boaſted beſides, that he would not deſire to be king, but onely for the hope he had to reſtore the ancient LACONIAN life by his authority. Then began the ſtate of LACEDÆMON firſt to be corrupted, and to leaue her ancient diſcipline, when the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing ſubdued the empire of the ATHENIANS, ſtored themſelues & coūtrie both, with plenty of gold & ſiluer. But yet reſeruing ſtill the lands left vnto them by ſucceſſion from their fathers, according vnto *Lycurgus* firſt ordinance and inſtitution, for diuiſion of lands amongſt them: which ordinance, and equalitie being inuiolably kept amongſt them, did yet preſerue the common wealth from defamation of diuerſe other notorious crimes: vntill the time of the authoritie of *Epitadeus*, one of the Ephores, a ſeditious man, and of proud conditions: who bitterly falling out with his owne ſon, preferred a law, that euery man might lawfully giue his lands and goods whileſt he liued, or after his death by teſtament, vnto any man whom he liked or thought well of. Thus this mā made this law to ſatiſfie his anger, & others alſo did confirme it for couetouſneſſe ſake, and ſo ouerthrew a noble ordinance. For the rich men then began to buy lands of numbers, and ſo transferred it from the right & lawfull heires: whereby a few men in ſhort time being made very rich, immediatly after there fell out great pouertie in the citie of SPARTA, which made all honeſt ſciences to ceaſe, & brought in thereupon vnlawfull occupations, who enuyed them that were wealthy. Therefore, there remained not aboue ſeuen hundred naturall citizens of SPARTA in all, & of them, not aboue a hundred that had lands and inheritance: for all the reſt were poore people in the citie, and were of no countenance nor calling, & beſides that, went vnwillingly to the warres againſt their enemies, looking euery day for ſturre and change in the citie. *Agis* therefore thinking it a notable good act (as in deede it was) to repleniſh the citie of SPARTA againe, and to bring in the old equalitie, he moued the matter vnto the citizens. He found the youth (againſt all hope) to giue good eare vnto him, and very well giuen vnto vertue, eaſily changing their garments & life, to recouer their libertie againe. But the oldeſt men, which were now euen rotten with couetouſneſſe and corruption, they were affraide to returne againe to the ſtraight ordinances of *Lycurgus*, as a ſlaue and runnagate from his Maſter, that trembleth when he is brought back againe vnto him. Therfore they reproued *Agis*, when he did lament before them their preſent miſerable eſtate, and wiſh alſo for the former auncient honour and true dignitie of SPARTA. Howbeit *Lyſander* the ſonne of *Lybis*, and *Mandroclidas* the ſonne of *Ecphanes*, and *Ageſilaus* alſo, greatly commended his noble deſire, and perſwaded him to goe forward withall. This *Lyſander* was of great authority and eſtimation amongeſt them in the city, *Mandroclidas* was alſo very wiſe, and carefull about any matter of counſell, and with his wiſdome and policy, very valiant: *Ageſilaus* in like manner, the kings Vncle, and an eloquent man, was very effeminate and couetous, and yet prickt forward to giue his furtheraunce to this attempt as it appeared, by his ſonne *Hippomedon*, who was a noble good ſouldier, and could doe very much, by meanes of the loue and good will the young men did beare him. But in deede, the ſecrete cauſe that brought *Ageſilaus* to conſent vnto this practiſe, was the greatneſſe of his debt which he ought, of the which he hoped to be diſcharged by chaunging of the ſtate and common wealth. Now when *Agis* had wonne him, he ſought by his meanes to draw his mother alſo vnto the matter, which was *Ageſilaus* ſiſter. Shee could doe very much by the number of her friendes, followers, and debters in the city, by whoſe meanes ſhee ruled the moſt part of the affaires of the city after her owne pleaſure. But the young man *Hippomedon* making her priuie vnto it, at the firſt ſhe was amazed withall, and bad him hold his peace if he were wiſe, and not meddle in matters vnpoſſible & vnprofitable. But when *Ageſilaus* had told her what a notable act it would be, and how eaſily it might be brought to paſſe, with maruellous great profit: and that king *Agis* beganne alſo to ſtraine her with great intreaty, that ſhe ſhould willingly depart
with

*The beginning of the Lacedæmonians fall, from their ancient diſcipline*

*Lycurgus rhetra, for partition of lands, broken by Epitadeus law. Epitadeus law for deuiſe of lands by will.*

*Agis goeth about to reduce the common wealth to her ancient eſtate.*

with her goods to win her ſonne honor and glorie: who though he could not in money and riches come to be like vnto other kings (becauſe the ſlaues and factors onely of the kings *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy*, had more money then all the kings of SPARTA had together that euer raigned) yet if in temperance, thriftines, and noble mind (exceeding all their vanities) he could come to reſtore the LACEDÆMONIANS againe vnto equalitie: that then indeede he ſhould be counted a noble king. Theſe women being ſtirred vp with ambition by theſe perſwaſions of the young man, ſeing him ſo nobly bent, as if by the gods their mindes had ſecretly bene inflamed with the loue of vertue: did preſently alter their mindes in ſuch ſort, that they themſelues did pricke forward *Agis*, and ſent for their friends to pray and intreate them to fauor his enterpriſe: and furthermore they brought on other women alſo, knowing that the LACEDÆMONIANS did euer heare and beleue their wiues, ſuffering them to vnderſtand more of the affayres of the ſtate, then they themſelues did of their priuate eſtate at home. Herein is to be conſidered, that the moſt part of the riches of LACEDÆMON was in the hands of the women, and therefore they were againſt it, not only becauſe thereby they were cut off from their fines and exceſſe, in the which being ignorant of the true good indeede, they put all their felicitie: but alſo becauſe they ſawe their honour and authoritie which they had by their riches, cleane troden vnder foote. Therefore they comming to *Leonidas*, they did perſwade him to reproue *Agis*, becauſe he was elder man than he, and to let that this enterpriſe went not forward. *Leonidas* did what he could in fauour of the rich, but fearing the common people, who deſired nothing but alteration, he durſt not openly ſpeake againſt him, but ſecretly he did the beſt he could to hinder *Agis* practiſe, talking with the Magiſtrates of the citie, and accuſing *Agis* vnto them, he told them how he did offer the rich mens goods vnto the poore, the diuiſion of their landes, and the aboliſhing of all debts, for rewarde to put the tyrannie into his handes, and that thereby he got him a ſtrong guard vnto himſelfe, but not many citizens vnto SPARTA. This notwithſtanding, king *Agis* hauing procured *Lyſander* to be choſen one of the Ephores, he preſently perferred his lawe vnto the councell. The articles whereof were theſe: That ſuch as were in debt, ſhould be cleered of all their debts, and that the landes alſo ſhould be diuided into equall partes: ſo that from the valley of Pallena vnto mount Taugetus, and vnto the cities of MALEA and SELASIA, there ſhould be foure thouſand fiue hundred partes, and without thoſe boundes, there ſhould be in all the reſt, fifteene thouſand partes, the which ſhould be diſtributed vnto their neighbours meete to carie weapon: and the reſt vnto the naturall SPARTANS. The number of them ſhould be repleniſhed with their neighbors and ſtrangers in like manner, which ſhould be very well brought vp, and be able men beſides to ſerue the common wealth: all the which afterwardes ſhould be deuided into fifteene companies, of the which, ſome ſhould receiue two hundred, & others foure hundred men, & ſhould liue according to the old auncient inſtitution obſerued by their aunceſtors. This lawe being preferred vnto the Senate, the Senators grew to diuerſe opinions vppon it. Whereupon *Lyſander* him ſelfe aſſembled the great councell of all the people, and there ſpake vnto them him ſelfe, and *Mandroclidas*, and *Ageſilaus* alſo, praying them not to ſuffer the honor of SPARTA to be troden vnder foote, for the vanitie of a few: but that they would remember the auncient oracles of the goddes, warning them to beware of auarice, as of the plague and deſtruction of the common wealth: and of the late oracle alſo brought vnto them, from the temple of *Paſiphaë*. The temple and oracle of *Paſiphaë*, was famous at the city of THALAMES: and ſome ſay, that *Paſiphaë* was one of the Daughters of *Atlas*, which was gotten with child by *Iupiter*, and was deliuered of a ſon called *Hammon*. Other think that it was *Caſſandra*, one of king *Priamus* Daughters that died there, which was ſurnamed *Paſiphaë*, becauſe ſhe gaue all the anſwers and oracles of things to come. But *Phylarchus* writeth, that *Daphné* the Daughter of *Amycla*, flying from *Apollo* that would haue rauiſhed her, was turned into a lawrell tree, and honored by *Apollo* with the gift of propecy. So, they ſaid that this oracle of the god commaunded them, that the SPARTANS ſhould againe returne vnto their former auncient equality, ſtabliſhed firſt by *Lycurgus* law. When euery man els had ſpoken, king *Agis* riſing vp, briefly ſpeaking vnto the people, ſayed: that he would beſtow great contributions for the reformation of this common wealth, which hee was deſirous to reſtore againe. For firſt of all, he would make common

*How louing the Lacedæmonians were vnto their wiues.*

*Agis law.*

*Paſiphaë, the Daughter of Atlas.*

all his arable and paſture he had, and beſides that, he would ad to ſixe hundreth talents in ready money, and ſo much ſhould his mother, grandmother, kinſmen and friends, all the which were the richeſt and wealthieſt in SPARTA. When the people heard what he ſayd, they maruelled much at the noble minde of this young king, and were very glad of it, ſaying: that for three hundreth yeres ſpace together, the city of SPARTA had not ſo worthy a king as he. But *Leonidas* contrarily aſſayed with all his power he could to reſiſt him, thinking with himſelfe, that if king *Agis* purpoſe tooke place, he ſhould alſo be compelled to doe as he did, and yet he ſhould haue no thankes, but king *Agis*: becauſe that all the SPARTANS indifferently ſhould be compelled to make their goods in common, but the honor ſhould be his onely that firſt began it. So he asked *Agis*, whether he thought *Lycurgus* had bene a good and iuſt man or not. *Agis* anſwered, that he had bene. Then replyed *Leonidas*, did you euer ſee that he had taken away and aboliſhed any debts, or had receiued ſtrangers into the number of the Citizens of SPARTA? Who contrarily thought his common wealth vnperfect, if all ſtrangers were not baniſhed the citie. *Agis* againe aunſwered him: that he maruelled not that *Leonidas* being brought vp in a ſtrange coũtrie, and alſo maried there in a noblemans houſe, he ſhould be ignorant of *Lycurgus* lawes, who baniſhing gold and ſiluer out of his citie, did therewithall exile debt and lending. And for ſtraungers he hated them that would not conforme them ſelues vnto the maners and faſhions of life which he inſtituted, and thoſe they were which he baniſhed: not for any ill will he bare vnto their perſons, but becauſe he feared their manners of life, leaſt that mingling them with the citizens, they ſhould make them runne after vanitie and couetouſnes to be rich. For otherwiſe, *Terpander*, *Thales*, and *Pherecydes*, which were all ſtrangers, were maruelloully reuerenced and honored in SPARTA in olde time, becauſe they did ſing in their writings, the ſelfe ſame things which *Lycurgus* had eſtabliſhed in his lawes. And thou thy ſelfe alſo doeſt commend *Ecprepes*, being one of the Ephores, becauſe he did cut with a hatchet the two ſtrings which *Phrynis* the Muſitian had added vnto the Citherne, more then the ſeuen common ſtrings, and thoſe alſo which did the like vnto *Timotheus*: and yet thou reproueſt me, becauſe I goe about to roote out all exceſſe and pride out of SPARTA, as though thoſe men did not farre off preuent that theſe ſuperfluous ſtrings of the muſicke, delighting the citizens mindes too much with their ſongs, ſhould not cauſe them fall vnto ſuch trade and manner of life, as ſhould make the citie at diſcorde with it ſelfe. After this contention, the common people did ſticke vnto king *Agis*, and the rich men followed *Leonidas*, praying and perſwading him not to forſake them: and further, they did ſo intreate the Senators, in whom conſiſteth the chiefe authoritie, to determine and diſgeſt all matters before they be propounded vnto the people, that they ouerthrew the law, by the onely voice of one man more. Wherefore *Lyſander* who was yet in office, attempted to accuſe *Leonidas* by an auncient law, forbidding that none of the race of *Hercules* ſhould marry with any ſtrange woman, nor beget children of her: and ſayed further, that no man vppon paine of death ſhould dwell any where, but in SPARTA. When hee had inſtructed others to obiect theſe things againſt *Leonidas*, he with other of his colleagues obſerued a ſigne in the element, the ceremony wherof was in this ſorte: Euery nineth yeare, the Ephori chooſing a bright night without moonelight, did ſit downe in ſome open place, and behelde the ſtarres in the element, to ſee if they ſaw any ſtarre ſhoote from one place to an other: if they did, then they accuſed their kings that they had offended the goddes, and did depriue them of their kingdome, vntill ſome oracle came from DELPHES or *Olympus*, or reſtore them againe. *Lyſander* then declaring that he had ſeene a ſtarre flie in the element, did therefore accuſe king *Leonidas*, and brought forth witneſſes againſt him: how he had maried a woman of ASIA, the which one of king *Seleucus* Lieutenants had giuen him in mariage, and that he had two children by her: and afterwardes being forſaken of his wife that refuſed him, he returned againe into his country againſt his will: & ſo had poſſeſſed the kingdom for lack of a lawful heir. So following his accuſation in this maner againſt him, he allured *Cleombrotus* his ſon in law, being alſo of the kings bloud, to make title to the crowne. *Leonidas* being afraied of the ſucceſſe hereof, tooke ſanctuary in the temple of *Iuno*, ſurnamed *Chalceæcos*, & his daughter with him, who forſooke her huſband *Cleombrotus*. *Leonidas* then being cited to appeare in perſon, & making default, they depoſed him, and made

*Agis maketh his goods cōmō.*

*Leonidas reſiſteth king Agis*

*King Leonidas accuſed by Lyſander.*

*Leonidas depriued of his kingdome.*

*Cleombrotus* king. In the mean time *Lyſanders* office expired, & the new Ephori which ſucceded him, did deliuer *Leonidas* again, and accuſed *Lyſander* & *Mandroclidas*, becauſe againſt the law, they had aboliſhed all debts, & had againe made new diuiſion of lands. When they ſawe they were openly accuſed, they incenſed both the kings; that ioyning together, they ſhould make the Ephores ordinances of no effect: declaring that their authoritie was onely erected for the diſcord of the two kings, becauſe they ſhould giue their voices vnto that king that had the beſt iudgment & reaſon, whē the other would wilfully withſtand both right & reaſon: & therfore, they two agreing together, might lawfully do what they would, without controlment of any perſon: & that to reſiſt the kings, was a breaking of the law, ſith that by right the Ephori had no other priuiledge & authority, but to be iudges & arbitrators betwene thē, whē there was any cauſe of iarre or controuerſie. Both the kings being caried away by this perſuaſion, went into the market place accōpanied with their frends, plucked the Ephores from their ſeats, & put others in their roomes, of the which *Ageſilaus* was one. Furthermore, they armed a great number of yong men, & opening the priſons, did ſet the priſoners at liberty: the which made their aduerſaries afraid of thē doubting ſome great murther would haue followed vpon it, howbeit no man had any hurt. For *Ageſilaus* being bent to kill *Leonidas*, who fled to the city of TEGEA, & hauing alſo layd men in wait for him by the way: king *Agis* hearing of it, ſent thither other friends of his in whō he put great confidence & they did accōpany *Leonidas*, & brought him ſafely vnto the city of TEGEA. Thus their purpoſe taking effect, & no man cōtrarying thē: one man only *Ageſilaus* ouerthrew all, & daſhed a noble LACONIAN law by a ſhameful vice, which was couetouſnes. For he being a great landed man, & hauing the beſt lands of any man in the coūtry, & owing a great ſumme of mony beſides: would neither pay his debts nor let go his land. Wherfore he perſuaded king *Agis*, that if he went about to ſtabliſh both together, he ſhould raiſe a great vprore in the city, and withall, if he did firſt win them that were landed men, preferring at the beginning the cutting off of dets only: then that they would eaſily & willingly alſo accept the law of partitiō of lands: *Lyſander* was alſo of this opiniō: wherby king *Agis* and he both were deceiued by *Ageſilaus* ſubtilty. So they cōmanded al the creditors to bring their bonds, obligations, and bils of det (which the LACEDÆMONIANS do call Claria) into the market place, & there laying them on a heape together, they did ſet fire on them. Whē the vſurers & creditors ſaw their writings obligatory a fire, they departed thence with heauie harts: But *Ageſilaus* mocking thē ſaid he neuer ſaw a brighter fire in his life. The people then requiring that the lands alſo ſhould be preſently deuided, & the kings likewiſe cōmanding it: *Ageſilaus* ſtill interpoſing ſome cauſe of let, delayed time, vntill oportunity ſerued, that king *Agis* ſhould go to the warres, for that the ACHAIANS their confederats had praied aid of LACEDÆMON, being bound therunto by the league confirmed betwene them, becauſe they looked daily that the ÆTOLIANS cōming through the coūtry of MEGARA, would inuade PELOPONNESVS. *Aratus* general of the ACHAIANS had leuied a great army to withſtād their inuaſion, & had alſo written vnto the Ephores, that they ſhould ſend thē aide. Whereupon they preſently ſent king *Agis*, perceiuing alſo the readines and good wil of the ſoldiers which were appointed to go with him: for the moſt of them were yong men & needy, who ſeing thēſelues diſcharged of the feare of their dets, & hoping alſo at their return, that the lāds likewiſe ſhould be deuided among thē: they went with glad harts, and were obedient to king *Agis*. So that the cities where through they paſſed, wondred how they came through PELOPONNESVS, from the one ſide to the other, very quietly, without noyſe or offence to any man. Likewiſe many GRECIANS calling to mind the ancient times, told one another, that it was a noble ſight thē to ſee the army of LACEDÆMON, whē they were led by *Ageſilaus*, *Lyſāder*, & *Leonidas*, famous captains: ſith now they ſaw ſo great obedience vnto *Agis* by his ſouldiers, who was in manner the yōgeſt man of al his camp: who alſo glorying to be contēt with litle, to away with paines, & not to be more coſtly apparelled, & armed thē any priuat ſouldier he had: he wan himſelfe therby a maruelous loue of the people. Howbeit the rich men liked not this change, & were afraid leſt *Agis* ſhould giue other people example to riſe alſo, & to doe the like with theirs, as he had done. *Agis* meting with *Aratus* by the city of CORINTH, euen as he was conſulting whether he ſhould fight with his enemy or not: ſhewed himſelf in his counſel, then no raſh, but a re-

*Leonidas flyeth vnto Tegea.*

*King Agis deceiued by Ageſilaus.*

*New lawes ſtabliſhed by the Lacedæmonians.*

*Aratus general of the Achaians.*

*King Agis iorney into Achaia*

*King Agis gaue place vnto Aratus.*

*King Leonidas returneth from exile into Sparta.*

*The naturall loue of Chelonis Leonidas daughter, vnto her father and husband.*

*The oration of Chelonis the daughter of Leonidas.*

ſolute & valiant man. For he told him, that for his opinion he thought it better to fight, & not to ſuffer the war to come any farther, leauing the entry into PELOPONNESVS free to their enemy: neuertheles, that he would do what *Aratus* thought good, becauſe he was the elder, and generall alſo of the ACHAIANS, whom he came not to cõmand, but to aide thẽ. But *Baton* SINOPIAN writeth that king *Agis* would not fight, though *Aratus* was willing: howbeit he had not read that which *Aratus* had writtẽ for his excuſe & iuſtificatiõ, aleaging there that the farmers & husbandmẽ hauing brought al the corn into their barnes, he thought it better to ſuffer the enemies to come farther into their cõutrie, rather then to hazard battell, to the loſſe of the whole cõutry of PELOPONNESVS, & that therfore he licenced al the confederats to depart & brake vp his army. So king *Agis* returned home again, greatly honored of them that ſerued with him in his iorney, finding the citie of SPARTA then in great broile and trouble. For *Ageſilaus* at that time being one of the Ephores, finding himſelfe rid of the feare which before kept him vnder: cared not what iniurie or miſchiefe he did vnto any citizen, ſo he might get money. For amongſt other things, that very yeare he made them paye beyond all reaſon the tillages and taxes due vnto the cõmon wealth for thirteene moneths, adding to the thirteenth moneth aboue the ordinarie time of the yeare. Wherefore perceiuing euerie manne hated him, and being afrayd of them he had offended: he kept ſouldiers about him, armed with their ſwords, and ſo came downe into the market place among them. And for the two kings, he made no account of the one: but of the other that was *Agis*, he ſeemed outwardly to make good account, rather for kindreds ſake, then for his dignitie of a king, and furthermore gaue it out abroad, that he would alſo be one of the Ephores the next yere following. Wherupon, his enemies ſpeedely to preuent the danger gathered force together, & openly brought king *Leonidas* from TEGEA, to reſtore him again to his kingdom. The people were glad to ſe that, becauſe they were angry they had bene mocked in that ſort, for that the lands were not deuided according vnto promiſe. Furthermore *Hippomedon* was ſo wel beloued for his valiantnes of euery man, that intreating the people for his father *Ageſilaus*, he ſaued his life, and got him out of the citie. But for the two kings, *Agis* tooke ſanctuarie in the temple of *Iuno Chalceæcos*. And *Cleombrotus* the other king fled into the temple of *Neptune*: for it ſeemed that *Leonidas* being much more offended with him, did let king *Agis* alone, and went againſt him with certen ſouldiers armed. Then he ſharpely taunted him, that being his ſonne in law, he had conſpired againſt him to depriue him of his kingdom, and had driuen him out of his countrie. But then *Cleombrotus* not hauing a word to ſay, ſate ſtill, and made him no aunſwer. Whereupon, his wife *Chelonis*, the daughter of *Leonidas*, who before was offended for the iniurie they did her father, and had left her husband *Cleombrotus*, that had vſurped the kingom from him, to ſerue her father in his aduerſity, & while he was in ſanctuarie tooke part with him alſo of his miſery, & afterwards when he went vnto the citie of TEGEA, wore blacks for ſorrow, being offended with her husband: ſhe contrarily then changing her anger with her husbands fortune and miſerie, became alſo an humble ſuter with him, ſitting downe by him, and imbracing him, hauing her two litle ſonnes on either ſide of them. All men wondering, and weeping for pitie to ſee the goodnes and naturall loue of this Ladie, who ſhewing her mourning apparell, & haire of her head flaring about her eyes, bareheaded: ſhe ſpake in this manner vnto her father. O father mine, this ſorowfull garment and countenance is not for pitie of *Cleombrotus*, but hath long remained with mee, lamenting ſore your former miſery and exile: but nowe, which of the two ſhould I rather chooſe, either to continue a mourner in this pitifull ſtate, ſeeing you againe reſtored to your kingdome, hauing ouercome your enemies: or elſe putting on my princely apparell, to ſee my husband ſlaine, vnto whom you maried me a mayde? who if he cannot moue you to take compaſſion on him, and to obtaine mercie, by the teares of his wife and children: he ſhall then abide more bitter paine of his euill counſell, then that which you intend to make him ſuffer. For he ſhall ſee his wife dye before him, whom he loueth more deerely then any thing in the world. Alſo, with what face can I look vpon other Ladies, when I could neuer bring my father to pity by any interceſſiõ I could make for my husband, neither my husband, intreate him for my father: and that my hap is to be borne, a daughter and wife alwaies moſt vnfortunate, and deſpiſed of mine owne? And for my husband, if he had any reaſon to doe that he did, I then tooke it from him, by taking your parte, and proteſting againſt him: and contrarily, your ſelfe doth giue him honeſt colour to excuſe his fault, when he ſeeth in you the deſire of the kingdome ſo great, that for the loue thereof, you thinke it lawfull to kill your ſons in law, and alſo not to regard the children he hath gotten, for her ſake. *Chelonis* pitifully complaining in this ſorte, putting her face vpon *Cleombrotus* head, caſt her ſwollen and blubbering eyes vpon the ſtanders by. Wherefore *Leonidas* after he had talked a litle with his friends, he commanded *Cleombrotus* to get him thence and to leaue the citie as an exile: & prayed his daughter for his ſake to remain with him, and not to forſake her father, that did ſo dearely loue her, as for her ſake he had ſaued her husbands life. This notwithſtanding, ſhe would not yeld to his requeſt, but riſing vp with her husband, gaue him one of his ſons & her ſelf took the other in her armes: & then making her prayer before the alter of the goddeſſe, ſhe went as a baniſhed woman away with her husband. And truely the example of her vertue was ſo famous, that if *Cleombrotus* mind had not bene too much blinded with vaine glorie, he had cauſe to thinke his exile farre more happie, to enioy the loue of ſo noble a wife as he had, then for the kingdom which he poſſeſſed without her. Then *Leonidas* hauing baniſhed king *Cleombrotus* out of the citie, and remouing the firſt Ephores, had ſubſtituted other in their place: he preſently bethought him howe he might craftily come by king *Agis*. Firſt, he perſwaded him to come out of the ſanctuarie, and to gouerne the kingdom ſafely with him, declaring vnto him that his citizens had forgiuen him all that was paſt, becauſe they knew he was deceiued, and ſubtilly circumuented by *Ageſilaus* craft being a young man, ambitious of honor. *Agis* would not leaue the ſanctuarie for *Leonidas* cunning perſwaſion, but miſtruſted all that he ſayed vnto him. Wherefore *Leonidas* would no more beguile him with faier words. But *Amphares*, *Demochares*, and *Arceſilaus*, did often times go to viſit king *Agis*, and otherwhile alſo they got him out of the ſanctuarie with them vnto the bath, and brought him backe againe into the temple, when he had bathed. But *Amphares* hauing borrowed not long before, certain rich apparel & plate of *Ageſiſtrata*, becauſe he would not redeliuer them againe, he determined to betray king *Agis*, his mother and grandmother. And it is reported that he chiefely did ſerue *Leonidas* turne, and prouoked the Ephores (of which number he was one) againſt *Agis*. Now therfore, *Agis* keping all the reſt of his time within the temple, ſauing whē he went vpon occaſion to the bath: they determined to intercept him by the way, and to take him when he was out of the ſanctuarie. So they watched him one day when he came and bathed and came & ſaluted him as their maner was, & ſeemed to accompany him, ſporting, and being mery with him, as with a young man their familiar. But when they came to the turning of a ſtreet that went towards the priſon, *Amphares* laying hold on him, being one of the Ephores, ſaid vnto him: I arreſt thee *Agis*, and will bring thee before the Ephores, to giue account of thy doings in the cōmon wealth. Then *Demochares*, which was a great mightie man caſt his gown ouer his eares, & pulled him forward: others alſo thruſted him forward behind him, as they had agreed together. So no man being nere them to helpe *Agis*, they got him into priſon. Then came *Leonidas* incontinently with a great number of ſouldiers that were ſtrangers, and beſet the priſon round about. The Ephores went into the priſon, and ſent vnto ſome of the Senate to come vnto them, whom they knew to be of their mind: then they cōmanded *Agis*, as if it had bene iudicially, to giue account of the alteration he had made in the common wealth. The young man laughed at their hypocriſie. But *Amphares* told him that it was no laughing ſport, & that he ſhould pay for his folly. Then another of the Ephores ſeeming to deale more fauorably with him, & to ſhew him a way, how he might eſcape the condēnation for his fault: asked him if he had not bene intiſed vnto it by *Ageſilaus* and *Lyſander*. *Agis* anſwered, that no man compelled him, but that he onely did it to follow the ſteppes of the ancient *Lycurgus*, to bring the common wealth vnto the former eſtate of his graue ordinance and inſtitution. Then the ſame Senator asked him againe, if he did not repent him of that he had done. The young man boldly anſwered him, that he would neuer repent him of ſo wiſe and vertuous an enterpriſe, though he ventured his life for it. Then they condemned him to death, and commanded the Sergeants to carie him into the Decade, which was a place in the priſon where they were ſtrangled, that were condemned to die. *Demochares* perceiuing the Sergeantes durſt not laye

*The baniſhmēt of king Cleombrotus.*

*The great vertue and loue of Chelonis, to her husband Cleombrotus.*

*Amphares betrayeth king Agis.*

*King Agis caried to priſon.*

*Note the reuerent regard of the heathē vnto the perſon of a king, abhorring to lay violent hands vpon him.*

*King Agis his mother, and grandmother, all three ſtrangled.*

*The enemies did not willingly kill any king of Lacedæmon.*

hold of him,and likewiſe that the ſouldiers which were ſtrangers,did abhor to commit ſuch a fact contrarie to the law of god and man, to lay violent hands vpon the perſon of a king: he threatned and reuiled them,and dragged *Agis* perforce into that place called the Decade. Now the rumor ranne ſtraight through the citie,that king *Agis* was taken,& a multitude of people were at the priſon dores with lights & torches. Thither came alſo king *Agis* mother & grandmother ſhreeking out & praying that the king of SPARTA might yet be heard and iudged by the people. For this cauſe they haſtened his death the ſooner, and were afraid beſides, leaſt the people in the night would take him out of their hands by force,if there came any more people thither. Thus king *Agis* being led to his death, ſpied a ſargeant lamenting & weping for him, vnto whom he ſayed: good fellow I pray thee weepe not for me, for I am honeſter man than they that ſo ſhamefully put me to death, & with thoſe words he willingly put his hed into the halter. *Amphares* then going out of the priſon into the ſtreet,found *Ageſiſtrata* there king *Agis* mother, who ſtraight fell downe at his feete: but he taking her vp againe,in old familiar manner,as being her very friend,told her that they ſhould do king *Agis* no hurte, & that ſhe might if ſhe would,go & ſee him. Then ſhe prayed, that they would alſo let her mother in with her. *Amphares* ſayed, with a good will: and ſo put them both into the priſon houſe, and made the dores be ſhut after them. But when they were within,he firſt gaue *Archidamia* vnto the ſergeants to be put to death, who was a maruellous olde woman, and had liued more honorably vnto that age, then any Ladie or Matrone beſide her in the citie. She being executed, he commanded *Ageſiſtrata* alſo to come in. Who when ſhe ſawe the bodie of her dead ſonne layed on the ground, & her mother alſo hanging on the gallowes: ſhe did her ſelfe helpe the hangman to plucke her downe, and layed her body by her ſonnes. Then hauing couered her in decent manner,ſhe layed her downe on the ground by the corps of her ſonne *Agis*, and kiſſing his cheeke ſayd: out alas my ſonne, thy great modeſtie, goodnes,and clemencie, brought thee and vs vnto this death. Then *Amphares* peeping in at the dore to ſee what was done, hearing what ſhe ſayed, came in withall in a great rage, and ſayed: I perceiue that thou haſt alſo bene of councell with thy ſonne, and ſithence it is ſo, thou ſhalt alſo followe him. Then ſhee riſing alſo to be ſtrangled, ſayed: the goddes graunt yet that this may profit SPARTA. This horrible murther being blowen abroade in the citie, and the three dead bodies alſo brought out of priſon: the feare though it were great amongſt the people, could not keep them backe from apparant ſhew of griefe, and manifeſt hate againſt *Leonidas* and *Amphares*,thinking that there was neuer a more wicked and crueller fact committed in SPARTA,ſince the DORIANS came to dwell in PELOPONNESVS. For the very enemies thēſelues in battell, would not willingly lay hands vpō the kings of LACEDÆMON,but did forbeare as much as they could poſſible,both for feare & reuerence they bare vnto their maieſtie. For in many great battels & cōflicts which the LACEDÆMONIANS had againſt the GRECIANS,there was neuer any king of LACEDÆMON ſlain,before *Philips* time,but *Cleōbrotus* only,who was ſlaine with a dart at the battell of LEVCTRES. Some write alſo that the MESSENIANS holde opinion, that their *Ariſtomenes* ſlue *Theopompus*:howbeit the LACEDÆMONIANS ſayed,that he was but hurt not ſlaine. But hereof there are diuerſe opinions:but it is certaine that *Agis* was the firſt king whō the Ephores euer put to death: for that he had layed a plot of a noble deuiſe, and worthy of SPARTA,being of that age when men doe eaſily pardon them that offend: and was rather to be accuſed of his friends & enemies,becauſe he had ſaued *Leonidas* life, and had truſted other men, as the beſt natured young man that could be.

*Here beginneth Cleomenes life.*

*Cleomenes the ſonne of Leonidas*

*Agiatis the daughter of Gylippus, and wife of king Agis.*

*Agiatis king Agis wife, maried vnto Cleomenes.*

Now *Agis* hauing ſuffered in this ſort,*Leonidas* was not quicke enough to take *Archidamus* his brother alſo,for he fled preſently. Yet he brought *Agis* wife out of her houſe by force,with a litle boy ſhe had by him,and maried her vnto his ſonne *Cleomenes*, who was yet vnder age to marie: fearing leaſt this young Ladye ſhould be beſtowed elſe where, being indeede a great heire, and of a rich houſe, and the daughter of *Gylippus*,called by her name *Agiatis*, beſides that ſhe was the faireſt woman at that time in all GRECE, and the vertuouſeſt, and beſt conditioned. Wherfore for diuers reſpectes ſhe prayed ſhe might not be forced to it. But now being at length maried with *Cleomenes*,ſhe euer hated *Leonidas* to the death, and yet was a good and louing wife vnto her young husband: who immediatly after he was maried vnto her, fell greatly in fancie with her, and for compaſſions ſake (as it ſeemed) he thanked her for the loue ſhe bare vnto her firſt husbande, and for the louing remembraunce ſhe had of him: inſomuch as he himſelfe many times would fall in talke of it, and woulde be inquiſitiue howe things had paſſed, taking great pleaſure to heare of *Agis* wiſe counſell and purpoſe. For *Cleomenes* was as deſirous of honor, and had as noble a minde as *Agis*, and was borne alſo to temperancie, and moderation of life, as *Agis* in like manner was: howbeit, he had not, that ſhamefaſt modeſtie and lenitie, which the other had, but was ſomewhat more ſturring of nature, & readier to put any good matter in execution. So he thought it great honeſtie, to bring the Citizens if that he could, to be contented to liue after an honeſt ſorte: but contrarily, he thought it no diſhoneſtie to bring them vnto good life, by compulſion alſo. Furthermore the manners of the Citizens of Sparta, giuing themſelues ouer to idlenes and pleaſure, did nothing like him at all: neither that the king did ſuffer the common wealth to be ruled as they liſted, ſo no man impeached his pleaſure, and that they did let him alone: inſomuch, no man regarding the profit of the common wealth, euery man was for himſelfe, and his family. And contrarily it was not lawfull for any man to ſpeake for the exerciſes of the youth, for their education in temperancie, and for the reſtoring againe of equalitie of life, the preferment whereof was, the only cauſe of the late death of *Agis*. They ſay alſo, that *Cleomenes* being a young ſtripling had heard ſome diſputation of Philoſophie, when the Philoſopher *Sphærus*, of the coũtry of Borysthenes came to Lacedæmon, and louingly ſtayed there to teache young men and children. He was one of the chiefeſt ſchollers of *Zenon* Citian, and delghted (as it ſeemed) in *Cleomenes* noble minde, and had a great deſire to pricke him forward vnto honor. For as it is reported, that the ancient *Leonidas* being demaunded what Poet he thought *Tyrtæus* to be, aunſwered he was good to flatter young mens mindes: for he ſette their hartes on fire by his verſes, when they beganne to fight any battell, fearing no danger, they were ſo encouraged by them. So the Stoicke diſcipline is ſomewhat daungerous, for the ſtoute and valiaut mindes, which otherwiſe doeth make them deſperate: ſo when they are ioyned vnto a graue and gentle nature, firſt it lifteth vp his heart, and then maketh him taſt the profit thereof. Nowe *Leonidas* (the father of *Cleomenes*) being deceaſed, and he himſelfe alſo come vnto the crowne finding that the Citizens of Sparta at that time were very diſſolute, that the rich men followed their pleaſure and profit, taking no care for the common wealth, that the poore men alſo for very want and neede, went with no good life and courage to the warres, neither cared for the bringing vp of their children, and that he himſelfe had but the name of a king, and the Ephori the abſolute authoritie to doe what they liſted: at his firſt comming to his kingdome, he determined to alter the whole ſtate and gouernement of the common wealth. Who hauing a friend called *Xenares*, that had bene his louer in his youth (which the Lacedæmonians called Empniſtæ, as much as inſpired) he beganne to ſound his opinion, asking what manner of man king *Agis* had bene, and by what reaſon, and whoſe aduiſe he had followed in his attempt for the reformation of the commen wealth. *Xenares* at the firſt did not willingly rehearſe theſe things vnto him, declaring euery thing what had paſſed. But when he found that *Cleomenes* was affected vnto king *Agis* intent, & ſtill deſired to heare of it: then *Xenares* ſharply and angrily reproued him, and tolde him he was not wiſe, nor well aduiſed, and at length would no more come and talke with him as he was wont, yet making no man priuie why he abſtained from comming to him but told them that asked him, he knewe a cauſe well enough why. *Xenares* nowe hauing thus refuſed him, and thinking all the reſt woulde doe the like: to bring this matter to paſſe, he tooke this reſolution with himſelfe. Becauſe he thought he might the rather doe it in warre, then in peace, he ſet the citie of Sparta and the Achaians at variance together: who did themſelues giue the firſt occaſion to be complained vpon. For *Aratus* being the Preſident and chiefe of all the Achaians, had practiſed a long time to bring all Peloponnesus into one bodie: and had therefore onely ſuſtained great troubles in warres, and at home in peace: thinking that there was no other waye to deliuer them from forraine warres. Nowe when he had wonne all the other people to be of his opinion: there remained no more but the Elians, the Lacedæmonians, & a fewe of the Archadians, which were ſubiect to the Lacedæmonians. When king *Leonidas* was dead,

*Sphærus a Philoſopher of Boriſthenes.*

*Cleomenes did ſet the Lacedæmonians and Achaians together by the eares.*

*Aratus* beganne to inuade the ARCHADIANS, thoſe ſpecially that bordered vpon the ARGIVES: to proue how the LACEDÆMONIANS would take it, making no account of *Cleomenes*, being but a yong king, & had no experience of warres. Thereupon the Ephori ſent *Cleomenes* vnto ATHÆNIVM (a temple of *Minerua* hard by the citie of BELBINA) with an army to take it: becauſe it was a paſſage and entry into the country of LACONIA, howbeit the place at that time was in queſtion betwixt the MEGALOPOLITANS & the LACEDÆMONIANS, *Cleomenes* got it, and fortified it. *Aratus* making no complaint otherwiſe of the matter, ſtole out one night with his armie to ſet vpon the TEGEANS, & ORCHOMENIANS, hoping to haue taken thoſe cities by treaſõ. But the traitors that were of his conſederacy, their harts failed thẽ when they ſhould haue gone about it: ſo that *Aratus* returned, hauing loſt his iorney, thinking that this ſecret attempt of his was not diſcouered. But *Cleomenes* finely wrote vnto him as his frend, and asked him, whither he had led his armie by night: *Aratus* returned anſwer againe, that vnderſtanding *Cleomenes* ment to fortifie BELBINA, he went forth with his armie, thinking to haue let him. *Cleomenes* wrote againe vnto him & ſaid he did beleue that which he ſpake was true: howbeit he earneſtly requeſted him, (if it were no trouble to him) to aduertiſe him why he brought ſcaling ladders and lightes after him. *Aratus* ſmiling at this mocke, asked what this yong mã was. *Democritus* LACEDÆMONIAN being a baniſhed man out of his coũtrie anſwered: if thou haſt any thing to doe againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, thou hadſt need make haſte, before this young Cockrel, haue on his ſpurres. Then *Cleomenes* being in the field in the countrie of ARCHADIA, with a few horſemen and three hundreth footmen only: the Ephori being afraid of warres, ſent for him to returne againe. His backe was no ſooner turned, obeying their commandement: but *Aratus* ſodainly tooke the citie of CAPHYES. Thereupon, the Ephori incontinently ſent *Cleomenes* backe againe with his armie: who took the fort of Methydrium, and burnt the borders of the ARGIVES. The ACHAIANS came againſt him with an armie of twentie thouſand footemen, and a thouſand horſemen led by *Ariſtomachus*: *Cleomenes* met with them by the city of PALANTIVM, & offred battell. But *Aratus* quaking at the hardines of this young man, would not ſuffer *Ariſtomachus* to hazard battell, but went his way derided by the ACHAIANS, & deſpiſed by the LACEDÆMONIANS: who in all were not aboue fiue thouſand fighting men. *Cleomenes* courage being now lift vp, & brauely ſpeaking to his citizens: he remembred them of a ſaying of one of their ancient kings, that the LACEDÆMONIANS neuer inquired what nũber their enemies were, but where they were. Shortly after, the ACHAIANS making warre with the ELIANS, *Cleomenes* was ſent to aid them & met with the armie of the ACHAIANS by the mountain Lyceum, as they were in their return: he ſetting vpon them, gaue them the ouerthrow, ſlue a great number of them, and tooke many alſo priſoners, that the rumor ranne through GRECE, how *Aratus* ſelfe was ſlaine. *Cleomenes* wiſely taking the occaſion which this victory gaue him: he went ſtraight to the city of MANTINEA, and taking it vpon a ſodaine, when no man knew of his comming, he put a ſtrong garriſon into it. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS harts failing them, & reſiſting *Cleomenes* enterpriſes, ouer wearying them with warres: he went about to ſend *Archidamus*, king *Agis* brother, being then at MESSENA, vnto whom the kingdõ of right belonged by the other houſe, ſuppoſing that he ſhoulde eaſily weaken the power of the Ephores, by the authoritie of the two kings, if both of them ioyned together. Which when the murtherers of king *Agis* vnderſtoode, being afraid that *Archidamus* returning from exile, he would be reuenged of them, they ſecretly receiued him into the citie, and founde the means to bring him into SPARTA. But when they had him, they put him ſtraight to death, whether it was vnwitting to *Cleomenes* (as *Phylarchus* plainly teſtifieth) or els with his priuitie, ſuffering them to make him away, by perſwaſion of his frends. But it is a clere caſe, the citie was burdened withall, becauſe probable matter fell out that they had compelled *Cleomenes* to doe it. Neuertheleſſe, he holding ſtill his firſt determination, to alter the ſtate of the common wealth of SPARTA, as ſoone as he could poſſible: he ſo fed the Ephores with money, that he brought them to be contented he ſhould make warre. He had alſo won many other citizens by the meanes of his mother *Crateſiclea*, who furniſht him with money, that he lacked not to honor him withall: and further, maried as it is reported, (being other wiſe not ment to marie) for her ſonnes ſake, vnto one of

*Cleomenes iorney into the countrie of the Argiues.*

*The victory of Cleomenes againſt Aratus. The ſaying of the kings of Lacedæmon touching their enemies.*

*Archidamus king Agis brother ſlaine.*

the wealthieſt men of all the citie. So *Cleomenes* leading his army into the field, wanne a place within the territory of Megalopolis, called Leuctra. The Achaians alſo being quickly come to their aide, led by *Aratus*: they ſtraight fought a battell by the citie ſelfe, where *Cleomenes* had the worſt on the one ſide of his armie. Howbeit *Aratus* would not ſuffer the Achaians to follow them, becauſe of bogges and quauemyres, but ſounded the retreate. But *Lyſiadas* a Megalopolitan being angry withal cauſed the horſemen he had about him to followe the chaſe, who purſued ſo fiercely, that they came amongſt vines, wals, and ditches, where he was driuen to diſperſe his men, and yet could not get out. *Cleomenes* perceiuing it, ſent the light horſemen of the Tarentins & Cretans againſt him: of whom *Lyſiadas* valiantly fighting was ſlaine. Then the Lacedæmonians being couragious for this victorie, came with great cries, & giuing a fierce charge vpon the Achaians, ouerthrew their whole armie, & ſlew a maruellous number of them: but yet *Cleomenes* at their requeſt ſuffered them to take vp the dead bodies of their men to burie them. For *Lyſiadas* corps, he cauſed it to be brought vnto him, and putting a purple robe vpon it, and a crowne on his head, ſent it in this aray vnto the very gates of the citie of Megalopolis. It was that ſelfe *Lyſiadas*, who giuing ouer the tyranny and gouernment of Megalopolis, made it a popular ſtate, and free citie, and ioyned it to the Achaians. After this victorie, *Cleomenes* that determined greater matters and attemptes, perſwaded himſelfe that if he might once come to ſtabliſh the affaires of the common wealth at Sparta to his mind, he might then eaſily ouercome the Achaians: brake with his father in law *Megiſtonus*, & told him that it was neceſſarie to take away the authoritie of the Ephores, and to make diuiſion of the lands among the Spartans, and then being brought to equalitie, to encorage them to recouer the Empire of Grece againe vnto the Lacedæmonians, which their predeceſſors before them, held and enioyed. *Megiſtonus* graunting his good will and furtherance, ioyned two or three of his friends more vnto him. It chaunced at that time that one of the Ephores lying in the temple of *Paſiphaé*, had a maruellous dreame in the night. For he thought he ſawe but one chaire ſtanding where the Ephori did vſe to ſit to giue audience, and that the other foure which were wont to be there, were taken away: and that maruelling at it, he heard a voice out of the temple that ſaid, that was the beſt for Sparta. He declaring this dreame the next morning vnto *Cleomenes*, it ſomewhat troubled him at the firſt, thinking that he came to feele him, for that he had heard ſome inckling of his intent. But when he perſwaded himſelfe that the other ment good faith, and lyed not vnto him, being bolder then before, he went forward with his purpoſe, and taking with him vnto the campe all thoſe Spartans which he ſuſpected to be againſt his enterpriſe, hee went and tooke the cities of Heræa & Alsea, confederats of the Achaians, & victualled Orchomena, and went and camped before the citie of Mantinea. In fine, he ſo wearied & ouerharried the Lacedæmonians by long iorneys, that at length they beſought him he would let them remaine in Arcadia, to repoſe themſelues there. In the meane time, *Cleomenes* with his ſtrangers which he had hyred, returned againe vnto Sparta, and imparted his intent by the way vnto them he truſted beſt, and marched at his owne eaſe, that he might take the Ephores at ſupper. When he came neere vnto the citie, he ſent *Euryclidas* before, into the hall of the Ephores, as though he brought them newes out of the campe from him. After him, he ſent alſo *Thericion* & *Phœbis*, and two other that had bene brought vp with him, whom the Lacedæmonians called the Samothracians, taking with them a few ſouldiers. Now whileſt *Euryclidas* was talking with the Ephores, they alſo came in vpon them with their ſwordes drawen, and did ſet vpon the Ephores. *Ageſilaus* was hurt firſt of all, and falling downe, made as though he had bene ſlaine, but by litle & litle he crept out of the hall, and got ſecretly into a chappell conſecrated vnto *Feare*, the which was wont euer to be kept ſhut, but then by chaunce was left open: when he was come in, he ſhut the dore faſt to him. The other foure of the Ephores were ſlaine preſently, and aboue tenne moe beſides, which came to defend them. Furthermore, for them that ſate ſtill and ſturred not, they killed not a man of them, neither did keepe any man that was deſirous to goe out of the citie: but moreouer, they pardoned *Ageſilaus*, who came the next morning out of the chappell of *Feare*. Amongſt the Lacedæmonians in the citie of Sparta, there are not onely temples of feare

*Lyſiadas ſlaine. Cleomenes victorie of the Achaians.*

*Lyſiadas tyrant of Megalopolis, gaue ouer his tyrannie, and made it a popular ſtate.*

*The dreame of one of the Ephores.*

*Cleomenes ſlew the Ephores.*

*Diuers temples at Sparta, of feare, death, and ſuch other fancies.*

and death, but alſo of laughter, and of many other ſuch paſſions of the minde. They doe worſhippe *Feare*, not as other ſpirites and deuils that are hurtfull: but becauſe they are perſwaded that nothing preſerueth a common wealth better than feare. Wherefore the Ephori (as *Ariſtotle* witneſſeth) when they are created, doe by publicke proclamation commaunde all the SPARTANS to ſhaue their chinnes, and to obey the law, leaſt they ſhould make them feele the rigour of the law. They brought in the ſhauing of their chins, in my opinion, to inure young men to obey the Magiſtrates euen in trifles. Moreouer it ſeemes that men in olde time did eſteeme fortitude to be no taking away of feare, but rather a feare and lothnes to incurre ſhame. For commonly thoſe that are moſt affraide to offende the lawe, are in the field moſt valiant againſt their enemie: and ſhunne no perill to winne fame and honeſt reputation. And therefore it was wiſely ſaid of one,

*The valianteſt men are moſt affraid to offend the law.*

*That feare can not be without ſhamefaſtnes.*

And ſo *Homer* in a certaine place made *Hellen* ſay vnto king *Priamus*:

*Of truth I doe confeſſe deere father in law,*  
*You are the man of whom I ſtand in aw,*  
*And reuerence moſt of all that euer I ſaw.*

And in an other place, ſpeaking of the GRECIAN ſouldiers, he ſaith thus:

*For feare of their Captaines they ſpake not a word.*

*The chappell of feare ioyned to the hall of the Ephores.*

*The oration of king Cleomenes touching the firſt original of the Ephores.*

For men do vſe to reuerence them whom they feare. And this was the cauſe why the chappell of *Feare* was by the hall of the Ephores, hauing in maner a princely and abſolute authoritie. The next morning *Cleomenes* baniſhed by trumpet, foure ſcore citizens of SPARTA, and ouerthrew all the chaires of the Ephores but one onely, the which he reſerued for himſelfe to ſit in to giue audience. Then calling the people to counſell, he gaue them an account of his doings, and told them that *Lycurgus* had ioyned the Senators with the kings, & how the citie had bene gouerned a long time by them, without helpe of any other officers. Notwithſtanding, afterwards the citie hauing great wars with the MESSENIANS, the kings being alwaies employed in that warre, whereby they could not attend the affaires of the common wealth at home, did chooſe certaine of their friendes to ſit in iudgement in their ſteades, to determine controuerſies of lawe: which were called Ephores, and did gouerne long time as the kings miniſters, howbeit that afterwards, by litle and litle, they tooke vpon them abſolute gouernment by themſelues. And for manifeſt proofe hereof, you ſee that at this preſent time when the Ephori do ſend for the king, the firſt and ſecond time, they refuſe to come, but the third time he riſeth and goeth vnto them. The firſt man that gaue the Ephores this authoritie, was *Aſteropus*, one of the Ephores many yeares after the firſt inſtitution of the kings: and yet if they had gouerned diſcreetely, peraduenture they might haue continued longer. But they licentiouſly abuſing their authoritie, by ſuppreſſing the lawfull Gouernors inſtituted of old time, taking vpon them to baniſh ſome of their kings, and putting other of them alſo to death, without law and iuſtice, and threatning others that deſire to reſtore that noble and former bleſſed gouernment vnto SPARTA againe: all theſe things I ſay, are in no wiſe to be ſuffered any longer. And therefore, if it had beene poſſible to haue baniſhed all theſe plagues of the common wealth out of SPARTA, brought from forreine nations: (I meane, pleaſures, paſtimes, money, debts, and vſuries, and others yet more auncient, pouertie and riches) he might then haue eſteemed himſelfe the happieſt king that euer was, if like a good Phiſitian he had cured his country in that infection, without griefe or ſorrow. But in that he was conſtrained to beginne with bloud, he followed *Lycurgus* example: who being neither king nor other Magiſtrate, but a priuate citizen only, taking vpon him the authoritie of the king, boldly came into the market place with force and armed men, and made king *Charilaus* that then raigned, ſo affraide, that he was driuen to take ſanctuarie in one of the temples. But the king being a Prince of a noble nature, and louing the honor of his country: tooke part with *Lycurgus*, adding to his aduiſe and counſell, for the alteration of the ſtate of the gouernment of the common wealth, which he did confirme. Hereby then it appeareth, that *Lycurgus* ſaw it was a hard thing to alter the common wealth without force & feare: the which he notwithſtanding had vſed with as great modeſtie and diſcretion as might be poſſible, baniſhing them that were againſt the

*Aſteropus, the firſt man that gaue authoritie to the Ephores.*

profit and wealth of LACEDÆMON, giuing all the lands of the country alſo to be equally deuided amongſt them, and ſetting all men cleere that were in debt. And furthermore, that hee would make a choyſe and proofe of the ſtraungers, to make them free citizens of SPARTA, whom he knew to be honeſt men, thereby to defend their citie the better by force of armes: to the end that from henceforth we may no more ſee our country of LACONIA ſpoyled by the ÆTOLIANS and ILLYRIANS, for lacke of men to defend themſelues againſt them. Then he beganne firſt himſelfe to make all his goods common, and after him *Megiſtonus* his father in law, and conſequently all his other friends. Then he cauſed the landes alſo to be deuided, and ordeined euery baniſhed man a part, whom he himſelfe had exiled, promiſing that he would receiue them againe into the citie, when he had eſtabliſhed all things. So when he had repleniſhed the number of the citizens of SPARTA, with the choyceſt honeſt men their neigbours: he made foure thouſand footemen well armed, and taught them to vſe their pikes with both handes, in ſteade of their dartes with one hande, and to carie their targets with a good ſtrong handle, and not buckled with a leather thong. Afterwardes he tooke order for the education of children, and to reſtore the auncient LACONIAN diſcipline againe: and did all theſe things in maner by the helpe of *Sphærus* the Philoſopher. Inſomuch as he had quickely ſet vp againe ſchoole houſes for children, and alſo brought them to the old order of dyet: and all, but a very fewe, without compulſion were willing to fall to their old inſtitution of life. Then becauſe the name of one king ſhould not offend any mã, he made his brother *Euclidas* king with him. But this was the firſt time that euer the two kings were of one houſe but then. Furthermore, vnderſtanding that the ACHAIANS and *Aratus* were of opinion, that he durſt not come out of LACEDÆMON, for feare to leaue it in perill of reuolting, becauſe of the late change and alteration in the common wealth: he thought it an honorable attempt of him, to make his enemies ſee the readines and good will of his armie. Thereupon he inuaded the territories of the MEGALOPOLITANS, and brought away a great prey and booty, after he had done great hurt vnto his enemies. Then hauing taken certaine players and minſtrels that came from MESSINA, he ſet vp a ſtage within the enemies countrie, made a game of 40. Minas for the victor, and ſate a whole day to looke vpon them, for no pleaſure he tooke in the ſight of it, but more to deſpight the enemies withall, in making them ſee how much he was ſtronger then they, to make ſuch a Maygame in their owne country, in deſpight of them. For of al the armies otherwiſe of the GRECIANS, or kings in all GRECE, there was no armie onely but his, that was without players, minſtrels, fooles and iugglers: for his campe onely was cleane of ſuch rabble and foolerie, and all the young men fell to ſome exerciſe of their bodies, and the old men alſo to teach them. And if they chaunced to haue any vacant time, then they would pleaſantly be one merrie with an other, in giuing ſome pretie fine mocke after the LACONIAN manner. And what profit they got by that kinde of exerciſe, we haue written it at large in *Lycurgus* life. But of all theſe things, the king himſelfe was their ſchoolemaſter and example, ſhewing him ſelfe very temperate of life, and plaine without curioſitie, no more then any priuate ſouldier of all his campe: the which were great helpes vnto him in his enterpriſes he made in GRECE. For the GRECIANS hauing cauſe of ſute and negociation with other kings and princes, did not wonder ſo much at their pompe and riches, as they did abhorre and deteſt their pride and inſolencie: ſo diſdainfully they would anſwere them that had to doe with them. But contrarily when they went vnto *Cleomenes*, who was a king in name and deede as they were, finding no purple robes nor ſtately mantles, nor rich imbrodered beddes, nor a Prince to be ſpoken to but by meſſengers, gentlemen vſhers, and ſupplications, and yet with great a doo: and ſeeing him alſo come plainely apparelled vnto them, with a good countenance, and courteouſly anſwering the matters they came for: he thereby did maruellouſly win their hearts and good wils, that when they returned home, they ſaide he only was the worthy king, that came of the race of *Hercules*. Now for his dyet at his bord, that was very ſtraight & LACONIAN like, keeping only three bords: and if he chaunced to feaſt any Ambaſſadors or other his friendes that came to ſee him, he then added to two other bords, and beſides, made his men to ſee that his fare ſhould be amended, not with paſtrie and conſerues, but with more ſtore of meate, and ſome better wine then ordinarie. For he one day reproued one of his friendes, that bidding

*Cleomenes reformeth the ſtate of the common wealth of Lacedæmon.*

*Cleomenes inuadeth the borders of the Megalopolitans.*

*King Cleomenes the teacher and example of temperancie.*

*Cleomenes moderate dyet.*

*Cleomenes curteous entertainment at his bord.*

*Cleomenes leadeth his armie againſt Aratus, and the Achaians.*

*The victorie of Cleomenes againſt the Achaians.*

ſtrangers to ſupper, he gaue them nothing but blacke broth, & browne bread only, according to the Laconian maner. Nay, ſaid he, we may not vſe ſtrangers ſo hardly after our manner. The bord being taken vp, an other litle table was brought with three feete, whereupon they ſet a bolle of copper full of wine, and two ſiluer cuppes of a pottle a peece, and certaine other fewe ſiluer pots beſides: ſo euery man dranke what they liſted, and no man was forced to drinke more then he would. Furthermore, there was no ſport, nor any pleaſant ſong ſung to make the companie merrie, for it needed not. For *Cleomenes* ſelfe would entertaine them with ſome pretie queſtions or pleaſant tale: whereby, as his talke was not ſeuere and without pleaſure, ſo was it alſo pleaſant without inſolencie. For he was of opinion, that to winne men by gifts or money, as other kings and princes did, was but baſe and cloynelike: but to ſeeke their good wils by courteous means and pleaſantneſſe, and therewith to meane good faith, that he thought moſt fit and honorable for a Prince. For this was his minde, that there was no other difference betwixt a friend and hireling: but that the one is wonne with money, and the other with ciuility & good entertainment. The firſt therefore that receiued king *Cleomenes* into their citie, were the Mantinians, who opened him the gates in the night, and helping him to driue out the garriſon of the Achaians, they yeelded themſelues vnto him. But he referring them to the vſe and gouernment of their owne lawes and libertie, departed from thence the ſame day, and went vnto the citie of Tegea. Shortly after, he compaſſed about Arcadia, & came vnto Pheres in Arcadia determining one of the two, either to giue the Achaians battell, or to bring *Aratus* out of fauour with the people, for that he had ſuffred him to ſpoile and deſtroy their country. *Hyperbatas* was at that time Generall of the Achaians, but *Aratus* did beare all the ſway and authoritie. Then the Achaians comming into the field with all their people armed, and encamping by the citie of Dymes, neere vnto the temple of *Hecatombæum*: *Cleomenes* going thither, lay betwixt the citie of Dymes that was againſt him, and the campe of his enemies, which men thought a very vnwiſe part of him. Howbeit valiantly prouoking the Achaians, he procured them to the battell, ouerthrew them, made them flie, and ſlew a great number in the field, and tooke many of them alſo priſoners. Departing from thence, he went and ſet vpon the citie of Langon, and draue the garriſon of the Achaians out of it, and reſtored the citie againe vnto the Elians. The Achaians being then in verie hard ſtate, *Aratus* that of cuſtome was wont to be their Generall (or at the leaſt once in two yeares) refuſed now to take the charge, notwithſtanding the Achaians did ſpecially pray & intreate him: the which was an ill act of him, to let an other ſteere the rudder, in ſo dangerous a ſtorme and tempeſt. Therefore the Achaians ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Cleomenes* to treate peace, vnto whom it ſeemed he gaue a very ſharpe aunſwere. After that, he ſent vnto them, and willed them only to reſigne the ſigniorie of Grece vnto him: and that for all other matters he would deale reaſonably with them, and preſently deliuer them vp their townes and priſoners againe, which he had taken of theirs. The Achaians being glad of peace with theſe conditions, wrote vnto *Cleomenes* that he ſhould come vnto the citie of Lerna, where the dyet and generall aſſembly ſhould be kept to conſult thereupon. It chaunced then that *Cleomenes* marching thither, being very hotte, dranke cold water, and fell on ſuch a bleeding withall, that his voice was taken from him, and he almoſt ſtifled. Wherefore he ſent the Achaians their chiefeſt priſoners home againe, proroging the parliament till an other time, and returned backe to Lacedæmon. It is ſuppoſed certainly, that this let of his comming to the dyet, was the onely cauſe of the vtter deſtruction of Grece: the which otherwiſe was in good way to haue riſen againe, and to haue bene deliuered from the preſent miſeries, and extreame pride and couetouſnes of the Macedonians. For *Aratus*, either for that he truſted not *Cleomenes*, or for that he was affraide of his power, or that he otherwiſe enuied his honor & proſperitie, to ſee him riſen to ſuch incredible greatnes in ſo ſhort a time, and thinking it alſo too great ſhame and diſhonor to him, to ſuffer this young man in a moment to depriue him of his great honor & power which he had poſſeſſed ſo long time, by the ſpace of thirtie yeares together, ruling all Grece: firſt, he ſought by force to terrifie the Achaians, and to make them breake off from this peace. But in fine, finding that they litle regarded his threats, & that he could not preuaile with them, for that they were affraide of *Cleomenes* valiantneſſe and courage, whoſe requeſt they thought reaſonable, for that he ſought but to reſtore PELOPONNESVS into her former ancient eſtate againe: he fell then into a practiſe farre vnhoneſt for a GRECIAN, very infamous for himſelfe, but moſt diſhonorable for the former noble actes he had done. For he brought *Antigonus* into GRECE, & in his age filled the coũtry of PELOPONNESVS with MACEDONIANS, whom he himſelf in his youth had driuen thence, had taken from them the caſtle of CORINTHE, and had alwayes bene an enemie of the kings (but ſpecially of *Antigonus*, of whom before he had ſpoken all the ill he could, as appeareth in his writings, ſaying that he tooke maruellous paines, and did put himſelfe into many daungers, to deliuer the citie of ATHENS from the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS) and yet notwithſtanding he brought them armed with his own hands, not into his country only, but into his owne houſe, yea euen into the Ladies chambers & cloſets: diſdaining that the king of LACEDÆMON, diſcending of the bloud royal of *Hercules* (who ſetting vp againe the auncient manner of life of his country, did temper it as an inſtrument of muſicke out of tune, and brought it to the good, ancient and ſober diſcipline and DORICAN life inſtituted by *Lycurgus*) ſhould be called and written king of the SICYONIANS, and of the TRICCÆIANS. And furthermore, flying them that were contented with browne bread, and with the plaine courſe capes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and that went about to take away riches (which was the chiefeſt matter they did accuſe *Cleomenes* for) and to prouide for the poore: he went and put himſelfe and all ACHAIA vnto the crowne and diademe, the purple robe, and proude imperious commandementes of the MACEDONIANS, fearing leaſt men ſhould thinke that *Cleomenes* could commaunde him. Furthermore his follie was ſuch, that hauing garlands of flowers on his head, he did ſacrifice vnto *Antigonus*, & ſing ſongs in praiſe of his honor, as if he had bene a god, where he was but a rotten man, conſumed away. This that we haue written of *Aratus* (who was indued with many noble vertues, & a worthy GRECIAN) is not ſo much to accuſe him, as to make vs ſee the frailtie and weakeneſſe of mans nature: the which, though it haue neuer ſo excellent vertues, can not yet bring forth ſuch perfect frute, but that it hath euer ſome mayme and bleamiſh. Now when the ACHAIANS were met againe in the citie of ARGOS, to hold the ſeſſion of their parlament before proroged, and *Cleomenes* alſo being come from TEGEA, to be at that parlament: euery man was in hope of good peace. But *Aratus* then, who was agreed before of the chiefeſt articles of the capitulations with *Antigonus*, fearing that *Cleomenes* by faire wordes or force would bring the people to graunt that he deſired: ſent to let him vnderſtande, that he ſhould but come himſelfe alone into the citie, and for ſafetie of his perſon, they would giue him three hundred hoſtages: or otherwiſe, if he would not leaue his armie, that then they would giue him audience without the citie, in the place of exerciſes, called Cyllarabium. When *Cleomenes* had heard their anſwere, he told them that they had done him wrong: for they ſhould haue aduertiſed him of it before he had taken his iorney, and not now when he was almoſt hard at their gates, to ſende him backe againe, with a flea in his eare. Thereuppon he wrote a letter vnto the councell of the ACHAIANS, altogether full of complaints againſt *Aratus*. On the other ſide alſo, *Aratus* in his oration to the councell, inueyed with bitter wordes againſt *Cleomenes*. Thereupon *Cleomenes* departing with ſpeede, ſent a Herauld to proclaime warres againſt the ACHAIANS, not in the city of ARGOS, but in the city of ÆGION, as *Aratus* writeth, meaning to ſet vpon them being vnprouided. Hereupon all ACHAIA was in an vprore: for diuerſe cities did preſently reuolt againſt the ACHAIANS, becauſe the common people hoped after the diuiſion of lands, and diſcharging of their debts. The noble men alſo in many places were offended with *Aratus*, becauſe he practiſed to bring the MACEDONIANS into the coũtry of PELOPONNESVS. *Cleomenes* therefore hoping well for all theſe reſpects, brought his armie into ACHAIA, and at his firſt comming tooke the citie of PALLENA, and draue out the garriſon of the ACHAIANS: and after that, wanne alſo the cities of PHENEVM, and PENTELIVM. Now the ACHAIANS fearing ſome treaſon in CORINTHE and SYCIONE, ſent certaine horſemen out of the citie of ARGOS, to keepe thoſe cities. The ARGIVES in the meane time, attending the celebration of the feaſt at the games Nemeea, *Cleomenes* thinking (which fell out true) that if he went to ARGOS, he ſhould finde the citie full of people that were come to ſee the feaſtes and

*Aratus treaſon to his countrie.*

*Cleomenes winneth the citie of Argos.*

*King Pyrrhus ſlaine at the city of Argos.*

*The force of Lycurgus lawes.*

games, and that aſſailing them vppon the ſodaine, he ſhould put them in a maruellous feare: brought his armie in the night hard to the wals of the citie of Argos, and at his firſt comming wanne a place they call Aſpis, a verie ſtrong place aboue the Theater, and ill to come vnto. The Argives were ſo amazed at it, that no man would take vpon him to defend the citie, but receiued *Cleomenes* garriſon, and gaue him twentie hoſtages, promiſing thenceforth to be true confederates vnto the Lacedæmonians, vnder his charge and conduct. The which doubtleſſe wanne him great fame, and increaſed his power: for that the auncient kings of Lacedæmon, could neuer before with any policie or deuiſe, winne the citie of Argos. For king *Pyrrhus* one of the moſt valianteſt and warlikeſt Princes that euer was, entring the citie of Argos by force, could not keepe it, but was ſlaine there, and the moſt part of his armie: wherby euery man wondred greatly at the diligence & counſel of *Cleomenes*. And where euery man did mocke him before, when *Cleomenes* ſaid that he would folow *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, in making the citizens goods common, and diſcharging all debts: they were then cleerely perſwaded that he onely was the cauſe and meane of that great chaunge; which they ſawe in the courage of the Spartans: who were before ſo weake and out of heart, that they hauing no courage to defend themſelues, the Ætolians entring Laconia with an armie, tooke away at one time, fiftie thouſand ſlaues. Whereupon an old man of Sparta pleaſantly ſaid at that time, that their enemies had done them a great pleaſure, to ridde their country of Laconia of ſuch a rabble of raſcals. Shortly after, they being entred againe into the former auncient diſcipline of *Lycurgus*, as if *Lycurgus* ſelfe had beene aliue to haue trained them vnto it: they ſhewed themſelues very valiant, and obedient alſo vnto their Magiſtrates, whereby they recouered againe the commaundement of all Grece, and the countrie alſo of Peloponnesvs. After *Cleomenes* had taken the citie of Argos, the cities alſo of Cleones, and Phliunta, did yeelde themſelues vnto him. *Aratus* in the meane time remained at Corinthe, & there did buſily accuſe them which were ſuſpected to fauor the Lacedæmonians. But when newes was brought him that Argos was taken, & that he perceiued alſo the citie of Corinthe did leane vnto *Cleomenes* part, and draue away the Achaians: he then calling the people to councell in Corinthe, ſecretly ſtale to one of the gates of the citie, and cauſing his horſe to be brought vnto him, tooke his backe, & gallopped for life vnto the citie of Sicyone. When the Corinthians heard of it, they tooke their horſebackes alſo ſtriuing who ſhould be there ſooneſt, and poſted in ſuch haſte vnto *Cleomenes* at the citie of Argos, that many of them (as *Aratus* writeth) killed their horſes by the way: howbeit *Cleomenes* was verie much offended with them, for that they had let him ſcape their handes. But *Aratus* ſaith further, that *Megiſtonus* came vnto him from *Cleomenes*, and offered him a great ſumme of money to deliuer him the caſtle of Corinthe, wherein there was a great garriſon of the Achaians. But he aunſwered againe, that things were not in his power, but rather that he was ſubiect to their power. Now *Cleomenes* departing from the citie of Argos, ouercame the Troezenians, the Epidavrians, and the Hermionians. After that, he came vnto Corinth, & preſently entrenched the caſtle there round about, and ſending for *Aratus* friends and factors, commaunded them to keepe his houſe and goods carefully for him, and ſent *Tritymallus* Messenian againe vnto him, to pray him to be contented that the caſtle might be kept indifferently betwixt the Achaians & Lacedæmonians, promiſing him priuately to double the pencion that king *Ptolomy* gaue him. But *Aratus* refuſing it, ſent his ſonne vnto *Antigonus* with other hoſtages, and perſwaded the Achaians to deliuer vp the caſtle of Corinthe, vnto *Antigonus* handes. *Cleomenes* vnderſtanding it, entred with his army into the country of the Sicyonians, and deſtroyed it as he went, and tooke *Aratus* goods and money, of the gift of the Corinthians by decree. Now *Antigonus* in the meane time, being paſſed the mountaine of Gerania with a great power: *Cleomenes* determined not to fortifie the Iſthmus or ſtraight of Peloponnesvs, but the wayes of the mountaines Onienes, determining to keepe euery one of them againſt the Macedonians, with intent to conſume them rather by time, than to fight a battell with an armie, ſo good ſouldiers and well trayned as they were. *Cleomenes* following this determination, did put *Antigonus* to great trouble, becauſe he had not in time prouided for corne: and could not win the paſſage alſo by force, for that *Cleomenes* kept it with ſuch guarde and ſouldiers. Then *Antigonus* ſtealing ſecretely into the hauen of Lechæum, he was ſtoutly repulſed, and loſt a number of his men: whereuppon *Cleomenes* and his men being couragious for this victory, went quietly to ſupper. *Antigonus* on the other ſide fell into diſpaire, to ſee him ſelfe brought by neceſſitie into ſuch hard termes. Wherefore hee determined to goe to the temple of *Iuno*, and from thence to paſſe his army by ſea into the city of SICYONE, the which required a long time, and great preparation. But the ſame night there came ſome of *Aratus* friendes of the ARGIVES, who comming from ARGOS by ſea, brought newes that the ARGIVES were rebelled againſt *Cleomenes*. The practiſer of this rebellion, was one *Ariſtoteles*, who eaſily brought the people vnto it, that were already offended with *Cleomenes*, that had promiſed to paſſe a law for the clearing of debtes, but performed it not according to their expectation. Wherefore, *Aratus* with a thouſande fiue hundred men which *Antigonus* gaue him, went by ſea vnto EPIDAVRVM. Howbeit *Ariſtoteles* taried not his comming, but taking them of the city with him, went and beſieged the garriſon of the LACEDÆMONIANS within the caſtell, being aided by *Timoxenus*, with the ACHAIANS that came from SICYONE. *Cleomenes* receiuing aduertiſement hereof, about the ſecond watch of the night, ſent for *Megiſtonus* in haſt, and commaunded him in anger ſpeedily to goe and aide their men that were in the city of ARGOS. For it was *Megiſtonus* him ſelfe that promiſed *Cleomenes* the fidelity of the ARGIVES, and that kept him from driuing them out of the city, which he ſuſpected. So ſending him away forthwith with two thouſand men, he attended *Antigonus*, and comforted the CORINTHIANS the beſt he could: aduertiſing them that it was but a litle mutiny of a few, that chaunced in the city of ARGOS. *Megiſtonus* being come to ARGOS, and ſlaine in battell, fighting for the LACEDÆMONIANS in garriſon there (who being in great diſtreſſe, ſcant able to keepe the caſtell againſt the enemies) ſent ſundry meſſengers vnto *Cleomenes*, to pray him to ſend them immediat aide. *Cleomenes* then being affrayd that the enemies hauing taken ARGOS, would ſtoppe his way to returne backe into his countrey, who hauing oportunity ſafely to ſpoile LACONIA, and alſo to beſiege the city ſelfe of SPARTA, that had but a few men to defend it, he departed with his armie from CORINTHE. Immediatly after came *Antigonus*, and tooke it from him, and put a ſtrong garriſon into it. When *Cleomenes* came before the city of ARGOS, hee ſcaled the walles, and breaking the vautes and arches of the place called Aſpis, entred into the city, and ioyned with his garriſon there, which yet reſiſted the ACHAIANS: and taking other partes of the ſame alſo, aſſaulted the walles, and cleared the ſtreetes in ſuch ſort, that not an enemy durſt be ſeene, for feare of the archers of the CRETANS. In the meane time, when he ſaw *Antigonus* a farre off, comming downe the hilles into the valley with his footmen, and that his horſemen alſo came vppon the ſpurre into the city: diſpayring then that he could any longer keepe it, he gathered all his men together, and ſafely going downe by the walles retired without loſſe of any man. So, when in ſhort time he had conquered much, and had almoſt wonne all within PELOPONNESVS: in ſhorter ſpace alſo, he loſt all againe. For, of the confederates that were in his campe, ſome did preſently forſake him: others alſo immediately after ſurrendered vp the townes vnto *Antigonus*. *Cleomenes* being thus oppreſſed with the fortune of warre, when he came backe to TEGEA with the reſt of his army, newes came to him in the night from LACEDÆMON, which grieued him as much as the loſſe of all his conqueſtes: for he was aduertiſed of the death of his wife *Agiatis*, whom he loued ſo dearly, that in the middeſt of his chiefeſt proſperity and victories, he made often iournies to SPARTA to ſee her. It could not but be a maruellous griefe vnto *Cleomenes*, who being a young man, had loſt ſo vertuous and faire a yong Lady, ſo dearely beloued of him: and yet he gaue not place vnto his ſorrow, neither did griefe ouercome his noble courage, but hee vſed the ſelfe ſame voice, apparell, and countenance, that he did before. Then taking order with his priuat Captaines, about his affaires, and hauing prouided alſo for the ſafety of the TEGEANS: he went the next morning by breake of day vnto SPARTA. After hee had priuately lamented the ſorrow of his wiues death, with his mother and children: he preſently bent his minde againe to publicke cauſes. Now *Cleomenes* had ſent vnto *Ptolomie* King of ÆGYPT, who had

*The Argiues doe rebell againſt Cleomenes.*

*Cleomenes loſt the city of Corinthe.*

*Cleomenes loſt the city of Argos.*

*The death of Agiatis, king Cleomenes wife.*

promiſed him aide, but vppon demaund, to haue his mother and children in pledge. So he was a long time before hee would for ſhame make his mother priuy vnto it, and went oftentimes of purpoſe to lette her vnderſtand it: but when hee came he hadde not the heart to breake it to her. Shee firſt ſuſpecting a thing, asked *Cleomenes* friendes, if her ſonne had not ſomewhat to ſay vnto her, that he durſt not vtter. Whereupon, in fine he gaue the venture, and brake the matter to her. When ſhee heard it, ſhee fell a laughing, and tolde him: why, how commeth it to paſſe, that thou haſt kept it thus long, and wouldeſt not tell me? Come, come, ſayed ſhee, put me ſtraight into a ſhippe, and ſend me whither thou wilt, that this body of mine may doe ſome good vnto my countrey, before crooked age conſume my life without profite. Then all things being prepared for their iourney, they went by land, accompanied with the army, vnto the head of Tænarus. Where *Crateſiclea* being readie to imbarke, ſhee tooke *Cleomenes* aſide into the temple of *Neptune*, and imbracing and kiſſing him, perceiuing that his heart yerned for ſorrow of her departure, ſhee ſayed vnto him: O king of LACEDÆMON, lette no man ſee for ſhame when we come out of the temple, that we haue wept and diſhonoured SPARTA. For that onely is in our power, as for the reſt, as it pleaſeth the goddes, ſo lette it be. When ſhee had ſpoken theſe wordes, and faſhioned her countenaunce againe: ſhee went then to take her ſhip: with a litle ſonne of *Cleomenes*, and commaunded the maiſter of the ſhippe to hoyſe ſayle. Now when ſhee was arriued in ÆGYPT, and vnderſtoode that king *Ptolomy* receiued Ambaſſadours from *Antigonus*, and were in talke to make peace with him: and hearing alſo that *Cleomenes* being requeſted by the ACHAIANS to make peace with them, durſt not hearken to it, and end that warre, without king *Ptolomyes* conſent, and becauſe of his mother: ſhee wrote vnto him, that he ſhould not ſpare to doe any thing that ſhould be expedient for the honour of SPARTA, without feare of diſpleaſing *Ptolomy*, or for regard of an olde woman, and a young boy. Such was the noble minde of this worthie Ladie in her ſonne *Cleomenes* aduerſity. Furthermore, *Antigonus* hauing taken the citie of TEGEA, and ſacked the other cities of ORCHOMENVM, and MANTINEA: *Cleomenes* ſeeing him ſelfe brought to defend the borders onely of LACONIA, hee did manumiſſe all the ILOTES, (which were the ſlaues of LACEDÆMON) paying fiue Attica Minas a man. With that money he made the ſumme of fiue hundred talentes, and armed two thouſand of theſe freede ſlaues after the MACEDONIAN faſhion to fight againſt the LEVCASPIDES: (to witte, the white ſhieldes of *Antigonus*) and then there fell into his minde a maruellous great enterpriſe, vnlooked for of euery man. The city of MEGALIPOLIS at that time being as great as SPARTA, and hauing the aide of the ACHAIANS, and *Antigonus* at hand, (whom the ACHAIANS as it ſeemed had brought in, chiefly at the requeſt of the MEGALOPOLITANS) *Cleomenes* determining to ſacke this city, and knowing that to bring it to paſſe, nothing was more requiſite then celerity: he commanded his ſouldiers to victuall them ſelues for fiue dayes, and marching with the choiſe of all his army towardes SELASIA, as though he had ment to haue ſpoyled the ARGIVES, ſodainely turning from thence, he inuaded the country of the MEGALOPOLITANS, and ſupping by ROETIVM, went ſtraight by ELICVNTA vnto the city. When he was come neare vnto it, he ſent *Panteas* before with ſpeed, with two bandes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and commaunded him to take a certaine peece of the wall betweene two towers, which he knew was not kept nor garded, and he followed him alſo with the reſt of his army comming on faire and ſoftly. When *Panteas* came thither, finding not onely that place of the wal without gard or watch which *Cleomenes* had told him of, but alſo the moſt part of that ſide without defence: he tooke ſome part of the wall at his firſt comming, and manned it, & ouerthrew an other peece of it alſo, putting them all to the ſword that did defend it, and then came *Cleomenes*, and was within the city with his army, before the MEGALOPOLITANS knew of his comming. At length, the citizens vnderſtanding that the city was taken, ſome fled in haſt, conueying ſuch light things as came to hand, in ſo great a feare: and the others alſo arming them ſelues, ran together to reſiſt the enemies. But though they valiantly fought to repulſe them out of the city, and yet preuayled not: they gaue the reſt leiſure thereby to flie and ſaue them ſelues, ſo that there remained not behinde, aboue a thouſand men. For all the reſt were fled with their wiues and children, into the city of MESSINA.

*The noble minde of Crateſiclea, Cleomenes mother.*

*Cleomenes ſendeth his mother and children hoſtages vnto Ptolomy king of ÆEgypt.*

*Cleomenes wan the city of Megalipolis.*

The moſt part of them alſo that fought with the enemies, ſaued them ſelues, and very fewe were taken, the chiefeſt whereof, were *Lyſandridas*, and *Thearidas*, the nobleſt perſons that were amongeſt the MEGALOPOLITANS: wherefore when thẽ ſouldiers had taken them, they brought them vnto *Cleomenes*. *Lyſandridas*, when he ſaw *Cleomenes* a good way off, cried out aloud vnto him: O king of LACEDÆMON, this day thou haſt an occaſion offered thee to do a more famous princely act, then that which thou haſt already done, and that will make thy name alſo more glorious. *Cleomenes* muſing what he would requeſt: well (quoth he) what is that thou requireſt? One thing I will tell thee before hand, thou ſhalt not make mee reſtore your city to you againe. Yet, quoth *Lyſandridas*, lette me requeſt thus much then, that ye doe not deſtroy it, but rather repleniſh it with friendes and confederates, which hereafter will be true and faithfull to you: and that ſhall you do, giuing the MEGALOPOLITANS their city againe, and preſeruing ſuch a number of people as haue forſaken it. *Cleomenes* pawſing a while, aunſwered, it was a hard thing to beleeue that: but yet quoth he, let honor take place with vs, before profite. After that he ſent a Herauld ſtraight vnto MESSENA vnto them that were fledde thither, and told them that he was contented to offer them their city againe, ſo that they would become good friends and confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS, forſaking the alliance of the ACHAIANS. *Philopœmen* woulde by no meanes ſuffer the MEGALOPOLITANS to accept this gracious offer of *Cleomenes*, nor alſo to leaue their alliance with the ACHAIANS: telling them, that he ment not to giue them their city againe, but to take them alſo with their city: and therefore draue *Thearidas* and *Lyſandridas* out of MESSENA, that moued this practiſe. It was that *Philopœmen* that afterwardes was the chiefeſt man of the ACHAIANS, and that wanne ſuch fame and honor among the GRECIANS, as wee haue particularly declared in his life. This word being brought to *Cleomenes*, who had kept the city from ſpoyling vntill that time: he was then ſo throughly offended, that he gaue the goods in preie to the ſouldiers, ſent away their goodly tables, images, and pictures vnto SPARTA, and defaced the chiefeſt parts of the city, and then returned home againe, being afraied of *Antigonus*, and the ACHAIANS. Howbeit they ſturred not, becauſe of the parliament that was kept at that time in the city of ÆGIVM, where *Aratus* being in the pulpit for orations, and holding his gowne a long time before his face, the people maruelling at it, willed him to tell what he ailed: he anſwered them, MEGALIPOLIS is taken, and raſed by *Cleomenes*. The ACHAIANS being amazed at the ſodainneſſe of this great loſſe, ſtraight brake off their parliament and aſſembly. But *Antigonus* thinking to aide them, ſent preſently for all his garriſons, who being long a comming, he willed them to ſtay where they were, and hee him ſelfe taking a few ſouldiers with him, went vnto the city of ARGOS. Therefore the ſecond enterpriſe of *Cleomenes* ſeemeth at the firſt ſight a very raſh and deſperate attempt: howbeit *Polybius* writeth, that it was an attempt of great wiſedome and policy. For *Cleomenes* vnderſtanding that the MACEDONIANS were diſperſed in garriſons in diuerſe places, and that *Antigonus* lay all the winter in the city of ARGOS, with a certaine number of footemen that were ſtrangers: he inuaded the countrey of the ARGIVES with his army, perſwading him ſelfe, that either *Antigonus* would for ſhame come and fight with him, or if he did not, that then hee ſhould put him in diſgrace with the ARGIVES: which in deede came ſo to paſſe. The ARGIVES ſeeing their countrey ſpoyled by *Cleomenes*, were in a maruellous rage, and gathering together at *Antigonus* lodging, they cried out vnto him, either to goe into the fielde and fight with the enemy: or elſe if he were affrayed, to reſigne his office of Generall of GREECE, vnto others that were valianter than him ſelfe. But *Antigonus* like a wiſe and excellent Captaine, thinking it a diſhonour to him raſhely to put him ſelfe in daunger, and his friendes alſo, though he were prouoked with many iniuries and opprobrious wordes: would not goe into the fielde, but ſtood conſtant in his firſt determination. Then *Cleomenes* hauing brought his army hard to the wals of the city of ARGOS, and ſpoyled and deſtroyed the countrey round about: without lette or daunger he ſafely returned home againe. Within a while after, *Cleomenes* being aduertiſed that *Antigonus* was come vnto TEGEA, with intent to inuade the country of LACONIA: he going another way with his army (vnwitting to his enemies) they wondred whẽ they ſaw him in the morning by the city of ARGOS, ſpoiling their country, & cutting down their

*Cleomenes noble ſaying.*

*Cleomenes raſed the city of Megalipolis.*

*Cleomenes ſtratageme.*

*A wiſe Captaine ſhould not raſhly put him ſelf in hazard.*

corne, not with ſickles and kniues as other do vſe, but with long poles in forme of Sithes, that the ſouldiers as they went ſporting-wiſe, did ouerthrow and ſpoile it. But when they came to the place of exerciſes in the ſuburbes, called Cyllabris, certaine of the ſouldiers going about to haue ſette it a fire, *Cleomenes* would not ſuffer them, and tolde them, that what he had done at MEGALOPOLIS, it was rather angrily then honeſtly done.

*The moderation of Cleomenes to his enemies.*

Now *Antigonus*, preſently returning backe againe, being minded firſt to haue gone directly to the citie of ARGOS, but ſodainely altering his minde, did campe vppon the toppe of hilles and mountaines. *Cleomenes* ſeeming not to be affrayed of him, ſent Herauldes to him to deſire the keyes of the temple of *Iuno*, and then after he had done ſacrifice, he would depart his way. Thus mocking *Antigonus*, after he had ſacrificed vnto the goddeſſe, vnder the temple that was ſhut vp, he ſent his army vnto PHLIVNTA, and hauing driuen away the garriſon out of OLOGVNTA, he came vnto the city of ORCHOMENVM, hauing not onely incouraged his citizens, but gotten euen amongeſt the enemies them ſelues, a fame alſo to be a noble Captaine, and worthy to manage great affaires. For euery man iudged him to be a ſkillfull ſouldier, and a valiant Captaine, that with the power of one onely city, did maintaine warre againſt the kingdome of MACEDON, againſt all the people of PELOPONNESVS, and againſt the treaſure of ſo great a king: and withall, not onely to keepe his owne countrey of LACONIA vnſoyled, but farre otherwiſe to hurt his enemies countries, and to take ſo many great cities of theirs.

*Money, the ſinew of wars.*

But he that ſayed firſt, that money was the ſinew of all things, ſpake it chiefly in my opinion, in reſpect of the warres. *Demades* the Orator ſayed on a time, when the ATHENIANS commaunded certaine gallies ſhould be put out of the arſenall into the ſea, and preſently rigged and armed with all poſſible ſpeede, though they lacked money: he that rules the prowe, muſt firſt ſee before him. Meaning, munition and victuals muſt be prouided, before the ſhippes be ſet out.

*The ſaying of Archidamus.*

And it is reported alſo, that the auncient *Archidamus*, when the confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS at the beginning of the warre at PELOPONNESVS required, that they might be ſeſſed at a certaine rate, aunſwered: the charges of warre haue no certaine ſtint. For like as wreſtlers that exerciſe their bodies continually in games, are better able to wreſtle, and ouerthrowe them with time, that haue no ſtrength, but onely Art and ſlight: euen ſo King *Antigonus*, who by the greatneſſe of his kingdome did defray the charge of this warre, did wearie and ouercome *Cleomenes* at the length, becauſe hee lacked money both to pay the ſtraungers that ſerued him, and alſo to maintaine his owne citizens.

*Cleomenes ouercome by Antigonus, for lacke of money to pay his ſouldiers.*

For otherwiſe doubtleſſe the time ſerued his turne well, becauſe the troubles that fell vppon *Antigonus* in his realm, did make him to be ſent for home. For the barbarous people his neighbours, in his abſence did ſpoile and deſtroy the realme of MACEDON, and ſpecially the ILLYRIANS of the high countrey that came downe then with a great army: whereuppon the MACEDONIANS being ſpoiled and harried on all ſides by them, they ſent poſte vnto *Antigonus*, to pray him to come home. If theſe letters had bene brought him but a litle before the battell, as they came afterwardes: *Antigonus* had gone his way, and left the ACHAIANS.

*The power of fortune. Battell betwixt Cleomenes and Antigonus at Selaſia.*

But fortune, that alwayes ſtriketh the ſtroke in all weightieſt cauſes, gaue ſuch ſpeede and fauour vnto him: that immediatly after the battell was fought at SELASIA, (where *Cleomenes* loſt his army and city) the very meſſengers arriued that came for *Antigonus* to come home, the which made the ouerthrow of king *Cleomenes* ſo much more lamentable. For if he had delayed battell but two dayes longer, when the MACEDONIANS had bene gone, he might haue made what peace he would with the ACHAIANS: but for lacke of money, he was driuen (as *Polybius* writeth) to giue battell, with twentie thouſand men, againſt thirtie thouſand: where hee ſhewed him ſelfe an excellent and ſkilfull Captaine, and where his citizens alſo fought like valiant men, and the ſtraungers in like caſe did ſhew them ſelues good ſouldiers. But his onely ouerthrow was, by the manner of his enemies weapons, and the force of their battell of footemen. But *Phylarchus* writeth, that treaſon was the cauſe of his ouerthrow. For *Antigonus* had appointed the ACARNANIANS, and the ILLYRIANS which he had in his army, to ſteale vppon the wing of his enemies army, where *Euclidas*, king *Cleomenes* brother was, to compaſſe him in behinde, whileſt he did ſette the reſt of his men in battell. When *Cleomenes* was got vp vpon ſome hill to looke about him, to ſee the countenaunce of the enemy, and ſeeing none of the ACARNANIANS, nor of the ILLYRIANS: he was then affrayed of *Antigonus*, that he went about ſome ſtratageme of warre. Wherefore he called for *Demoteles*, whoſe charge was to take heede of ſtratagemes and ſecrete ambuſhes, and commaunded him to looke to the rereward of his army, and to be very circumſpect all about. *Demoteles*, that was bribed before (as it is reported) with money, told him that all was cleare in the rereward, and bad him looke to ouerthrow his enemies before him. *Cleomenes* truſting this report, ſet forward againſt *Antigonus*, and in the end, his citizens of SPARTA which he had about him, gaue ſuch a fierce charge vpon the ſquadron of the MACEDONIAN footemen, that they draue them backe fiue furlongs off. But in the meane time, *Euclidas* his brother, in the other wing of his army, being compaſſed in behinde, *Cleomenes* turning him backe, and ſeeing the ouerthrow, cried out aloude: alas, good brother, thou art but ſlaine, yet thou dieſt valiantly, and honeſtly, and thy death ſhall be a worthy example vnto all poſterity, and ſhall be ſung by the praiſes of the women of SPARTA. So *Euclidas* and his men being ſlaine, the enemies came ſtraight to ſette vppon *Cleomenes* wing. *Cleomenes* then ſeeing his men diſcouraged, and that they durſt no longer reſiſt the enemy, fledde, and ſaued him ſelfe. Many of the ſtraungers alſo that ſerued him, were ſlaine at this battell: and of ſixe thouſand SPARTANS, there were left aliue but onely two hundred. Now *Cleomenes* being returned vnto SPARTA, the citizens comming to ſee him, he gaue them counſell to yeeld themſelues vnto *Antigonus* the conquerour: and for him ſelfe, if either aliue or dead he could do any thing for the honour and benefit of SPARTA, that he would willingly doe it. The women of the city alſo, comming vnto them that flying had eſcaped with him, when hee ſaw them vnarme the men, and bring them drinke to refreſh them with: he alſo went home to his own houſe. Then a maide of the houſe, which he had taken in the city of MEGALIPOLIS (and whom he had entertained euer ſince the death of his wife) came vnto him as her maner was, to refreſh him comming hot from the battell: howbeit he would not drinke though he was extreame dry, nor ſit being very weary, but armed as he was, layed his arme a croſſe vppon a piller, and leaning his head vpon it, repoſed him ſelfe a litle, and caſting in his mind all the waies that were to be thought of, he tooke his friends with him, and went to the hauen of Gythium, and there hauing his ſhippes which he had appointed for the purpoſe, he hoyſed ſayle, and departed his way. Immediatly after his departure, came *Antigonus* into the city of SPARTA, and curteouſly intreated the citizens and inhabitants he found, and did offend no man, nor proudly deſpiſe the ancient honor and dignity of SPARTA: but referring them to their owne lawes and gouernment, when he had ſacrificed to the goddes for his victory, hee departed from thence the third day, newes being brought him that the war was very great in MACEDON, and that the barbarous people did ſpoile his country. Now a diſeaſe tooke him, whereof he died afterwards, which appeared a tiſicke, mixt with a ſore catarre: but yet he yeelded not to his diſeaſe, and bare it out, that fighting for his country, & obtaining a famous victory, with great ſlaughter of the barbarous people, he might yet die honorably, as in deede he did, by *Phylarchus* teſtimony, who ſayth, that with the force of his voice, fiercely crying out in the middeſt of his fight, he tare his lungs and lightes, worſe then they were before. Yet in the ſchooles it is ſaied, that after he had wonne the battell, he was ſo ioyfull of it, that crying out, O bleſſed day: hee brake out into a great bleeding at the mouth, and a great feuer tooke him withall, that he died of it. Thus much touching *Antigonus*. Now *Cleomenes* departing out of the Iſle of CYTHERA, went and caſt ancker in an other Iland, called ÆGDALIA. Then determining to ſaile ouer to the city of CYRENA, *Therycion*, one of *Cleomenes* friends (a man that in warres ſhewed him ſelfe very valiant, but a boaſter beſides of his owne doings) tooke *Cleomenes* aſide, and ſaid thus vnto him: Truely O king, we haue loſt an honorable occaſion to die in battell, though euery man hath heard vs vaunt and ſay, that *Antigonus* ſhould neuer ouercome the king of SPARTA aliue, but dead. A ſecond occaſion yet is offered vs to die, with much leſſe honour and fame notwithſtanding, then the firſt. Whither doe we ſaile to no purpoſe? Why doe we flie the death at hand, and ſeeke it ſo farre off? If it be no ſhame nor diſhonour for the poſterity and race of *Hercules* to ſerue the ſucceſſors of *Philip* and *Alexander*: let vs ſaue then our labour, and long daungerous ſailing, and goe yeelde our ſelues vnto *Antigonus*, who in likelihood will better

*The treaſon of Demoteles.*

*Cleomenes ouerthrowen by Antigonus.*

*Antigonus wan the city of Sparta.*

*The death of Antigonus the ſonne of Demetrius, king of Macedon.*

*Cleomenes flieth out of Peloponneſus.*

*The oration of Therycion, vnto Cleomenes againſt death.*

„ vſe vs then *Ptolomy*, becauſe the MACEDONIANS are farre more noble perſons then the ÆGYPTIANS.
„ And if we diſdaine to be commaunded by them which haue ouercome vs in
„ battell, why then will we make him Lord of vs, that hath not ouercome vs: in ſteade of one,
„ to make vs inferior vnto both, flying *Antigonus*, and ſeruing king *Ptolomy*? Can we ſay that we
„ goe into ÆGYPT, in reſpect to ſee your mother there? A ioyfull ſight no doubt, when ſhe
„ ſhall ſhew king *Ptolomyes* wiues her ſon, that before was a king; a priſoner, and fugitiue now.
„ Were it not better for vs, that hauing yet LACONIA our country in ſight, and our ſwords beſides
„ in our owne hands, to deliuer vs from this great miſery, and ſo doing to excuſe our ſelues
„ vnto them that are ſlaine at SELASIA, for defence of SPARTA: then cowardly looſing our time
„ in ÆGYPT, to enquire whom *Antigonus* left his Lieutenaunt and Gouernour in LACEDÆMON:
*Therycion* ending his oration, *Cleomenes* aunſwered him thus: Doeſt thou thinke it a
glory for thee to ſeeke death, which is the eaſieſt matter, and the preſenteſt vnto any man, that
" can be: and yet, wretch that thou art: thou flieſt now more cowardly and ſhamefully, then
" from the battell. For diuerſe valiant men, and farre better then our ſelues, haue often yeelded
" vnto their enemies, either by ſome misfortune, or compelled by greater number and multitude
" of men: but hee ſay I, that ſubmitteth him ſelfe vnto paine and miſery, reproach and
" praiſe of men, he can not but confeſſe that he is ouercome by his owne vnhappines. For when
a man will willingly kill him ſelfe, he muſt not do it to be rid of paines and labor, but it muſt
haue an honourable reſpect and action. For, to liue or dye for his owne reſpect, that can not
but be diſhonourable: the which now thou perſwadeſt me vnto, to make me flie this preſent
" miſerie we are in, without any honour or profite in our death. And therefore, I am of opinion,
" that we ſhould not yet caſt off the hope, we haue to ſerue our country in time to come:
" but when all hope fayleth vs, then we may eaſily make our ſelues away when we liſt. Thereunto
" *Thericion* gaue no aunſwere, but as ſoone as he found oportunity to ſlippe from *Cleomenes*,
he went to the ſea ſide, and ſlue him ſelfe. *Cleomenes* hoyſing ſaile from the Ile of
ÆGIALIA, went into AFRICKE, and was brought by the kings ſeruauntes vnto the citie
of ALEXANDRIA. King *Ptolomy* at his firſt comming, gaue *Cleomenes* no ſpeciall good, but
indifferent intertainement: but after that he had ſhewed him ſelfe to be of great wiſdome and
iudgement, and that *Ptolomy* ſaw in the ſimplicity of his LACONIAN life he had alſo a noble
diſpoſition and courage, nothing degenerating from the princely race and bloud of *Hercules*,
and that he yeelded not to his aduerſity: he tooke more delight in his company, then in all the
company of his flatterers and hangers on him: and then repented him greatly, that hee had
made no more account of him before, but had ſuffered him to be ouerthrowen by *Antigonus*,
who through the victory of him, had maruellouſly enlarged his honour and power. Then he
began to comfort *Cleomenes*, & doing him as great honor as could be, promiſed that he would
ſend him with ſhips and money into GREECE, and put him againe into his kingdom: and further,
gaue him an anuall pencion in the meane time, of foure and twenty talentes, with the
which he ſimply and ſoberly entertained him ſelfe and his men about him: and beſtowed all
the reſt vpon his coũtry men that came out of GREECE into ÆGYPT. But now, old king *Ptolomy*
deceaſing before he could performe the promiſe he made vnto *Cleomenes*, to ſend him into
GREECE: the realme falling then into great laſciuiouſnes, drunkennes, and into the gouernment
of women, his caſe and miſery was cleane forgotten. For the young king his ſonne was
ſo giuen ouer to women and wine, that when he was moſt ſober, and in his beſt wits, he moſt
diſpoſed him ſelfe to make feaſtes and ſacrifices, and to haue the taber playing in his Court,
to gather people together, like a ſtage player or iugler, whileſt one *Agathoclea* his lemman, and
her mother, and *Oenanthes* a baude, did rule all the affaires of the ſtate. But when he came to
be king, it appeared he had neede of *Cleomenes*: becauſe he was affrayed of his brother *Magas*,
who by his mothers means, was very well eſteemed of among ſouldiers. Wherefore he called
*Cleomenes* to him, & made him of his priuy counſell, where he deuiſed by practiſe, which way
to kill his brother. All other his frends that were of counſell with him, did counſell him to do
it: but *Cleomenes* onely vehemently diſſwaded him from it, and tolde him, that if it were poſſible,
rather more brethren ſhould be begotten vnto the king for the ſafety of his perſon, and
for deuiding of the affaires of the kingdome betweene them. Amongeſt the kings familiars
that

*Cleomenes oration of death.*

*Willing death, muſt haue honorable reſpect*

*Cleomenes flieth into ÆGypt vnto king Ptolomy.*

that was chiefeſt about him,there was one *Soſibius* that ſaid vnto *Cleomenes*: ſo long as his brother *Magas* liued,the ſouldiers that be ſtraungers,whom the king entertained , would neuer be true to him. *Cleomenes* aunſwered him,for that matter there was no daunger: for ſayth he, of thoſe hyred ſtraungers , there are three thouſand PELOPONNESIANS, which he knew at the twinckling of an eye , would be at his commaundement, to come with their armour and weapon where he would appoint them . Theſe wordes of *Cleomenes* at that time ſhewed his faith and good will he bare vnto the king,and the force he was of beſides. But afterwards, *Ptolomies* fearefulneſſe increaſing his miſtruſt: (as it commonly hapneth , that they that lacke wit, thinke it the beſt ſafetie to be fearefull of euery wagging of a ſtraw,and to miſtruſt euery man) the remembraunce of *Cleomenes* wordes made him much ſuſpected of the Courtiers , vnderſtanding that he could do ſo much with the ſouldiers that were ſtraungers: in ſomuch as ſome of them ſayd,ſee (meaning *Cleomenes*) here is a lyon amongeſt ſheepe. Indeed, conſidering his faſhions and behauiour,they might well ſay ſo of him: for he would looke through his fingers as though he ſaw nothing,and yet ſaw all what they did. In fine,he required an armie & ſhips of the king: and vnderſtanding alſo that *Antigonus* was dead , and that the ACHAIANS & ÆTOLIANS were at great warres together, & that the affaires of his conntry did call him home, all PELOPONNESVS being in armes & vprore , he prayed that they would licence him to depart with his friends. But neuer a man would giue eare vnto him,and the king alſo heard nothing of it,becauſe he was continually entertained among Ladies,with banckets, dauncing, & maskes. But *Soſibius* that ruled all the realme,thought that to keepe *Cleomenes* againſt his will, were a hard thing,and alſo daungerous: and to let him go alſo,knowing that he was a valiant man,and of a ſturring minde,and one that knew the vices and imperfections of their gouernement : he thought that alſo no ſafe way , ſith no giftes nor preſents that could be offered him, could ſoftẽ him. For as the holy bull (which they call in ÆGYPT Apis) that is full fed in goodly paſture , doth yet deſire to follow his naturall courſe and libertie , to runne and leape at his pleaſure , and plainly ſheweth that it is a griefe to him to be kept ſtill by the Prieſt : euen ſo the courtly pleaſures did nothing delight *Cleomenes*,but as *Homer* writeth of *Achilles*:

*Cleomenes* *vertue.*

*It irkt his noble hart to ſit at home in ſlothfull reſt,*
*VVhen martiall matters were in hand , the which he liked beſt.*

Now *Cleomenes* ſtanding in theſe termes , there arriued in ALEXANDRIA one *Nicagoras* MESSENIAN , who maliced *Cleomenes* in his hart, but yet ſhewed as though he loued him. This *Nicagoras* on a time had ſold *Cleomenes* certaine land,but was not payed for it,either becauſe he had no preſent money , or elſe by occaſiõ of the warres which gaue him no leaſure to make payment. *Cleomenes* one day by chance walking vpon the ſandes,he ſaw *Nicagoras* landing out of his ſhip,being newly arriued,and knowing him,he curteouſly welcomed him , & asked what wind had brought him into ÆGYPT. *Nicagoras* gently ſaluting him againe , told him that he had brought the king excellent horſe of ſeruice. *Cleomenes* ſmiling,told him, thou haddeſt bene better haue brought him ſome curtiſans and daunſers, for they would haue pleaſed the king better. *Nicagoras* faintly laughed at his anſwer , but within few dayes after he did put him in remembraunce of the land he ſold him , and prayed him then that he would helpe him to money , telling him that he would not haue preſt him for it , but that he had ſuſteined loſſe by marchandiſe . *Cleomenes* aunſwered him , that all his penſion was ſpent he had of the king. *Nicagoras* being offended with this anſwer , he went & told *Soſibius* of the mocke *Cleomenes* gaue the king. *Soſibius* was glad of this occaſion,but yet deſiring further matter to make the king offended with *Cleomenes*,he perſwaded *Nicagoras* to writ a letter to the king againſt *Cleomenes*,as though he had conſpired to take the citie of CYRENA, if the king had giuẽ him ſhippes,money,and men of warre . When *Nicagoras* had written this letter, he tooke ſhippe, and hoyſed ſayle. Foure dayes after his departure, *Soſibius* brought his letter to the king , as though he had but newly receiued it . The king vpõ ſight of it was ſo offended with *Cleomenes*,that he gaue preſent order he ſhould be ſhut vp in a great houſe , where he ſhould haue his ordinarie dyed allowed him,howbeit that he ſhould keepe his houſe. This grieued *Cleomenes* much,but yet he was worſe affrayd of that which was to come , by this occaſion : *Ptolomie* the ſonne of *Chryſermus*,one of the kings familiars , who had ofentimes before bene very conuer-

*Nicagoras Meſſenian, an enemy to Cleomenes.*

*Cleomenes cõmitted to priſon in Alexandria.*

*Cleomenes pra-ctiſeth to kill king Ptolomy.*

ſant & familiar with *Cleomenes*,and did franckly talke together in all matters : *Cleomenes* one day ſent for him,to pray him to come vnto him. *Ptolomie* came at his requeſt , and familiarly diſcourſing together , went about to diſſwade him from all the ſuſpitions he had , and excuſed the king alſo for that he had done vnto him : ſo taking his leaue he left him,not thinking that *Cleomenes* followed him (as he did) to the gate , where he ſharply tooke vp the ſouldiers , ſaying,that they were very negligẽt & careleſſe in looking to ſuch a fearefull beaſt as he was, and ſo ill to be taken,if he once ſcaped their handes . *Cleomenes* heard what he ſayd,and went into his lodging againe,*Ptolomy* knowing nothing that he was behind him: and reported the very wordes againe vnto his friends. Then all the SPARTANS conuerting their good hope into anger , determined to be reuenged of the iniurie *Ptolomie* had done them , and to dye like noble SPARTANS not tarying till they ſhould be brought to the ſhambles like fat weathers,to be ſold and killed. For it would be a great ſhame & diſhonor vnto *Cleomenes*,hauing refuſed to make peace with *Antigonus*,a noble Prince and warrier : to tary the kinges pleaſure till he had left his drunckenneſſe and daunſing,and then to come and put him to death . They being fully reſolued hereof,as you haue heard : king *Ptolomie* by chance went vnto the citie of CANOBVS, & firſt they gaue out in ALEXANDRIA,that the king minded to ſet *Cleomenes* at libertie. Thẽ *Cleomenes* friends obſeruing the cuſtom of the kings of ÆGYPT, whẽ they meant to ſet a priſoner at libertie(which was,to ſend the priſoners meate, and preſentes before to their ſupper) did ſend vnto him ſuch manner of preſents , & ſo deceiued the ſouldiers that had the keeping of him,ſaying,that they brought thoſe preſents from the king. For *Cleomenes* himſelfe did ſacrifice vnto the goddes , and ſent vnto the ſouldiers that kept him , part of thoſe preſents that were ſent vnto him , and ſupping with his friendes that night , made mery with them , euery man being crowned with garlands . Some ſay , that he made the more haſt to execute his enterpriſe , ſooner then he would haue done , by meanes of one of his men that was priuie vnto his conſpiracie: who went euery night to lye with a woman he kept, and therfore was affraid leſt he would bewray them. *Cleomenes* about noone,perceiuing the ſouldiers had takẽ in their cuppes , and that they were a ſleepe : he put on his coate , and vnripping it on the right ſhoulder,went out of the houſe with his ſword drawen in his hand , accompanied with his friends, following him in that ſort, which were thirty in all. Amongeſt them there was one called *Hippotas*,who being lame,went very liuely out with them at the firſt:but when he ſaw they went fayre & ſoftly becauſe of him,he prayed them to kill him, becauſe they ſhould not hinder their enterpriſe for a lame man,that could do them no ſeruice . Notwithſtanding,by chaunce they met with a townes man a horſe-backe,that came hard by their doore, whom they pluckt from his horſe , and caſt *Hippotas* vpon him : and then ranne through the citie,and cryed to the people,libertie,libertie . Now the people had no other courage in them, but onely commended *Cleomenes*,& wõdred at his valiantneſſe:but otherwiſe to follow him, or to further his enterpriſe,not a man of them had any hart in them . Thus running vp and downe the towne,they met with *Ptolomie* (the ſame whom we ſayd before was the ſonne of *Chryſermus* ) as he came out of the Court : Whereupon three of them ſetting on him, ſlue him preſently . There was alſo an other *Ptolomie* that was gouernour and Lieutenant of the citie of ALEXANDRIA:who hearing a rumour of this ſturre,came vnto them in his coche . They went and met him,& firſt hauing driuen away his garde and ſouldiers that went before him , they pluckt him out of his coche,and ſlue him alſo. After that they went towardes the caſtle , with intent to ſet all the priſoners there at libertie to take their part . Howbeit the iaylers that kept them had ſo ſtrongly locked vp the priſon doores,that *Cleomenes* was repulſed,and put by his purpoſe. Thus wandring vp and downe the citie , no man neither came to ioyne with him , nor to reſiſt him , for euery man fled for feare of him . Wherefore at length being weary with going vp and down, he turned him to his friends,and ſayd vnto them : it is no maruell though women commaund ſuch a cowardly people , that flye in this ſort from their libertie , Thereupon he prayed them all to dye like men,and like thoſe that were brought vp with him,and that were worthy of the fame of his ſo noble deedes . Then the firſt man that made himſelfe be ſlayne , was *Hippotas*, who dyed of a wound one of the young men of his companie gaue him with a ſword at his requeſt . After him euery man ſlue themſelues , one after an other, without any feare at all, ſa-

*The end and death of Cleomenes and his friendes.*

*The courage of Panteas.*

uing *Panteas*, who was the firſt man that entred the citie of MEGALIPOLIS. He was a fayre young man, and had bene very well brought vp in the LACONIAN diſcipline, and better then any man of his yeares. *Cleomenes* did loue him dearely, and commaunded him that when he ſhould ſee he were dead, and all the reſt alſo, that then he ſhould kill himſelfe laſt of all. Now they all being layed on the ground, he ſearched them one after an other with the poynt of his ſword, to ſee if there were any of them yet left aliue: and when he had pricked *Cleomenes* on the heele amongeſt others, and ſaw that he did yet knit his browes, he kiſſed him, & ſate down by him. Then perceiuing that he had yeelded vp the ghoſt, imbracing him when he was dead, he alſo ſlue himſelfe, and fell vpon him. Thus *Cleomenes* hauing raigned king of SPARTA ſixteen yeares, being the ſame manner of man we haue deſcribed him to be: he ended his dayes in this ſort as ye heare. Now, his death being preſently bruted through the citie, *Crateſiclea* his mother, though otherwiſe ſhe had a noble mind, did notwithſtanding a litle forget her greatneſſe, through the extreme ſorow ſhe felt for the death of her ſonne: and ſo imbracing *Cleomenes* ſonnes, ſhe fell to bitter lamentation. But the eldeſt of his ſonnes, (no man miſtruſting any ſuch matter) found meanes to get out of her handes, and running vp to the top of the houſe, caſt himſelfe headlong downe to the ground, that his head was all broken and ſplitted, yet dyed not, but was taken vp crying, & angry with them, that they would not ſuffer him to dye. This newes being brought to king *Ptolomie*, he commaunded they ſhould firſt flea *Cleomenes*, and then hang vp his body, and alſo, that they ſhould put his children, his mother, and all her women wayting on her to death: among the which was *Panteas* wife, one of the fayreſt & curteouſeſt women in her time. They had not bene long maried before, when theſe miſchieues lighted vpon them, at what time their loue was then in greateſt force. Her parents then would not let her depart, and imbarke with her husband, but had locked her vp, and kept her at home by force. Howbeit ſhortly after ſhe found the meanes to get her a horſe, and ſome money, and ſtale away in the night, and gallopped towardes the hauen of Tænarus, where finding a ſhippe ready bound for ÆGYPT, ſhe imbarked, and went to ſeeke her husband, with whom ſhe gladly and louingly led her life, forſaking her owne country, to liue in a ſtraunge Realme. Now when the Sergeaunts came to take *Crateſiclea* to put her to death, *Panteas* wife led her by the arme, carying vp her traine, and did comfort her, although *Crateſiclea* otherwiſe was not affrayd to dye, but onely asked this fauour, that ſhe might dye before her litle children. This notwithſtanding, when they came to the place of execution, the hangman firſt ſlue her children before her eyes, and then her ſelfe afterwardes, who in ſuch great griefe and ſorow, ſayd no more but thus: Alas, my poore children, what is become of you? And *Panteas* wife alſo, being a mighty tall woman, girding her clothes to her, tooke vp the ſlayne bodies one after an other, and wrapped them vp in ſuch things as ſhe could get, ſpeaking neuer a word, nor ſhewing any ſigne or token of griefe. And in fine, hauing prepared her ſelfe to dye, & plucked off her attyre her ſelfe, without ſuffering any other to come neare her, or to ſee her, but the hangman that was appointed to ſtrike off her head: in this ſort ſhe dyed as conſtantly, as the ſtouteſt man liuing could haue done, and had ſo couered her body, that no man needed after her death to touch her: ſo carefull was ſhe to her end, to keepe her honeſty, which ſhe had alwayes kept in her life, and in her death was mindefull of her honour, wherewith ſhe decked her body in her life time. Thus theſe LACEDÆMON Ladies playing their partes in this pitifull tragedie, contending at the time of death, euen with the courage of the ſlaine SPARTANS their countrymen, which of them ſhould dye moſt conſtantly: left a manifeſt proofe and teſtimony, that fortune hath no power ouer fortitude and courage. Shortly after, thoſe that were appointed to keepe the body of king *Cleomenes* that hung vpon the croſſe, they ſpied a great Serpent wreathed about his head, that couered all his face, in ſomuch as no rauening foule durſt come neare him to eate of it: whereupon the king fell into a ſuperſtitious feare, being affrayed that he had offended the goddes. Hereupon, the Ladies in his Court began to make many ſacrifices of purification, for the clearing of this ſinne: perſwading themſelues, that they had put a man to death, beloued of the gods, and that he had ſomething more in him then a man. The ALEXANDRINIANS thereupon went to the place of execution, and made their prayers vnto *Cleomenes*, as vnto a demy god, calling him the ſonne of the gods. Vntill that the learned men

*Cleomenes hãging vpon a croſſe, had a Serpent wreathed about his head.*

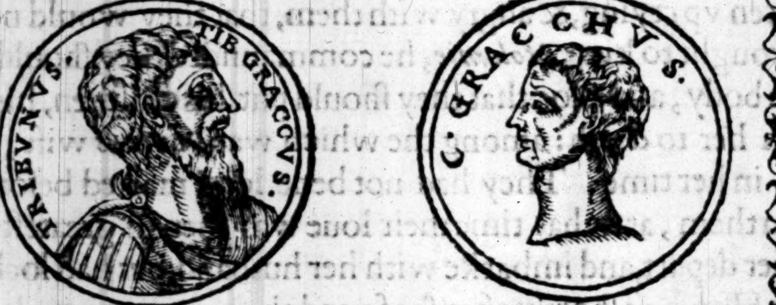
*Liuing things breeding of the corruption of dead beaſtes.*

brought them from that errour, declaring vnto them, that like as of oxen being dead & rotten, there breed bees, and of horſe alſo come waſpes, and of aſſes likewiſe bitels: euen ſo mens bodies, when the marow melteth and gathereth together, do bring forth Serpents. The which comming to the knowledge of the auncients in old time, of all other beaſtes they did conſecrate the Dragon to Kings and Princes, as proper vnto man.

*Why the Dragon is cōſecrated vnto Princes.*

*The end of the life of Agis and Cleomenes.*

# TIBERIVS, AND CAIVS *Gracchi.*



*The worthines of Tiberius Gracchus the father.*

*Tiberius Gracchus the father, maried Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africā.*

NOw that we haue declared vnto you the hiſtorie of the liues of theſe two GRECIANS, *Agis*, and *Cleomenes* aforeſayd: we muſt alſo write the hiſtorie of two ROMAINES, the which is no leſſe lamentable for the troubles and calamities that chanced vnto *Tiberius* & *Caius*, both of them the ſonnes of *Tiberius Gracchus*. He hauing bene twiſe Conſull, & once Cenſor, & hauing had the honour of two triumphs: had notwithſtanding more honour and fame onely for his valiantneſſe, for the which he was thought worthy to marie with *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Scipio*, who ouercame *Hanniball* after the death of his father: though while he liued he was neuer his friend, but rather his enemy. It is reported, that *Tiberius* on a time found two ſnakes in his bed, and that the Soothſayers and wiſards hauing conſidered the ſignification thereof, did forbid him to kill them both, and alſo to let them both eſcape, but one onely: aſſuring him that if he killed the male, he ſhould not liue long after: and if he killed the female, that then his wiſe *Cornelia* ſhould dye. *Tiberius* then louing his wiſe dearely, thinking it meeter for him alſo, that he being the elder of both, and ſhe yet a young woman, ſhould dye before her: he ſlue the male, and let the female eſcape, howbeit he dyed ſoone after, leauing twelue children aliue, all of them begotten of *Cornelia*. *Cornelia* after the death of her husband, taking vpon her the rule of her houſe and children, led ſuch a chaſt life, was ſo good to her children, and of ſo noble a minde: that euery man thought *Tiberius* a wiſe man for that he dyed, and left her behind him. She remaining widow, king *Ptolomie* made ſute vnto her, and would haue made her his wiſe and Queene. But ſhe refuſed, and in her widowhood loſt all her children, but one daughter, (whom ſhe beſtowed vpon the younger *Scipio African*) and *Tiberius*, and *Caius*, whoſe liues we preſently write. Thoſe ſhe ſo carefully brought vp, that they being become more ciuill, and better cōditioned, then any other ROMAINES in their time: euery man iudged, that education preuailed more in them, then nature. For, as in

*The tender loue of Tiberius to his wiſe Cornelia.*

*The prayſe of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi* the fauours and pictures of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, there is a certaine difference diſcerned, whereby a man may know that the one was made for wreſtling, and the other for running: euen ſo between theſe two young brethren, amongſt other the great likeneſſe between thẽ, being both happely borne to be valiant, to be temperate, to be liberall, to be learned, and to be nobly minded, there grew notwithſtanding great difference in their actions and doings in the common wealth: the which I thinke conuenient to declare, before I proceede any farther. Firſt of all, for the fauour of the face, the looke and mouing of the body, *Tiberius* was much more mild and tractable, and *Caius* more hot and earneſt. For the firſt in his orations was very modeſt, and kept his place: & the other of all the ROMAINES was the firſt, that in his oration ietted vp & downe the pulpit, & that plucked his gowne ouer his ſhoulders: as they write of *Cleo* ATHENIAN, that he was the firſt of all Oratours that opened his gown, and clapped his hand on his thigh in his oration. Furthermore, *Caius* wordes, and the vehemencie of his perſwaſion, were terrible and full of paſsion, but *Tiberius* wordes in contrary manner, were mild, moued men more to compaſsion, being very proper, and excellently applied, where *Caius* wordes were full of fineneſſe and curioſitie. The like difference alſo was between them in their fare & dyet. For *Tiberius* alwaies kept a conuenient ordinary: & *Caius* alſo in reſpect of other ROMAINES, liued very temperatly, but in reſpect of his brothers fare, curiouſly & ſuperfluouſly. In ſomuch as *Druſus* on a time reproued him, becauſe he had bought certaine Dolphins of ſiluer, to the value of a thouſand two hundred and fiftie Drachmas for euery pound waight. And now, as touching the manners and naturall diſpoſition of them both agreeing with the diuerſitie of their tongues, the one being milde and plauſible, and the other hot and chollericke: in ſomuch that otherwhile forgetting himſelfe in his Oration, againſt his will he would be very earneſt, & ſtrayne his voyce beyond his cõpaſſe, & ſo with great vncomelineſſe confound his wordes. Yet finding his owne fault, he deuiſed this remedie. He had a ſeruaunt called *Licinius*, a good wiſe man, who with an inſtrument of Muſicke he had, by the which they teach men to riſe & fall in their tunes, when he was in his oration, he euer ſtood behind him: & whẽ he perceiued that his maiſters voyce was a litle too loud, & that through choller he exceeded his ordinarie ſpeach: he played a ſoft ſtoppe behind him, at the ſound whereof *Caius* immediatly fell from his extremitie, & eaſily came to himſelfe againe. And here was the diuerſitie betweene them. Otherwiſe, for their hardineſſe againſt their enemies, the iuſtice vnto their tenaunts, the care and paynes in their offices of charge, and alſo their continencie againſt voluptuouſneſſe: in all theſe they were both alike. For age, *Tiberius* was elder by nine yeares, by reaſon whereof their ſeuerall authoritie and doings in the common wealth fell out at ſundry times. And this was one of the chiefeſt cauſes why their doings proſpered not, becauſe they had not both authoritie in one ſelfe time, neither could they ioyne their power together: the which if it had met at one ſelfe time, had bene of great force, & peraduenture inuincible. Wherefore we muſt write particularly of them both, but firſt of all we muſt begin with the elder. He, whẽ he came to mans ſtate, had ſuch a name and eſtimation, that immediatly they made him fellow, in the colledge of the Prieſts, which at ROME are called Augures: (being thoſe that haue the charge to conſider of ſignes & predictions of things to come) more for his valiantnes, then for nobilitie. The ſame doth *Appius Clodius* witneſſe vnto vs, one that hath bene both Conſull and Cenſor, & alſo Preſident of the Senate, and of greater authoritie then any man in his time. This *Appius* at a ſupper when all the Augures were together, after he had ſaluted *Tiberius*, & made very much of him, he offered him his daughter in mariage. *Tiberius* was very glad of the offer, and there withall the mariage was preſently concluded betweene them. Thereupon *Appius* comming home to his houſe, at the threſhold of his doore he called a loude for his wife, and told her: *Antiſtia*, I haue beſtowed our daughter *Clodia*. She wondring at it, ô gods ſaid ſhe, & what needed all this haſt? what couldeſt thou haue done more; if thou haddeſt gottẽ her *Tiberius Gracchus* for her husband? I know that ſome referre this hiſtorie vnto *Tiberius*, father of theſe two men we write of, and vnto *Scipio* the AFRICAN: but the moſt part of writers agree with that we write at this preſent. And *Polybius* himſelfe alſo writeth, that after the death of *Scipio* AFRICAN, his friends being met together, they choſe *Tiberius* before all the other yong men of the citie, to marie him vnto *Cornelia*, being free, and vnpromiſed, or beſtowed vpon a-

*A true deſcription of Tiberius and Caius Gracchi.*

*Tiberius made Augure.*

*Tiberius maried Appius Clodius daughter.*

*Tiberius Gracchus ſouldier fare.*

*Tiberius Gracchus choſen Quæſtor.*

*Tiberius Gracchus concludeth peace with the Numantines.*

ny mã by her father. Now *Tiberius* the yonger being in the warres in AFRICKE vnder *Scipio* the ſecond, who had maried his ſiſter: lying in his tent with him, he found his Captaine indued with many noble gifts of nature, to allure mens harts to deſire to follow his valiantneſſe. So in a ſhort time he did excell all the young men of his time, aſwell in obedience, as in the valiantneſſe of his perſon: in ſomuch that he was the firſt man that ſcaled the walles of the enemies, as *Fannius* reporteth, who ſayth that he ſcaled the walles with him, and did helpe him in that valiant enterpriſe. So that being preſent, all the campe were in loue with him: and when he was abſent, euery man wiſhed for him againe. After this warre was ended, he was choſen Treaſurer, and it was his chaunce to go againſt the NVMANTINES, with *Caius Mancinus* one of the Conſuls, who was an honeſt man, but yet had the worſt lucke of any Captaine the ROMAINES had. Notwithſtanding, *Tiberius* wiſedome and valiantneſſe, in this extreme ill lucke of his Captaine, did not onely appeare with great glory to him, but alſo moſt wonderfull, the great obedience and reuerence he bare vnto his Captaine: though his misfortunes did ſo trouble and grieue him, that he could not tell himſelfe, whether he was Captaine or not. For when he was ouerthrowen in great foughten fieldes, he departed in the night, and left his campe. The NVMANTINES hearing of it, firſt tooke his campe, and then ranne after them that fled, and ſetting vpon the rereward, ſlue them, and enuironned all his armie. So that they were driuen into ſtraight and narrow places, where out they could by no meanes eſcape. Thereupon *Mancinus* diſpayring that he could get out by force, he ſent a Herauld to the enemies to treate of peace. The NVMANTINES made aunſwere, that they would truſt no man but *Tiberius* onely, and therefore they willed he ſhould be ſent vnto them. They deſired that, partly for the loue they bare vnto the vertues of the young man, becauſe there was no talke of any other in all this warre but of him: and partly alſo, as remembring his father *Tiberius*, who making warres in SPAYNE, and hauing there ſubdued many nations, he graunted the NVMANTINES peace, the which he cauſed the ROMAINES afterwardes to confirme and ratifie. Hereupon *Tiberius* was ſent to ſpeake with them, and partly obteyning that he deſired, and partly alſo graunting them that they required: he concluded peace with them, whereby aſſuredly he ſaued the liues of twentie thouſand ROMAINE Citizens, beſides ſlaues & other ſtragglers that willingly followed the campe. This notwithſtanding, the NVMANTINES tooke the ſpoyle of all the goods they found in the ROMAINES campe, among the which they founde *Tiberius* booke of account touching the money diſburſed of the treaſure in his charge. *Tiberius* being maruellous deſirous to haue his booke againe, returned backe to NVMANTIA with two or three of his friends onely, though the army of the ROMAINES were gone farre on their way. So comming to the towne, he ſpake vnto the gouernours of the citie, and prayed them to redeliuer him his bookes of account, becauſe his malitious enemies ſhould not accuſe him, calling him to account for his doings. The NVMANTINES were very glad of this good hap, and prayed them to come into the towne. He ſtanding ſtill in doubt with himſelfe what to do, whether he ſhould go into the towne or not: the gouernours of the citie came to him, and taking him by the hand, prayed he would thinke they were not his enemies, but good friends, and that he would truſt them. Whereupon *Tiberius* thought beſt to yeeld to their perſwaſion, being deſirous alſo to haue his bookes againe, and the rather, for feare of offending the NVMANTINES, if he ſhould haue denyed and miſtruſted them. When he was brought into the citie, they prouided his dinner, and were very earneſt with him, intreating him to dyne with them. Then they gaue him his bookes againe, and offered him moreouer to take what he would of all the ſpoyles they had gotten in the campe of the ROMAINES. Howbeit of all that, he would take nothing but franckenſence, which he vſed, when he did any ſacrifice for his country: and then taking his leaue of them, with thankes he returned. When he was returned to ROME, all this peace cõcluded was vtterly miſliked, as diſhonourable to the Maieſtie of the Empire of ROME. Yet the parents and friendes of them that had ſerued in this warre, making the greateſt part of the people: they gathered about *Tiberius*, ſaying that what faultes were committed in this ſeruice, they were to impute it vnto the Conſull *Mancinus*, and not vnto *Tiberius*, who had ſaued ſuch a number of ROMAINES liues. Notwithſtãding, they that were offended with this diſhonorable peace, would that therein they ſhould follow the example of their forefathers in the like caſe. For they ſent backe their Captaines naked vnto their enemies, becauſe they were contented the SAMNITS ſhould ſpoyle them of that they had, to eſcape with life. Moreouer, they did not onely ſend them the Captaines and Conſuls, but all thoſe alſo that bare any office in the field, and had conſented vnto that condition: to the end they might lay all the periurie and breach of peace vpon them. Herein therefore did manifeſtly appeare, the loue and good will the people did beare vnto *Tiberius*. For they gaue order, that the Conſull *Mancinus* ſhould be ſent naked, and bound vnto the NVMANTINES, & for *Tiberius* ſake, they pardoned all the reſt. I thinke *Scipio*, who bare great ſway at that time in ROME, & was a man of greateſt account, did helpe him at that pinch: who notwithſtanding was ill thought of, becauſe he did not alſo ſaue the Conſull *Mancinus*, and confirme the peace concluded with the NVMANTINES, cõſidering it was made by *Tiberius* his friend & kinſmã. But theſe miſlikings grew chiefly through the ambition of *Tiberius* friends, and certain learned men, which ſtirred him vp againſt *Scipio*. But yet it fell not out to open malice betweene them, neither followed there any hurt vpon it. And ſurely I am perſwaded, that *Tiberius* had not fallen into thoſe troubles he did afterwards, if *Scipio* AFRICAN had bene preſent, when he paſſed thoſe things he preferred. But *Scipio* was then in warres at the ſiege of NVMANTIA, when *Tiberius* vpon this occaſion paſſed theſe lawes. When the ROMAINES in old time had ouercome any of their neighbours, for raunſome they tooke oftentimes a great deale of their land from them, part whereof they ſold by the cryer, for the benefite of the common wealth, and part alſo they reſerued to their ſtate as demeane, which afterwardes was let out to farme for a ſmall rent yearely, to the poore Citizens that had no lands. Howbeit the rich men inhaunſed the rents, and ſo began to thruſt out the poore men. Thereupon was an ordinance made, that no Citizen of ROME ſhould haue aboue fiue hundred acres of land. This law for a time did bridle the couetouſneſſe of the rich men, and did eaſe the poore alſo that dwelt in the country, vpon the farmes they had taken vp of the common wealth, and ſo liued with their owne, or with that their Aunceſtors had from the beginning. But by proceſſe of time, their rich neighbours, by names of other men, got their farmes ouer their heades, and in the end, the moſt of them were openly ſeene in it in their owne names. Whereupon, the poore people being thus turned out of all, wẽt but with faint courage afterwards to the warre, nor cared any more for bringing vp of children: So that in ſhort time, the free men left ITALIE, and ſlaues and barbarous people did repleniſh it, whom the rich men made to plough thoſe landes, which they had taken from the ROMAINES. *Caius Lælius*, one of *Scipioes* friends, gaue an attempt to reform this abuſe: but becauſe the chiefeſt of the citie were againſt him, fearing it would breake out to ſome vprore, he deſiſted from his purpoſe, and therefore he was called *Lælius* the wiſe. But *Tiberius* being choſen Tribune, he did forthwith preferre the reformation aforeſayd, being allured vnto it (as diuers writers report) by *Diophanes* the Oratour, and *Bloſsius* the Philoſopher: of the which, *Diophanes* was baniſhed from the citie of MITYLENE, & *Bloſsius* the ITALIAN from the citie of CVMES, who was ſcholler and familiar vnto *Antipater* of TARSVS at ROME, by whom he was honored by certaine workes of Philoſophy he dedicated vnto him. And ſome alſo do accuſe their mother *Cornelia*, who did twit her ſons in the teeth, that the ROMAINES did yet call her *Scipioes* mother in law, and not the mother of the GRACCHI. Other ſay it was *Spurius Poſthumius*, a companion of *Tiberius* and one that contended with him in eloquence. For *Tiberius* returning from the warres, and finding him farre beyond him in fame and reputation, and well beloued of euery one: he ſought to excell him by attempting this noble enterpriſe, and of ſo great expectation. His owne brother *Caius* in a certaine booke, wrote, that as he went to the warres of NVMANTIA, paſsing through THVSCAN, he founde the country in manner vnhabited: and they that did follow the plough, or keepe beaſtes, were the moſt of them ſlaues, and barbarous people, come out of a ſtraunge country. Whereupon euer after it ranne in his minde to bring this enterpriſe to paſſe, which brought great troubles to their houſe. But in fine, it was the people onely that moſt ſet his hart a fire to couet honour, and that haſtened his determination: firſt bringing him to it by bylles ſet vp on euerie wall, in euerie porche, and vpon the tombes, praying him by them to cauſe the poore Ci-

*The peace broken with the Numantines.*

*Why Tiberius preferred the law Agraria.*

*Iugera.*

*Why Caius Lælius was called the wiſe, Tiberius Gracchus choſen Tribune of the people.*

*Counſellers to Tiberius for preferring the law.*

*Lex Agraria.*

*Tiberius Orations.*

*Marcus Octauius Tribune, did withſtand Tiberius law.*

*The modeſt contention betwixt Tiberius and Octauius.*

tizens of ROME to haue their landes reſtored, which were belonging to the common wealth. This notwithſtanding he himſelfe made not the law alone of his owne head, but did it by the counſell and aduiſe of the chiefeſt men of ROME, for vertue and eſtimation: Among the which, *Craſſus* the high Biſhop was one, and *Mutius Scæuola* the Lawyer, that then was Conſull, and *Appius Clodius* his father in law. And truely it ſeemeth, that neuer law was made with greater fauour, then that which he preferred againſt ſo great iniuſtice, and auarice. For thoſe that ſhould haue bene puniſhed for tranſgreſsing the law, and ſhould haue had the landes taken from them by force, which they vniuſtly kept againſt the law of ROME, and that ſhould alſo haue bene amerſed for it: he ordeined that they ſhould be payed by the common wealth to the value of the landes, which they held vniuſtly, and ſo ſhould leaue them to the poore Citizens againe that had no land, and lacked helpe and reliefe. Now, though the reformation eſtabliſhed by this law, was done with ſuch great fauour: the people notwithſtanding were contented, and would forget all that was paſt, ſo that they might haue no more wrong offred them in time to come. But the rich men, and men of great poſſeſsions, hated the law for their auarice, and for ſpight and ſelfwill (which would not let them yeeld) they were at deadly foode with the Lawyer that had preferred the law, and ſought by all deuiſe they could to diſſwade the people from it: telling them that *Tiberius* brought in this law Agraria againe, to diſturbe the common wealth, and to make ſome alteration in the ſtate. But they preuailed not. For *Tiberius* defending the matter, which of it ſelfe was good and iuſt, with ſuch eloquence as might haue iuſtified an euill cauſe, was inuincible: and no man was able to argue againſt him to confute him, when ſpeaking in the behalfe of the poore Citizens of ROME, (the people being gathered round about the pulpit for Orations) he told them, that the wild beaſtes through ITALIE had their dennes & caues of abode, and that the men that fought, and were ſlaine for their country, had nothing elſe but ayre & light, & ſo were compelled to wander vp & down with their wiues & children, hauing no reſting place nor houſe to put their heads in: and that the Captaines do but mocke their ſouldiers, whẽ they encourage them in battell to fight valiantly for the graues, the temples, their own houſes, & their predeceſſours. For, ſayd he, of ſuch a number of poore Citizens as there be, there can not a man of them ſhew any auncient houſe or tombe of their aunceſtours: becauſe the poore men do go to the warres, & be ſlaine for the rich mens pleaſures and wealth: beſides, they falſly call them Lordes of the earth, where they haue not a handfull of ground, that is theirs. Theſe & ſuch other like wordes being vttered before all the people with ſuch vehemencie and troth, did ſo moue the common people withall, and put them in ſuch a rage, that there was no aduerſarie of his able to withſtand him. Therefore, leauing to contrary and deny the law by argument, the rich men did put all their truſt in *Marcus Octauius*, colleague and fellow Tribune with *Tiberius* in office, who was a graue and wiſe young man, and *Tiberius* very familiar friend. So that the firſt time they came to him, to oppoſe him againſt the confirmation of this law: he prayed them to hold him excuſed, becauſe *Tiberius* was his very friend. But in the end, being compelled vnto it through the great number of the riche men that were importunate with him: he did withſtand *Tiberius* law, the which was enough to ouerthrow it. For if any one of the Tribunes ſpeake againſt it, though all the other paſſe with it, he ouerthroweth it: becauſe they all can do nothing, if one of them be againſt it. *Tiberius* being very much offended with it, proceeded no further in this firſt fauourable law, & in a rage preferred an other more gratefull to the common people, as alſo more extreme againſt the rich. In that law he ordeined, that whoſoeuer had any landes contrary to the auncient lawes of ROME, that he ſhould preſently depart from them. But therupon there fell out cõtinuall brawles in the pulpit for orations, againſt *Octauius*: in the which, though they were very earneſt and vehement one againſt an other, yet there paſſed no fowle words from them, (how hot ſoeuer they were one with an other) that ſhould ſhame his companion. Whereby it appeareth, that to be well brought vp, breedeth ſuch a ſtay & knowledge in a man, not onely in things of pleaſure to make him regard his credit, both in word & deed: but in paſsion and anger alſo, and in their greateſt ambition of glory. Therupon *Tiberius* finding that this law among others touched *Octauius*, becauſe he enioyed a great deale of land that was the common wealthes: he prayed him ſecretly to contend no more againſt him, promiſing him to giue him of his own, the value of thoſe lands which he ſhould be driuen to forſake, although he was not very able to performe it. But when he ſaw *Octauius* would not be perſwaded, he then preferred a law, that all Magiſtrates and Officers ſhould ceaſe their authoritie, till the law were either paſt, or reiected, by voyces of the people: and thereupon he ſet his own ſeale vpõ the doores of the temple of *Saturne*, where the cofers of the treaſure lay, becauſe the treaſurers themſelues during that time, ſhould neither take out nor put in any thing, vpon great penalties to be forfeited by the Prætors or any other Magiſtrate of authoritie, that ſhould breake this order. Hereupon, all the Magiſtrates fearing this penaltie, did leaue to exerciſe their office for the time. But then the rich men that were of great liuings, chaunged their apparell, and walked very ſadly vp and downe the market place, and layed ſecret wait to take *Tiberius*, hauing hyred men to kill him: which cauſed *Tiberius* himſelfe, openly before them all, to weare a ſhort dagger vnder his long gowne, properly called in Latin, Dolon. When the day came that this law ſhould be eſtabliſhed, *Tiberius* called the people to giue their voyces: and the rich men on the other ſide, they tooke away the pots by force, wherein the papers of mens voyces were throwen, ſo that there was like to fall out great ſturre vpon it. For the faction of *Tiberius* was the ſtrõger ſide, by the number of people that were gathered about him for that purpoſe: had it not bene for *Manlius* & *Fuluius*, both the which had bene Cõſuls, who went vnto him, & beſought him with the teares in their eyes, & holding vp their hãds, that he would let the law alone. *Tiberius* thereupon, foreſeeing the inſtant daunger of ſome great miſchief, as alſo for the reuerence he bare vnto two ſuch noble perſons, he ſtayed a litle, and aſked them what they would haue him to do. They made aunſwere, that they were not able to counſell him in a matter of ſo great waight, but they prayed him notwithſtanding, he would be contented to referre it to the iudgement of the Senate. Thereupon he graunted them preſently. But afterwards perceiuing that the Senate ſate vpon it, and had determined nothing, becauſe the rich mẽ were of too great authoritie: he entred into an other deuiſe that was neither honeſt nor meete, which was, to depriue *Octauius* of his Tribuneſhip, knowing that otherwiſe he could not poſsibly come to paſſe the law. But before he tooke that courſe, he openly intreated him in the face of the people with curteous words, and tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to ſtand no more againſt him, and to do the people this pleaſure, which required a matter iuſt & reaſonable, & onely requeſted this ſmall recompence for the great paines they tooke in ſeruice abroad for their countrey. *Octauius* denied him plainly. Then ſaid *Tiberius* openly, that both of them being brethren in one ſelfe place and authoritie, and contrary one to an other in a matter of ſo great waight, this contention could not be poſsibly ended, without ciuill warre: & that he could ſee no way to remedy it, vnleſſe one of them two were depoſed from their office. Thereupon he bad *Octauius* begin firſt with him, and he would riſe from the bench with a good will, and become a priuate man, if the people were ſo contented. *Octauius* would do nothing in it. *Tiberius* then replied, that he would be doing with him, if he altered not his minde, vpon a better breath and conſideration: and ſo diſmiſſed the aſſembly for that day. The next morning the people being againe aſſembled, *Tiberius* going vp to his ſeate, attempted againe to perſwade *Octauius* to leaue off. In fine, finding him ſtill a man vnremoueable, he referred the matter to the voyce of the people, whether they were contented *Octauius* ſhould be depoſed from his office. Now there were fiue and thirtie tribes of the people, of the which ſeuenteen of them had already paſſed their voyces againſt *Octauius*, ſo that there remained but one tribe more to put him out of his office. Then *Tiberius* made them ſtay for proceeding any further, and prayed *Octauius* againe, imbracing him before all the people, with all the intreatie poſsible: that for ſelfewill ſake he would not ſuffer ſuch an open ſhame to be done vnto him, as to be put out of his office: neither alſo to make him the occaſion and inſtrument of ſo pitifull a deede. They ſay that *Octauius* at this laſt intreatie was ſomewhat moued and wonne by his perſwaſions, and that weeping, he ſtayed a long time, and made no aunſwere. But when he looked vpon the rich men that ſtood in a great companie together, he was aſhamed (I thinke) to haue their ill willes, and rather betooke himſelfe to the loſſe of his office, and ſo bad *Tiberius* do what he would. Thereupon he being depriued by voyces of the people, *Tiberius* commaunded one of his infranchiſed bondmen to pull

*Tiberius depoſeth Octauius of his Tribuneſhip.*

him out of the pulpit for Orations: for he vſed his infranchiſed bondmen in ſteed of Sergeaunts. This made the ſight ſo much more lamentable, to ſee *Octauius* thus ſhamefully pluckt away by force. Yea furthermore, the common people would haue runne vpon him, but the riche men came to reſcue him, and would not ſuffer him to do him further hurt. So *Octauius* ſaued himſelfe running away alone, after he had bene reſcued thus from the furie of the people. Moreouer, there was a faithfull ſeruaunt of *Octauius*, who ſtepping before his maiſter to ſaue him from hurt, had his eyes pulled out, againſt *Tiberius* minde, who ranne to the reſcue with all ſpeede when he heard the noyſe. After that, the law Agraria paſſed for diuiſion of landes, and three Commiſsioners were appointed to make inquirie and diſtribution thereof. The Commiſsioners appointed were theſe: *Tiberius* himſelfe: *Appius Clodius* his father in law, and *Caius Gracchus* his brother: who was not at that time in ROME, but in the campe with *Scipio* AFRICAN, at the ſiege of the citie of NVMANTIA. Thus *Tiberius* very quietly paſſed ouer theſe matters, and no man durſt withſtand him: and furthermore, he ſubſtituted in *Octauius* place no man of qualitie, but onely one of his followers, called *Mutius*. Wherewith the noble men were ſo ſore offended with him, that fearing the increaſe of his greatneſſe, they being in the Senate houſe did what they could poſsible to do him deſpight & ſhame. For when *Tiberius* demaunded a tent at the charge of the common wealth, when he ſhould go abroad to make diuiſion of theſe landes, as they vſually graunted vnto others, that many times went in farre meaner commiſsions: they flatly denyed him, and through the procurement of *P. Naſica* (who being a great landed man in his country, ſhewed himſelfe in this action his mortall enemie, taking it grieuouſly to be compelled to depart from his land) onely graunted him nine of their oboli a day, for his ordinary allowance. But the people on the other ſide were all in an vprore againſt the rich. In ſomuch as one of *Tiberius* friendes being dead vpon the ſodaine, vpon whoſe body being dead there appeared very ill ſignes: the common people ranne ſodainly to his buriall, and cryed out that he was poyſoned. And ſo taking vp the beere whereon his body lay vpon their ſhoulders, they were preſent at the fire of his funerals, where immediatly appeared certaine ſignes to make them ſuſpect, that in deed there was vehement cauſe of preſumption he was poyſoned. For his belly burſt, whereout there iſſued ſuch aboundance of corrupt humours, that they put out the firſt fire, and made them fetch an other, the which alſo they could not make to burne, vntill that they were compelled to carie the body into ſome other place, where notwithſtanding they had much a do to make it burne. *Tiberius* ſeeing that, to make the common people mutine the more, he put on mourning apparell, and brought his ſonnes before them, and beſought the people to be good vnto them and their mother, as one that diſpaired of his health and ſafetie. About that time dyed *Attalus*, ſurnamed *Philopater*, and *Eudemus* PERGAMENIAN brought his will to ROME, in the which he made the people of ROME his heires. Wherefore *Tiberius*, ſtill to encreaſe the good will of the common people towards him, preferred a law immediatly, that the ready money that came by the inheritaunce of this king ſhould be diſtributed among the poore Citizens, on whoſe lot it ſhould fall to haue any part of the diuiſion of the landes of the common wealth, to furniſh them towardes houſe, and to ſet vp their tillage. Furthermore, he ſayd, that concerning the townes and cities of the kingdome of *Attalus*, the Senate had nothing to do to take any order with them, but that the people were to diſpoſe of them, and that he himſelfe would put it out. That made him againe more hated of the Senate then before, in ſomuch as there was one P*ompey* a Senator, that ſtanding vp, ſayd: that he was next neighbour vnto *Tiberius*, & that by reaſon of his neighbourhood he knew that *Eudemus* PERGAMENIAN had giuen him one of king *Attalus* royall bands, with a purple gowne beſides, for a tokẽ that he ſhould one day be king of ROME. And *Quintus Metellus* alſo reproued him, for that his father being Cenſor, the ROMAINES hauing ſupped in the town, and repairing euery man home to his houſe, they did put out their torches and lights, becauſe men ſeeing them returne, they ſhould not thinke they taryed too long in companie bancketing: and that in contrary manner, the ſeditious and needy rabble of the common people did light his ſonne home, and accompany him all night long vp and downe the towne. At that time there was one *Titus Annius*, a man that had no goodneſſe nor honeſty in him, howbeit taken for a great reaſoner

*Tiberius preferreth the law Agraria.*

*King Attalus made the people of Rome his heire.*

*Tiberius law, for deuiding of Attalus money.*

*Titus Annius a ſubtle queſtioner and aunſwerer of things.*

ner, and for a ſubtill queſtioner and aunſwerer. He prouoked *Tiberius* to aunſwere him, whether he had not committed a ſhamefull fact to his companion and brother Tribune, to defame him, that by the lawes of ROME ſhould haue bene holy, & vntouched. The people tooke this prouocation very angrily, and *Tiberius* alſo comming out, and hauing aſſembled the people, commaunded them to bring this *Annius* before him, that he might be endited in the market place. But he finding himſelfe farre inferiour vnto *Tiberius*, both in dignitie and eloquence, ranne to his fine ſubtill queſtions, to take a man at his word: and prayed *Tiberius* before he did proceede to his accuſation, that he would firſt aunſwer him to a queſtion he would aske him. *Tiberius* bad him ſay what he would. So ſilence being made, *Annius* asked him: if thou wouldeſt defame me, and offer me iniurie, and that I called one of thy companions to helpe me, and he ſhould riſe to take my part, and anger thee: wouldeſt thou therefore put him out of his office? It is reported that *Tiberius* was ſo grauelled with this queſtion, that though he was one of the readieſt ſpeakers, and the boldeſt in his Orations of any man: yet at that time he held his peace, and had no power to ſpeake, and therefore he preſently diſmiſſed the aſſemblie. Afterwards, vnderſtanding that of all the things he did, the depoſing of *Octauius* from his office was thought (not onely of the nobilitie, but of the common people alſo) as fowle and wilfull a part as euer he played, for that thereby he had imbaſed, and vtterly ouerthrowen the dignitie of the Tribunes, the which was alwayes had in great veneration vntill that preſent time: to excuſe himſelfe therefore, he made an excellent Oration to the people, whereby ſhall appeare vnto you ſome ſpeciall points thereof, to diſcerne the better the force and effect of his eloquence. The tribuneſhip ſayd he, indeede was a holy and ſacred thing, as particularly conſecrated to the people, and eſtabliſhed for their benefite and ſafetie: Where contrariwiſe, if the Tribune do offer the people any wrong, he thereby miniſheth their power, and taketh away the meanes from them to declare their wils by voyces, beſides that he doth alſo imbaſe his owne authoritie, leauing to do the thing for the which his authoritie
firſt was giuen him. Or otherwiſe we could not chooſe but ſuffer a Tribune, if it pleaſed him, „
to ouerthrow the Capitoll, or to ſet fire on the arſenall: and yet notwithſtanding this wicked „
part, if it were committed, he ſhould be Tribune of the people ſtill, though a lewde Tribune. „
But when he goeth about to take away the authoritie and power of the people, then he is no „
more a Tribune. Were not this againſt all reaſon, thinke you, that a Tribune whē he liſt, may „
take a Conſull, and commit him to priſon: and that the people ſhould not withſtand the authoritie „
of the Tribune, who gaue him the ſame, when he would vſe his authoritie to the preiudice „
of the people? for the people are they that do chooſe, both Conſull and Tribune. Furthermore, „
the kingly dignitie (becauſe in the ſame is conteined the abſolute authoritie and „
power of all other kindes of Magiſtrates and offices together) is conſecrated with very great „
and holy ceremonies, drawing very neare vnto the godhead: and yet the people expulſed king „
*Tarquin*, becauſe he vſed his authoritie with crueltie, and for the iniurie he offered one man „
onely, the moſt auncient rule and gouernement, (by the which the foundation of ROME was „
firſt layed) was vtterly aboliſhed. And who is there in all the citie of ROME to be reckoned ſo „
holy as the Veſtall Nunnes, which haue the cuſtodie and keeping of the euerlaſting fire? and „
yet if any of theſe be taken in fornication, ſhe is buried aliue for her offence: for when they are „
not holy to the goddes, they loſe the libertie they haue, in reſpect of ſeruing the goddes. Euen „
ſo alſo it is vnmeete, that the Tribune if he offend the people, ſhould for the peoples ſake be „
reuerenced any more: Seeing that through his owne folly he hath depriued himſelfe of that „
authoritie they gaue him. And if it be ſo that he was choſen Tribune by the moſt part of the „
tribes of the people: then by greater reaſon is he iuſtly depriued, that by all the whole tribes „
together is forſaken and depoſed. There is nothing more holy nor inuiolate, then things „
offered vp vnto the goddes: and yet it was neuer ſeene that any man did forbid the people to „
take them, to remoue and tranſport them from place to place, as they thought good. Euen ſo, „
they may as lawfully transferre the office of the Tribune vnto any other, as any other offring „
conſecrated to the goddes. Furthermore, it is manifeſt that any Officer or Magiſtrate may „
lawfully depoſe himſelfe: For, it hath bene often ſeene, that men in office haue depriued themſelues, „
or otherwiſe haue ſued to be diſcharged. This was the effect of *Tiberius* purgation. „

*The Oration of Tiberius Gracchus, touching the power and authoritie of the Tribune.*

*Other lawes made by Tiberius Gracchus.*

Now his friendes perceiuing the threats the rich and noble men gaue out againſt him, they wiſhed him for the ſafetie of his perſon, to make ſute to be Tribune againe the next yeare. Whereupon he began to flatter the common people againe a freſh, by new lawes which he preferred: by the which he tooke away the time and number of yeares preſcribed, when euery citizen of ROME was bound to go to the warres being called, and his name billed. He made it lawfull alſo for men to appeale from ſentence of the Iudges vnto the people, and thruſt in alſo amongſt the Senatours (which then had abſolute authoritie to iudge among themſelues) a like number of the ROMAINE Knightes, and by this meanes ſought to weaken and imbaſe the authoritie of the Senate, increaſing alſo the power of the people, more of malice then any reaſon, or for any iuſtice or benefit to the common wealth. Furthermore, when it came to the gathering of the voyces of the people for the confirmation of his new lawes, finding that his enemies were the ſtronger in the aſſembly, becauſe all the people were not yet come together: he fell a quarelling with his brethren the Tribunes, alwayes to winne time, and yet in the end brake vp the aſſembly, commaunding them to returne the next morning. There he would be the firſt man in the market place apparelled all in blacke, his face beblubbered with teares, and looking heauily vpon the matter, praying the people aſſembled to haue compaſsion vpõ him, ſaying, that he was affrayed leaſt his enemies would come in the night, and ouerthrow his houſe to kill him. Thereupon the people were ſo moued withall, that many of them came and brought their tents, and lay about his houſe to watch it. At the breake of the day, the keeper of the chickins, by ſignes of the which they do diuine of things to come, brought them vnto him, and caſt them downe meate before them. None of them would come out of the cage but one onely, and yet with much a do, ſhaking the cage: and when it came out, it would eate no meate, but onely lift vp her left wing, and put forth her legge, and ſo ranne into the cage againe. This ſigne made *Tiberius* remember an other he had had before. He had a maruellous fayre helmet and very rich, which he ware in the warres: vnder it were crept two ſnakes vnwares to any, and layed egges, and hatched them. This made *Tiberius* wonder the more, becauſe of the ill ſignes of the chickins: notwithſtanding, he went out of his houſe, when he heard that the people were aſſembled in the Capitoll, but as he went out, he hit his foote ſuch a blow againſt a ſtone at the threſhold of the doore, that he brake the nayle of his great toe, which fell in ſuch a bleeding, that it bled through his ſhooe. Againe, he had not gone farre, but he ſaw vpon the toppe of a houſe on his left hand, a couple of rauens fighting together: and notwithſtanding that there paſt a great number of people by, yet a ſtone which one of theſe rauens caſt from them, came and fell hard at *Tiberius* foote. The fall therof ſtayed the ſtouteſt man he had about him. But *Bloſsius* the Philoſopher of Cumes that did accõpany him, told him it were a great ſhame for him, and enough to kill the harts of all his followers: that *Tiberius* being the ſonne of *Gracchus*, and nephew of *Scipio* the AFRICAN, and the chiefe man beſides of all the peoples ſide, for feare of a rauen, ſhould not obey his citizens that called him: and how that his enemies and ill willers would not make a laughing ſport of it, but would plainly tell the people that this was a tricke of a tyrant that raigned in deed, and that for pride and diſdaine did abuſe the peoples good wils. Furthermore, diuers meſſengers came vnto him, and ſayd that his friends that were in the Capitoll, ſent to pray him to make haſt, for all went well with him. When he came thither, he was honourably receiued: for the people ſeeing him comming, cried out for ioy to welcome him, and when he was gotten vp to his ſeate, they ſhewed themſelues both carefull and louing towardes him, looking warely that none came neare him, but ſuch as they knew well. While *Mutius* began againe to call the tribes of the people to giue their voyces, he could not proceede according to the accuſtomed order in the like caſe, for the great noyſe the hindmoſt people made, thruſting forward, and being driuen backe, and one mingling with an other. In the meane time *Flauius Flaccus*, one of the Senators, got vp into a place where all the people might ſee him, and when he ſaw that his voyce could not be heard of *Tiberius*, he made a ſigne with his hand that he had ſome matter of great importance to tell him. *Tiberius* ſtraight bad them make a lane through the preaſe. So, with much a do, *Flauius* came at length vnto him, and told him, that the rich men in open Senate, when they could not frame the Conſull to their wils, determined them

*Vnluckie ſignes vnto Tiberius.*

*Flauius Flaccus bewrayeth the conſpiracie againſt Tiberius.*

ſelues to come and kill him, hauing a great number of their friends, and bondmen armed for the purpoſe. *Tiberius* immediatly declared this conſpiracie vnto his friends & followers: who ſtraight girt their long gownes vnto them, and brake the ſergeants iauelins which they caried in their hands to make roome among the people, and tooke the tronchions of the ſame to reſiſt thoſe that would ſet vpon them. The people alſo that ſtoode furdeſt off, maruelled at it, and asked what the matter was. *Tiberius* by a ſigne to tell them the danger he was in, laid both his hands on his head, becauſe they could not heare his voice for the great noyſe they made. His enemies ſeeing the ſigne he gaue, ranne preſently to the Senate, crying out, that *Tiberius* required a royall band or diademe of the people, and that it was an euident ſigne, becauſe they ſaw him clappe his hands vpon his head. This tale troubled all the companie. Whereupon *Naſica* beſought the Conſull, chiefe of the Senate, to helpe the common wealth, and to take away this tyrant. The Conſull gently anſwered againe, that he would vſe no force, neither put any citizen to death, but lawfully condemned: as alſo he would not receiue *Tiberius*, nor protect him, if the people by his perſwaſion or commandement, ſhould commit any act contrarie to the law. *Naſica* then riſing in anger, ſith the matter is ſo, ſaid he, that the Conſull regardeth not the common wealth: all you then, that will defende the authoritie of the lawe, followe me. Thereupon he caſt the skirt of his gowne ouer his head, and went ſtraight to the Capitoll. They that followed him alſo tooke their gownes, and wrapt them about their armes, and laid at as many as they might, to make them giue way: and yet very few of the people durſt meete with ſuch ſtates as they were to ſtay them, becauſe they were the chiefeſt men of the citie, but euery man flying from them, they fell one on an others necke for haſte. They that followed them, had brought from home great leauers and clubbes, and as they went, they tooke vp feet of treſtles and chaires which the people had ouerthrowen and broken, running away, and hyed them a pace to meete with *Tiberius*, ſtriking at them that ſtoode in their way: ſo that in ſhort ſpace they had diſperſed all the common people, and many were ſlaine flying. *Tiberius* ſeeing that, betooke him to his legges to ſaue himſelfe, but as he was flying, one tooke him by the gowne and ſtayed him: but he leauing his gowne behind him, ranne in his coat, and running fell vpon them that were downe before. So, as he was riſing vp againe, the firſt man that ſtrake him, and that was plainly ſeene ſtrike him, was one of the Tribunes his brethren, called *Publius Satureius*: who gaue him a great rappe on the head with the foote of a chaire, and the ſecond blow he had, was giuen him by *Lucius Rufus* that boaſted of it, as if he had done a notable act. In this tumult, there were ſlaine aboue three hundred men, and were all killed with ſtaues and ſtones, and not one man hurt with any iron. This was the firſt ſedition among the citizens of ROME, that fell out with murder and bloudſhead, ſince the expulſion of the kings. But for all other former diſſentions (which were no trifles) they were eaſily pacified, either partie giuing place to other: the Senate for feare of the commoners, and the people for reuerence they bare to the Senate. And it ſeemeth, that *Tiberius* himſelfe would eaſily haue yeelded alſo, if they had proceeded by faire meanes and perſwaſion, ſo they had ment good faith, and would haue killed no man: for at that time he had not in all, aboue 3000. men of the people about him. But ſurely it ſeemes this conſpiracie was executed againſt him, more for verie ſpight and malice the rich men did beare him, then for any other apparant cauſe they preſuppoſed againſt him. For proofe hereof may be alleaged, the barbarous crueltie they vſed to his bodie being dead. For they would not ſuffer his owne brother to haue his bodie to burie it by night, who made earneſt ſute vnto them for it: but they threw him amongſt the other bodies into the riuer, and yet this was not the worſt. For, ſome of his friends they baniſhed without forme of law, & others they put to death, which they could meete withall. Among the which they ſlew *Diophanes* the Orator, and one *Caius Billius*, whom they incloſed in a pipe among ſnakes and ſerpents, and put him to death in this ſort. *Bloſsius* alſo the Philoſopher of Cumes, was brought before the Conſuls, and examined about this matter: who boldly confeſſed vnto them, that he did as much as *Tiberius* commaunded him. When *Naſica* did aske him, and what if he had commaunded thee to ſet fire on the Capitoll? He made him anſwere, that *Tiberius* would neuer haue giuen him any ſuch commaundement. And when diuers others alſo were ſtill in hand with him about that queſtion: but if he had commanded thee? I would ſure

*Naſica doth ſet vpon Tiberius Gracchus.*

*Tiberius Gracchus the Tribune ſlaine.*

*Tiberius friends ſlaine. The cruell death of Caius Billius.*

haue done it, ſaid he: for he would neuer haue cōmanded me to haue done it, if it had not bene for the commoditie of the people. Thus he ſcaped at that time, and afterwards fled into Asia vnto *Ariſtonicus*, whom misfortune hauing ouerthrowen, he ſlew himſelfe. Now, the Senate to pacifie the people at that preſent time, did no more withſtand the law Agraria, for diuiſion of the lands of the common wealth, but ſuffered the people to appoint an other Commiſſioner for that purpoſe, in *Tiberius* place. Thereupon **Publius Craſſus** was choſen, being allied vnto *Tiberius*, for *Caius Gracchus* (*Tiberius* brother) had maried his daughter *Licinia*. Yet *Cornelius Nepos* ſaith, that it was not *Craſſus* daughter *Caius* maried, but the daughter of *Brutus*, that triumphed for the Lusitanians. Howbeit the beſt writers and authoritie, agree with that we write. But whatſoeuer was done, the people were maruellouſly offended with his death, and men might eaſily perceiue, that they looked but for time and oportunitie to be reuenged, and did preſently threaten *Naſica* to accuſe him. Whereupon the Senate fearing ſome trouble towards him, deuiſed a way vpon no occaſion, to ſend him into Asia. For the common people did not diſſemble the malice they bare him when they met him, but were very round with him, and called him tyrant, and murderer, excommunicate, & wicked man, that had imbrued his hands in the bloud of the holy Tribune, and within the moſt ſacred temple of all the citie. So in the end he was inforced to forſake Rome, though by his office he was bound to ſolemniſe all the greateſt ſacrifices, becauſe he was then chiefe Biſhoppe of Rome. Thus, trauelling out of his country like a meane man, and troubled in his mind: he died ſhortly after, not farre from the citie of Pergamum. Truely it is not greatly to be wondred at, though the people ſo much hated *Naſica*, conſidering that *Scipio* the African himſelfe (whom the people of Rome for iuſter cauſes had loued better than any man elſe whatſoeuer) was like to haue loſt all the peoples good wils they bare him, becauſe that being at the ſiege of Numantia, when newes was brought him of *Tiberius* death, he rang out this verſe of *Homer*:

*Naſica chiefe Biſhop of Rome*

*Such end vpon him euer light,*
*Which in ſuch doings doth delight.*

*Scipioes ſentence of the death of Tiberius Gracchus.*

Furthermore, being asked in the aſſembly of the people, by *Caius* & *Fuluius*, what he thought of *Tiberius* death: he anſwered thē, that he did not like his doings. After that the people handled him very churliſhly, and did euer breake off his oration, which they neuer did before: and he himſelfe alſo would reuile the people euen in the aſſembly. Now *Caius Gracchus* at the firſt becauſe he feared the enemies of his dead brother, or otherwiſe for that he ſought meanes to make them more hated of the people: he abſented himſelfe for a time out of the common aſſembly, and kept at home and meddled not, as a man contented to liue meanely, without buſying himſelfe in the common wealth: inſomuch as he made men thinke and report both, that he did vtterly miſlike thoſe matters which his brother had preferred. Howbeit he was then but a young man, and nine yeares younger then his brother *Tiberius*, who was not thirtie yeare old when he was ſlaine. But in proceſſe of time, he made his manners and conditions (by litle and litle) appeare, who hated ſloth and curioſitie, and was leaſt of all giuen vnto any couetous minde of getting: for he gaue himſelfe to be eloquent, as preparing him wings afterwardes to practiſe in the common wealth. So that it appeared plainely, that when time came, he would not ſtand ſtill, and looke on. When one *Vectius* a friend of his was ſued, he tooke vpon him to defend his cauſe in court. The people that were preſent, and heard him ſpeake, they leaped for ioy to ſee him: for he had ſuch an eloquent tongue, that all the Orators beſides were but children to him. Hereupon the rich men beganne to be affraide againe, and whiſpered among themſelues, that it behoued them to beware he came not to be Tribune. It chaunced ſo that he was choſen Treaſurer, and it was his fortune to goe into the Ile of Sardinia, with the Conſull *Oreſtes*. His enemies were glad of that, and he himſelfe was not ſorie for it. For he was a martiall man, and as skilfull in armes as he was elſe an excellent Orator: but yet he was affraide to come into the pulpit for Orations, and miſliked to deale in matters of ſtate, albeit he could not altogether deny the people, and his friends that prayed his furtherance. For this cauſe therefore he was very glad of this voyage, that he might abſent himſelfe for a time out of Rome: though diuers were of opinion, that he was more popular, and deſirous of the common peoples good will and fauour, then his brother had bene before him. But

*Caius Gracchus maners.*

*Caius Gracchus Quæſtor in Sardinia.*

in deede he was cleane contrarie: for it appeared that at the firſt he was drawen rather againſt his will, then of any ſpeciall deſire he had to deale in the common wealth. *Cicero* the Orator alſo ſaith, that *Caius* was bent altogether to flie from office in the common wealth, and to liue quietly as a priuate man. But *Tiberius* (*Caius* brother) appeared to him in his ſleepe, and calling him by his name, ſaid vnto him: brother, why doeſt thou prolong time, for thou canſt not poſſiblie eſcape? For we were both predeſtined to one maner of life and death, for procuring the benefite of the people. Now when *Caius* arriued in SARDINIA, he ſhewed all the proofes that might be in a valiant man, and excelled all the young men of his age, in hardines againſt his enemies, in iuſtice to his inferiors, and in loue & obedience towards the Conſull his Captaine: but in temperance, ſobrietie, and in painefulneſſe, he excelled all them that were elder then he. The winter by chance fell out very ſharpe, and full of ſickenes in SARDINIA: whereupon the Conſull ſent vnto the cities to helpe his ſouldiers with ſome clothes: but the townes ſent in poſte to ROME, to pray the Senate they might be diſcharged of that burden. The Senate found their allegation reaſonable, whereupon they wrote to the Conſull to finde ſome other meanes to cloth his people. The Conſull could make no other ſhift for them, and ſo the poore ſouldiers in the meane time ſmarted for it. But *Caius Gracchus* went himſelfe vnto the cities and ſo perſwaded them, that they of themſelues ſent to the ROMAINES campe ſuch things as they lacked. This being caried to ROME, it was thought ſtraight it was a pretie beginning to creepe into the peoples fauour, and in deede it made the Senate alſo affraide. In the necke of that, there arriued Ambaſſadors of AFRICKE at ROME, ſent from king *Micipſa*, who told the Senate that the king their maſter, for *Caius Gracchus* ſake, had ſent their armie corne into SARDINIA. The Senators were ſo offended withall, that they thruſt the Ambaſſadors out of the Senate, and ſo gaue order that other ſouldiers ſhould be ſent in their places that were in SARDINIA: and that *Oreſtes* ſhould ſtill remaine Conſull there, meaning alſo to continue *Caius* their Treaſurer. But when he heard of it, he ſtraight tooke ſea, and returned to ROME in choller. When men ſaw *Caius* returned to ROME vnlooked for, he was reproued for it not only by his enemies, but by the common people alſo: who thought his returne very ſtraunge before his Captaine, vnder whom he was Treaſurer. He being accuſed hereof before the Cenſors, prayed he might be heard. So, aunſwering his accuſation, he ſo turned the peoples mindes that heard him, that they all ſaid he had open wrong. For he tolde them, that he had ſerued twelue yeares in the warres, where others were enforced to remaine but ten yeres: and that he had continued Treaſurer vnder his Captaine, the ſpace of three yeares, where the law gaue him libertie to returne at the end of the yeare. And that he alone of all men elſe that had bene in the warres, had caried his purſe full, and brought it home emptie: where others hauing drunke the wine which they caried thither in veſſels, had afterwardes brought them home full of gold and ſiluer. Afterwards they went about to accuſe him as acceſſarie to a conſpiracie, that was reuealed in the citie of FREGELLES. But hauing cleared all that ſuſpicion, and being diſcharged, he preſently made ſute to be Tribune: wherein he had all the men of qualitie his ſworne enemies. On the other ſide alſo he had ſo great fauor of the common people, that there came men out of all partes of ITALY to be at his election, and that ſuch a number of them, as there was no lodging to be had for them all. Furthermore, the field of *Mars* not being large enough to hold ſuch a multitude of people, there were that gaue their voyces vpon the toppe of houſes. Nowe the noble men could no otherwiſe let the people of their will, nor preuent *Caius* of his hope, but where he thought to be the firſt Tribune, he was only pronounced the fourth. But when he was once poſſeſt officer, he became immediatly the chiefe man, becauſe he was as eloquent as any man of his time. And furthermore, he had a large occaſion of calamitie offred him: which made him bold to ſpeake, bewailing the death of his brother. For what matter ſoeuer he ſpake of, he alwaies fell in talke of that, remembring them what matters had paſſed: and laying before them the examples of their anceſtors: who in olde time had made warre with the PHALISCES, by the meanes of one *Genutius* Tribune of the people, vnto whom they had offered iniurie: who alſo did condemne *Caius Veturius* to death, becauſe that he onely would not giue a Tribune place, comming through the market place. Where theſe ſaid he, that ſtanding before you in ſight, haue ſlaine my brother

*Caius Gracchus viſion and dreame.*

*Caius Gracchus returneth out of Sardinia vnto Rome*

*Caius Gracchus, Tribune of the people.*

*Tiberius* with ſtaues, and haue dragged his bodie from the mount of the Capitoll, all the citie ouer, to throw it into the riuer: and with him alſo haue moſt cruelly ſlaine all his friends they could come by, without any law or iuſtice at all. And yet by an ancient cuſtome of long time obſerued in this citie of Rome, when any man is accuſed of treaſon, and that of dutie he muſt appeare at the time appointed him: they doe notwithſtanding in the morning ſend a trumpet to his houſe, to ſummon him to appeare: and moreouer the Iudges were not wont to condemne him, before this ceremonie was performed: ſo carefull and reſpectiue were our predeceſſors, where it touched the life of any Romaine. Now *Caius* hauing firſt ſtirred vp the people with theſe perſwaſions (for he had a maruellous loud voice) he preferred two lawes.

*Caius Gracchus lawes.*

The firſt, that he that had once beene put out of office by the people, ſhould neuer after be capable of any other office.

The ſecond, that if any Conſull had baniſhed any citizen without lawfull accuſation, the ſentence and hearing of the matter ſhould pertaine to the people.

*Cornelia mother of the Gracchi, honored of the people of Rome.*

The firſt of theſe two lawes did plainely defame *Octauius*, whom *Tiberius* his brother had by the people depoſed from the Tribuneſhippe. The ſecond alſo touched *Popilius*, who being Prætor, had baniſhed his brother *Tiberius* friendes: whereupon he ſtayed not the triall, but willingly exiled himſelfe out of Italy. And touching the firſt law, *Caius* himſelfe did afterwards reuoke it, declaring vnto the people, that he had ſaued *Octauius* at the requeſt of his mother *Cornelia*. The people were very glad of it, and confirmed it, honoring her no leſſe for reſpect of her ſonnes, then alſo for *Scipioes* ſake her father. For afterwards they caſt her image in braſſe, and ſet it vp with this inſcription: *Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi.* Many cōmon matters are found written touching *Cornelia* his mother, & eloquently pleaded in her behalfe, by *Caius* againſt her aduerſaries. As when he ſaide vnto one of them: how dareſt thou preſume to ſpeake euill of *Cornelia*, that had *Tiberius* to her ſonne? And the other partie alſo that ſlandered her, being ſorely ſuſpected for a Sodomite: and art thou ſo impudent, ſaid he, to ſhew thy face before *Cornelia*? Haſt thou brought foorth children as ſhe hath done? And yet it is well knowen to all men in Rome, that ſhe being but a woman, hath liued longer without a man, than thou that art a man. Thus were *Caius* words ſharpe and ſtinging, and many ſuch like are to be gathered out of his writings. Furthermore he made many other lawes afterwards to increaſe the peoples authoritie, and to imbaſe the Senates greatneſſe.

*Other lawes preferred by Caius Gracchus.*

The firſt was, for the reſtoring of the Colonies to Rome, in diuiding the lands of the common wealth vnto the poore citizens that ſhould inhabite there.

The other, that they ſhould apparell the ſouldiers at the charge of the common wealth, and that it ſhould not be deducted out of their pay: and alſo that no citizen ſhould be billed to ſerue in the warres, vnder ſeuenteene yeares of age at the leaſt.

An other law was, for their confederates of Italie: that through all Italie they ſhould haue as free voyces in the election of anie Magiſtrate, as the naturall citizens of Rome it ſelfe.

An other ſetting a reaſonable price of the corne that ſhould be diſtributed vnto the poore people.

An other touching iudgement, whereby he did greatly miniſh the authoritie of the Senate. For before, the Senators were only Iudges of al matters, the which made them to be the more honored and feared of the people, and the Romaine Knights: and now he ioyned three hundred Romaine Knightes vnto the other three hundred Senators, and brought it ſo to paſſe, that all matters iudiciall ſhould be equally iudged, among thoſe ſixe hundred men. After he had paſſed this lawe, it is reported he was very curious in obſeruing all other things, but this one thing ſpecially: that where all other Orators ſpeaking to the people turned them towards the pallace where the Senators ſate, and to that ſide of the market place which is called Comitium: he in contrarie manner when he made his Oration, turned him outwardes towards the other ſide of the market place, and after that kept it conſtantly, and neuer failed. Thus, by a litle turning and altering of his looke only, he remoued a great matter. For he ſo transferred all the gouernment of the common wealth from the Senate, vnto the iudgement of the people: to teach the Orators by his example, that in their Orations they ſhould beholde the people, not the Senate. Now, the people hauing not onely confirmed the law he made touching the Iudges, but giuen him alſo full power & authoritie to chooſe among the Romaine Knights ſuch Iudges as he liked of: he found thereby he had abſolute power in his owne hands, inſomuch as the Senators themſelues did aske counſell of him. So did he euer giue good counſell, and did preferre matters meete for their honor. As amongſt others, the law he made touching certaine wheate that *Fabius* Viceprætor had ſent out of Spayne: which was a good and honorable act. He perſwaded the Senate that the corne might be ſold, & ſo to ſend backe againe the money thereof vnto the townes and cities from whence the corne came: and therewithall to puniſh *Fabius* for that he made the Empire of Rome hateful and intollerable vnto the prouinces and ſubiectes of the ſame. This matter wanne him great loue and commendation of all the prouinces ſubiect to Rome. Furthermore, he made lawes for the reſtoring of the decaied townes, for mending of high waies, for building of garners for prouiſion of corne. And to bring all theſe things to paſſe, he himſelfe tooke vpon him the only care and enterpriſe, being neuer wearied with any paines taken in ordering of ſo great affaires. For, he followed all thoſe things ſo earneſtly and effectually, as if he had had but one matter in hand: inſomuch that they who moſt hated and feared him, wondred moſt to ſee his diligence and quicke diſpatch in matters. The people alſo wondred much to beholde him only, ſeeing alwaies ſuch a number of labourers, artificers, ambaſſadors, officers, ſouldiers, and learned men, whom he eaſily ſatisfied and diſpatched, keeping ſtill his eſtate, and yet vſing great courteſie and ciuilitie, entertaining euery one of them priuately: ſo that he made his accuſers to be found liers, that ſaid he was a ſtately man, and very cruell. Thus he wanne the good will of the common people, being more popular and familiar in his conuerſation and deedes, then he was otherwiſe in his Orations. But the greateſt paines and care he tooke vpon him was, in ſeeing the high wayes mended, the which he would haue as well done, as profitably done. For he would caſt the cawcies by the line in the ſofteſt ground in the fieldes, and then would paue them with hard ſtone, and caſt a great deale of grauell vpon it, which he cauſed to be brought thither. When he found any low or waterie places which the riuers had eaten into, he raiſed them vp, or elſe made bridges ouer them, with an euen height equall to either ſide of the caucie: ſo that all his worke caried a goodly leauen withall euen by the line or plummet, which was a pleaſure to behold it. Furthermore, he deuided theſe high waies by myles, euery myle conteining eight furlongs, and at euery miles end he ſet vp a ſtone for a marke. At either end alſo of theſe high waies thus paued, he ſet certaine ſtones of conuenient height, a pretie way a ſunder, to helpe the trauellers by to take their horſe backes againe without any helpe. The people for theſe things highly praiſing & extolling him, and being readie to make ſhew of their loue and good will to him any manner of way: he told them openly one day in his Oration, that he had a requeſt to make vnto thē, the which if it would pleaſe them to grant him, he would thinke they did him a maruellous pleaſure: and if they denied him alſo, he cared not much. Then euerie man thought it was the Conſulſhip he ment to aske, and that he would ſue to be Tribune and Conſull together. But when the day came to chooſe the Conſuls, euery man looking attentiuely what he would do: they maruelled when they ſaw him come downe the field of *Mars*, & brought *Caius Fannius* with his friends, to further his ſute for the Conſulſhip. Therein he ſerued *Fannius* turne, for he was preſently choſen Conſull: and *Caius Gracchus* was the ſeconde time choſen Tribune againe, not of his own ſute, but by the good wil of the people. *Caius* perceiuing that the Senators were his open enemies, and that *Fannius* the Conſul was but a ſlack friend vnto him, he began againe to currie fauor with the cōmon people, and to preferre new lawes, ſetting foorth the law of the Colonies, that they ſhould ſend of the poore citizens to repleniſh the cities of Tarentvm & Capva, and that they ſhould grant all the Latins the freedome of Rome. The Senate perceiuing his power grew great, & that in the end he would be ſo ſtrong that they could not withſtand him: they deuiſed a new and ſtrange way to pluck the peoples good will from him, in granting them things not altogether very honeſt. There was one of the Tribunes, a brother in office with *Caius* called *Liuius Druſus*, a man noblely borne, and as well brought vp as any other Romaine: who for wealth and eloquence was not inferior to the greateſt men of eſtimation in Rome. The chiefeſt Senators went vnto him, and

*Caius Gracchus power.*

*Other lawes of Caius Gracchus.*

*The Italian myle conteyneth eight furlongs.*

*Caius Gracchus choſen Tribune the ſecond time.*

*Liuius Druſus one of the Tribunes.*

*Lawes preferred by Liuius Druſus.*

*Liuius Druſus pacifieth the people againſt the Senate.*

*Fuluius Commiſsioner with Caius, a very ſeditious man.*

*The death of Scipio African the leſſe.*

*Vnluckie ſignes appearing vnto Caius.*

perſwaded him to take part with them againſt *Caius*, not to vſe any force or violence againſt the people to withſtand them in any thing, but contrarily to graunt them thoſe things which were more honeſty for them to deny thē with their ill wil. *Liuius* offering to pleaſure the Senate with his authority, preferred lawes neither honorable nor profitable to the cōmon welth & were to no other end, but contending with *Caius*, who ſhould moſt flatter the people of thē two, as plaiers do in their cōmon plaies, to ſhew the people paſtime. Wherby the Senate ſhewed that they did not ſo much miſlike *Caius* doings, as for the deſire they had to ouerthrow him & his great credit with the people. For where *Caius* preferred but the repleniſhing of the two cities, and deſired to ſende the honeſteſt citizens thither: they obiected againſt him, that he did corrupt the common people. On the other ſide alſo they fauored *Druſus*, who preferred a law that they ſhould repleniſh twelue Colonies, and ſhould ſend to euery one of them three thouſande of the pooreſt citizens. And where they hated *Caius* for that he had charged the poore citizens with an annuall rent for the lands that were deuided vnto thē: *Liuius* in contrary maner did pleaſe them by diſburdening them of that rent & payment, letting them haue the lands ſcotfree. Furthermore alſo, where *Caius* did anger the people, becauſe he gaue all the Latines the freedome of ROME to giue their voices in chooſing of Magiſtrates as freely as the naturall ROMAINS: when *Druſus* on the other ſide had preferred a law that thenceforth no ROMAIN ſhould whip any ſouldier of the Latines with rods to the warres, they liked the law, & paſt it. *Liuius* alſo in euery law he put forth, ſaid in all his orations, that he did it by the counſell of the Senate, who were very carefull for the profit of the people: and this was all the good he did in his office vnto the cōmon wealth. For by his meanes the people were better pleaſed with the Senate, and where they did before hate all the noble men of the Senate, *Liuius* tooke away that malice, when the people ſaw that all that he propounded, was for the preferment & benefit of the common wealth, with the conſent & furtherance of the Senate. The onely thing alſo that perſwaded the people to thinke that *Druſus* ment vprightly, & that he only reſpected the profit of the common people was: that he neuer preferred any law for himſelfe, or for his owne benefit. For in the reſtoring of theſe Colonies which he preferred, he alwaies ſent other Commiſsioners, & gaue them the charge of it, and would neuer finger any money himſelfe: where *Caius* tooke vpon him the charge & care of al things himſelfe, & ſpecially of the greateſt matters. *Rubrius* alſo another Tribune, hauing preferred a law for the reedifying & repleniſhing of CARTHAGE againe with people, the which *Scipio* had raſed & deſtroied: it was *Caius* happe to be appointed one of the Commiſsioners for it. Whereupon he tooke ſhip and ſayled into AFRICK. *Druſus* in the meane time taking occaſion of his abſence, did as much as might be to ſeeke the fauor of the common people, and ſpecially by accuſing *Fuluius*, who was one of the beſt friends *Caius* had, & whom they had alſo choſen Cōmiſsioner with him for the diuiſion of theſe landes among the citizens, whom they ſent to repleniſh theſe Colonies. This *Fuluius* was a ſeditious man, & therefore maruelloully hated of the Senate, & withal ſuſpected alſo of them that tooke part with the people, that he ſecretly practiſed to make their confederates of ITALIE to rebell. But yet they had no euident proofe of it to iuſtifie it againſt him, more then that which he himſelf did verifie, becauſe he ſeemed to be offended with the peace & quietnes they enioyed. And this was one of the chiefeſt cauſes of *Caius* ouerthrow, becauſe that *Fuluius* was partly hated for his ſake. For when *Scipio* AFRICAN was found dead one morning in his houſe, without any manifeſt cauſe how he ſhould come to his death ſo ſodainely: (ſauing that there appeared certaine blinde markes of ſtripes on his body that had bene giuen him: as we haue declared at large in his life) the moſt part of the ſuſpition of his death was laide to *Fuluius*, being his mortall enemie, & becauſe the ſame day they had bene at great words together in the pulpit for orations. So was *Caius Gracchus* alſo partly ſuſpected for it. Howſoeuer it was ſuch a horrible murder as this, of ſo famous & worthy a mā as any was in ROME, was yet notwithſtanding neuer reuenged, neither any inquirie made of it: becauſe the common people would not ſuffer the accuſation to goe forwarde, fearing leaſt *Caius* would be found in fault, if the matter ſhould go forward. But this was a great while before. Now *Caius* at that time being in AFRICK about the reedifying & repleniſhing of the city of CARTHAGE againe, the which he named IVNONIA: the voice goeth that he had many ill ſignes & tokens appeared vnto him.

For the ſtaffe of his enſigne was broken with a vehement blaſt of wind, and with the force of the enſigne bearer that held it faſt on the other ſide. There came a flaw of wind alſo that caried away the ſacrifices vpon the aulters and blew them quite out of the circuit which was marked out for the compaſſe of the city. Furthermore, the wolues came and tooke away the markes which they had ſet down to limite the bounds of their circuit, & caried them quite away. This notwithſtanding, *Caius* hauing diſpatched all things in the ſpace of three ſcore & ten daies, he returned incontinently to ROME, vnderſtanding that *Fuluius* was oppreſſed by *Druſus*, & that thoſe matters required his preſence. For *Lucius Hoſtilius* that was all in all for the nobility, and a man of great credit with the Senate, being the yeare before put by the Conſulſhip, by *Caius* practiſe, who cauſed *Fannius* to be choſen: he had good hope this yeare to ſpeede, for the great number of friends that furthered his ſute. So that if he could obtaine it, he was fully bent to ſet *Caius* beſide the ſaddle, and the rather, becauſe his eſtimation and countenance he was wont to haue among the people, began now to decay, for that they were ful of ſuch deuiſes as his were: becauſe there were diuers others that preferred the like to pleaſe the people withal, & yet with the Senates great good wil and fauor. So *Caius* being returned to ROME, he remoued from his houſe, and where before he dwelt in mount Palatine, he came now to take a houſe vnder the market place, to ſhew him ſelf thereby the lowlier & more popular, becauſe many of the meaner ſort of people dwelt thereabouts. Then hee purpoſed to goe forward with the reſt of his lawes, and to make the people to eſtabliſh thẽ, a great number of people repairing to ROME out of all parts for the furtherance thereof. Howbeit the Senate counſelled the Conſull *Fannius* to make proclamatiõ, that al thoſe which were no natural ROMAINS, reſident & abiding within the city ſelf of ROME: that they ſhould depart out of ROME. Beſides all this, there was a ſtrange proclamation made, and neuer ſeene before: that none of all the friends and confederats of the ROMAINS, for certaine daies ſhould come into ROME. But *Caius* on the other ſide ſet vp bils on euery poſt, accuſing the Conſull for making ſo wicked a proclamatiõ: & further, promiſed the confederates of ROME to aide them, if they would remaine there againſt the Conſuls proclamation. But yet he performed it not. For when he ſaw one of *Fannius* ſergeants cary a friend of his to priſon, he held on his way, & would ſee nothing, neither did he helpe him: either of likelihood becauſe he feared his credite with the people, which began to decay, or elſe becauſe he was loth (as he ſaid) to picke any quarrell with his enemies, which ſought it of him. Furthermore, he chanced to fall at variance with his brethren the Tribunes, about this occaſion. The people were to ſee the paſtime of the ſword plaiers or ſenſers at the ſharpe, within the verie market place, & there were diuers of the officers that to ſee the ſport, did ſet vp ſcaffolds round about, to take money for the ſtanding. *Caius* commaunded them to take them downe againe, becauſe the poore men might ſee the ſport without any coſt. But not a man of thẽ would yeeld to it. Wherefore he ſtaid till the night before the paſtime ſhould be, and then he tooke all his laborers he had vnder him, and went & ouerthrew the ſcaffolds euery one of them: ſo that the next morning all the market place was clear for the common people, to ſee the paſtime at their pleaſure. For this fact of his, the people thanked him maruellouſly, and took him for a worthy man. Howbeit his brethren the Tribunes were very much offended with him, and tooke him for a bold preſumptuous man. This ſeemeth to be the chief cauſe why he was put frõ his third Tribuneſhip, where he had the moſt voices of his ſide: becauſe his colleagues, to be reuẽged of the part he had plaied thẽ, of malice and ſpight, made falſe report of the voices. Howbeit there is no great troth in this. It is true that he was very angry with this repulſe, and it is reported he ſpake ſomwhat too proudly to his enemies, that were mery with the matter, and laughed him to ſcorne: that they laughed a SARDONIANS laugh, not knowing how darkely his deeds had wrapt them in. Furthermore, his enemies hauing choſen *Opimius* Conſull, they began immediatly to reuoke diuers of *Caius* lawes: as among the reſt, his doings at CARTHAGE for the reedifying of that city, procuring thus all the waies they could to anger him, becauſe they might haue iuſt occaſion of anger to kil him. *Caius* notwithſtanding did patiently beare it at the firſt: but afterwards his frends, & ſpecially *Fuluius*, did encorage him ſo, that he began againe to gather men to reſiſt the Conſull. And it is reported alſo, that *Cornelia* his mother did help him in it, ſecretly hiring a great number of ſtraungers which ſhe ſent vnto ROME, as if they had bene

*This man is named afterwards Opimius*

*Caius Gracchus fell out with the Tribunes.*

*Caius Gracchus repulſed from the third Tribuneſhip.*

*Sedition betwixt Caius Gracchus and the Senate.*

*Antillius, C. Gracchus ſergeant ſlaine.*

*An ordinance made by the Senate, againſt C. Gracchus.*

*The people defended C. Gracchus.*

reapers,or harueſt men. And this is that ſhe wrote ſecretly in her letter vnto her ſon in ciphers. And yet other write to the contrary, that ſhee was very angry he did attempt thoſe things. When the day came that they ſhould proceede to the reuocation of his lawes, both parties met by breake of day at the Capitoll. There when the Conſull *Opimius* had done ſacrifice,one of *Caius* ſergeants called *Quintus Antyllius*, carying the intrals of the beaſt ſacrificed, ſayd vnto *Fuluius*, and others of his tribe that were about him:giue place to honeſt men,vile citizens that ye be. Some ſay alſo,that beſides theſe iniurious words,in ſkorne and contempt he held out his naked arme to make thẽ aſhamed. Whereupon they ſlue him preſently in the field with great bodkins to write with,which they had purpoſely made for that intent. Hereupon the cōmon people were maruellouſly offended for this murther,and the chiefe men of both ſides alſo were diuerſly affected. For *Caius* was very ſory for it,& bitterly reproued them that were about him, ſaying,that they had giuen their enemies the occaſion they looked for,to ſet vpon thẽ. *Opimius* the Conſull in contrary maner,taking this occaſion,roſe vppon it,and did ſtir vp the people to be reuenged. But there fell a ſhower of raine at that time that parted them. The next morning the Conſull hauing aſſembled the Senat by breake of day,as he was diſpatching cauſes within, ſome had taken the body of *Antyllius* and laid it naked vpon the beere,and ſo caried it through the market place) as it was agreed vppon before amongeſt them) and brought it to the Senate dore: where they began to make great mone and lamentation, *Opimius* knowing the meaning of it,but yet he diſſembled it,and ſeemed to wonder at it. Whereupon the Senators went out to ſee what it was,and finding this beere in the market place, ſome fell a weeping for him that was dead,others cried out that it was a ſhamefull act,and in no wiſe to be ſuffred. But on the other ſide,this did reuiue the old grudge and malice of the people, for the wickednes of the ambitious noble men:who hauing themſelues before ſlaine *Tiberius Gracchus* that was Tribune and within the Capitoll it ſelfe,& had alſo caſt his body into the riuer,did now make an honorable ſhew openly in the market place,of the body of the ſergeaunt *Antyllius* (who though he were wrōgfully ſlaine,yet had himſelfe giuen them the cauſe that ſlue him, to do that they did) & all the whole Senat were about the beere to bewaile his death,and to honor the funerals of a hireling,to make the people alſo kill him,that was only left the protector and defender of the people. After this,they went again vnto the Capitol,& there made a decree,wherby they gaue the Conſull *Opimius* extraordinary power & authority, by abſolute power to prouide for the ſafety of the common wealth,to preſerue the city,& to ſuppreſſe the tyrants. This decree being eſtabliſhed,the Conſull preſently commanded the Senators that were preſent there,to go arme themſelues:and appointed the ROMAINE Knights, that the next morning betimes euery man ſhould bring two of their men armed with thẽ. *Fuluius* on the other ſide,he prepared his force againſt them,& aſſembled the common people together. *Caius* alſo returning from the market place,ſtaid before the image of his father,and looked earneſtly vppon it without euer a word ſpeaking,only he burſt out a weeping,and fetching a great ſigh,went his way. This made the people to pity him that ſaw him:ſo that they talked among thẽſelues,that they were but beaſts and cowards at ſuch a ſtraight to forſake ſo worthy a man. Thereupon they went to his houſe, ſtayed there all night and watched before his gate: not as they did that watched with *Fuluius*, that paſſed away the night in guzling and drinking drunk, crying out,and making noiſe, *Fuluius* him ſelfe being drunke firſt of all, who both ſpake and did many things farre vnmeete for his calling. For they that watched *Caius* on the other ſide, were very ſorrowfull, and made no noiſe,euen as in a common calamity of their country,deuiſing with thẽ ſelues what would fall out vppon it,waking,and ſleeping one after an other by turns. When the day brake, they with *Fuluius* did awake him,who ſlept yet ſoundly for the wine he drank ouer night,and they armed them ſelues with the ſpoiles of the GAVLS that hung round about his houſe,whom he had ouercome in battell the ſame yeare he was Conſull: and with great cries,and thundering threats,they went to take the mount Auentine. But *Caius* would not arme him ſelfe,but went out of his houſe in a long gowne, as if he would haue gone ſimply into the market place according to his wōted maner,ſauing that he caried a ſhort dagger at his girdle vnder his gown. So as he was going out of his houſe,his wife ſtaid him at the dore,and holding him by the one hand,and a litle child of his in her other hand,ſhe ſayd thus vnto him: Alas *Caius*,thou doſt not

now

*The words of Licinia to her husband Caius Gracchus.*

now go as thou wert wont, a Tribune into the market place to ſpeake to the people, neither to prefer any new laws: neither doſt thou go vnto an honeſt war, that if vnfortunatly that ſhould happen to thee that is common to all men, I might yet at the leaſt mourne for thy death with honor. But thou goeſt to put thy ſelf into bloudy butchers hands, who moſt cruelly haue ſlain thy brother *Tiberius*: and yet thou goeſt, a naked man vnarmed, intending rather to ſuffer, then to doe hurt. Beſides, thy death can bring no benefite to the common wealth. For the worſer part hath now the vpper hand, conſidering that ſentence paſſeth by force of ſword. Had thy brother bene ſlaine by his enemies, before the city of NVMANTIA: yet had they giuen vs his body to haue buried him. But ſuch may be my misfortune, that I may preſently goe to pray the riuer or ſea to giue me thy body, which as thy brothers they haue likewiſe throwen into the ſame. Alas, what hope or truſt is left vs now, in lawes or gods, ſithence they haue ſlaine *Tiberius*? As *Licinia* was making this pitifull mone vnto him, *Caius* faire and ſoftly pulled his hand from her, and left her, giuing her neuer a word, but went on with his friends. But ſhee reaching after him to take him by the gowne, fell to the ground, and lay flatling there a great while, ſpeaking neuer a word: vntill at length her ſeruants tooke her vp in a ſwoone, and caried her ſo vnto her brother *Craſſus*.

*Fuluius ſent his ſonne to the Conſull with a Herauldsrod to offer peace.*

Now *Fuluius*, by the perſwaſion of *Caius*, when all their faction were met: ſent his yonger ſonne (which was a prety faire boy) with a Herauldsrod in his hand for his ſafety. This boy humbly preſenting his duety, with the teares in his eyes, before the Conſull and Senate, offered them peace. The moſt of them that were preſent thought very well of it. But *Opimius* made anſwere ſaying, that it became them not to ſend meſſengers, thinking with faire words to winne the Senate: but it was their duety to come themſelues in perſons, like ſubiects and offendors to make their triall, and ſo to craue pardon, and to ſeeke to pacifie the wrath of the Senate. Then he commaunded the boy he ſhould not returne againe to them, but with this condition he had preſcribed. *Caius* (as it is reported) was ready to goe and cleare him ſelfe vnto the Senate: but the reſidue would not ſuffer him to go. Whereupon *Fuluius* ſent his ſonne backe againe vnto them, to ſpeake for them as he had done before. But *Opimius* that was deſirous to fight, cauſed the boy to be taken, and committed him in ſafe cuſtody, and then went preſently againſt *Fuluius* with a great number of footemen well armed, and of CRETAN archers beſides: who with their arrowes did more trouble and hurt their enemies then with any thing elſe, that within a while they all beganne to flie.

*The death of Fuluius his eldeſt ſonne.*

*Fuluius* on the other ſide fled into an old hotte-houſe that no body made reckonning of, and there being found ſhortly after, they ſlue him, and his eldeſt ſonne. Now for *Caius*, he fought not at all, but being madde with him ſelfe, and grieued to ſee ſuch bloudſhed: he got him into the temple of *Diana*, where he would haue killed him ſelf, had not his very good frends *Pomponius* & *Licinius* ſaued him. For both they being with him at that time, tooke his ſword from him, and counſelled him to flie. It is reported that then he fell downe on his knees, and holding vp both his hands vnto the goddeſſe, he beſought her that the people might neuer come out of bondage, to be reuenged of this their ingratitude and treaſon. For the common people (or the moſt part of them) plainely turned their coates, when they heard proclamation made, that all men had pardon graunted them, that would returne.

*The flight of Caius.*

So *Caius* fled vppon it, and his enemies followed him ſo neare, that they ouertooke him vpon the wodden bridge, where two of his friends that were with him ſtayed, to defend him againſt his followers, and bad him in the meane time make ſhift for him ſelfe, whileſt they fought with them vpon the bridge: and ſo they did, and kept them that not a man gotte the bridge of them, vntill they were both ſlaine. Now there was none that fled with *Caius*, but one of his men called *Philocrates*: notwithſtanding, euery man did ſtill encorage and counſell him, as they doe men to winne a game, but no man would helpe him, nor offer him any horſe, though he often required it, becauſe hee ſaw his enemies ſo neare vnto him. This notwithſtanding, by their defence that were ſlaine vppon the bridge, he got ground on them ſo, that he had leyſure to creepe into a litle groue of wod, which was conſecrated to the furies. There his ſeruaunt *Philocrates* ſlue him, and then ſlue him ſelfe alſo, and fell dead vpon him.

*The faithfulnes of Caius Gracchus ſeruaunts.*

Other write notwithſtanding, that both the maiſter and ſeruant were ouertaken, and taken aliue: and that his ſeruaunt did ſo ſtraight imbrace his maiſter that none of the enemies could ſtrike him for all the blowes they gaue, before he was ſlaine him ſelfe. So one of the murderers brake off *Caius Gracchus* head to carie to the Conſull. Howbeit one of *Opimius* friends called *Septimuleius*, tooke the head from the other by the way, becauſe proclamation was made before they fought by trumpet, that whoſoeuer brought the heads of *Fuluius* and *Caius*, they ſhould be paid the waight of them in gold. Wherefore this *Septimuleius* caried *Caius* head vpon the top of his ſpeare vnto *Opimius*: whereupon the ſkales being brought to wey it, it was found that it weyed ſeuenteene pound waight and two third parts of a pound, becauſe *Septimuleius* beſides the horrible murder he had committed, had alſo holpen it with this villany, that he had taken out his braine, and in liew thereof had filled his ſcull with lead. Now the other alſo that brought *Fuluius* head, becauſe they were poore men, they had nothing. The bodies of theſe two men, *Caius Gracchus* and *Fuluius*, and of other their followers (which were to the number of three thouſand that were ſlain) were al throwen into the riuer, their goods confiſcate, and their widowes forbidden to mourne for their death. Furthermore, they tooke from *Licinia Caius* wife, her ioynter: but yet they dealt more cruelly & beaſtly with the yong boy, *Fuluius* ſon: who had neither lift vp his hand againſt them, nor was in the fight among them, but only came to them to make peace before they fought, whō they kept as priſoner, & after the battell ended, they put him to death. But yet that which moſt of all other grieued the people, was the tēple of concord, the which *Opimius* cauſed to be built: for it appeared that he boaſted, and in manner triumphed, that he had ſlaine ſo many citizens of ROME. And therefore there were that in the night wrote vnder the inſcription of the temple theſe verſes:

*A furious fact and full of beaſtly ſhame,*
*This temple built, that beareth concordes name.*

*The temple of concord built by Opimius the Conſull.*

This *Opimius* was the firſt man at ROME, that being Conſull, vſurped the abſolute power of the Dictator: and that without law or iuſtice condemned three thouſand citizens of ROME, beſides *Fuluius Flacchus*, (who had alſo bene Conſull, and had receiued the honor of triumph) and *Caius Gracchus* a yong man in like caſe, who in vertue and reputation excelled all the men of his yeares. This notwithſtanding, could not keepe *Opimius* from theeuery and extorcion. For when he was ſent ambaſſador vnto *Iugurthe* king of NVMIDIA, he was bribed with money: & thereupon being accuſed, he was moſt ſhamefully conuicted, and condemned. Wherefore he ended his dayes with this reproch and infamy, hated, and mocked of all the people: becauſe at the time of the ouerthrow he dealt beaſtly with them that fought for his quarrell. But ſhortly after, it appeared to the world, how much they lamented the loſſe of the two brethren of the *Gracchi*. For they made images and ſtatues of them, and cauſed them to be ſet vp in an open & honorable place, conſecrating the places where they had bene ſlaine: and many of them alſo came & offred to them, of their firſt fruits and flowers, according to the time of the yeare, and went thither to make their praiers on their knees, as vnto the temple of the gods. Their mother *Cornelia*, as writers report, did beare this calamity with a noble heart: and as for the chappels which they built and conſecrated vnto them in the place where they were ſlaine, ſhe ſaid no more, but that they had ſuch graues, as they had deſerued. Afterwards ſhe dwelt continually by the mount of Miſene, and neuer changed her maner of life. Shee had many friendes, and becauſe ſhe was a noble Lady, and loued euer to welcome ſtraungers, ſhe kept a very good houſe, and therefore had alwayes great repaire vnto her, of GRECIANS and learned men: beſides, there was no king nor Prince, but both receiued gifts from her, and ſent her againe. They that frequented her company, delighted maruellouſly to heare her report the deeds and maner of her fathers life, *Scipio* AFRICAN: but yet they wondred more, to heare her tell the actes and death of her two ſons, *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchi*, without ſheading teare, or making any ſhew of lamentation or griefe, no more then if ſhe had told an hiſtory vnto them that had requeſted her. Inſomuch ſome writers report, that age, or her great misfortunes, had ouercome and taken her reaſon and ſence from her, to feele any ſorrow. But in deede they were ſenceleſſe to ſay ſo, not vnderſtanding, how that to be nobly borne, and vertuouſly brought vp, doth make men temperatly to digeſt ſorrow, and that fortune oftentimes ouercomes vertue, which regardeth honeſty in all reſpectes, but yet with any aduerſity ſhe can not take away the temperaunce from them, whereby they patientlie beare it.

*Opimius the firſt Conſull, vſurping the power of the Dictator.*

*Opimius bribed with money of Iugurthe, and condemned.*

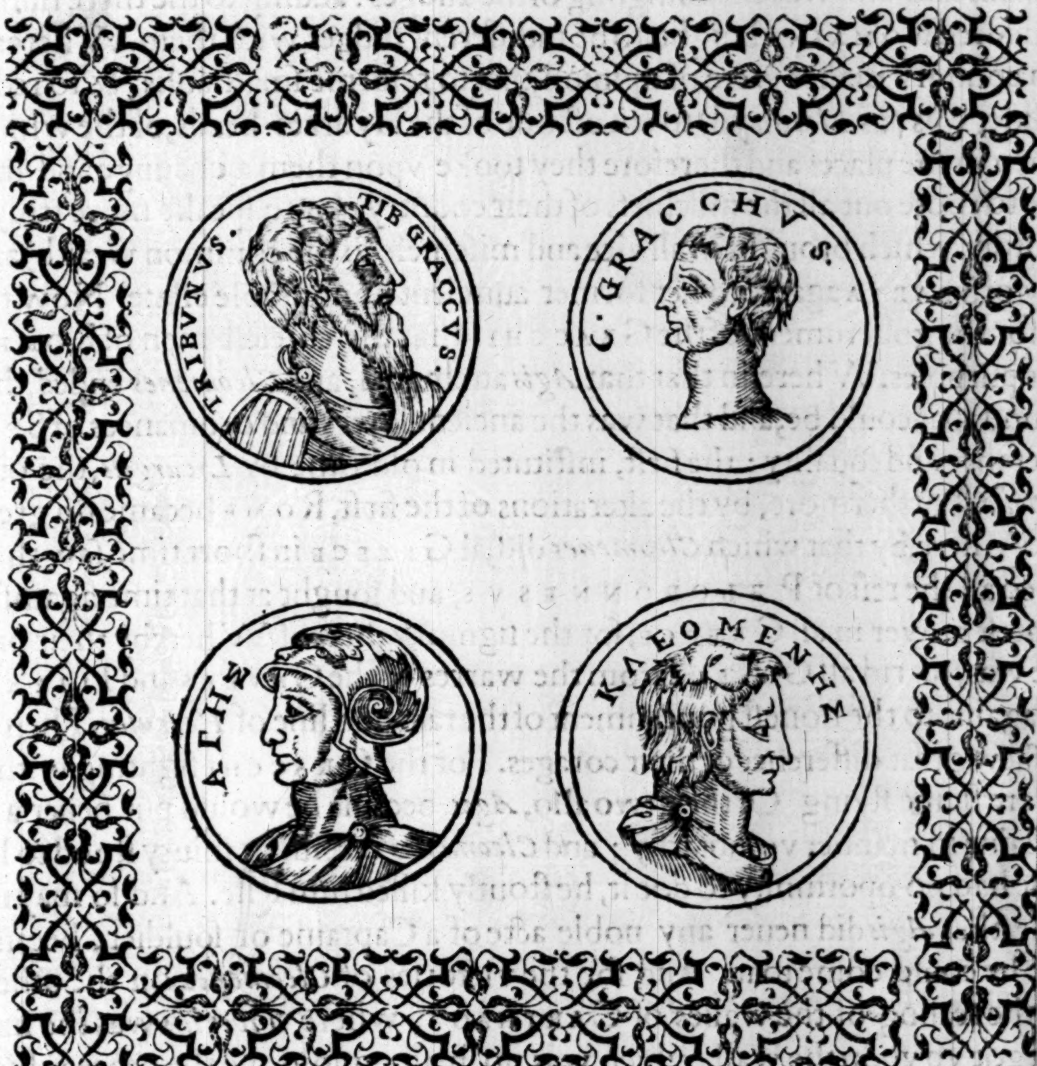
*The Gracchi were maruellouſly deſired of the people.*

*The magnanimity of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi.*

*The power of learning to ouercome ſorow.*

THE

# THE COMPARISON OF *Tiberius and Caius Gracchi, with Agis and Cleomenes.*



*The wiſedome of the Gracchi.*

NOw that we be come to the end of this hiſtory, we are to compare the liues of theſe two men the one with the other. Firſt, as touching the two *Gracchi*: their enemies that moſt hated them, and ſpake the worſt they could of them, could not deny but that they were the beſt giuen to vertue, and as well taught and brought vp, as any ROMAINES that were in their time. But yet it appeareth, that nature had the vpper hand of them, in *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. For they hauing bene very ill brought vp, both for learning and good manners, for lacke whereof the oldeſt men were almoſt ſpoyled: yet did they notwithſtanding make them ſelues the firſt maiſters and example of ſobriety, temperaunce, and ſimplicity of life. Furthermore, the two firſt hauing liued in that time, when ROME floriſhed moſt in honor and vertuous deſires: they were more then aſhamed to forſake the vertues inherited from their aunceſters. Theſe two laſt alſo being borne of fathers that had a cleane contrary diſpoſition, and finding their countrey altogether without any order, and infected with diſſolute life: were not therefore any whit the more moued with deſire to doe well. Furthermore, the greateſt praiſe they gaue vnto the two *Gracchi*, was, their abſtinence and integrity from taking of money all the time they were in office, and dealt in matters of ſtate, euer keeping their hands cleane, and tooke not a penny wrongfully from any man. Where *Agis* on the other ſide was offended if any man praiſed him: for that he tooke nothing from an other man: ſeeing that he diſpoſſeſſed him ſelfe of his owne goods, and gaue it to his citizens, which amounted in ready coine to the value of ſix hundred talents. Whereby men may eaſily iudge, how grieuous a ſinne he thought it to take any thing wrongfully from any man: ſeeing that he thought it a kinde of auarice, lawfully to be richer then others. Furthermore, there was maruellous great difference in their alterations, and renuing of the ſtate, which they did both preferre. For the actes of the two ROMAINES were to mend high waies and to reedifie and repleniſh decayed

*The acts of the Gracchi did litle profit Rome.*

*The end of the Gracchi vnfortunate.*

*The death of the Gracchi.*

*The faults of the Gracchi.*

townes: and the worthieſt act *Tiberius* did, was the law Agraria, which he brought in for diuiding of the lands of the common wealth amongeſt the poore Citizens. And the beſt acte his brother *Caius* alſo did, was the mingling of the Iudges: adding to the three hundred Senators, three hundred ROMAINE knights to be indifferent Iudges with them. Whereas *Agis* and *Cleomenes* in contrary maner were of opinion, that to reforme ſmall faults, & to redreſſe them by litle and litle, was (as *Plato* ſayd) to cut off one of the Hydraes heads, of the which came afterwards ſeuen in the place: and therefore they tooke vpon them a chaunge and innouation, euen at once to roote out all the miſchiefs of their country, (or to ſpeake more truly, to take away the diſorder which brought in all vice and miſchiefe to the common wealth) and ſo to reſtore the city of SPARTA againe to her former auncient honourable eſtate. Now this may be ſaid againe, for the gouernment of the GRACCHI: that the chiefeſt men of ROME euer were againſt their purpoſes. Where, in that that *Agis* attempted, and *Cleomenes* ended, they had the nobleſt ground that could be, and that was the ancient lawes and ordinances of SPARTA, touching temperance and equality: the firſt, inſtituted in old time by *Lycurgus*, the other confirmed by *Apollo*. Furthermore, by the alterations of the firſt, ROME became no greater then it was before. Where, by that which *Cleomenes* did, al GREECE in ſhort time ſaw that SPARTA commaunded all the reſt of PELOPONNESVS, and fought at that time againſt thoſe that were of greateſt power in all GREECE, for the ſigniory thereof. Whereby their onely marke and purpoſe was, to rid all GREECE from the warres of the GAVLES and ILLYRIANS, and to reſtore it againe to the honeſt gouernment of the race and line of *Hercules*. Their deaths, me thinkes, do ſhew great difference of their corages. For the GRACCHI fighting with their own Citizens, were ſlaine flying. Of theſe two alſo, *Agis*, becauſe he would put neuer a Citizen to death, was ſlaine in manner voluntarily: and *Cleomenes* receiuing iniury ſtood to his defence, and when he had no oportunity to doe it, he ſtoutly killed him ſelfe. And ſo may it be ſaid on the other ſide, that *Agis* did neuer any noble acte of a Captaine or ſouldier, becauſe hee was ſlaine before he could come to it. And for the victories of *Cleomenes* on the other ſide, may be oppoſed the ſcaling of the walles of CARTHAGE, where *Tiberius* was the firſt man that at the aſſault got vp vpon the wall, which was no ſmall exploit: and the peace which he made alſo at the ſiege of NVMANTIA, whereby he ſaued twenty thouſand fighting men of the ROMAINES, the which had no means otherwiſe to ſaue their liues. And *Caius* alſo in the ſelfe ſame warre, at the ſiege of NVMANTIA, and afterwardes in SARDINIA, did many noble feates of war: ſo that there is no doubt, but if they had not bene ſlaine ſo ſoone as they were, they might haue bene compared with the excellenteſt Captaines that euer were in ROME. Againe, touching their doings in ciuill policy, it appeareth that *Agis* dealt more ſlackly, being abuſed by *Ageſilaus*: who likewiſe deceiued the poore Citizens of the diuiſion of the lands which he had promiſed thẽ. In fine, for lacke of corage, becauſe he was very yong, he left the things vndone which he had purpoſed to haue performed. On the other ſide, *Cleomenes* went too roundly to worke to renue the ancient gouernment of the common wealth againe, by killing the Ephores with too much cruelty, whom he might eaſily haue wonne, or otherwiſe by force haue gotten the vpper hand. For it is not the part of a wiſe Phiſitian, nor of a good gouernour of a common wealth to vſe the ſword, but in great extremity, where there is no other helpe nor remedy: and there lacked iudgement in them both, but worſt of all in the one, for iniury is euer ioyned with cruelty. The GRACCHI on the other ſide, neither the one nor the other, began to imbrue their handes in the bloud of their Citizens. For it is reported, that though they did hurt *Caius*, yet he would neuer defend him ſelfe: and where it was knowen that he was very valiant in battell with his ſword in his hand againſt the enemy, he ſhewed him ſelfe as could againe in the vprore againſt his Citizens. For he went out of his houſe vnarmed, and fled when he ſaw them fight: being more circumſpect not to doe hurt, then not to ſuffer any. Therefore they are not to be thought cowards for their flying, but rather men fearfull to offend any man. For they were driuen, either to yeeld to them that followed them, or els if they ſtayd, to ſtand to their defence, becauſe they might keepe them ſelues from hurt. And where they accuſe *Tiberius* for the faults he committed, the greateſt that euer he did, was whẽ he depoſed *Octauius* his colleague from the Tribuneſhip, and that he him ſelfe made ſute for the ſecond. And as for *Caius*, they falſely accuſed him for the death of *Antilius* the Sergeant, who indeed was ſlaine vnknown to him, & to his great griefe. Where *Cleomenes* on the other ſide, although we ſhould forget the murther he committed vpon the Ephores, yet he ſet ſlaues at libertie, and ruled the kingdom in manner himſelfe alone: but yet for manners ſake onely he ioyned his owne brother with him, which was of the ſelfeſame houſe. And when he had perſwaded *Archidamus*, (who was next heire to the kingdom of the other royall houſe) to be bolde to returne home from Messena vnto Sparta: he ſuffred him to be ſlaine, and becauſe he did not reuenge his death, he did confirme their opinion that thought he was conſenting to his death. *Lycurgus* on the other ſide, whoſe example he did counterfeate to follow, becauſe he did willingly reſigne the kingdome vnto his brothers ſonne *Charilaus*, and being afraid alſo, that if the yong childe ſhould chaunce to miſcarie, they would ſuſpect him for his death: he exiled himſelfe out of his own country a long time trauelling vp and downe, and returned not to Sparta again, before *Charilaus* had gotten a ſonne to ſucceed him in his kingdome. But we can not ſet another Grecian by *Lycurgus* comparable vnto him. We haue declared alſo that amongeſt *Cleomenes* deeds, there were many other greater alterations then theſe, and alſo many other breaches of the law. So they that doe condemne the manners of the one and the other, ſaye, that the two Grecians from the beginning had an aſpiring minde to be tirants, ſtill practiſing warres. Whereas the two Romains onely, euen by their moſt mortall enemies, could be blamed for nothing els, but for an extreame ambition, and did confeſſe that they were too earneſt and vehement aboue their nature, in any ſtrife or contention they had with their aduerſaries, and that they yeelded vnto that choller & paſſion, as vnto ill windes, which brought them to doe thoſe things they did in the ende. For what more iuſt or honeſt intent could they haue had, then the firſt was: had not the rich men (euen through ſtoutneſſe and authoritie to ouerthrowe the lawes) brought them againſt their wils into quarrell: the one to ſaue his life, the other to reuenge his brothers death, who was ſlaine without order, iuſtice, or the authoritie of any officer? Thus thou maieſt thy ſelfe ſee the difference that was betwixt the Grecians and the Romaines: and now to tell you plainly my opinion of both, I thinke that *Tiberius* was the ſtouteſt of the foure, that the young king *Agis* offended leaſt, and that for boldnes and courage, *Caius* came nothing neere vnto *Cleomenes*.

# THE LIFE OF *Demoſthenes.*

DEMOSTENES

HE that made the litle booke of the praiſe of ***Alcibiades,*** touching the victory he wanne at the horſe race of the Olympian games, (were it the Poet *Euripides* as ſome thinke, or any other) my friend *Soſsius*: ſaid, that to make a man happy, he muſt of neceſſitie be borne in ſome famous citie. But to tell you what I thinke hereof, doubtles, true happines chiefly conſiſteth in the vertue and qualities of the mind, being a matter of no moment, whether a man be borne in a pelting village, or in a famous citie: no more then it is for one to be borne of a faire or foule mother. For it were a madnes to thinke that the litle village of IVLIDE, being the leaſt part of the Ile of CEO (the whole Ilande of it ſelfe being but a ſmall thing) and that the Ile of ÆGINA (which is of ſo ſmall a length, that a certaine ATHENIAN on a time made a motion it might be taken away, becauſe it was but as a ſtraw in the ſight of the hauen of Piræa) could bring forth famous Poets, and excellent Comedians: and not breede an honeſt, iuſt, and wiſe man, and of noble corage. For, as we haue reaſon to thinke that artes and ſciences which were firſt deuiſed and inuented to make ſome things neceſſary for mens vſe, or otherwiſe to winne fame and credit, are drowned, and caſt away in litle poore villages: So are we to iudge alſo, that vertue, like a ſtrong and fruitefull plant, can take roote, and bring forth in euery place, where it is graffed in a good nature, and gentle perſon, that can patiently away with paines. And therefore if we chaunce to offend, and liue not as we ſhould: we can not accuſe the meanenes of our country where we were borne, but we muſt iuſtly accuſe our ſelues. Surely he that hath taken vpon him to put forth any worke, or to write any hiſtory, into the which he is to thruſt many ſtrange things vnknown to his country, and which are not ready at his hand to be had, and diſperſed abroad in diuerſe places, and are to be gathered out of diuers bookes and authorities: firſt of all, he muſt needes remaine in ſome great and famous city throughly inhabited, where men doe delight in good and vertuous things, becauſe there are commonly plenty of all ſortes of bookes: and that peruſing them, and hearing talke alſo of many things beſides, which other Hiſtoriographers peraduenture haue not written of, and which will cary ſo much more credit, becauſe men that are aliue may preſently ſpeake of them as of their owne knowledge, whereby he may make his worke perfect in euery point, hauing many and diuers neceſſary things contained in it. But I my ſelfe that dwell in a poore litle towne

*True happines conſiſteth in the mind and maners of man, not in any place or countrie.*

*Expedient for an Hiſtoriographer to be in a famous city.*

*Plutarks country very litle,*

towne, and yet do remaine there willingly leaſt it ſhould become leſſe: whileſt I was in ITALY, and at ROME, I had no leaſure to ſtudy and exerciſe the latine tongue, aſwell for the great buſines I had then to doe, as alſo to ſatiſfie them that came to learne Philoſophie of me: ſo that euen ſomewhat too late and now in my latter time, I began to take my Latine bookes in my hand. And thereby a ſtrange thing to tell you, but yet true: I learned not nor vnderſtood matters ſo much by the words, as I came to vnderſtand the words, by common experience & knowledge I had in things. But furthermore, to knowe howe to pronounce the Latine tongue well, or to ſpeake it readily, or to vnderſtand the ſignification, tranſlations, and fine ioyning of the ſimple words one with another, which do beautifie & ſet forth the tongue: ſurely I iudge it to be a maruellous pleaſant and ſweet thing, but withall, it requireth a long and laborſome ſtudy, meet for thoſe that haue better leiſure then I haue, & that haue young yeares on their backes to follow ſuch pleaſure. Therfore, in this preſent book, which is the fifth of this worke, where I haue taken vpon me to compare the liues of noble men one with another: vndertaking to write the liues of *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, we will conſider and examine their nature, manners and conditions, by their acts and deedes in the gouernment of the common wealth, not meaning otherwiſe to conferre their workes and writings of eloquence, neither to define which of them two were ſharper or ſweeter in his oration. For as the Poet *Ion* ſayeth,

*In this behalfe a man may rightly ſay,*
*The Dolphynes in their proper ſoyle do play.*

*Demoſthenes compared with Cicero.*

The which *Cæcilius* litle vnderſtanding, being a man very raſh in all his doings, hath vnaduiſedly written and ſet foorth in print, a compariſon of *Demoſthenes* eloquence with *Ciceroes*. But if it were an eaſie matter for euery man to know himſelfe, then the goddes needed haue giuen vs no commandement, neither could men haue ſaid that it came from heauen. But for my opinion, methinkes fortune euen from the beginning hath framed in maner one ſelfe mould of *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, and hath in their natures faſhioned many of their qualities one like to the other: as, both of them to be ambitions, both of them to loue the libertie of their countrie, and both of them very fearefull in any danger of wars. And likewiſe their fortunes ſeeme to me, to be both much alike. For it is hard to finde two Orators againe, that being ſo meanely borne as they, haue come to be of ſo great power and authoritie as they two, nor that haue deſerued the ill will of kings & noble men ſo much as they haue done, nor that haue loſt their daughters, nor that haue beene baniſhed their countries, and that haue beene reſtored againe with honor, and that againe haue fled, and haue bene taken againe, nor that haue ended their liues with the libertie of their countrie. So that it is hard to be iudged, whether nature haue made them liker in maners, or fortune in their doings, as if they had both like cunning workmaiſters ſtriued one with the other, to whom they ſhould make them beſt reſemble. But firſt of all we muſt write of the elder of them two.

*The parentage of Demoſthenes.*

*The patrimonie of Demoſthenes.*

*Demoſthenes why he was called Battalus*

*Demoſthenes* the father of this Orator *Demoſthenes*, was as *Theopompus* writeth, one of the chiefe men of the city, and they called him *Macharopœus*, to weete, a maker of ſword blades, becauſe he had a great ſhoppe where he kept a number of ſlaues to forge them. But touching *Æſchines*, the Orators report of his mother, who ſaid that ſhe was the Daughter of one *Gelon* (that fled from ATHENS being accuſed of treaſon) and of a barbarous woman that was her mother: I am not able to ſay whether it be true, or deuiſed of malice to do him deſpite. Howſoeuer it was, it is true that his father died, leauing him ſeauen yeare olde, and left him reaſonable well: for his goods came to litle leſſe then the value of fifteene talents. Howbeit his gardians did him great wrong: for they ſtale a great part of his goods them ſelues, and did let the reſt runne to naught, as hauing litle care of it, for they would not pay his ſchoolemaiſters their wages. And this was the cauſe that he did not learne the liberall ſciences which are vſually taught vnto honeſt mens ſonnes: and to further that want alſo, he was but a weakling, and very tender, and therefore his mother would not much let him goe to ſchoole, neither his maiſters alſo durſt keepe him too hard to it, becauſe he was but a ſickly childe at the firſt, and very weake. And it is reported alſo, that the ſurname of *Battalus* was giuen him in mockery by other ſchoole boyes his companions, becauſe of his weakenes of body. This *Battalus* (as diuers men doe report) was an effeminate player on the flute, againſt whom the Poet *Antiphanes* to mocke him, deuiſed a litle play. Others alſo doe write of one *Battalus*, a diſſolute Orator, and that wrote laſciuious verſes: and it ſeemeth that the ATHENIANS at that time did call a certaine part of mans body vncomly to be named, *Battalus*. Now for *Argas* (which ſurname men ſay was alſo giuen him) he was ſo called, either for his rude and beaſtly maners (becauſe ſome Poets doe call a ſnake *Argas*) or elſe for his maner of ſpeech: which was very vnpleaſant to the eare, for *Argas* is the name of a Poet that made alwayes bawdy and ilfauored ſongs. But hereof enough as *Plato* ſaid. Futthermore, the occaſion (as it is reported) that moued him to giue himſelfe to eloquence, was this. *Calliſtratus* the Orator was to defend the cauſe of one *Oropus* before the iudges, and euery man longed greatly for this day of pleading, both for the excellencie of the Orator, that then bare the bell for eloquence: as for the matter, and his accuſation, which was manifeſtly knowen to all. *Demoſthenes* hearing his ſchoolemaſters agree together to goe to the hearing of this matter, he praied his ſchoolemaſter to be ſo good, as to let him goe with him. His Maiſter graunted him, and being acquainted with the keepers of the hall dore where this matter was to be pleaded, he ſo intreated thẽ, that they placed their ſcholler in a very good place, where being ſet at his eaſe, he might both heare and ſee all that was done, and no man could ſee him. Thereupon when *Demoſthenes* had heard the caſe pleaded, he was greatly in loue with the honor which the Orator had gotten, when he ſaw how he was waited vpon home with ſuch a traine of people after him: but yet he wondred more at the force of his great eloquence, that could ſo turne and conuey all things at his pleaſure. Thereuppon he left the ſtudie of all other ſciences, and all other exerciſes of witte and bodie, which other children are brought vp in: and beganne to labor continually, and to frame him ſelfe to make orations, with intent one day to be an Orator among the reſt. His maiſter that taught him Rethoricke was *Iſæus*, notwithſtanding that *Iſocrates* alſo kept a ſchoole of Rethoricke at that time: either becauſe that being an orphane he was not able to pay the wages that *Iſocrates* demaunded of his ſchollers, which was ten Minas: or rather for that he founde *Iſæus* manner of ſpeech more proper for the vſe of the eloquence he deſired, becauſe it was more fine, & ſubtill. Yet *Hermippus* writeth notwithſtanding, that he had read certain books, hauing no name of any author, which declared that *Demoſthenes* had bene *Platoes* ſcholler, & that by hearing of him, he learned to frame his pronunciation and eloquence. And he writeth alſo of one *Cteſibius*, who reporteth that *Demoſthenes* had ſecretly read *Iſocrates* workes of Rethoricke, and alſo *Alcidamus* bookes, by meanes of one *Callias* SYRACVSAN, and others. Wherefore when he came out of his wardeſhippe, he beganne to put his gardians in ſute, and to write orations and pleas againſt them: who in contrarie manner did euer vſe delayes and excuſes, to ſaue themſelues from giuing vp any account vnto him, of his goods and patrimony left him. And thus, following this exerciſe (as *Thucydides* writeth) it proſpered ſo well with him, that in the end he obtained it, but not without great paines and daunger: and yet with all that he could doe, he could not recouer all that his father left him, by a good deale. So hauing now gotten ſome boldnes, and being vſed alſo to ſpeake in open preſence, and withall, hauing a feeling and delight of the eſtimation that is wonne by eloquence in pleading: afterwards he attempted to put forward him ſelfe, and to practiſe in matters of ſtate. For, as there goeth a tale of one *Laomedon* an ORCHOMENIAN, who hauing a grieuous pain in the ſplene, by aduiſe of the Phiſitions was willed to runne long courſes to helpe him: and that following their order, he became in the end ſo luſty & nimble of body, that afterwardes he would needes make one to runne for games, & in deed grew to be the ſwifteſt runner of all men in his time. Euen ſo the like chaunced vnto *Demoſthenes*. For at the firſt, beginning to practiſe oratory for recouery of his goods, and thereby hauing gotten good ſkill and knowledge how to pleade: he afterwards tooke vppon him to ſpeake to the people in aſſemblies, touching the gouernment of the common wealth, euen as if he ſhould haue contended for ſome game of price, and at length did excell all the Orators at that time that got vp into the pulpit for orations: notwithſtanding that when he firſt ventred to ſpeake openly, the people made ſuch a noiſe, that he could ſcant be heard, and beſides they mocked him for his manner of ſpeach that was ſo ſtraunge, becauſe he vſed ſo many long confuſed periods, and his matter he ſpake of was ſo intricate with arguments one vppon an other, that they were tedious, and made men weary to

heare

*Demoſthenes why ſurnamed Argas.*

*Calliſtratus the Orator.*

*The earneſt deſire of Demoſthenes to learne eloquence.*

*Iſæus Demoſthenes ſchoole maſter of Rethoricke.*

*Demoſthenes firſt practiſe in drawing and penning of orations.*

*A remedy for the paine of the ſplene.*

*Demoſthenes mocked of the people for his long orations.*

*Demoſthenes impediments of nature.*

heare him. And furthermore, he had a very ſoft voice, an impediment in his tongue, and had alſo a ſhort breath, the which made that men could not well vnderſtand what he ment, for his long periods in his oration were often times interrupted, before he was at the end of his ſentence. So that at length perceiuing he was thus reiected, he gaue ouer to ſpeake any more before the people, and halfe in deſpaire withdrewe himſelfe into the hauen of Pirea. There *Eunomus* the THESSALIAN being a very olde man, found him, and ſharply reproued him, and tolde him, that he did himſelfe great wrong, conſidering, that hauing a manner of ſpeeche much like vnto *Pericles*, he drowned himſelfe by his faint hart, becauſe he did not ſeeke the waye to be bold againſt the noiſe of the common people, and to arme his bodie to away with the paines and burthen of publike orations, but ſuffering it to growe feebler, for lacke of vſe and practiſe. Furthermore, being once againe repulſed and whiſtled at, as he returned home, hanging downe his heade for ſhame, and vtterly diſcouraged: *Satyrus* an excellent player of comedies being his familiar friend, followed him, and went and ſpake with him. *Demoſthenes* made his complaint vnto him, that where he had taken more paines then all the Orators beſides, and had almoſt euen worne himſelfe to the bones with ſtudie, yet he coulde by no meanes deuiſe to pleaſe the people: whereas other Orators that did nothing but bibbe all day long, and marriners that vnderſtood nothing, were quietly heard, and continually occupied the pulpit with orations: and on the other ſide that they made no account of him. *Satyrus* then aunſwered him, thou ſaieſt true *Demoſthenes*, but care not for this, I will helpe it ſtraight, and take away the cauſe of all this: ſo thou wilt but tell me without booke certaine verſes of *Euripides*, or of *Sophocles*. Thereuppon *Demoſthenes* preſently rehearſed ſome vnto him, that came into his minde. *Satyrus* repeating them after him, gaue them quite an other grace, with ſuch a pronunciation, comely geſture, and modeſt countenance becomming the verſes, that *Demoſthenes* thought them cleane chaunged. Whereby perceiuing how much the action (to wit, the comely manner and geſture in his oration) doth giue grace and comlines in his pleading: he then thought it but a trifle, and almoſt nothing to ſpeake of, to exerciſe to pleade well, vnleſſe therewithall he doe alſo ſtudie to haue a good pronunciation and geſture. Thereupon he built him a celler vnder the ground, the which was whole euen in my time, & he would daily go downe into it, to faſhion his geſture and pronunciation, and alſo to exerciſe his voice, and that with ſuch earneſt affection, that oftentimes he would be there two or three monethes one after another, and did ſhaue his head of purpoſe, becauſe he durſt not goe abroad in that ſort, although his will was good. And yet he tooke his theame and matter to declame vpon, and to practiſe to pleade of the matters he had had in hand before, or elſe vpon occaſion of ſuch talke as he had with them that came to ſee him, while he kept his houſe. For they were no ſooner gone from him, but he went downe into his celler, & repeated from the firſt to the laſt all matters that had paſſed betwene him and his friendes in talke together, and alleaged alſo both his owne and their aunſwers. And if peraduenture he had beene at the hearing of any long matter, he would repeate it by him ſelfe: and would finely couche and conuey it into propper ſentences, and thus chaunge and alter euery way any matter that hee had heard, or talked with others. Thereof came the opinion men had of him, that he had no very quicke capacity by nature, and that his eloquence was not naturall, but artificially gotten with extreame labor. And for proofe hereof, they make this probable reaſon. That they neuer ſaw *Demoſthenes* make any oration on the ſodaine, and that oftentimes when he was ſette in the aſſembly, the people would call him by his name, to ſay his opinion touching the matter of counſell then in hand: Howbeit that he neuer roſe vpon their call, vnles he had firſt ſtudied the matter well he would ſpeake of. So that all the other Orators would many times giue him a taunt for it: as *Pytheas* among other, that taunting him on a time, tolde him, his reaſons ſmelled of the lampe. Yea, replied *Demoſthenes* ſharply againe: ſo is there great difference, *Pytheas*, betwixt thy labour and mine by lampelight. And him ſelfe alſo ſpeaking to others, did not altogether deny it, but told them plainly, that he did not alwaies write at length all that he would ſpeake, neither did he alſo offer to ſpeake, before he had made briefes of that he would ſpeake. He ſayd furthermore, that it was a token the man loued the people well, that he would be carefull before what he would ſay to them. For this preparatiue (ꝗ he) doth ſhew that he

*Demoſthenes celler.*

*Demoſthenes ſeldome pleaded on the ſodaine.*

*Demoſthenes in his oration ſtudieth to pleaſe the people.*

doth honor and reuerence them. In contrary manner alſo, he that paſſeth not how the people take his words, it is a plaine token that he deſpiſeth their authoritie, & that he lacketh no good will (if he could) to vſe force againſt them, rather then reaſon and perſwaſion. But yet further to enlarge the proofes, that *Demoſthenes* had no hart to make any oration on the ſodaine, they doe alleage this reaſon: that *Demades* many times roſe vpon the ſodaine to maintaine *Demoſthenes* reaſons, when the people otherwhile did reiect him: and that *Demoſthenes* on the other ſide, did neuer riſe to make *Demades* words good, which he had ſpoken in his behalf. But now might a man aske again: if *Demoſthenes* was ſo timerous to ſpeake before the people vpon the ſodaine: what ment *Aeſchines* then to ſay, that he was maruellous bold in his words: and how chaunceth it, that he riſing vpon the ſodaine, did preſently anſwer the Orator *Python* Bizantine in the field, that was very luſty in ſpeech, (& rough like a vehement running ſtreame) againſt the Athenians: and how chanced it that *Lamachus* Myrrhenian, hauing made an oration in the praiſe of *Philip* & *Alexander*, kings of Macedon, in the which he ſpake all the ill he could of the Thebans, & of the Olynthians, and when he had read & pronounced it in the open aſſembly of the Olympian games: *Demoſthenes* vpon the inſtant riſing vp on his feete, declared, as if he had read ſome hiſtorie, & pointed as it were with his finger vnto all the whole aſſembly, the notable great ſeruice & worthy deeds the which the Chalcidians had done in former times, for the benefit & honor of Grece? And in contrary maner alſo, what miſchiefe and inconuenience came by meanes of the flatterers that altogether gaue themſelues to currie fauor with the Macedonians? With theſe and ſuch like perſwaſions, *Demoſthenes* made ſuch ſturre amongſt the people, that the Orator *Lamachus* being affraide of the ſodaine vprore, did ſecretly conuey himſelfe out of the aſſembly. But yet to tell you what I thinke, *Demoſthenes* in my opinion faſhioning himſelfe euen from the beginning, to followe *Pericles* ſteppes and example, he thought that for other qualities he had, they were not ſo requiſite for him, and that he would counterfaite his grauitie and ſober countenance, and to be wiſe, not to ſpeake ouer lightly to euery matter at all aduentures: Iudging, that by that manner of wiſedome he came to be great. And like as he would not let ſlippe any good occaſion to ſpeake, where it might be for his credit: ſo would he not likewiſe ouer raſhly hazard his credite and reputation to the mercie of fortune. And to proue this true, the orations which he made vpon the ſodaine without premeditation before, doe ſhew more boldneſſe and courage, then thoſe which he had written, and ſtudied long before: if we may beleeue the reports of *Eratoſthenes*, *Demetrius* Phalerian, and of the other comicall Poets. For *Eratoſthenes* ſaid, that he would be often caried away with choller and furie. *Demetrius* alſo ſaith, that ſpeaking one day to the people, he ſware a great othe in ryme, as if he had bene poſſeſſed with ſome diuine ſpirite, and ſaid,

*Demoſthenes terrified Lamachus in his oration.*

*By ſea and land, by riuers, ſprings, and pondes.*

There are alſo certaine comicall Poets that do call him *Ropoperperethra*, as who would ſay, a great babbler that ſpeaketh all things, that commeth to his tongues end. An other mocked him for too much affecting a figure of Rethoricke called, Antitheton: which is, oppoſition, with ſaying, *Sic recepit ſicut cepit*, (which ſignifieth, he tooke it as he found it.) In the vſe of this figure *Demoſthenes* much pleaſed him ſelfe, vnleſſe the poet *Antiphanes* ſpeaketh it of pleaſure, deriding the counſel he gaue the people, not to take the Ile of Halonesus of king *Philip*, as of gift: but to receiue it as their owne reſtored. And yet euery body did grant, that *Demades* of his owne naturall wit, without arte, was inuincible: and that many times ſpeaking vpon the ſodaine, he did vtterly ouerthrow *Demoſthenes* long ſtudied reaſons. And *Ariſto*, of the Ile of Chio, hath written *Theophraſtus* iudgement of the Orators at that time. Who being asked what maner of Orator he thought *Demoſthenes*: he anſwered, worthy of this city. Then again, how he thought of *Demades*: aboue this city, ſaid he. The ſame Philoſopher writeth alſo, that *Polyeuctus* Sphettian, (one of thoſe that practiſed at that time in the common wealth) gaue this ſentence: that *Demoſthenes* in deede was a great Orator, but *Phocions* tongue had a ſharper vnderſtanding, becauſe in few wordes, he comprehended much matter. And to this purpoſe, they ſay that *Demoſthenes* him ſelfe ſaid alſo, that as oft as he ſaw *Phocion* get vp into the pulpit for orations to ſpeake againſt him, he was wont to ſay to his friends: ſee, the axe of my words

Ουτως ἀπέλαβεν ὥσπερ ἔλαβεν. Μὴ λαμβάνειν ἀλλὰ ἀπολαμβάνειν παρὰ φιλίππου.

*The naturall eloquence of Demades the Orator.*

*Theophraſtus iudgement of Orators.*

*Phocion called the axe of Demoſthenes orations.*

riſeth. And yet it is hard to iudge, whether he ſpake that in reſpect of his tongue, or rather for the eſtimation he had gotten, becauſe of his great wiſdome: thinking (as indeede it is true) that one word only, the twinckling of an eye, or a nod of his head of ſuch a man (that through his worthines is attained to that credit) hath more force to perſuade, then all the fine reaſons & deuiſes of Rethoricke. But now for his bodily defects of nature, *Demetrius* PHALERIAN writeth, that he heard *Demoſthenes* himſelfe ſay, being very olde, that he did helpe them by theſe meanes. Firſt touching the ſtammering of his tongue, which was very fat, and made him that he could not pronounce all ſyllables diſtinctly: he did helpe it by putting of litle pibble ſtones into his mouth, which he found vpon the ſands by the riuers ſide, & ſo pronoūced with open mouth the orations he had without booke. And for his ſmal and ſoft voice, he made that louder, by running vp ſteep and high hils, vttering euen with full breath ſome orations or verſes that he had without book. And further it is reported of him, that he had a great looking glaſſe in his houſe, and euer ſtanding on his feet before it, he would learne and excerciſe himſelfe to pronounce his orations. For proofe hereof it is reported, that there came a man vnto him on a time, and prayed his helpe to defend his cauſe, and tolde him that one had beaten him: and that *Demoſthenes* ſayd againe vnto him, I doe not beleeue this is true thou telleſt me, for ſurely the other did neuer beate thee. The plaintiſe then thruſting out his voice aloude, ſayed what, hath he not beaten me? yes indeed quoth *Demoſthenes* then: I beleue it now, for I heare the voice of a man that was beaten indeede. Thus he thought that the ſounde of the voyce, the pronunciation or geſture in one ſorte or other, were things of force to beleeue or diſcredit that a man ſayeth. His countenaunce when he pleaded before the people, did maruellouſly pleaſe the common ſorte: but the noble men, and men of vnderſtanding, found it too baſe and meane, as *Demetrius Phalerius* ſayed, amongſt others. And *Hermippus* writeth that one called *AEſion*, being asked of the ancient Orators, and of thoſe of his time, anſwered: that euery man that had ſeene them, would haue wondred with what honor, reuerence and modeſtie, they ſpake vnto the people: howbeit that *Demoſthenes* orations (whoſoeuer read them) were too artificiall and vehement. And therfore we may eaſily iudge, that the orations *Demoſthenes* wrote are very ſeuere and ſharpe. This notwithſtanding, otherwhiles he would giue many pleaſant and witty anſwers vpon the ſodaine. As when *Demades* one day ſayd vnto him, *Demoſthenes* will teach me: after the common prouerbe, the ſow will teach *Minerua*. He aunſwered ſtraight againe. This *Minerua* not long ſince was in Collitus ſtreete, taken in adulterie. A certein theefe alſo called *Chalcus* (as much to ſay, as of copper) ſtepping foorth to ſay ſomewhat of *Demoſthenes* late ſitting vp a nights, and that he wrote and ſtudied the moſt part of the night by lampe light: in deede, quoth *Demoſthenes*, I know it grieues thee to ſee my lampe burne all night. And therfore you my Lords of ATHENS, me thinkes you ſhould not wonder to ſee ſuch robberies in your citie, conſidering we haue theeues of copper, and the walles of our houſes be but of claye. We could tell you of diuerſe others of his like pleaſant and wittie aunſwers, but theſe may ſuffice for this preſent: and therfore we will proceede to conſider further of his nature and conditions, by his actes and deedes in the affayres of the common wealth. Now *Demoſthenes* firſt beginning whē he came to deale in the affaires of the ſtate, was in the time of the warre made with the PHOCIANS, as himſelfe reporteth: and as appeareth further in his orations which he made againſt *Philip*: of the which, the laſt were made after the warre was ended, and the firſt doe touch alſo ſome particular doings of the ſame. He made the oration againſt *Midias*, when he was but 32 yeare old, and was of ſmall countenance & reputation in the common wealth: the want whereof was the chiefeſt cauſe (as I thinke) that induced him to take money for the iniurie he had done him, & to let his action fall againſt him.

*Demoſthenes by induſtry reformeth his defects of nature.*

*Demoſthenes countenance and geſture miſliked of the nobility.*

*Demoſthenes wittie anſwers.*

*The time of Demoſthenes comming to practiſe in the affaires of the ſtate.*

*Diſpleaſure betwixt Demoſthenes, and Midias.*

*He was not of a milde and gentle mind,*
*But fierce and haſtie to reuenge by kind.*

But, knowing that it was no ſmall enterpriſe, nor that could take effect by a man of ſo ſmall power & authoritie as himſelfe, to ouerthrow a man ſo wealthy, ſo befriended, and ſo eloquent as *Midias*: he therfore yeelded himſelf vnto thoſe that did ſpeake and intreat for him. Neither do I thinke that the three thouſand Drachmas which he receiued, could haue brideled the bitternes of his nature, if other wiſe he had ſeene any hope or likelihood that he could haue pre-

*Demoſthenes, an enemie to the Macedonians.*

*The conſtancy of Demoſthenes againſt Theopompus.*

*Note the incōſtancie & ſubtil inuaſion of theſe orators*

*Demoſthenes preferreth honeſtie as a ſpeciall rule in his orations.*

*Demoſthenes a timerous man, and giuen to bribes.*

*Demoſthenes franck ſpeech in his orations.*

railled againſt him. Now at his firſt cōming vnto the cōmon wealth, taking a noble matter in hand to ſpeak againſt *Philip*, for the defence & maintenāce of the lawes & liberties of the GRECIANS, wherein he handled himſelfe ſo worthely: that in ſhort ſpace he wan him maruellous fame for his great eloquence and plaine manner of ſpeech. Thereby he was maruellouſly honored alſo through all GREECE, and greatly eſteemed with the king of PERSIA: & *Philip* him ſelfe made more account of him, then of all the Orators in ATHENS, & his greateſt foes which were moſt againſt him, were driuen to confeſſe that they had to doe with a famous man. For, in the orations which *Aeſchines* & *Hyperides* made to accuſe him, they write thus of him. And therfore I maruell what *Theopompus* ment, when he wrote that *Demoſthenes* had a ſubtill vnconſtant mind, & could not long continue with one kind of men, nor in one mind for matters of ſtate. For in contrarie maner, in my iudgement he continued conſtant ſtill to the end, in one ſelfe maner & order, vnto the which he had betaken himſelf at the beginning: & that not onely he neuer changed all his life time, but to the contrarie he loſt his life, becauſe he would be no chaungling. For he did not like *Demades*, who to excuſe himſelf for that he had oft turned coate in matters of gouernment, ſaid that he went often times againſt his own ſayings, as matters fell out: but neuer againſt the benefit of the cōmon wealth. And *Melanopus* alſo, who was euer againſt *Challiſtratus*, hauing his mouth many times ſtopped with money, he would vp to the pulpit for orations, & tell the people, that indeed *Calliſtratus*, which maintaineth the contrary opinion againſt me, is my enemy, & yet I yeeld vnto him for this time: for, the benefit of the cōmon wealth muſt cary it. And another alſo, *Nicodemus* MESSENIAN, who being firſt of *Caſſanders* ſide, tooke part afterward with *Demetrius*, & then ſaid, that he did not ſpeak againſt himſelfe, but that it was meete he ſhould obey his ſuperiors. They cannot detect *Demoſthenes* with the like, that he did euer halt or yeeld, either in word or deed. For he euer continued firm and conſtant in one mind in his orations. Inſomuch that *Panætius* the Philoſopher ſaith, that the moſt part of all his orations are grounded vpon this *maxime* and principle: that for it ſelfe, nothing is to be taken or accepted, but that which is honeſt. As, the oration of the crowne, the which he made againſt *Ariſtocrates*: that alſo which he made for the franches and freedom: and in fine, all his orations againſt *Philip* of MACEDON. And in al thoſe he doth not perſwade his conntriemen to take that which is moſt pleaſant, eaſieſt, or moſt profitable: but he proueth that often times honeſtie is to be preferred aboue ſafetie or health. So that, had he in all his orations and doings, ioyned to his honeſtie, courteſie, and francke ſpeech, valiantnes in warres, and cleane hands from briberie: he might deſeruedly haue bene compared, not with *Myrocles*, *Polyeuctus*, *Hyperides* & ſuch other Orators: but euen with the higheſt, with *Cimon*, *Thucidides*, and *Pericles*. For *Phocion*, who tooke the worſt way in gouernment of the cōmon wealth, becauſe he was ſuſpected that he took part with the MACEDONIANS: yet for valiantnes, wiſdom & iuſtice, he was euer thought as honeſt a man, as *Ephialtes*, and *Ariſtides*. But *Demoſthenes* on the other ſide (as *Demetrius* ſayth) was no man to truſt to for wars, neither had he any power to refuſe giftes and bribes. For though he would neuer be corrupted with *Philip* king of MACEDON, yet he was bribed with gold & ſiluer that was brought from the cities of SVSA & ECBATANA, and was very readie to praiſe & commend the deeds of their anceſtors, but not to follow them. Truly, yet was he the honeſteſt man of all other Orators in his time, excepting *Phocion*. And beſides he did euer ſpeake more boldly and plainely vnto the people then any man elſe, and would openly contrary their mindes, and ſharply reproue the ATHENIANS for their faultes, as appeareth by his orations. *Theopompus* alſo writeth, that the people on a time would haue had him to accuſe a man, whom they would needs haue condemned. But he refuſing to doe it, the people were offended, and did mutine againſt him Thereupon he riſing vp ſaid openly vnto them: my Lords ATHENIANS, I will alwaies counſell you to that which I thinke beſt for the benefit of the common wealth, although it be againſt your mindes: but falſely to accuſe one to ſatiſfie your mindes, though you command me, I will not do it. Furthermore, that which he did againſt *Antiphō*, ſheweth plainly, that he was no people pleaſer, and that he did leane more vnto the authoritie of the Senate. For when *Antiphon* was quit by the people in an aſſembly of the citie: *Demoſthenes* notwithſtanding took him and called him againe into the court of the Areopagites, and did not paſſe vpon the peoples ill will, but there conuinced him for promiſing *Philip* of MACEDON to burn the arſenall of ATHENS: ſo by ſentence of that court he was condemned, & ſuffred for it. He did alſo accuſe the Nunne *Theorides* for many leud parts committed, & amongſt others, for that ſhe taught ſlaues to deceiue their maſters: & ſo following the matter againſt her to death, ſhe was condemned, and executed. It is thought alſo, that he made the oration *Apollodorus* ſpake againſt the Prætor *Timotheus*, & proued therby that he was a debtor to the cōmon wealth, & ſo naughtie a man: & that he wrote thoſe orations alſo intituled to *Formio* & *Stephanus*, for the which he was iuſtly reproued. For *Formio* pleaded againſt *Apollodorus* with the oration which *Demoſthenes* ſelfe had made for him: which was euen alike, as if out of one ſelfe cutlers ſhoppe he had ſold his enemies ſwords one to kil another: and for his known orations, thoſe which he made againſt *Androcion*, *Timocrates* and *Ariſtocrates*: he cauſed them to giue them vnto others, when he had not yet dealt in matters of ſtate. For indeede when he did put them forth, he was not paſſing ſeuen or eight and twentie yeare old. The oration which he made againſt *Ariſtogiton*, and the other alſo of libertie, againſt *Cteſippus* the ſon of *Chabrias*, he ſpake them, as he ſaith himſelf, (or as others write) openly vnto the people, becauſe he intended to marrie *Chabrias* mother. Howbeit he did not, but maried a SAMIAN womã, as *Demetrius Magneſius* writeth in his book he made, intituled Synonyma, and in that he wrote againſt *Aeſchines*: where he accuſeth him that he dealt falſely when he was Ambaſſador. It is not knowen whether it was recited or not, although *Idomeneus* writeth, that there lacked but thirtie voices onely to haue quitte *Aeſchines*. But in this me thinkes he ſpake not truely, and doth but coniecture it, by that the one & the other haue ſaid in their orations againſt the crowne, in the which, neither the one nor the other doe ſaye preciſely, that this accuſation proceeded to iudgement. But let other that liſt decide this doubt. Now before the warre beganne, it was euident enough, to which part *Demoſthenes* would incline in the common wealth. For, he would neuer leaue to reproue and withſtand *Philips* doings. Therefore he being more ſpoken of in *Philips* Court, then any man elſe, he was ſent vnto him the tenth perſon with nine others in ambaſſade. *Philippe* gaue them all audience one after another: howbeit he was more carefull and circumſpect to anſwer *Demoſthenes* oration, then all the reſt. But otherwiſe out of that place, he did not *Demoſthenes* ſo much honor, nor gaue him ſo good entertainment, as to his other companions. For *Philip* ſhewed more kindnes, and gaue better countenance vnto *Aeſchines*, & *Philocrates*, then vnto him. Wherefore when they did highly praiſe *Philip*, and ſayd that he was a well ſpoken Prince, a faier man, and would drinke freely, and be pleaſant in company: *Demoſthenes* ſmiled at it, and turned all things to the worſt, ſaying, that thoſe qualities were nothing commendable nor meete for a king. For the firſt was a qualitie meete for a pleader, the ſecond for a woman, and the third for a ſponge. In fine, warres falling out betwene them, becauſe *Philip* of the one ſide could not liue in peace, & the ATHENIANS on the other ſide were ſtill incenſed & ſtirred vp by *Demoſthenes* daily orations. Wherupon the ATHENIANS firſt ſent into the Ile of EVBOEA, (the which by meanes of certen priuate tirants that had taken the townes, became ſubiect againe vnto *Philip*) following a decree *Demoſthenes* had preferred, & ſo went to expulſe the MACEDONIANS againe. After that alſo he cauſed them to ſend aide vnto the BIZANTINES, and to the PERINTHIANS, with whom *Philip* made war. For he ſo perſwaded the ATHENIANS, that he made them forget the malice they did beare vnto thoſe two nations, & the faults which either of both the cities had committed againſt them in the warres, touching the rebellion of their confederats: & he cauſed them to ſend them aide, which kept them from *Philips* force & power. Furthermore, going afterwards vnto all the great cities of GRECE as Ambaſſador, he did ſo ſolicite & perſwade them, that he brought them all in manner to be againſt *Philip*. So that the armie which their tribe ſhould find at their common charge, was fifteene thouſand footemen, all ſtrangers, and two thouſand horſemen, beſides the Cittizens of euery citie which ſhould alſo ſerue in the warres at their charge, and the money alſo leauied for the maintenance of this warre, was very willingly diſburſed. *Theophraſtus* writeth, that it was at that time their confederates did praye that they would ſet downe a certaine ſumme of money, what euery citie ſhoulde paye: and that *Crobylus* an Orator ſhoulde make aunſwer, that the warre had no certaine maintenance: inferring that the charges of warre was

*Demoſthenes orations which were true and which falſe.*

*Demoſthenes doings againſt Philip.*

*Demoſthenes ſtirreth vp Grece againſt the Macedonians.*

infinite. Now all GRECE being in armes, attending what ſhould happen, and all theſe people and cities being vnite in one league together: as the EVBOEIANS, the ATHENIANS, the CORINTHIANS, the MEGARIANS, the LEVCADIANS, & the CORCYRIÆIANS: the greateſt matter *Demoſthenes* had to do, was to perſwade the THEBANS alſo to enter into this league, becauſe their countrie confined and bordered with ATTICA, beſides their force and power was of great importance, for that they caried the fame of all GRECE at that time, for the valianteſt ſouldiers. But it was no trifling matter to win the THEBANS, and to make them breake with *Philip*, who but lately before had bound them vnto him by many great pleaſures which he had done to them, in the warre of the PHOCIANS: beſides alſo that betwixt ATHENS and THEBES, by reaſon of vicinitie, there fell out daily quarrels and debates, the which with euery litle thing were ſoone renued. This notwithſtanding *Philip* being proud of the victory he had wonne by the citie of AMPHISSE, when he came and inuaded the countrie of ELATIA, and was entred into PHOCIDE: the ATHENIANS were then ſo amaſed with it, that no man durſt occupie the pulpit for orations, neither could they tell what way to take. Thus the whole aſſembly ſtanding in a doubt with great ſilence, *Demoſthenes* only ſtept vp, and did againe giue them counſell to ſeeke to make league and alliance with the THEBANS: and ſo did further encourage the people, and put them in good hope, as he was alwaies wont to do. Then with others he was ſent ambaſſador into THEBES: & *Philip* alſo for his part, ſent ambaſſadors vnto the THEBANS, *Amintas* & *Clearchus*, two gentlemen MACEDONIANS, and with them, *Daochus*, *Theſſalus* and *Thracydæus*, to aunſwer and withſtand the perſwaſions of the ATHENIAN Ambaſſadors. Thereupon the THEBANS beganne to aduiſe themſelues for the beſt, and layed before their eyes the miſerable frutes and calamities of warre, their wounds being yet greene and vncured, which they got by the warres of PHOCIDE. Notwithſtanding, the great force of *Demoſthenes* eloquence (as *Theopompus* writeth) did ſo inflame the THEBANS courage with deſire of honor, that it trode vnder their feet all manner of conſiderations, and did ſo rauiſh them with the loue and deſire of honeſtie: that they caſt at their heeles, all feare of daunger, all remembrance of pleaſures receiued, and all reaſon perſwading the contrarie. This act of an Orator was of ſo great force, that *Philip* forthwith ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the GRECIANS, to intreat for peace, and all GRECE was vppe to ſee what would become of this ſturre. Thus, not onely the Captaines of ATHENS obeyed *Demoſthenes*, doing all that he commanded them: but the gouernors alſo of THEBES, & of all the countrie of BOEOTIA beſides. And the aſſemblies alſo of the councell of THEBES were as well gouerned by him, as the aſſemblies of ATHENS, being alike beloued both of the one and the other, and hauing a like authority to command both, and not vndeſeruedly, as *Theopompus* ſaith, but by iuſt deſert. But ſome fatall deſtinie, and the reuolution of times had determined the finall ende of the libertie of GRECE at that time, cleane contrarie to his purpoſe and intent. There were alſo many celeſtiall ſignes that did foreſhewe and prognoſticate what ende ſhould enſue thereof. And amongſt others, *Apolloes* Nunne gaue theſe dreadfull oracles: and this old prophecie of the SIBYLS was commonly ſong in euery bodies mouth.

*Demoſthenes force of eloquence ioyned the Thebans with the Athenians and wan them from Philip king of Macedon.*

*The overthrow of the Grecians foreſhewed at Cheronea, by ſignes and ancient oracles.*

*VVhat time the blooddy battell ſhall be fought at Thermodon,*
*God graunt I may be farre away, or elſe (to looke thereon)*
*Haue Eagles wings to ſoare aboue, among the cloudes on hye.*
*For there the vanquiſht ſide ſhall weepe, and Conquerer ſhall dye.*

Men doe report that this Thermodon is a litle riuer of our coũtrie of CHÆRONEA, which falleth into the riuer of Cephiſus: howbeit at this preſent time there is neuer a riuer nor brook in all our coũtrie, that I know called Thermodon. And I thinke, that that riuer which we call now Hæmon, was in old time Thermodõ: for it runneth by the temple of *Hercules*, where the GRECIANS lay in campe. And it may be, that becauſe it was filled with dead bodies, & that it ranne blood at the day of the battell, it changed her name & was ſurnamed Hæmon, becauſe Hæma in the Greeke tongue, ſignifieth blood. Yet *Duris* writeth notwithſtanding, that this Thermodon was no riuer, but that certaine men ſetting vp their tent, and trenching it about, found a litle image of ſtone, whereupon were engrauen theſe letters, whereby it appeareth that it was a man called *Thermodon*, who caried an AMAZON hart in his armes, & that for this

*The riuer of Thermodon or Hæmon in the country of Cheronea.*

*Another opinion of Thermodon.*

Image of *Thermodon*, they do ſing ſuch another olde oracle as this:

*Ye Ernes and Rauens tarry till the field of Thermodon:*
*There will be ſtore of carkaſſes, of men to feede vpon.*

This notwithſtanding, it is very hard to tell the troth of theſe things. But *Demoſthenes* truſting to the valiantnes and power of the GRECIANS, and being maruellouſly incoraged to ſee ſuch a great number of valiant and reſolute men, ſo willing to fight with the enemie: he bad them be of good courage, and not to buz about ſuch oracles, and to giue eare to ſuch prophecies. And furthermore he tolde them plainely, that he did miſtruſt the Nunne *Pythia* did leane vnto *Philip*, as fauoring him, and did put the THEBANS in minde of their Captaine *Epaminondas*, and the ATHENIANS of *Pericles*, and perſwaded them, that thoſe two famous men were alwaies of opinion, that ſuch prophecies were no other, but a fine cloke for cowardes, and that taking no heed to them, they did diſpatch their matters according to their own diſcretion. Vntill this preſent time, *Demoſthenes* ſhewed himſelf alwaies an honeſt man. But when it came to the battell, he fled like a coward, and did no valiant acte any thing anſwerable to the orations whereby he had perſwaded the people. For he left his rancke, and cowardly caſt away his weapons to runne the lighter, and was not aſhamed at all, as *Pythias* ſaid, of the words written vpon his ſhield in golden letters, which were, *Good fortune*. Now *Philip* hauing wonne the battell, he was at that preſent ſo ioyfull, that he fell to commit many fond parts. For after he had druncke well with his friends, he went into the place where the ouerthrow was giuen, & there in mockery began to ſing the beginning of the decree which *Demoſthenes* had preferred, (by the which the ATHENIANS accordingly proclaimed warres againſt him) riſing and falling with his voice, and dancing it in meaſure with his foote:

*Demoſthenes flyeth from the battell.*

*Demoſthenes word and deuiſe vpon his ſhield.*

*Demoſthenes the ſonne of Demoſthenes Pæanian did put forth this.*

But afterwards beginning to wax ſober, and leauing his drunckennes, and that he had remembred himſelf what danger he had bene in: then his hair ſtood bolt vpright vpon his head, conſidering the force and power of ſuch an orator, that in a peece of a day had inforced him to hazard his realme and life at a battell. Now *Demoſthenes* fame was ſo great, that it was caried euen to the great king of PERSIAES court, who wrote vnto his Lieutenants & gouernors, that they ſhould feed *Demoſthenes* with money, and ſhould procure to entertaine him aboue all the men in GRECE, as he that could beſt withdraw *Philip* & trouble him with the warres and tumults of GRECE. And this was afterwardes proued by letters found of *Demoſthenes* himſelfe, the which came to king *Alexanders* hands in the citie of SARDIS, & by other writings alſo of the gouernors and Lieutenants of the king of PERSIA: in the which were named directly the expreſſe ſummes of money which had bene ſent & giuen vnto him. Now the GRECIANS being thus ouerthrowen by battell, the other Orators, aduerſaries vnto *Demoſthenes* in the common wealth, began to ſet vpon him, & to prepare to accuſe him. But the people did not onely cleare him of all the accuſations obiected againſt him, but did continue to honor him more then before, and to call him to aſſemblies, as one that loued the honor & benefit of his coũtrie. So that when the bones of their countrymen which were ſlain at the battell of CHERONEA, were brought to be openly buried according to the cuſtom: the people gaue him the honor to make the funerall oration in praiſe of the dead, and made no ſhew of ſorrowe or griefe for the loſſe they had receiued: (as *Theopompus* witneſſeth, and doth nobly declare) but rather in contrary manner ſhewed that they did not repent them in following of his counſel, but did honor him that gaue it. *Demoſthenes* then did make the funerall oration. But afterwards in all the decrees he preferred to the people, he would neuer ſubſcribe any, to preuent the ſiniſter lucke and misfortune of his name, but did paſſe it vnder his friends names one after another, vntill he grew couragious againe, ſhortly after that he vnderſtood of the death of *Philip*, who was ſlain immediatly after the victorie he wanne at CHÆRONEA. And it ſeemeth this was the meaning of the prophecie or oracle in the two laſt verſes:

*Demoſthenes corrupted with money of the king of Perſia.*

*Demoſthenes praiſeth them that were ſlain at the battell of Chæronea.*

*The death of Philip king of Macedon.*

*The vanquiſhed bewailes his luckleſſe lot,*
*And he that winnes, with life eſcapeth not.*

Now *Demoſthenes* hearing of *Philips* death, before the newes were openly known, to preuẽt them, he would put the people againe into a good hope of better luck to come. Thereupon he

*Demoſthenes preferreth the ioy of his country, before the ſorrow of his own daughter. Aeſchines reproued by Plutarch for his fond beleefe, that blubbering and ſorrowing are ſignes of loue and charitie.*

*Plutarch praiſeth Demoſthenes conſtancie for leauing of his mourning to reioyce for his common countrie benefit*

*Demoſthenes raiſeth vp the Grecians againſt Alexander.*

went with a cheerfull countenance into the aſſembly of the councell, and told them there, that he had a certaine dreame that promiſed great good hap, & that out of hand vnto the Athenians: and immediatly after, the meſſengers arriued that brought certaine newes of king *Philips* death. Therupon the Athenians made ſacrifices of ioy to the gods for this happy newes, & appointed a crowne vnto *Pauſanias* that had ſlaine him. *Demoſthenes* alſo came abroade in his beſt gowne, and crowned with flowers, ſeauen daies after the death of his daughter, as *Aeſchines* reporteth: who reproueth him for it, and noteth him to be a man hauing litle loue or charitie vnto his owne children. But indeed *Aeſchines* ſelfe deſerueth more blame, to haue ſuch a tender womaniſh hart, as to beleeue, that weeping and lamenting, are ſignes of a gentle and charitable nature, condemning them that with patience and conſtancie doe paſſe awaye ſuch misfortunes. But now to the Athenians againe. I can neither thinke nor ſay that they did wiſely to ſhew ſuch open ſignes of ioy as to weare crownes & garlands vpon their heads, nor alſo to ſacrifice vnto the gods for the death of a Prince, that behaued himſelfe ſo Princely and curteouſly vnto them in the victories he had won of them. For though indeed all cruelty be ſubiect to the reuenge of the gods, yet is this an act of a vile and baſe minde, to honor a man, and while he liued to make him free of their citie, and now that another hath ſlain him, they to be in ſuch an exceeding iolitie withall, and to exceede the bonds of modeſtie ſo farre, as to rampe in manner with both their feete vpon the dead, and to ſing ſongs of victorie, as if they themſelues had bene the men that had valiantly ſlaine him. In contrary manner alſo, I praiſe and commend the conſtancy and courage of *Demoſthenes*, that he leauing the teares and lamentation of his home trouble vnto women, did himſelf in the meane time that he thought was for the benefit of the common wealth: and in my opinion, I thinke he did therein like a man of courage, and worthy to be a gouernor of a common wealth, neuer to ſtoop nor yeeld, but alwaies to be found ſtable and conſtant, for the benefit of the common wealth, reiecting all his troubles, cares, and affections, in reſpect of the ſeruice of his countrie, and to keepe his honor much more carefully, then common players vſe to doe, when they play the partes of Kings and Princes, whom we ſee neither weepe nor laugh when they liſt, though they be on the ſtage: but when the matter of the play falleth out to giue them iuſt occaſion. But omitting thoſe reaſones, if there be no reaſon (as indeede there is not) to leaue and forſake a man in his ſorrow and trouble, without giuing him ſome wordes of comfort, and rather to deuiſe ſome matter to aſſwage his ſorrowe, and to withdraw his minde from that, to thinke vpon ſome pleaſanter things: euen as they ſhould keepe ſore eyes from ſeing bright and glaring colours, in offring them greene and darker. And from whence can a man take greater comfort for his troubles and griefes at home, when the common wealth doth well: then to ioyne their priuate griefes with common ioyes, to the end that the better may obſcure and take away the worſe? But thus farre I digreſſed from my hiſtorie, enlarging this matter, becauſe *Aeſchines* in his oration touching this matter, did moue the peoples hartes too much vnto womaniſh ſorrow. But now to the reſt. The cities of Grece being againe ſtirred vp by *Demoſthenes*, made a new league againe together: and the Thebans alſo hauing armed themſelues by his practiſe, did one day ſet vpon the garriſon of the Macedonians within their citie, and ſlue many of thē. The Athenians prepared alſo to maintaine war on the Thebans behalfe and *Demoſthenes* was daily at all the aſſemblies of councell, in the pulpit, perſwading the people with his orations: and he wrote alſo into Asia vnto the king of Persiaes Lieutenants and Captaines, to make warre with *Alexander* on their ſide, calling him child, and Margites, as much to ſay, as foole. But after that *Alexander* hauing ſet all his things at ſtay within his realme, came himſelfe in perſon with his armie, and inuaded the countrie of Boeotia: then fell the pride of the Athenians greatly, & *Demoſthenes* alſo plied the pulpit no more as he was wont. At length the poore Thebans being left vnto themſelues forſaken of euery man: they were compelled themſelues alone to beare the brunt of this warre, and ſo came their city to vtter ruine and deſtruction. Therby the Athenians being in a maruellous feare and perplexitie, did ſodainly chooſe Ambaſſadors to ſend vnto this young king, and *Demoſthenes* chiefly among others: who being affraid of *Alexanders* furie and wrath, durſt not goe to him, but returned from mount Cythæron, and gaue vp the Ambaſſade. But *Alexander* ſent to ſummone the Athe-

NIANS, to ſend vnto him ten of their Orators, as *Idomeneus* and *Duris* both do write: or eight as the moſt writers and beſt hiſtoriographers doe report, which were theſe: *Demoſthenes*, *Polyeuctus*, *Ephialtes*, *Lycurgus*, *Myrocles*, *Damon*, *Calliſthenes* and *Charidemus*. At which time, they write that *Demoſthenes* tolde the people of ATHENS, the fable of the ſheepe and wolues, howe that the wolues came on a time, and willed the ſheepe, if they would haue peace with them, to deliuer them their maſtiues that kept them. And ſo he compared himſelfe, and his companions that trauelled for the benefit of the countrie, vnto the dogges that keepe the flocks of ſheepe, and calling *Alexander* the wolfe. And ſo forth, ſaide he, like as you ſee theſe corne maiſters bringing a ſample of their corne in a diſh or napkin to ſhew you, and by that litle do ſell all that they haue: ſo I thinke you will all wonder, that deliuering of vs, you will alſo deliuer your ſelues into the handes of your enemies. *Ariſtobulus* of CASSANDRA reporteth this matter thus. Now the ATHENIANS being in conſultation, not knowing how to reſolue: *Demades* hauing taken fiue talents of them whom *Alexander* demanded, did offer himſelfe, and promiſed to goe in this Ambaſſage vnto *Alexander*, and to intreate for them, either becauſe he truſted in the loue the king did beare him, or elſe for that he thought he hoped he ſhould finde him pacified, as a Lyon glutted with the bloud of beaſtes which he had ſlaine. Howſoeuer it happened, he perſwaded the people to ſend him vnto him, and ſo handled *Alexander*, that he got their pardon, and did reconcile him with the citie of ATHENS. Thereupon *Alexander* being retyred, *Demades* and his fellowes bare all the ſway and authoritie, and *Demoſthenes* was vnder foot. In deede when *Agis* king of LACEDÆMON, came with his army into the field, he began a litle to rowſe himſelfe, and to lift vp his head: but he ſhrunke choller againe ſoone after, becauſe the ATHENIANS would not riſe with the LACEDÆMONIANS, who were ouerthrowen, & *Agis* ſlaine in battell. At that time was the cauſe of the crowne pleaded againſt *Cteſiphon*, and the plea was written a litle before the battell of CHÆRONEA, in the yeare when *Charondas* was Prouoſt of ATHENS: howbeit no ſentence was giuen but ten yeres after that *Ariſtophon* was Prouoſt. This was ſuch an open iudgement, and ſo famous, as neuer was any, as well for the great fame of the Orators that pleaded in emulation one of the other, as alſo for the worthines of the Iudges that gaue ſentence thereof: who did not leaue *Demoſthenes* to his enemies, although in deede they were of greater power then he, and were alſo ſupported with the fauour and good will of the MACEDONIANS: but they did notwithſtanding ſo well quit him, that *Aeſchines* had not ſo much as the fifth part of mens voices and opinions in his behalfe. Wherefore immediatly after ſentence giuen, he went out of ATHENS for ſhame, and trauelled into the country of IONIA, and vnto the RHODES, where he did teach Rethoricke. Shortly after, *Harpalus* flying out of *Alexanders* ſeruice, came vnto ATHENS, being to be charged with many foule matters he had committed by his exceeding prodigalitie: and alſo becauſe he feared *Alexanders* furie, who was growen ſeuere and cruell vnto his chiefeſt ſeruantes. He comming now amongſt the ATHENIANS with ſtore of gold and ſiluer, the Orators being greedie and deſirous of the golde and ſiluer he had brought: beganne ſtraight to ſpeake for him, and did counſell the people to receiue & protect a poore ſuter that came to them for ſuccour. But *Demoſthenes* gaue counſell to the contrarie, and bad them rather driue him out of the citie, and take heede they brought not warres vpon their backes, for a matter that not onely was not neceſſarie, but furthermore meerely vniuſt. But within fewe daies after, inuentory being taken of all *Harpalus* goods, he perceiuing that *Demoſthenes* tooke great pleaſure to ſee a cuppe of the kings, and conſidered very curiouſly the faſhion & workemanſhippe vpon it: he gaue it him in his hand, to iudge what it weyed. *Demoſthenes* peaſing it, wondered at the great weight of it, it was ſo heauie: ſo he asked how many pound weight it weyed. *Harpalus* ſmiling, anſwered him: it will wey thee twentie talents. So when night was come, he ſent him the cuppe, with the twentie talents. This *Harpalus* was a very wiſe man, and found ſtraight by *Demoſthenes* countenance that he loued money, and could preſently iudge his nature by ſeeing his pleaſant countenance, and his eyes ſtill vpon the cuppe. So *Demoſthenes* refuſed not his gift, and being ouercome withall, as if he had receiued a garriſon into his houſe, he tooke *Harpalus* part. The next morning, he went into the aſſembly of the people, hauing his necke bound vp with wooll and rolles. So when they called him by

*Alexander required certaine Orators of Athens.*

*Demoſthenes tale of the ſheep and wolues.*

*The iudgement of the crowne vnto Cteſiphon.*

*Harpalus a great money man came to Athens, flying from Alexander.*

*Demoſthenes bribed by Harpalus with twenty talents.*

his name to ſteppe vp into the pulpit, to ſpeake to the people as he had done before: he made a ſigne with his head, that he had an impediment in his voice, & that he could not ſpeake. But wiſe men laughing at his fine excuſe, tolde him it was no ſinanche that had ſtopped his weſill that night, as he would make them beleeue: but it was *Harpalus* argentſynanche which he had receiued, that made him in that caſe. Afterwardes when the people vnderſtoode that he was corrupted, *Demoſthenes* going about to excuſe himſelfe, they would not abide to heare him: but made a noyſe and exclamation againſt him. Thereuppon there roſe vp a pleaſant conceited man, that ſaid: why my maiſters, doe ye refuſe to heare a man that hath* ſuch a golden tongue? The people thereuppon did immediatly baniſh *Harpalus*, and fearing leaſt king *Alexander* would require an account of the gold and ſiluer which the Orators had robbed and pilfred away among them: they made very diligent ſearch and inquirie in euerie mans houſe, excepting *Callicles* houſe, the ſonne of *Arrenidas*, whoſe houſe they would haue ſearched by no meanes, becauſe he was but newly married, and had his new ſpouſe in his houſe, as *Theopompus* writeth. Now *Demoſthenes* deſiring to ſhewe that he was in fault, preferred a decree that the court of the Areopagites ſhould heare the matter, and puniſh them that were founde faultie, and therewithall ſtraight offered himſelfe to be tried. Howbeit he was one of the firſt whom the court condemned in the ſumme of fiftie talents, and for lacke of paiment, they put him in priſon: where he could not endure long, both for the ſhame of the matter for the which he was condemned, as alſo for his ſickely body. So he brake priſon, partly without the priuitie of his keepers, and partly alſo with their conſent: for they were willing he ſhould make a ſcape. Some doe report that he fled not farre from the citie: where it was tolde him that certaine of his enemies followed him, whereuppon he would haue hidden himſelfe from them. But they themſelues firſt called him by his name, and comming to him, prayed him to take money of them, which they had brought him from their houſes to helpe him in his baniſhment: and that therefore they ran after him. Then they did comfort him the beſt they could, & perſwaded him to be of good cheere, and not to diſpaire for the misfortune that was come vnto him. This did pearce his heart the more for ſorow, that he anſwered them: why, would you not haue me be ſorie for my misfortune, that compelleth me to forſake the citie where in deede I haue ſo curteous enemies, that it is hard for me to finde any where ſo good friends? So he tooke his baniſhment vnmanly, and remained the moſt part of his baniſhment in the citie of ÆGINA, or at the citie of TROEZEN, where oftentimes he would caſt his eyes towards the country of ATTICA, and weepe bitterly. And ſome haue written certaine words he ſpake, which ſhewed no minde of a man of courage, nor were aunſwerable to the noble things he was wont to perſwade in his Orations. For it is reported of him, that as he went out of ATHENS, hee looked backe againe, and holding vp his handes to the caſtle, ſaid in this ſort: O Ladie *Minerua*, Ladie patroneſſe of this citie: why doeſt thou delight in three ſo miſchieuous beaſtes: the owle, the dragon, and the people? Beſides, he perſwaded the young men that came to ſee him, and that were with him, neuer to meddle in matters of ſtate, aſſuring them, that if they had offred him two waies at the firſt, the one to goe into the aſſembly of the people, to make orations in the pulpit, and the other to be put to death preſently, and that he had knowen as he did then, the troubles a man is compelled to ſuffer that medleth with the affaires of the ſtate, the feare, the enuie, the accuſations, and troubles in the ſame: he would rather haue choſen the way to haue ſuffered death. So, *Demoſthenes* continuing in his exile, king *Alexander* dyed, and all GRECE was vp againe: inſomuch as *Leoſthenes* being a man of great valour, had ſhut vp *Antipater* in the citie of LAMEA, and there kept him ſtraightly beſieged. Then *Pytheas* and *Callimedon*, ſurnamed *Carabos*, two Orators, and both of them baniſhed from ATHENS, they tooke part with *Antipater*, and went from towne to towne with his Ambaſſadors and friendes, perſwading the GRECIANS not to ſturre, neither to take part with the ATHENIANS. But *Demoſthenes* in contrarie maner, ioyning with the Ambaſſadors ſent from ATHENS into euerie quarter, to ſolicite the cities of GRECE, to ſeeke to recouer their libertie: he did aide them the beſt he could, to ſolicite the GRECIANS, to take armes with the ATHENIANS, to driue the MACEDONIANS out of GRECE. And *Phylarchus* writeth, that *Demoſthenes* encountered with *Pytheas* words in an open aſſembly of the people in a

** This conceite can hardly be expreſſed in any other language, then in Greeke. For he ſaieth, οὐκ ἀκούσετε τοῦ τὴν κύλικα ἔχοντος: alluding to the verbe κυλεῖν, which ſignifieth to delight by pleaſant ſpeech or ſound*

*Demoſthenes baniſhment.*

*Demoſthenes tooke his baniſhment grieuouſly.*

*Three miſchieuous beaſts.*

*Antipater beſieged of the Athenians.*

certaine towne of ARCADIA. *Pytheas* hauing ſpoken before him, had ſaid: like as we preſume alwaies that there is ſome ſickneſſe in the houſe whither we doe ſee aſſes milke brought: ſo muſt that towne of neceſſitie be ſicke, wherein the Ambaſſadors of ATHENS doe enter. *Demoſthenes* aunſwered him againe, turning his compariſon againſt him: that in deede they brought aſſes milke, where there was neede to recouer health: and euen ſo, the Ambaſſadors of ATHENS were ſent, to heale and cure them that were ſicke. The people at ATHENS vnderſtanding what *Demoſthenes* had done, they ſo reioyced at it, that preſently they gaue order in the fielde, that his baniſhment ſhould be reuoked. He that perſwaded the decree of his reuocation, was called *Dæmon* PÆANIAN, that was his nephew: and thereupon the ATHENIANS ſent him a galley to bring him to ATHENS, from the citie of ÆGINA. So *Demoſthenes* being arriued at the hauen of Piræa, there was neither Gouernor, Prieſt, nor almoſt any towns man left in the citie, but went out to the hauen to welcome him home. So that *Demetrius* MAGNESIAN writeth, that *Demoſthenes* then lifting vp his handes vnto heauen ſaide, that he thought himſelfe happie for the honour of that iorney, that the returne from his baniſhment was farre more honorable, then *Alcibiades* returne in the like caſe had bene. For *Alcibiades* was called home by force: & he was ſent for with the good will of the citizens. This notwithſtanding, he remained ſtill condemned for his fine: for by the law, the people could not diſpence withall, nor remit it. Howbeit they deuiſed a way to deceiue the law: for they had a manner to giue certaine money vnto them that did prepare and ſet out the aulter of *Iupiter* ſauior, for the day of the ſolemnitie of the ſacrifice, the which they did yearely celebrate vnto him: ſo they gaue him the charge to make this preparation for the ſumme of fiftie talents being the ſumme of the fine aforeſaide wherein he was condemned. Howbeit, he did not long enioy the good happe of his reſtitution to his country and goods. For the affaires of the GRECIANS were immediatly after brought to vtter ruine. For the battell of Cranon which they loſt, was in the moneth Munichyon (to wit, Iulie) and in the moneth Boedromion next enſuing, (to wit, Auguſt) the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS entred into the fort of Munichya. And in the moneth Pyanepſion (to wit, the October following) *Demoſthenes* died in this maner. When newes came to ATHENS, that *Antipater* and *Craterus* were comming thither with a great army, *Demoſthenes* and his friendes got out of the towne a litle before they entred, the people by *Demades* perſwaſion, hauing condemned them to die. So, euery man making ſhift for himſelfe, *Antipater* ſent ſouldiers after them to take them: and of them *Archias* was Captaine, ſurnamed *Phygadotheras*, as much to ſay, as a hunter of the baniſhed men. It is reported that this *Archias* was borne in the citie of THVRIES, and that he had bene ſometimes a common plaier of tragedies: and that *Polus* alſo who was borne in the citie of ÆGINES, (the excellenteſt craftes maiſter in that facultie of all men) was his ſcholler. Yet *Hermippus* doth recite him amongſt the number of the ſchollers of *Lacritus* the Orator And *Demetrius* alſo writeth, that he had bene at *Anaximenes* ſchoole. Now this *Archias* hauing found the Orator *Hyperides* in the city of ÆGINA, *Ariſtonicus* MARATHONIAN, and *Himeræus* the brother of *Demetrius* the PHALERIAN, which had taken ſanctuary in the temple of *Aiax*: he took them out of the temple by force, and ſent them vnto *Antipater*, who was at that time in the citie of CLEONES, where he did put them all to death: and ſome ſay, that he did cut off *Hyperides* tongue. Furthermore, hearing that *Demoſthenes* had taken ſanctuary in the Ile of CALAVRIA, he tooke litle pinnaſies, and a certaine number of THRACIAN ſouldiers, and being come thither, he ſought to perſwade *Demoſthenes* to be contented to goe with him vnto *Antipater*, promiſing him that he ſhould haue no hurt. *Demoſthenes* had a ſtrange dreame the night before, and though that he had plaied a tragedie contending with *Archias*, and that he handled himſelfe ſo well, that all the lookers on at the Theater did commende him, and gaue him the honor to be the beſt player: howbeit that otherwiſe, he was not ſo well furniſhed as *Archias* and his plaiers, and that in all manner of furniture he did farre exceede him. The next morning when *Archias* came to ſpeake with him, who vſing gentle wordes vnto him, thinking thereby to winne him by faire meanes to leaue the ſanctuarie: *Demoſthenes* looking him full in the face, ſitting ſtill where he was, without remouing, ſaid vnto him: O *Archias*, thou diddeſt neuer perſwade me when thou playedſt a play, neither ſhalt thou now perſwade me,

*Demoſthenes called home from exile.*

*Demoſthenes fine of fiftie talents remitted.*

*Archias Phygadotheras, a hunter of the baniſhed men.*

*Demoſthenes dreame.*

*Demoſthenes taketh poyſon to kill himſelfe, in the temple of Neptune, in the Ile of Calauria.*

*The death of Demoſthenes.*

*The time of Demoſthenes death.*

*The Athenians honored Demoſthenes after his death*

though thou promiſe me. Then *Archias* began to be angry with him, and to threaten him. O ſaid *Demoſthenes*, now thou ſpeakeſt in good earneſt, without diſſimulation, as the Oracle of MACEDON hath commaunded thee: for before, thou ſpakeſt in the clouds, and farre from thy thought. But I pray thee ſtay a while, till I haue written ſomewhat to my friends. After he had ſaid ſo, he went into the temple as though he would haue diſpatched ſome letters, and did put the end of the quill in his mouth which he wrote withall, and bit it as his maner was when he did vſe to write any thing, and held the end of the quill in his mouth a pretie while together: then he caſt his gowne ouer his head, and laid him downe. *Archias* ſouldiers ſeeing that, being at the dore of the temple, laughing him to ſcorne (thinking he had done ſo for that he was affraid to die) called him coward, and beaſt. *Archias* alſo comming to him, prayed him to riſe, and beganne to vſe the former perſwaſions to him, promiſing him that he would make *Antipater* his friend. Then *Demoſthenes* feeling the poyſon worke, caſt open his gowne, and boldly looking *Archias* in the face, ſaid vnto him: Now when thou wilt, play *Creons* part, and throw my bodie to the dogges, without further graue or buriall. For my part, O god *Neptune*, I do go out of thy temple being yet aliue, becauſe I will not prophane it with my death: but *Antipater*, and the MACEDONIANS, haue not ſpared to defile thy ſanctuarie with bloud, and cruell murder. Hauing ſpoken theſe wordes, he prayed them to ſtay him vp by his armeholes, for his feete beganne alreadie to faile him, and thinking to go forward, as he paſt by the aulter of *Neptune*, he fell downe, and giuing one gaſpe, gaue vp the ghoſt Now touching the poyſon, *Ariſto* reporteth, that he ſucked and drew it vp into his mouth out of his quill, as we haue ſaid before. But one *Pappus* (from whom *Hermippus* hath taken his hiſtorie) writeth, that when he was laid on the ground before the aulter, they found the beginning of a letter which ſaid: *Demoſthenes* vnto *Antipater*, but no more. Now his death being thus ſodaine, the THRACIAN ſouldiers that were at the temple dore, reported that they ſawe him plucke the poyſon which he put into his mouth, out of a litle cloth he had, thinking to them that it had beene a peece of gold he had ſwallowed downe. Howbeit a maide of the houſe that ſerued him, being examined by *Archias* about it: told him that he had caried it about him a long time, for a preſeruatiue for him. *Eratoſthenes* writeth, that he kept this poyſon in a litle boxe of golde made hollow within, the which he ware as a bracelet about his arme. There are many writers alſo that do report his death diuerſly, but to recite them all it were in vaine: ſauing that there was one called *Demochares* (who was *Demoſthenes* very friend ſaid, that he died not ſo ſodainly by poyſon, but that it was the ſpeciall fauour of the gods (to preſerue him from the crueltie of the MACEDONIANS) that ſo ſodainly tooke him out of his life, and made him feele ſo litle paine. *Demoſthenes* dyed the ſixteenth day of the moneth Pynepſion (to wit, October) on the which day they do celebrate at ATHENS the feaſt of *Ceres*, called Teſmophoria, which is the dolefulleſt feaſt of all the yeare: on the which day alſo, the women remaine all day long in the temple of the goddeſſe, without meate or drinke. Shortly after, the ATHENIANS to honour him according to his deſerts, did caſt his image in braſſe, and made a law beſides, that the oldeſt man of his houſe ſhould for euer be kept within the pallace, at the charge of the common wealth: and ingraued theſe verſes alſo vpon the baſe of his image.

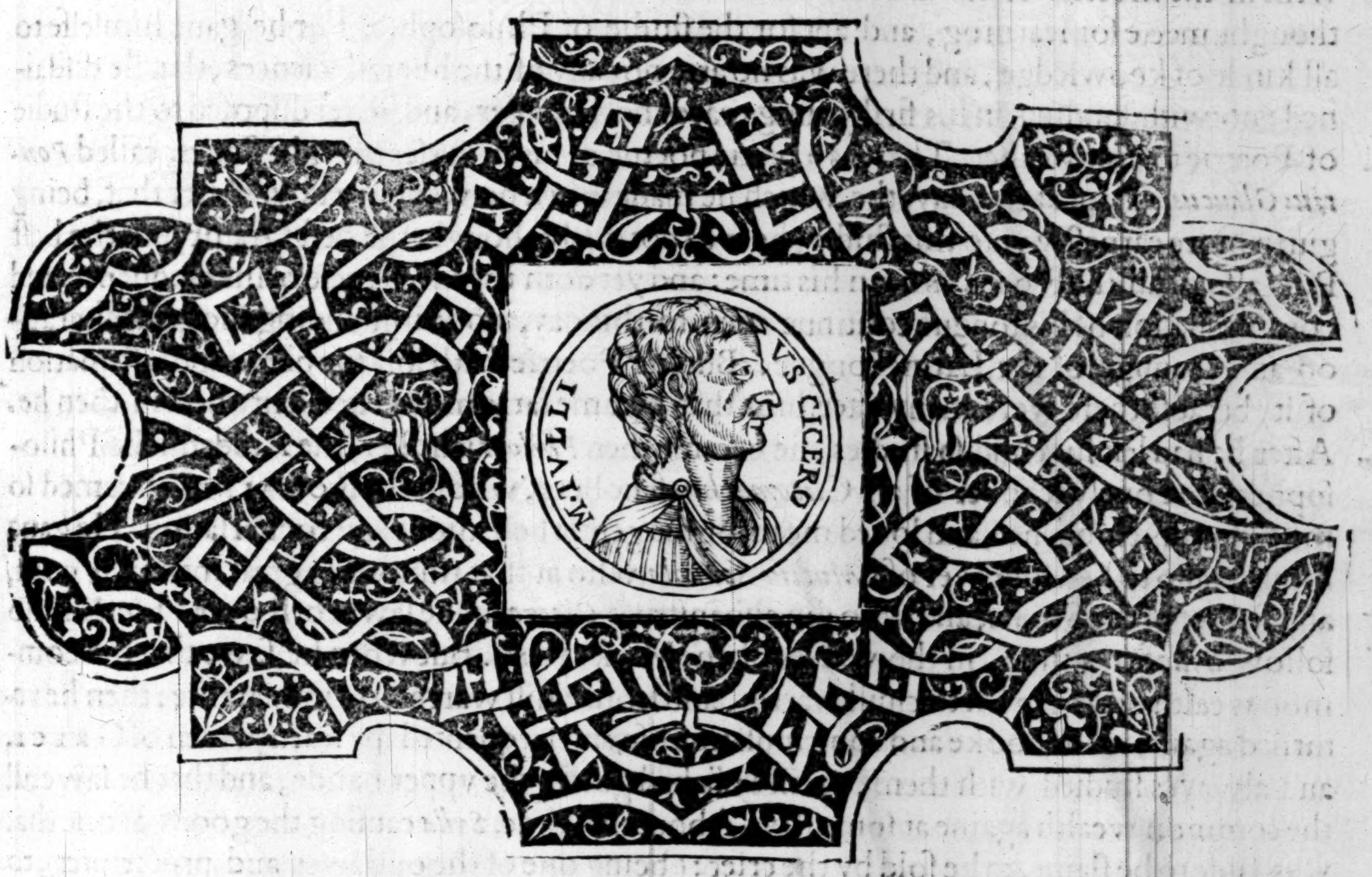
*Hadſt thou Demoſthenes had ſtrength according to thy hart,*
*The Macedons ſhould not haue wrought the Greekes ſuch woe and ſmart.*

For they that thinke that it was *Demoſthenes* himſelfe that made the verſes in the Ile of CALAVRIA, before he tooke his poyſon: they are greatly deceiued. But yet a litle before my firſt comming to ATHENS, there went a report that ſuch a thing happened. A certaine ſouldier being ſent for to come vnto his Captaine, did put ſuch peeces of golde as he had into the handes of *Demoſthenes* ſtatue, which had both his hands ioyned together: and there grew hard by it a great plane tree, diuers leaues whereof either blowen off by winde by chance, or elſe put there of purpoſe by the ſouldier, couered ſo this golde, that it was there a long time, and no man found it: vntill ſuch time as the ſouldier came againe, and found it as he left it. Hereuppon this matter running abroad in euery mans mouth, there were diuers wiſe men that tooke occaſion of this ſubiect, to make epigrammes in the praiſe of *Demoſthenes*, as one who in his life was neuer corrupted. Furthermore, *Demades* did not long enioy the honor he thought he had newly gotten. For the iuſtice of the goddes, reuenger of the death of ***Demoſthenes***, brought him into Macedon, to receiue iuſt puniſhment by death of thoſe whom he diſhoneſtly flattered: being before growen hatefull to them, and afterwardes committed a fault whereby he could not eſcape. For there were letters of his taken, by the which he did perſwade, and pray * *Perdiccas*, to make himſelfe king of Macedon, & to deliuer Grece from bondage, ſaying that it hong but by a threede, and yet it was halfe rotten, meaning thereby, *Antipater*. *Dinarchus* Corinthian accuſed him, that he wrote theſe letters: the which ſo grieuouſly offended *Caſſander*, that firſt he ſlew his owne ſonne in his armes, and then commanded they ſhould afterwards kill ***Demades***, making him feele then by thoſe miſeries (which are the cruelleſt that can happen vnto man) that traitors betraying their owne countrie doe firſt of all betray themſelues. ***Demoſthenes*** had often forewarned him of his end, but he would neuer beleeue him. Thus, my friend *Soſſius*, you haue what we can deliuer you, by reading, or report, touching *Demoſthenes* life and doings.

*He ſaith *Antigonus*, in the life of *Phocion*

*Demades death and reward for his treaſon.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Marcus Tullius Cicero.*



AS touching *Ciceroes* mother, whoſe name was *Heluia*, it is reported ſhe was a gentlewoman borne, and liued alwaies very honeſtly: but for his father, the reports of him are diuers and infinite. For ſome ſay that he was borne and brought vp in a fullers ſhop: others report that he came of *Tullius Actius*, who while he liued was honored among the Volsces as king, and made very ſharpe and cruell warres with the Romaines. But ſurely it ſeemes to me, that the firſt of that name called *Cicero*, was ſome famous man, and that for his ſake his offſpring continued ſtill that ſurname, and were glad to keepe it, though many men ſcorned it, becauſe *Cicer* in Engliſh ſignifieth a rich peaſe. That *Cicero* had a thing vpon the tippe of his noſe, as it had beene a litle wart, much like to a rich peaſe, whereupon they ſurnamed him *Cicero*. But this *Cicero*, whoſe life we write of now, nobly anſwered certaine of his friends on a time giuing him counſell to chaunge his name, when he firſt made ſute

*Ciceroes parentage.*

*Cicero, why ſo called.*

*Cicero Queſtor.*

*Ciceroes birth.*

*An image appeared to Ciceroes nurſe.*

*Ciceroes towardnes and wit.*

*Cicero a notable Poet.*

*Cicero Philoes ſcholler, the Academicke Philoſopher. Cicero a follower of Mutius Scæuola.*

*Roſcius put in ſute.*

for office, and beganne to practiſe in matters of ſtate: that hee would endeuour himſelfe to make the name of *Ciceroes* more noble and famous, than the *Scauri*, or *Catuli*. After that, *Cicero* being made Treaſurer in Sicile, he gaue an offering of certaine ſiluer plate vnto the goddes, and at large engraued on it his two firſt names, *Marcus Tullius*: and in place of his thirde name, he pleaſantly commaunded the workeman to cut out the forme and faſhion of a rich peaſe. Thus much they write of his name. Nowe for his birth, it was ſaide that his mother was brought a bedde of him without any paine, the thirde day of Ianuarie: on which day the Magiſtrates and Gouernours of Rome doe vſe at this preſent, yearely to make ſolemne prayers and ſacrifices vnto the goddes, for the health and proſperitie of the Emperour. Further, it is reported, that there appeared an image to his nurſe, that did prognoſticate vnto her ſhe gaue a childe ſucke, which in time to come ſhould doe great good vnto all the Romaines. Nowe though ſuch things may ſeeme but dreames and fables vnto many, yet *Cicero* himſelfe ſhortly after prooued this prophecie true: becauſe that when he came of age to learne, he grew ſo toward, and wanne ſuch fame among the boyes, for his excellent wit and quicke capacitie. For thereupon came the other boyes fathers themſelues to the ſchoole to ſee his face, and to be eye witneſſes of the report that went of him, of his ſharpe and quicke wit to learne. But others of the rude and baſer ſort of men were offended with their ſonnes, becauſe to honour *Cicero*, they did alwaies put him in the middeſt betweene them, as they went in the ſtreetes. *Cicero* in deede had ſuch a naturall witte and vnderſtanding, as *Plato* thought meete for learning, and apt for the ſtudie of Philoſophie. For he gaue himſelfe to all kinde of knowledge, and there was no arte nor any of the liberall ſciences, that he diſdained: notwithſtanding in his firſt young yeares he was apter, and better diſpoſed to the ſtudie of Poetrie then any other. There is a pretie poeme of his in verſes of eight ſtaues, called *Pontius Glaucus*, extant at this day, the which he made when he was but a boy. After that, being giuen more earneſtly vnto this ſtudie, he was not onely thought the beſt Orator, but the beſt Poet alſo of all the Romaines in his time: and yet doth the excellencie of his eloquence, and commendation of his tongue continue euen to this day, notwithſtanding the great alteration and chaunge of the Latine tongue. But his Poetrie hath loſt the name and eſtimation of it, becauſe there were many after him that became farre more excellent therein then he. After he had left his childiſh ſtudies, he became then *Philoes* ſcholler, the Academicke Philoſopher, the onely ſcholler of all C*litomachus* ſchollers, whom the Romaines eſteemed ſo much for his eloquence, and loued more for his gentle behauiour and conuerſation. He gaue himſelfe alſo to be a follower of *Mutius Scæuola*, who at that time was a great man in Rome, and Prince of the Senate, and who did alſo inſtruct *Cicero* in the lawes of Rome. He did alſo follow *Sylla* for a time, in the warres of the Marsians. But when he ſawe that the common wealth of Rome fell to ciuill warres, and from ciuill warres to a monarchie: then he returned againe to his booke and contemplatiue life, and frequented the learned men of Grece, and alwayes ſtudied with them, vntill *Sylla* had gotten the vpper hande, and that he ſawe all the common wealth againe at ſome ſtay. About that time, *Sylla* cauſing the goods of one that was ſaide to be ſlaine, to be ſold by the crier: (being one of the outlawes and proſcriptes, to wit, baniſhed by billes ſette vp on poſtes) C*hryſogonus*, one of *Syllaes* freed bondmen, and in great fauour with his maiſter, bought them for the ſumme of two thouſande Drachmaes. Therewithall the ſonne and heire of the dead perſon called *Roſcius*, being maruellouſly offended, he ſhewed that it was too ſhamefull an abuſe: for his fathers goods amounted to the ſumme of two hundred and fiftie talentes. *Sylla* finding himſelfe thus openly touched with publike fraude and deceite, for the onely gratifying of his man: he procured C*hryſogonus* to accuſe him, that he had killed his owne father. Neuer an Orator durſt ſpeake in *Roſcius* behalfe to defend his cauſe, but ſhrunke colour, fearing *Syllaes* crueltie and ſeueritie. Wherefore poore *Roſcius* the young man, ſeeing euery man forſake him, had no other refuge but to goe to C*icero*, whom his friends did counſell and perſwade boldly to take vpon him the defence of *Roſcius* cauſe: for he ſhould neuer haue a happier occaſion, nor ſo noble a beginning to bring himſelfe into eſtimation, as this. Thereuppon C*icero* determined to take his cauſe in hand, and did handle it ſo well, that he obtained the thing he ſued for: whereby he wanne him great fame and credit. But yet being afraied of *Syllaes* diſpleaſure, he abſented him ſelfe from ROME, and went into GREECE, giuing it out that his trauaile was for a diſeaſe he had vpon him. In deede *Cicero* was dogge leane, a litle eater, and would alſo eate late, becauſe of the great weakeneſſe of his ſtomacke: but yet he had a good loude voyce, though it was ſomewhat harſhe, and lacked grace and comelineſſe. Furthermore, he was ſo earneſt and vehement in his oration that hee mounted ſtill with his voice into the higheſt tunes: inſomuch that men were afraied it would one day put him in hazard of his life. When he came to ATHENS, he went to heare *Antiochus* of the city of ASCALONA, and fell in great liking with his ſweete tongue, and excellent grace, though otherwiſe he miſliked his new opinions in Philoſophy. For *Antiochus* hadde then forſaken the opinions of the new Academicke Philoſophers, and the ſect of the Carneades: being moued thereunto, either through the manifeſt proofe of things, or by his certaine iudgement, or (as ſome ſay) for that of an ambition or diſſention againſt the ſchollers and followers of *Clitomachus* and *Philo*, he had reproued the reſolutions of the Academickes, which he had of long time defended, onely to leane for the moſt part to the Stoickes opinions. Howbeit *Cicero* had moſt affection vnto the Academickes, and did ſtudy that ſect more then all the reſt, of purpoſe, that if he ſaw he were forbidden to practiſe in the common wealth at ROME, hee would then goe to ATHENS (leauing all pleas and Orators in the common wealth) to beſtow the reſt of his time quietly in the ſtudy of Philoſophy. At length, when hee heard newes of *Syllaes* death, and ſaw that his body was growen to good ſtate and health by exerciſe, and that his voyce became daily more and more to fill mens eares with a ſweete and pleaſaunt ſound, and yet was loude enough for the conſtitution of his body: receiuing letters daily from his friendes at ROME, that prayed him to returne home, and moreouer, *Antiochus* ſelfe alſo earneſtly perſwading him to practiſe in the common wealth: hee beganne againe to fall to the ſtudie of Rethoricke, and to frame him ſelfe to be eloquent, being a neceſſary thing for an Orator, and did continually exerciſe him ſelfe in making orations vppon any ſpeache or propoſition, and ſo frequented the chiefe Orators and maiſters of eloquence that were at that time. To this end therefore he went into ASIA vnto RHODES, and amongeſt the Orators of ASIA, he frequented *Xenocles* ADRAMETTIN, and *Dionyſius* MAGNESIAN, and ſtudied alſo with *Menippus* CARIAN: at RHODES he heard *Apollonius Molon*, and the Philoſopher *Poſidonius*. And it is reported alſo, that *Apollonius* wanting the Latine tongue, he did pray *Cicero* for exerciſe ſake, to declame in Greeke. *Cicero* was very well contented with it, thinking that thereby his faultes ſhould be the better corrected. When he had ended his declamation, all thoſe that were preſent were amazed to heare him, and euery man praiſed him one after an other. Howbeit *Apollonius* all the while *Cicero* ſpake, did neuer ſhew any glad countenaunce: and when he had ended, he ſtayed a great while and ſayed neuer a word. *Cicero* miſliking withall, *Apollonius* at length ſayed vnto him. As for me *Cicero*, I doe not only praiſe thee, but more then that, I wonder at thee: and yet I am ſorie for poore GREECE, to ſee that learning and eloquence (which were the two onely giftes and honour left vs) are by thee obtained with vs, and caried vnto the ROMAINES. Now *Cicero* being very well diſpoſed, to goe with good hope to practiſe at ROME, he was a litle diſcouraged by an Oracle that was tolde him. For, inquiring of the god *Apollo* DELPHIAN, how he might doe to winne fame and eſtimation: the Nunne *Pythias* aunſwered him he ſhould obtaine it, ſo that in his doings he would rather follow the diſpoſition of his owne nature, then the opinion of the common people. Wherefore when he came to ROME, at the firſt he proceeded verie warely, and diſcreetely, and did vnwillingly ſeeke for any office, and when he did, he was not greatly eſteemed: for they commonly called him the GRECIAN, and ſcholler, which are two wordes, the which the artificers, (and ſuch baſe mechanicall people at ROME,) haue euer ready at their tongues end. Now hee being by nature ambitious of honour, and pricke forward alſo by the perſwaſion of his father and friendes: in the end hee beganne to pleade, and there obtained not the chiefeſt place by litle and litle, but ſo ſoone as he fell to practiſe, he was immediatly eſteemed aboue all the other Orators and pleaders in his time, and did excell them all. Yet it is reported notwithſtanding, that for his geſture and pronunciation, ha-

*Cicero a weake man.*

*Cicero, Antiochus ſcholler.*

*The commodity of exerciſe.*

*Cicero goeth into Aſia, and to Rhodes.*

*Cicero declamed in Greeke.*

*Apollonius teſtimony of Cicero.*

*An oracle giuen to Grece.*

*Cicero firſt practiſing in the common wealth.*

*Roſcius and AEſopus common players.*

*Cicero, a fine Taunter.*

*Cicero choſen Queſtor.*

*Ciceroes diligence, iuſtice, and lenity.*

*Cicero, ambitious, and deſirous of praiſe.*

*Cicero giuen to know mens names, their landes, and friendes.*

*Ciceroes doings againſt Verres*

uing the ſelfeſame defectes of nature at the beginning, which *Demoſthenes* had: to reforme them, he carefully ſtudied to counterfeite *Roſcius*, an excellent commediant, and *AEſope* alſo a player of tragedies. Of this *AEſope* men write, that he playing one day *Atrius* part vpon a ſtage (who determined with him ſelfe how he might be reuenged of his brother *Thyeſtes*) a ſeruaunt by chaunce hauing occaſion to runne ſodainely by him, he forgetting him ſelfe, ſtriuing to ſhew the vehement paſſion and fury of this king, gaue him ſuch a blow on his head with the ſcepter in his hand, that he ſlue him dead in the place. Euen ſo *Ciceroes* words were of ſo great force to perſwade, by meanes of his grace and pronunciation. For he mocking the Orators that thruſt out their heads, and cried in their orations, was wont to ſay that they were like to lame men, who were driuen to ride, becauſe they could not goe a foote: euen ſo (ſaid he) they cry out, becauſe they can not ſpeake. Truely pleaſaunt taunts doe grace an Orator, and ſheweth a fine witte: but yet *Cicero* vſed them ſo commonly, that they were offenſiue vnto many, and brought him to be counted a malicious ſcoffer and ſpightfull man. He was choſen Treaſurer in the time of dearth, where there was great ſcarcity of corne at Rome: and the prouince of Sicile fell to his lotte. At his firſt comming thither, the Sicilians miſliked him very much, becauſe he compelled them to ſend corne vnto Rome: but after they had found his diligence, iuſtice, and lenity, they honoured him aboue any Gouernour that euer was ſent from Rome. Now there were diuerſe young gentlemen of Rome of noble houſes, who being accuſed for ſundry faultes committed in warres againſt their honour, and martiall diſcipline, had bene ſent backe againe vnto the Prætor of Sicile: for whom *Cicero* pleaded, and did ſo excellently defend their cauſe, that they were pardoned euery man. Thereuppon, thinking well of him ſelfe, when his time was expired, he went to Rome, & by the way there happened a prety ieaſt vnto him. As he paſſed through the countrey of Campania (otherwiſe called the land of labour) he met by chaunce with one of the chiefeſt Romaines of all his friendes. So falling in talke with him, he asked him what they ſayed of him at Rome, and what they thought of his doings: imagining that all Rome had bene full of the glory of his name and deedes. His friend asked him againe: and where haſt thou bene *Cicero* all this while, that we haue not ſeene thee at Rome? This killed his heart ſtraight, when he ſaw that the report of his name and doings, entring into the city of Rome as into an infinite ſea, was ſo ſodainely vanquiſhed away againe, without any other fame or ſpeach. But after that, when he looked into him ſelfe, and ſaw that in reaſon he tooke an infinite labour in hand to attaine to glory, wherein he ſaw no certaine end whereby to attaine vnto it: it cut off a great part of the ambition he had in his head. And yet the great pleaſure hee tooke to heare his owne praiſe, and to be euermuch giuen to deſire of honor and eſtimation: thoſe two things continued with him euen to his dying day, and did eftſoones make him ſwarue from iuſtice. Furthermore, when he beganne throughly to practiſe in the affaires of the ſtate, he thought it an ill thing that artificers and craftes men ſhould haue many ſortes of inſtrumentes and tooles without life, to know the names of euery one of them, the places where they ſhould take them, and the vſe whereto they ſhould employ them: and that a man of knowledge and quality (who doth all things with the helpe and ſeruice of men) ſhould be ſlothfull, and careleſſe, to learne to know the names of his citizens. Therefore hee gaue him ſelfe to know, not onely mens names of quality, but the ſtreetes alſo they dwelt in, what part of the city ſoeuer it was: their goodly houſes in the country, the friends they made of, and the neighbours whom they companied with. So that when hee went abroad into Italie, whereſoeuer he became, *Cicero* coulde ſhew and name his friendes houſes. He was not very rich, and yet he had enough to ſerue his turne: the which made men muſe the more at him, and they loued him the better, becauſe he tooke no fee nor gift for his pleading, what cauſe ſoeuer he tooke in hand, but then ſpecially, when he defended a matter againſt *Verres*. This *Verres* hadde bene Prætor of Sicilia, and had committed many lewd partes there, for the which the Sicilians did accuſe him. *Cicero* taking vppon him to defend their cauſe, made *Verres* to be condemned, not by pleading, but in maner without pleading, and in this ſort. The Prætors being his Iudges, and fauouring *Verres*, had made ſo many reiornementes and delayes, that they had driuen it off to the laſt day of hearing. *Cicero* perceiuing then hee ſhoulde not haue anie light to ſpeake all that he had to ſay againſt him, and that thereby nothing ſhould be done and iudged: he roſe vp, and ſayed, that there needed no further plea in this matter, but onely brought foorth the witneſſes before the Iudges, and hauing cauſed their depoſitions to be taken, he prayed they would proceede to ſentence, according to their euidence giuen on that behalfe. Yet ſome doe report, that *Cicero* gaue many pleaſaunt tauntes and girdes, in pleading the accuſation of the SICILIANS againſt *Verres*. The ROMAINES doe call a bore, *Verres*. There was one *Cæcilius*, the ſonne of a freed bondman, who was ſuſpected to holde with the ſuperſtition of the IEVVES. This *Cæcilius* would haue put by the SICILIANS from following the accuſation of *Verres*, and woulde haue had the matter of his accuſation only referred to him, for the proſecuting of it againſt him. *Cicero* skorning his ſute, ſayd vnto him: what hath a IEVVE to doe with a ſwine? This *Verres* had a ſonne ſomewhat aboue twentie yeares of age, who (as the report went) had a verie ill name for his beautie. And therefore when *Verres* one day thought to mocke *Cicero*, ſaying that he was too womanly: his children (ſayd he) are to be reproued of that ſecretly at home. In this accuſation, *Hortenſius* the Orator durſt not directly defende *Verres*: but touching the condemnation of his fine, he was then contented to aunſwere for him, for he had a Sphinx of Yuory giuen him by *Verres* for his reward. Thereuppon *Cicero* gaue him a pretie nippe by the way: but *Hortenſius* not vnderſtanding him: ſayd he coulde no skill of darke ſpeaches. Well, ſayd *Cicero*, yet haſt thou a ſphinx in thy houſe. In the ende *Verres* being condemned, and a fine ſette on his heade to the value of ſeuentie fiue Myriades, *Cicero* notwithſtandinge was ſuſpected to be bribed with mony for agreeing to caſt him in ſo ſmall a ſumme. But yet when hee came to be Ædilis, the SICILIANS to ſhew them ſelues thankefull to him, both brought and ſent him many preſentes out of SICILE. Of all that he tooke nothing to his owne vſe, but onely beſtowed their liberality in bringing downe the priſes of victuals at ROME. He had a goodly houſe within the confines of the city of ARPOS, a farme alſo by NAPLES, and an other about the city of POMPEII: but all theſe were no great things. Afterwardes alſo he had the ioynter of his wife *Terentia*, which amounted to the ſumme of twelue Myriades, and beſides all this, there came to him by inheritaunce, eleuen Myriades of their Denarij. Thereuppon he liued very honeſtly and ſoberly, without exceſſe, with his familiar friendes that loued him, both GRECIANS and ROMAINS, and would neuer goe to ſupper till after ſunne ſet, not ſo much for any great buſineſſe he had, as for the weakeneſſe of his ſtomacke. But otherwiſe he was very curious, and carefull of his perſon, and would be rubbed and noynted, and hee would vſe alſo to walke a certaine number of turns by proportion: and ſo exerciſing his body in that ſort, he was neuer ſicke, and beſides was alſo very ſtrong and luſty of body, able to abide great paines and ſorrowes which he fell into afterwardes. He gaue his fathers chiefe manſion houſe to his brother, and went to dwell him ſelfe in the mount Palatine: becauſe ſuch as came to waite vppon him to doe him honour, ſhould not take the paines to goe ſo farre to ſee him. For, he had as many men dailie at his gate euery morning, as either *Craſſus* had for his wealth, or *Pompey* for his eſtimation among the ſouldiers both of them being at that time the chiefeſt men of ROME. Yea furthermore, *Pompeys* ſelfe came vnto Cicero, becauſe his Orations ſtoode him to great purpoſe, for the increaſe of his honour and authority. Now when Cicero came to make ſute to be Prætor (which is, to be as an ordinary Iudge) though he had many competitors, and fellowe ſuters with him, yet was he firſt choſen affore them all: and he did ſo honeſtly behaue him ſelfe in that office, that they did not ſo much as once ſuſpect him of bribery or extortion. And for proofe hereof, it is reported, that *Licinius Macer* (a man that of him ſelfe was of great power, and yet fauoured and ſupported beſides by *Craſſus*) was accuſed before Cicero of theft and extortion in his office: but he truſting much to his ſuppoſed credite, and to the great ſute and labour his friendes made for him, went home to his houſe before ſentence proceeded againſt him (the Iudges being yet to giue their opinions) and there ſpeedily trimmed his beard, and put a new gowne vppon his backe, as though he had bene ſure to haue beene quitte of his accuſation, and then returned againe into the market place. But *Craſſus* went to meete him, and tolde him all the Iudges had condemned him. *Licinius Macer* tooke ſuch a griefe and conceite vppon it, that he went home to his houſe againe, layed him downe

*He ſpake it becauſe the Iews doe eate no ſwines fleſh.*

*Cicero choſen Ædilis.*

*Ciceroes riches.*

*Ciceroes great curteſie and reſort.*

*Cicero choſen Pretor.*

*Licinius Macer condemned.*

on his bedde, and neuer roſe after. This iudgement wanne *Cicero* great fame, for they praiſed him exceedingly for the great paines he tooke, to ſee iuſtice duely executed. An other called alſo *Vatinius*, (a bedlem fellow, and one that behaued him ſelfe very vnreuerently to the Magiſtrates in his pleading, and beſides had a ſwollen necke) came very arrogantly one day vnto *Cicero* being in his Prætoriall ſeate, and asked him a thing which *Cicero* woulde not graunt him there, but would thinke of it at better leyſure. Thereuppon *Vatinius* told him, that he would not be ſcrupulous to graunt that, if he were Prætor. *Cicero* turning to him, aunſwered him againe: no more haue I (ſayed he) ſuch a ſwollen necke as thou haſt. Towardes the end of his office, two or three dayes before his time expired, there was one accuſed *Manilius* before him, that he alſo had robbed the common wealth. This *Manilius* was very well beloued of the common people, who were perſwaded that he was put in ſute, not for any fault he had committed, but onely to deſpight *Pompey* with, whoſe familiar friend he was. So he required certaine dayes to anſwer the matter he was accuſed of: but *Cicero* would giue him no further reſpit, but to aunſwer it the next day. The people therewith were maruellouſly offended, becauſe the other Prætors in ſuch like caſes, were wont to giue tenne daies reſpit vnto others. The next morning when the Tribunes had brought him before the Iudges, and alſo accuſed him vnto them: hee beſought *Cicero* to heare him patiently. *Cicero* made him aunſwere, that hauing alwayes vſed as much fauour and curteſie as he poſſibly might by law, vnto thoſe that were accuſed, he thought hee ſhould offer *Manilius* too great wrong, if he ſhould not doe the like to him: wherefore, becauſe he had but one day more to continue Prætor in office, he had purpoſely giuen him that day to make his aunſwere before him. For he thought that to leaue his accuſation to the hearing of an other Prætor, he could not haue bene thought a man that had borne him good will, and ment to pleaſure him. Theſe wordes did maruellouſly chaunge the peoples opinion and affection towardes him, and euery man ſpeaking well of him, they prayed him to defend *Manilius* cauſe. Hee willingly graunted them: and comming from the bench, ſtanding at the barre like an Orator to plead for him, he made a notable Oration, and ſpake both boldly and ſharpely againſt the chiefe men of the city, and thoſe ſpecially that did enuy *Pompey*. This notwithſtanding, when he came to ſue to be Conſull, he found as great fauour amongeſt the Nobility, as he did with the communalty. For they did further his ſute, for the common wealths ſake, vppon this occaſion. The chaunge and alteration of gouernment the which *Sylla* brought in, was thought ſtraunge at the firſt among the people: but now men by proceſſe of time being vſed to it, it was throughly eſtabliſhed, and no man miſliked it. At that time many men practiſed to ſubuert the gouernment, not for the benefite of the common wealth, but to ſerue their owne couetous mindes. For *Pompey* being then in the Eaſt parts, made wars with the kings of PONTVS and ARMENIA, and had not left ſufficient force at ROME to oppreſſe theſe ſeditious perſons, that ſought nothing but rebellion. Theſe men had made *Lucius Catilina* their Captaine: a deſperate man to attempt any great enterpriſe, ſubtile, and malicious of nature. He was accuſed before (beſides many other vile faults) for deflouring of his own daughter, and killing his brother: and being affrayed to be put in ſute for it, he prayed *Sylla* to put his brother amongeſt the number of the outlawes (or proſcriptes) as if he had bene then aliue. Theſe wicked rebels hauing choſen them ſuch a Captaine, were ſworne and bound one to an other in this manner. They killed a man, and did eate of his fleſhe together, and had beſides corrupted the moſt part of all the youth. For *Catiline* their Captaine ſuffered euerie man to take his pleaſure, as his youth was inclined vnto: as to banket, to followe harlottes, and gaue them money largely to beſtow in theſe vaine expences. Furthermore all THVSCAN beganne to riſe, and the moſt part of GAVLE alſo, lying betweene the Alpes and ITALY. The city of ROME it ſelfe was alſo in great daunger of riſing, for the inequality of the goods of the inhabitaunts. For the noble men, and of greateſt courage, had ſpent all their landes in playes and feaſts, or in buildings and common works, which they built at their owne charge, to curry fauour with the common people, that they might obtaine the chiefe offices: ſo that thereby they became very poore, and their goodes were in the handes of the meane men and wretches. Thus the ſtate of ROME ſtood in great hazard of vprore, the which any man might

*Cicero with one word pacified the offended Tribunes.*

*Cicero made Conſull.*

*The conſpiracie of Catiline.*

*Catilines wickedneſſe.*

eaſely haue procured, that durſt haue taken vppon him any change or alteration of gouernment, there was then ſuch diuiſion among them in the ſtate. *Catiline* notwithſtanding, to prouide him of a ſtrong bulwarke to proſecute his intent, came to ſue to be Conſull, hoping that he ſhould be choſen with *Caius Antonius*, a man that of him ſelfe was apt neither to doe any great good, nor much hurt, and yet that could be a great ſtrength and aide vnto him that would attempt any thing. Diuers noble and wiſe men forſeeing that, did procure *Cicero* to ſue for the Conſulſhippe. The people accepted him, and reiected *Catiline*. *Antonius* and *Cicero* thereuppon were created Conſuls, although that *Cicero* of all the ſuters for the Conſulſhippe was but onely a Knightes ſonne, and not the ſonne of a Senator of ROME. Now, though the common people vnderſtoode not the ſecrete practiſe and meaning of *Catiline*: yet at the beginning of *Ciceroes* Conſulſhippe, there fell out great trouble and contention in the common wealth. For they of the one ſide, whom *Sylla* had by his ordinaunces depoſed from their dignities and offices in ROME (who were no ſmall men, neither few in number) beganne to creepe into the peoples good wil, alleadging many true and iuſt reaſons againſt the tyrannicall power of *Sylla*: howbeit ſpoken in ill time, when it was out of time to make any chaunge or alteration in the common wealth. The Tribunes on the other ſide preferred lawes and ordinaunces to further this deuiſe. They preferred the law to chooſe the Decemuiri, with ſoueraigne power and authority through all ITALY and SYRIA, and alſo through all the countries and prouinces which *Pompey* had newly conquered to the Empire of ROME: to ſell, and releaſe all the landes belonging to the ſtate of ROME, to accuſe any man whom they thought good, to baniſhe any man, to reſtore the Colonies with people, to take what money they would out of the treaſury, to leauy men of warre, and to keepe them in pay as long as they thought good. For this great and abſolute power of the Decemuiri, there were many men of great accompt that fauored this law, but *Antonius* chiefly, being colleague and fellowe Conſull with *Cicero*, for he had good hope to be choſen one of theſe ten Commiſſioners: and furthermore, it was thought that he was priuy vnto *Catilines* conſpiracy, and that he miſliked it not, becauſe he was ſo much in debt. And this was it that the noble men moſt feared of all other things. Thereuppon *Cicero*, to prouide firſt to preuent this daunger, graunted him the prouince of the realme of MACEDON: and the prouince of GAVLE being offered vnto him ſelfe, he refuſed it. By this good turne, he wanne *Antonius* like a hiered player making him to promiſe him that he would aſſiſt & aide him for the benefite of the common wealth, and that he would ſay no more, then he ſhould will him. When he had brought him to this, and had wonne him to his minde: he then beganne to be the bolder, and more ſtoutly to reſiſt them that were authors of this innouation and new lawes. *Cicero* therefore in open Senate, did one day ſharpely reproue, and inueigh againſt this law of the Decemuiri, which the Tribunes would haue eſtabliſhed. But thereby he did ſo terrifie the authors thereof, that there was not one man durſt ſpeake againſt him. This notwithſtanding, the Tribunes afterwards attempted once againe to haue it to paſſe, and appointed the Conſuls to appeare before the people. Howbeit *Cicero* being nothing abaſhed at it, he commaunded the Senate to follow him. So he did not only ouerthrow this law of the Decemuiri, which the Tribunes did preferre: but furthermore they were vtterly diſcoraged and out of hope to bring any of their matters to paſſe they intended, he ſtrooke them ſo dead with his eloquence. For *Cicero* onely of all men in ROME made the ROMAINS know, how much eloquence doth grace and beautifie that which is honeſt, and how inuincible right and iuſtice are, being eloquently ſet forth: and alſo how that a man that will be counted a wiſe Gouernor of a common weale, ſhould alwayes in his doings rather preferre profit, then to ſeeke to curry fauour with the common people: yet ſo to vſe his words, that the thing which is profitable, may not be alſo vnpleaſant. And to proue his ſweete and pleaſant tong, may be alleadged that which he did in the time of his Conſulſhip, touching the placing of men at the Theater to ſee the paſtimes. For before, the knights of ROME did ſit mingled one with another amongſt the common people, and tooke their place as they came. The firſt that made the difference betweene them, was* *Marcus Otho*, at that time Prætor: who made a law, by the which he appointed ſeuerall ſeates for the knights, where they might from thenceforth ſee the paſtimes. The people tooke this grieuouſly, as a thing done to diſcounte-

*C. Antonius, and M. T. Cicero created Conſuls.*

*Great troubles at Rome, in the time of Ciceroes Conſulſhip*

*A law preferred for the creation and authority of the Decemuiri.*

*Cicero by his eloquence ouerthrew the law of the Decemuiri.*

*Ciceroes ſweet tongue.*

** Others do ſay Lucius Roſcius Otho Tribune of the people.*

*Roſcius Law for deuiding of the Romaine Knights from the common people.*

*Syllaes ſouldiers conſpired with Catiline.*

*Cicero examined Catiline in the Senate.*

*Syllanus and Murena Conſuls.*

*Letters broght to Craſſus, of Catilines conſpiracy.*

nance them: inſomuch that *Otho* comming afterwards into the Theater, all the common people fell a whiſtling at him, to ſhame him withall. The knights alſo in contrariwiſe made him roome amongſt them, with great clapping of hands, in token of honor. Therewith the people fell a whiſtling louder then before, and the knights in like manner to clapping of their hands, and ſo grew to wordes one with an other: that all the Theater was ſtraight in vprore with it. *Cicero* vnderſtanding it, went thither him ſelfe, and calling the people to the temple of the goddeſſe *Bellona*, he there ſo ſharpely reproued them, and therewith ſo perſwaded them, that returning preſently to the Theater, they did then welcome and receiue *Otho* with clapping of their hands, and contended with the knights which of them ſhould doe him greateſt honour. But now againe, the rebels of *Catilines* conſpiracy (who were pretily cooled at the firſt for the fear they ſtoode in) beganne to be luſty againe, and to gather together, boldly incoraging one another to broach their practiſe, before *Pompey* returned, who was ſayed to be on the way towards ROME with his army. But beſides them, thoſe ſouldiers that had ſerued before in the warres vnder *Sylla*, being diſperſed vp and downe ITALY, (but ſpecially the beſt ſouldiers among them dwelling in the good towns of THVSCAN) did ſtirre vp *Catiline* to haſten the enterpriſe, perſwading them ſelues that they ſhould once againe haue goods enough at home, to ſpoyle and ranſacke at their pleaſure. Theſe ſouldiers hauing one *Manlius* to their Captaine, that had borne office in the field vnder *Sylla*, conſpired with *Catilin*, & came to ROME to aſſiſt him in his ſuite: who purpoſed once againe to demaund the Conſulſhip, being determined at the election to kill *Cicero*, in the tumult and hurly burly. The goddes alſo did plainely ſhew by earthquakes, lightning and thunder, and by viſion of ſpirits that did appeare, the ſecrete practiſe and conſpiracy: beſides alſo, there fell out manifeſt coniectures and proofes by men that came to reueale them, howbeit they had no power ſufficient to encounter ſo noble a man, and of ſo great power as *Catilin* was. *Cicero* therefore deferring the day of election, called *Catilin* into the Senate, and there did examine him of that which was reported of him. *Catiline* ſuppoſing there were many in the Senate that had good wils to rebell, and alſo becauſe he would ſhew him ſelfe ready vnto them that were of his conſpiracy: he gaue *Cicero* a gentle anſwer, and ſaid thus. What doe I offend, ſayd he, if that being two bodies in this towne, the one leane and weake, and throughly rotten, and hath a head: and the other being great, ſtrong, and of power, hauing no head, I doe giue it one? meaning vnder this darke anſwer, to ſignifie the people and Senate. This aunſwer being made, *Cicero* was more afrayd then before, inſomuch that he put on a brigantine for the ſafety of his body, and was accompanied with the chiefeſt men of ROME, and a great number of yong men beſides going with him from his houſe vnto the field of *Mars*, where the elections were made: and had of purpoſe left open his iacket loſe at the choller, that his brigantine he had on might be ſeene, thereby to let euery man that ſaw him, know the danger he was in. Euery man miſliked it when they ſaw it, and came about him to defend him, if any offred to aſſaile him. But it ſo came to paſſe, that by voyces of the people, *Catilin* was againe reiected from the Conſulſhip, and *Syllanus* & *Muræna* choſen Conſuls. Shortly after this election, the ſouldiers of THVSCAN being ioyned, which ſhould haue come to *Catilin*, and the day appointed being at hand to broache their enterpriſe: about midnight there came three of the chiefeſt men of ROME to *Ciceroes* houſe (*Marcus Craſſus*, *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Scipio Metellus*) and knocking at his gate, called his porter, and bad him wake his maiſter preſently, and tell him how they three were at the gate to ſpeake with him, about a matter of importance. At night after ſupper, *Craſſus* porter brought his maiſter a packet of letters, deliuered him by a ſtraunger vnknowen, which were directed vnto diuerſe perſons, among the which one of them had no name ſubſcribed, but was only directed vnto *Craſſus* himſelfe. The effect of the letter was, that there ſhould be a great ſlaughter in ROME made by *Catiline*, and therefore he prayed him that he would depart out of ROME to ſaue him ſelfe. *Craſſus* hauing red his owne letter, would not open the reſt, but went forthwith vnto *Cicero*, partly for feare of the danger, and partly alſo to cleare him ſelfe of the ſuſpition they had of him for the friendſhip that was betwixt him & *Catiline*. *Cicero* counſelling with them what was to be done, the next morning aſſembled the Senate very earely, and carrying the letters with him, he did deliuer them according to their direction, and commaunded they ſhould read them out aloude.

All theſe letters, & euery one of them particularly, did bewray the conſpiracie. Furthermore, *Quintus Arrius*, a man of authoritie, and that had bene Prætor, told openly the ſouldiers and men of warre that were leauied in THVSCAN. And it is reported alſo, that *Manlius* was in the field with a great number of ſouldiers about the cities of THVSCAN, gaping daily to heare newes of ſome chaunge at ROME. All theſe things being throughly conſidered, a decree paſſed by the Senate, that they ſhould referre the care of the common wealth vnto the Conſuls, to the end that with abſolute authoritie they might (as well as they could) prouide for the ſafetie and preſeruation thereof. Such manner of decree and authoritie, was not often ſeene concluded of in the Senate, but in time of preſent feare and daunger. Now *Cicero* hauing this abſolute power, he referred all forreine matters to *Quintus Metellus* charge, and did himſelf take vpon him the care and gouernement of all ciuill affaires within ROME. On the day time whẽ he went vp and downe the towne, he had ſuch a troupe of men after him, that when he came through the great market place, he almoſt filled it with his trayne that followed him. Thereupon *Catiline* would no longer delay time, but reſolued to go himſelfe vnto *Manlius* where their army lay. But before he departed, he had drawen into his confederacie one *Martius*, and an other called *Cethegus*, whom he commaunded betimes in the morning to go to *Ciceroes* houſe with ſhort daggers to kill him, pretending to come to ſalute him, & to giue him a good morow. But there was a noble womã of ROME, called *Fuluia*, who went ouer night vnto *Cicero*, and bad him beware of that *Cethegus*, who indeede came the next morning betimes vnto him: and being denied to be let in, he began to chafe and raile before the gate. This made him the more to be ſuſpected. In the end *Cicero* comming out of his houſe, called the Senate to the temple of *Iupiter Stator*, (as much to ſay, a ſtaire) which ſtandeth at the vpper end of the holy ſtreete as they go to the Mount Palatine. There was *Catiline* with others, as though he meant to cleare himſelfe of the ſuſpition that went of him: howbeit there was not a Senator that would ſit downe by him, but they did all riſe from the benche where *Catiline* had taken his place. And further, when he began to ſpeake, he could haue no audience for the great noyſe they made againſt him. So at length *Cicero* roſe, & commaunded him to auoid out of ROME: ſaying, that there muſt needes be a ſeparation of walles betweene them two, conſidering that the one vſed but wordes, and the other force of armes. *Catiline* thereupon immediatly departing the citie with three hundred armed men, was no ſooner out of the precinct of the walles, but he made his Sergeaunts cary axes and bundles of roddes before him, as if he had bene a Conſull lawfully created, & did diſplay his enſignes of warre, & ſo went in this order to ſeeke *Manlius*. When they were ioyned, he had not much leſſe then twenty thouſand men together, with the which he went to practiſe the townes to rebell. Now open warre being thus proclaimed, *Antonius*, *Ciceroes* colleage and fellow Conſul, was ſent againſt him to fight with him. In the meane ſpace, *Cornelius Lentulus* ſurnamed *Sura* (a man of a noble houſe, but of a wicked diſpoſition, and that for his ill life was put off the Senate) aſſembled all the reſt which were of *Catilines* conſpiracy, and that remained behind him in ROME, and bad them be affrayd of nothing. He was then Prætor the ſecond time, as the manner is when any man comes to recouer againe the dignitie of a Senator which he had loſt. It is reported that this ſurname of *Sura* was giuen him vpon this occaſion. He being Treaſurer in *Syllaes* Dictatorſhip, did fondly waſt & conſume a maruellous ſumme of money of the common treaſure. *Sylla* being offended with him for it, and demaunding an account of him before the Senate: he careleſly and contemptuouſly ſtepped forth, ſaying he could make him no other account, but ſhewed him the calfe of his legge, as children do, when they make a fault at tennys. And thereof it came that euer after that they called him *Sura*, becauſe *Sura* in Latin ſignifieth, the calfe of the legge. Another time alſo being accuſed for a lewde part he had committed, he bribed ſome of the Iudges with money, and being onely quit by two voyces more, which he had in his fauour, he ſayd he had loſt his money he had giuen to one of thoſe two Iudges, becauſe it was enough for him to be cleared by one voice more. This man being of this diſpoſition, was firſt of all incenſed by *Catiline*, and laſtly marred by certain wiſards & falſe prognoſticators that had mocked him with a vayne hope, ſinging verſes vnto him which they had fayned and deuiſed, and falſe prophecies alſo, which they bare him in hand they had taken out of *Sybilles* bookes of

*Fuluia bewrayeth Catilines intent to kill Cicero.*

*Catiline departed.*

*C. Lentulus was called Sura.*

*Oracles of three Corneli that ſhould raigne at Rome.*

*Great treaſon practiſed in Rome by C. Lentulus, and Cethegus.*

propheсie, which ſayd: that there ſhould raigne three *Cornelij* at ROME, of the which, two had already fulfilled the prophecie, *Cinna* and *Sylla*, and for the third, ſortune layd it vpon him, and therefore bad him go through withall, and not to dreame it out loſing oportunitie as *Catiline* had done. Now this *Lentulus* vndertooke no ſmall enterpriſe, but had an intent with him to kill all the whole Sanate, and as many other Citizens as they could murther, and to ſet fire of ROME, ſparing none but *Pompeys* ſonnes, whom they would reſerue for pledges, to make their peace afterwardes with *Pompey*. For the rumour was very great & certaine alſo, that he returned frō very great warres & conqueſts which he had made in the Eaſt countryes. So they layd a plot to put their treaſon in execution, in one of the nightes of *Saturnes* feaſtes. Further, they had brought flaxe and brimſtone, and a great number of armours and weapons into *Cethegus* houſe. Beſides all this prouiſion, they had appointed a hundred men in an hundred partes of the citie, to the end that fire being rayſed in many places at one time, it ſhould the ſooner runne through the whole citie. Other men alſo were appointed to ſtoppe the pypes and water conduits which brought water to ROME, and to kill thoſe alſo that came for water to quench the fire. In all this ſturre, by chaunce there were two Ambaſſadors of the ALLOBROGES, whoſe country at that time did much miſlike of the ROMAINES, & were vnwilling to be ſubiect vnto them. *Lentulus* thought theſe men very fit inſtruments to cauſe all GAVLE to rebell. Thereupon practiſing with them, he wanne them to be of their conſpiracie, and gaue them letters directed to the counſell of their country, & in them did promiſe them freedome. He ſent other letters alſo vnto *Catiline*, and perſwaded him to proclaime libertie to all bondmen, and to come with all the ſpeede he could to ROME: and ſent with them one *Titus* of the citie of CROTONA, to cary theſe letters. But all their counſels and purpoſes (like fooles that neuer met together but at feaſtes, drinking druncke with light women) were eaſily founde out by *Cicero*: who had a carefulll eye vpon them, and very wiſely and diſcreetly ſaw through them. For he had appointed men out of the citie to ſpy their doings, which followed them to ſee what they intended. Furthermore he ſpake ſecretly with ſome he truſted, (the which others alſo tooke to be of the conſpiracie) and knew by them that *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* had practiſed with the Ambaſſadours of the ALLOBROGES, and drawen them into their conſpiracie. At length he watched them one night ſo narrowly, that he tooke the Ambaſſadours, and *Titus* CROTONIAN with the letters he caried, by helpe of the Ambaſſadours of the ALLOBROGES, which had ſecretly informed him of all before. The next morning by breake of day, *Cicero* aſſembled the Senate in the temple of Concorde, and there openly read the letters, and heard the euidence of the witneſſes. Further, there was one *Iunius Syllanus* a Senator that gaue in euidence, that ſome heard *Cethegus* ſay they ſhould kill three Conſuls, and foure Prætors. *Piſo* a Senator alſo, and that had bene Conſull, told in manner the ſelfe ſame tale. And *Caius Sulpitius* a Prætor, that was ſent into *Cethegus* houſe, reported that he had found great ſtore of darts, armour, daggers and ſwords new made. Laſtly, the Senate hauing promiſed *Titus* CROTONIAN he ſhould haue no hurt, ſo he would tell what he knew of this conſpiracie: *Lentulus* thereby was conuinced, and driuen to giue vp his office of Prætor before the Senate, and chaunging his purple gowne, to take an other meete for his miſerable ſtate. This being done, *Lentulus* and his conſorts were committed to ward, to the Prætors houſes. Now growing towards euening, the people waiting about the place where the Senate was aſſembled, *Cicero* at length came out, and told them what they had done within. Thereupon he was conueyed by all the people vnto a friendes houſe of his hard by: for that his owne houſe was occupied by the Ladies of the citie, who were buſie ſolemnly celebrating a ſecret ſacrifice in the honour of the goddeſſe, called of the ROMAINES the good goddeſſe, and of the GRECIANS *Gynæcia*, to wit feminine: vnto her this yearely ſacrifice is done at the Conſuls houſe, by the wife or mother of the Conſull then being, the Veſtal Nunnes being preſent at it. Now *Cicero* being come into his neighbours houſe, begau to bethinke him what courſe he were beſt to take in this matter. For, to puniſh the offenders with ſeueritie, according to their deſerts, he was affrayd to do it: both becauſe he was of a curteous nature, as alſo for that he would not ſeeme to be glad to haue occaſion to ſhew his abſolute power and authoritie, to puniſh (as he might) with rigour, Citizens that were of the nobleſt houſes of the citie, & that had beſides many friendes.

*The conſpiratours apprehended.*

And contrariwiſe alſo, being remiſſe in ſo waightie a matter as this, he was affrayd of the danger that might enſue of their raſhnes, miſtruſting that if he ſhould puniſh them with leſſe then death, they would not amend for it, imagining they were well rid of their trouble, but would rather become more bold and deſperate then euer they were: adding moreouer the ſtyng and ſpight of a new malice vnto their accuſtomed wickedneſſe, beſides that he himſelfe ſhould be thought a coward and timerous man, whereas they had already not much better opinion of him. *Cicero* being perplexed thus with theſe doubts, there appeared a miracle to the Ladies, doing ſacrifice at home in his houſe. For the fire that was thought to be cleane out vpon the aulter where they had ſacrificed, there ſodainely roſe out of the imbers of the ryend or barkes which they had burnt, a great bright flame, which amaſed all the other Ladies. Howbeit the Veſtall Nunnes willed *Terentia* (*Ciceroes* wife) to go ſtraight vnto her husband, & to bid him not to be affrayd to execute that boldly which he had conſidered of, for the benefit of the common wealth, and that the goddeſſe had raiſed this great flame, to ſhew him that he ſhould haue great honour by doing of it. *Terentia*, that was no timerous nor faint harted woman, but very ambitious, and furthermore had gotten more knowledge from her husband of the affaires of the ſtate, then otherwiſe ſhe had acquainted him with her houſewiuery in the houſe, as *Cicero* himſelfe reporteth: ſhe went to make report thereof vnto him, and prayed him to do execution of thoſe men. The like did *Quintus Cicero* his brother, and alſo *Publius Nigidius*, his friend and fellow ſtudent with him in Philoſophie, and whoſe counſell alſo *Cicero* followed much in the gouernement of the common wealth. The next morning, the matter being propounded to the arbiterment of the Senate, how theſe malefactours ſhould be puniſhed: *Syllanus* being asked his opinion firſt, ſayd that they ſhould be put in priſon, and from thence to ſuffer execution. Others likewiſe that followed him, were all of that minde, but *Caius Cæſar*, that afterwards came to be Dictator, and was then but a young man, and began to come forward, but yet ſuch a one, as by his behauiour & the hope he had, tooke ſuch a courſe, that afterwards he brought the common wealth of ROME into an abſolute Monarchie. For at that time, *Cicero* had vehement ſuſpicions of *Cæſar*, but no apparant proofe to conuince him. And ſome ſay, that it was brought ſo neare, as he was almoſt conuicted, but yet ſaued himſelfe. Other write to the contrary, that *Cicero* wittingly diſſẽbled, that he either heard or knew any ſignes which were told him againſt *Cæſar*, being affrayd indeed of his friends and eſtimation. For it was a cleare caſe, that if they had accuſed *Cæſar* with the reſt, he vndoubtedly had ſooner ſaued all their liues, then he ſhould haue loſt his owne. Now when *Cæſar* came to deliuer his opinion touching the puniſhment of theſe priſoners: he ſtood vp and ſayd, that he did not thinke it good to put them to death, but to confiſcate their goods: and as for their perſons, that they ſhould beſtow them in priſon, ſome in one place, ſome in an other, in ſuch cities of ITALIE, as pleaſed *Cicero* beſt, vntill the warre of *Catilin* were ended. This ſentence being very mild, and the author thereof maruellous eloquent to make it good: *Cicero* himſelfe added thereunto a counterpeaſe, inclining vnto either of both the opinions, partly allowing the firſt, and partly alſo the opinion of *Cæſar*. His friends thinking that *Cæſars* opinion was the ſafeſt for *Cicero*, becauſe thereby he ſhould deſerue leſſe blame for that he had not put the priſoners to death: they followed rather the ſecond. Whereupon *Syllanus* alſo recanted that he had ſpoken, and expounded his opinion: ſaying, that when he ſpake they ſhould be put to death, he meant nothing ſo, but thought the laſt puniſhment a Senatour of ROME could haue, was the priſon. But the firſt that contraried this opinion, was *Catulus Luctatius*, and after him *Cato*, who with vehement words enforced *Cæſars* ſuſpition, and furthermore filled all the Senate with wrath and courage: ſo that euen vpon the inſtant it was decreed by moſt voyces, that they ſhould ſuffer death. But *Cæſar* ſtept vp again, and ſpake againſt the confiſcation of their goods, miſliking that they ſhould reiect the gentleſt part of his opinion, and that contrariwiſe they ſhould ſticke vnto the ſeuereſt onely: howbeit becauſe the greateſt number preuailed againſt him, he called the Tribunes to ayde him, to the end they ſhould withſtand it: but they would giue no eare vnto him. *Cicero* thereupon yeelding of himſelfe, did remit the confiſcation of their goods, and went with the Senate to fetche the priſoners: who were not all in one houſe, but euery Prætor had one of them. So he went firſt to take *C. Lentulus*, who was in the Mount Palatine, and brought him

*Syllanus ſentence of the conſpiratours.*

*Cæſar priuie to Catilines conſpiracie.*

*Cæſars opinion for the puniſhment of the conſpiratours.*

through the holy ſtreete and the market place, accompanied with the chiefeſt men of the citie, who compaſſed him round about, and garded his perſon. The people ſeeing that, quaked and trembled for feare, paſſed by, and ſayd neuer a word: and ſpecially the young men, who thought it had bene ſome ſolemne miſterie for the health of their country, that was ſo accompanied with the chiefe Magiſtrate, and the noble men of the citie, with terrour and feare.

*The execution of the conſpiratours.*

So when he had paſſed through the market place, and was come to the priſon, he deliuered *Lentulus* into the handes of the hangman, and commaunded him to do execution. Afterwardes alſo *Cethegus*, and then all the reſt one after an other, whom he brought to the priſon him ſelfe, and cauſed them to be executed. Furthermore, ſeeing diuers of their accomplices in a troupe together in the market place, who knew nothing what he had done, and watched onely till night were come, ſuppoſing then to take away their companions by force from the place where they were, thinking they were yet aliue: he turned vnto them, and ſpake aloud, they liued.

*They liued: A word vſurped for the dead.*

This is a phraſe of ſpeach which the ROMAINES vſe ſometime, when they will finely conuey the hardneſſe of the ſpeach, to ſay he is dead.

*Ciceroes praiſe.*

When night was come, and that he was going homeward, as he came through the market place, the people did wait vpon him no more with ſilence as before, but with great cryes of his prayſe, and clapping of handes in euery place he went, and called him Sauiour, and ſecond founder of ROME. Beſides all this, at euery mans doore there were lynckes and torches lighted, that it was as light in the ſtreetes, as at noone dayes. The very women alſo did put lightes out of the toppes of their houſes to do him honour, and alſo to ſee him ſo nobly brought home, with ſuch a long trayne of the chiefeſt men of the citie, (of the which many of them had ended great warres for the which they had triumphed, and had obteined many famous conqueſtes to the Empire of ROME, both by ſea and land) confeſsing between themſelues one to an other, that the ROMAINES were greatly bound to many Captaines and generals of armies in their time, for the wonderfull riches, ſpoyles, & increaſe of their power which they had wonne: howbeit that they were to thanke *Cicero* onely, for their health and preſeruation, hauing ſaued them from ſo great and extreme a daunger. Not for that they thought it ſo wonderfull an acte to haue ſtriken dead the enterpriſe of the conſpiratours, and alſo to haue puniſhed the offenders by death: but becauſe the conſpiracie of *Catiline* being ſo great and daungerous an inſurrection as euer was any, he had quenched it, and pluckt it vp by the rootes, with ſo ſmall hurt, and without vprore, trouble, or actuall ſedition. For, the moſt part of them that were gathered together about *Catiline*, when they heard that *Lentulus* and all the reſt were put to death, they preſently forſooke him:

*Catiline ſlayne in battell by Antonius.*

and *Catiline* himſelfe alſo fighting a battell with them he had about him, againſt *Antonius* the other Conſull with *Cicero*, he was ſlayne in the field, and all his armie defeated.

*Cæſar choſen Prætor.*
*Metellus and Beſtia, Tribunes of the people.*

This notwithſtanding, there were many that ſpake ill of *Cicero* for this fact, and meant to make him repent it, hauing for their heades *Cæſar*, (who was already choſen Prætor for the yeare to come) *Metellus* & *Beſtia*, who ſhould alſo be choſen Tribunes. They, ſo ſoone as they were choſen Tribunes, would not once ſuffer *Cicero* to ſpeake to the people, notwithſtanding that he was yet in his office of Conſull for certaine dayes. And furthermore, to let him that he ſhould not ſpeake vnto the people, they did ſet their benches vpon the pulpit for orations, which they call at ROME, Roſtra: and would neuer ſuffer him to ſet foote in it, but onely to reſigne his office, and that done, to come downe againe immediatly. He graunted thereunto, and went vp to the pulpit vpon that condition.

*Cicero reſigneth his office.*

So ſilence being made him, he made an othe, not like vnto other Conſuls othes when they reſigne their office in like manner, but ſtraunge, and neuer heard of before: ſwearing, that he had ſaued the citie of ROME, and preſerued all his country and the Empire of ROME from vtter ruine and deſtruction. All the people that were preſent, confirmed it, and ſware the like othe. Wherewith all *Cæſar* and the other Tribunes his enemies were ſo offended with him, that they deuiſed to breed him ſome new ſturre and trouble: & amongeſt others, they made a decree, that Pompey ſhould be ſent for with his army to bridle the tyranny of *Cicero*. *Cato*, (who at that time was alſo Tribune) did him great pleaſure in the furtherance of the common wealth, oppoſing himſelfe againſt all their practiſes, with the like authoritie and power that they had, being a Tribune and brother with them, and of better eſtimation then they.

*Ciceroes Conſulſhip prayſed by Cato.*

So that he did not onely eaſily breake all their deuiſes, but alſo in a goodly oration he made in a full aſſembly of the people, he ſo highly prayſed and extolled *Ciceroes* Conſulſhip vnto them, and the things he did in his office: that they gaue him the greateſt honours that euer were decreed or graunted vnto any man liuing. For by decree of the people he was called, father of the country, as *Cato* himſelfe had called him in his oration: the which name was neuer giuen to any man, but onely vnto him, & alſo he bare greater ſway in ROME at that time, then any man beſide him. This notwithſtanding, he made himſelfe enuyed and miſliked of many men, not for any ill acte he did, or meant to do: but onely becauſe he did too much boaſt of himſelfe. For he neuer was in any aſſembly of people, Senate, or iudgement, but euery mans head was full ſtill to heare the ſound of *Catulus* and *Lentulus* brought in for ſport, and filling the bookes and workes he compiled beſides full of his owne prayſes: the which made his ſweet and pleaſant ſtile, tedious, and troubleſome to thoſe that heard them, as though this misfortune euer followed him to take away his excellent grace. But now, though he had this worme of ambition, and extreme couetous deſire of honor in his head, yet did he not malice or enuie any others glory, but would very franckly prayſe excellent men, as well thoſe that had bene before him, as thoſe that were in his time. And this appeareth plainly in his writings. They haue written alſo certaine notable wordes he ſpake of ſome auncient men in old time, as of *Ariſtotle*: that he was like a golden flowing riuer: and of *Plato*, that if *Iupiter* himſelfe would ſpeake, he would ſpeake like him: and of *Theophraſtus*, he was wont to call him his delight: & of *Demoſthenes* orations, when one asked him on a time which of them he liked beſt: the longeſt ſayd he. There be diuers writers alſo, who to ſhew that they were great followers of *Demoſthenes*, do follow *Ciceroes* ſaying in a certaine epiſtle he wrote vnto one of his friends, wherein he ſaid that *Demoſthenes* ſlept in ſome of his orations: but yet they forget to tell how highly he prayſed him in that place, and that he calleth the orations which he wrote againſt *Antonius* (in the which he tooke great paines, and ſtudied more then all the reſt) PHILIPPIANS: to follow thoſe which *Demoſthenes* wrote againſt *Philip* king of MACEDON. Furthermore, there was not a famous man in all his time, either in eloquence, or in learning, whoſe fame he hath not commended in writing, or otherwiſe in honourable ſpeach of him. For he obteined of *Cæſar*, when he had the Empire of ROME in his hands, that *Cratippus* the PERIPATICKE Philoſopher was made Citizen of ROME. Further, he procured that by decree of the court of the Areopagites, he was intreated to remaine at ATHENS, to teach and inſtruct the youth there: for that he was a great honour and ornament vnto their citie. There are extant alſo of *Ciceroes* epiſtles vnto *Herodes*, & others vnto his ſonne, willing him to follow *Cratippus* in his ſtudie and knowledge. He wrote an other letter alſo vnto *Gorgias* the Rethoritian, and forbad him his ſonnes companie: becauſe he vnderſtood he intiſed him to drunkenneſſe, and to other great diſhoneſty. Of all his epiſtles he wrote in Greeke, there is but that only written in choller, and an other which he wrote vnto *Pelops* BYZANTINE. And for that he wrote to *Gorgias*, he had great reaſon to be offended with him, and to taunt him in his letter: becauſe (as it ſeemed) he was a man of very lewde life and conuerſation. But in contrary manner, writing as he did to *Pelops*, finding himſelfe grieued with him, for that he was negligent in procuring the BYZANTINES to ordeine ſome publike honours in his behalfe: that me thinks proceeded of ouermuch ambition, the which in many things made him too much forget the part of an honeſt man, and onely becauſe he would be commended for his eloquence. When he had on a time pleaded *Munatius* cauſe before the Iudges, who ſhortly after accuſed *Sabinus* a friend of his: it is reported that he was ſo angry with him, that he told him, what *Munatius*, haſt thou forgottẽ that thou wert diſcharged the laſt day of thine accuſatiõ, not for thine innocencie, but for a miſt I caſt before the Iudges eyes, that made them they could not diſcerne the fault? An other time alſo, hauing openly prayſed *Marcus Craſſus* in the pulpit, with good audience of the people: ſhortly after he ſpake to the contrary, all the euill he could of him, in the ſame place. Why, how now, ſayd *Craſſus*: didſt thou not thy ſelfe highly prayſe me in this place, the laſt day? I cã not deny it, ſayd *Cicero*: but indeed I tooke an ill matter in hand to ſhew mine eloquence. An other time *Craſſus* chaunced to ſay in an open aſſembly, that none of all the *Craſſi* of his houſe that euer liued aboue lx. yeares: and afterwardes againe repenting him ſelfe, he called it in againe, and ſayd, Sure I knew not what I did, when I ſayd ſo. *Cicero* aun-

*Cicero the firſt man called, Father of the country.*

*Cicero too much giuen to prayſe himſelf.*

*Cicero friendly to prayſe others.*

*Cicero ſayth, Demoſthenes ſleepeth in his orations.*

*Ciceroes ſubtill and pleaſant ſayings.*

ſwered him againe : thou kneweſt well enough the people were glad to heare it, and therefore ſpakeſt it to pleaſe them. An other time *Craſſus* liking the opinion of the Stoicke Philoſophers, that ſayd the wiſe man was euer rich: *Cicero* aunſwered him, and bad him conſider whether they meant not thereby, that the wiſe man had all things. *Craſſus* couetouſneſſe was defamed of euery man. Of *Craſſus* ſonnes, one of them did much reſemble *Actius*, and therefore his mother had an ill name by him: one day this ſonne of *Craſſus* made an Oration before the Senate, which diuers of them commended very much. So, *Cicero* being asked how he liked it: me thinkes, ſayd he, it is* *Actius* of *Craſſus*. About this time, *Craſſus* being ready to take his iourney into SYRIA, he deſired to haue *Cicero* his friend, rather then his enemy. Therefore one night making much of him, he told *Cicero* that he would come and ſuppe with him. *Cicero* ſayd he ſhould be welcome. Shortly after ſome of his friendes told him of *Vatinius*, how he was deſirous to be made friendes with him, for he was his enemy. What, quoth *Cicero*, & will he come to ſupper too? Thus he vſed *Craſſus*. Now this *Vatinius* hauing a ſwollen necke, one day pleading before *Cicero*: he called him the ſwollen Oratour. An other time when he heard ſay that he was dead, and then that he was aliue againe: a vengeance on him, ſayd he, that hath lyed ſo ſhamefully. An other time when *Caſar* had made a law for the deuiding of the landes of CAMPANIA vnto the ſouldiers: diuers of the Senate were angry with him for it, and among other, *Lucius Gellius* (a very old man) ſayd, he would neuer graunt it while he liued. *Cicero* pleaſantly aunſwered againe, alas, tary a litle, the good old man will not trouble you long. An other time there was one *Octauius*, ſuppoſed to be* an AFRICAN borne. He when *Cicero* on a time pleaded a matter, ſayd that he heard him not: *Cicero* preſently aunſwered him againe, and yet haſt thou a hole bored through thine eare. An other time *Metellus Nepos* told him, that he had ouerthrowen mo men by his witneſſe, then he had ſaued by his eloquence. I graunt ſayd *Cicero*, for indeede I haue more fayth, then eloquence in me. So was there alſo a young man that was ſuſpected to haue poyſoned his father with a tarte, that boaſted he would reuile *Cicero*: I had rather haue that of thee, quoth *Cicero*, then thy tarte. *Publius Sextius* alſo hauing a matter before the Iudges, enterteined *Cicero*, with other of his Counſellers: but yet he would ſpeake all himſelfe, and giue none of the Oratours leaue to ſay any thing. In the end, when they ſaw plainly that the Iudges would diſcharge him, being ready to giue ſentence: *Cicero* ſayd vnto him, beſturre thee hardily to day for to morrow *Sextius* thou ſhalt be a priuate man. An other, one *Publius Scotta*, who would faine haue bene thought a wiſe Lawyer, and yet had litle wit and vnderſtanding: *Cicero* appealed to him as a witneſſe in a matter, and being examined, he aunſwered he knew nothing of it. *Cicero* replied to him againe: thou thinkeſt peraduenture they aske thee touching the law. Againe, *Metellus Nepos*, in a certaine diſputation he had with *Cicero*, did many times repeate, who is thy father? *Cicero* anſwered him againe: thy mother hath made this queſtion harder for thee to aunſwere. This *Nepos* mother was reported to be a light houſewife, and he as ſubtil witted and vnconſtant. For he being Tribune, left in a geere the exerciſe of his office, and went into SYRIA to *Pompey*, vpon no occaſion: and as fondly againe he returned thence, vpon a ſodaine. His Schoolemaiſter *Philager* alſo being dead, he buried him very honeſtly, and ſet a crow of ſtone vpon the toppe of his tombe. *Cicero* finding it, told him thou haſt done very wiſely: for thy Maiſter hath taught thee rather to flie, then to ſpeake. An other time *Appius Clodius* pleading a matter, ſayd in his preamble that his friend had earneſtly requeſted him to employ all his knowledge, diligence, and faith vpon this matter. O goddes, ſayd *Cicero*, and haſt thou ſhewed thy ſelfe ſo hard harted to thy friend, that thou haſt performed none of all theſe he requeſted thee? Now to vſe theſe fine taunts and girds to his enemies, it was a part of a good Oratour: but ſo commonly to gird euery man to make the people laugh, that wanne him great ill will of many, as ſhall appeare by ſome examples I will tell you. *Marcus Aquinius* had two ſonnes in law, who were both baniſhed: *Cicero* therefore called him *Adraſtus*. *Lucius Cotta* by chaunce alſo was Cenſor at that time, when *Cicero* ſued to be Conſull: and being there at the day of the election, he was a thirſt, and was driuen to drinke. But while he dranke, all his friends ſtood about him, and after he had drunke, he ſayd vnto them. It is well done of ye, ſayd he, to be affrayed leaſt the Cenſor ſhould be angry with me, becauſe I drinke wa-

*The Stoickes opinion: A wiſe man is euer rich.*

*Ἄξιος Κράσσου. *Actius*, is a proper name of a Romane, and ἄξιος in Greeke ſignifieth, worthy: So the grace of the equiuocation can not be expreſſed in any other lãguage.*

* *Becauſe the Africans haue commonly their eares bored through.*

ter: for it was reported the Cenſor loued wine well. An other time *Cicero* meeting one *Voconius*, with three fowle daughters of his with him, he cryed out aloud:

*This man hath gotten children in deſpight of Phœbus.*

It was thought in ROME that *Marcus Gellius* was not borne of free parents by father and mother, who reading certaine letters one day in the Senate very loude: *Cicero* ſayd vnto them that were about him, wonder not at it, quoth he, for this man hath bene a cryer in his dayes. *Fauſtus*, the ſonne of *Sylla* Dictator at ROME, which ſet vp billes outlawing diuers ROMAINES, making it lawfull for any man to kill them without daunger where they founde them; this man after he had ſpent the moſt part of his fathers goodes, was ſo ſore in debt, that he was driuen to ſell his houſbold ſtuffe, by billes ſet vp on euery poſt. *Cicero* when he ſaw them, yea mary ſayd he, theſe billes pleaſe me better, then thoſe which his father ſet vp. Theſe tauntes and common quippes without purpoſe, made diuers men to malice him. The great ill will that *Clodius* bare him, began vpon this occaſion. *Clodius* was of a noble houſe, a young man, and very wild and inſolent. He being in loue with *Pompeia Cæſars* wife, founde the meanes ſecretly to get into *Cæſars* houſe, apparelled like a young ſinging wenche, becauſe on that day the Ladyes of ROME did ſolemnly celebrate a ſecret ſacrifice in *Cæſars* houſe, which is not lawfull for men to be preſent at. So there was no man there but *Clodius*, who thought he ſhould not haue bene knowen, becauſe he was but a young man without any haire on his face, and that by this meanes he might come to *Pompeia* amongeſt the other women. He being gotten into this great houſe by night, not knowing the roomes and chambers in it: there was one of *Cæſars* mothers maydes of her chamber called *Aurelia*, who ſeeing him wandring vp and downe the houſe in this ſort, asked him what he was, and how they called him. So being forced to aunſwere, he ſayd he ſought for *Aura*, one of *Pompeias* maides. The maide perceiued ſtraight it was no womans voyce, and there withall gaue a great ſhriche, and called the other women: the which did ſee the gates faſt ſhut, and then ſought euery corner vp and downe, ſo that at length they founde him in the maides chamber, with whom he came in. His offence was ſtraight blowen abroad in the citie, whereupon *Cæſar* put his wife away: and one of the Tribunes alſo accuſed *Clodius*, and burdened him that he had prophaned the holy ceremonies of the ſacrifices. *Cicero* at that time was yet his friend, being one that had very friendly done for him at all times, and had euer accompanied him to garde him, if any man would haue offered him iniurie in the buſie time of the conſpiracie of *Catiline*. *Clodius* ſtoutly denied the matter he was burdened with, and ſayd that he was not in ROME at that time, but farre from thence. Howbeit *Cicero* gaue euidence againſt him, and depoſed, that the ſelfe ſame day he came home to his houſe vnto him, to ſpeake with him about certaine matters. This indeede was true, though it ſeemeth *Cicero* gaue not this euidence ſo much for the truthes ſake, as to pleaſe his wife *Terentia*: for ſhe hated *Clodius* to the death, becauſe of his ſiſter *Clodia* that would haue maried *Cicero*, and did ſecretly practiſe the mariage by one *Tullius*, who was *Ciceroes* very friend, and becauſe he repayred very often to this *Clodia* that dwelt hard by *Cicero*, *Terentia* began to ſuſpect him. *Terentia* being a cruell woman, and wearing her huſbandes breeches: allured *Cicero* to ſet vpon *Clodius* in his aduerſitie, and to witneſſe againſt him, as many other honeſt men of the citie alſo did: Some that he was periured, others that he committed a thouſand lewde partes, that he bribed the people with money, that he had intiſed and deflowred many women. *Lucullus* alſo brought forth certaine maydens which depoſed that *Clodius* had deflowred the youngeſt of his owne ſiſters, ſhe being in houſe with him, and maried. And there went a great rumour alſo, that he knew his two other ſiſters, of the which the one was called * *Terentia*, and maried vnto king *Martius*: and the other *Clodia*, whom *Metellus Celer* had maried, & whom they commonly called *Quadrantaria*: becauſe one of her Paramours ſent her a purſe full of quadrynes (which are litle peeces of copper money) in ſtead of ſiluer. *Clodius* was ſlaundered more by her, then with any of the other two. Notwithſtãding, the people were very much offended with them, that gaue euidence againſt him, and accuſed him. The Iudges being affrayed of it, got a great number of armed men about them, at the day of his iudgement, for the ſafetie of their perſons:

*The malice betwixt Cicero and Clodius.*

*Cicero gaue euidence againſt Clodius.*

*The wicked partes of Clodius.*

* *Some old bookes do read Tertia.*

*Clodius quit and found not giltie.*

*Cæſars wordes of the putting away his wife Pompeia.*

*Clodius choſen Tribune of the people.*

*Piſo and Gabinius Conſuls.*

*Craſſus, Pompey, & Cæſar, three of the greateſt men in Rome, tooke part with Clodius againſt Cicero.*

*Cicero accuſed of Clodius.*

*The Knights of Rome and Senate chaunged garmentes for Ciceroes ſake.*

and in the tables where they wrote their ſentences, their letters for the moſt part were confuſedly ſet down. This notwithſtanding, it was found that he was quit by the greateſt number: and it was reported alſo that ſome of them were cloſe fiſted. *Catulus* therefore meeting with ſome of them going home, after they had giuen their ſentence, told them: ſurely ye had good reaſon to be well garded for your ſafetie, for you were affrayed your money ſhould haue bene takē from you, which you tooke for bribes. And *Cicero* ſaid vnto *Clodius*, who reproued him that his witneſſe was not true he gaue againſt him: cleane contrary, quoth *Cicero*, for fiue and twentie of the Iudges haue beleeued me, being ſo many that haue condemned thee, and the thirty would not beleeue thee, for they would not quit thee before they had fingered money. Notwithſtandig, in this iudgement *Cæſar* neuer gaue euidence againſt *Clodius*: & ſaid moreouer, that he did not thinke his wife had committed any adultery, howbeit that he had put her away, becauſe he would that *Cæſars* wife ſhould not onely be cleane from any diſhoneſtly, but alſo voide of all ſuſpition. *Clodius* being quit of this accuſation & trouble, & hauing alſo foūd meanes to be choſen Tribune: he began ſtraight to perſecute *Cicero*, chaunging all things, and ſtirring vp all manner of people againſt him. Firſt he wanne the good will of the common people by deuiſing of new lawes which he preferred, for their benefite and commoditie: to both the Conſuls he graunted great and large Prouinces: vnto *Piſo*, MACEDON, and to *Gabinius*, SYRIA. He made alſo many poore men free Citizens, and had alwayes about him a great number of ſlaues armed. At that preſent time there were three notable men in ROME, which caried all the ſway: *Craſſus*, that ſhewed himſelfe an open enemie vnto *Cicero*: *Pompey* the other, made much both of the one and the other: the third was *Cæſar*, who was prepared for his iorney into GAVLE with an army. *Cicero* did leane vnto him, (though he knew him no faſt friend of his, and that he miſtruſted him for matters paſt in *Catilines* conſpiracie) and prayed him that he might go to the warres with him, as one of his Lieutenants. *Cæſar* graunted him. Thereupon *Clodius* perceiuing that by this meanes he got him out of the daunger of his office of Tribuneſhip for that yeare, he made fayre weather with him (as though he meant to reconcile himſelfe vnto him) and told him that he had cauſe rather to thinke ill of *Terentia*, for that he had done againſt him, then of himſelfe, and alwayes ſpake very curteouſly of him as occaſion fell out, and ſayd he did thinke nothing in him, neither had any malice to him, howbeit it did a litle grieue him, that being a friend, he was offered vnkindneſſe by his friend. Theſe ſweete wordes made *Cicero* no more affrayed, ſo that he gaue vp his Lieutenancie vnto *Cæſar*, and began againe to pleade as he did before. *Cæſar* tooke this in ſuch diſdaine, that he hardned *Clodius* the more againſt him, and beſides, made *Pompey* his enemy. And *Cæſar* himſelfe alſo ſayd before all the people, that he thought *Cicero* had put *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the reſt, vniuſtly to death, and contrary to law, without lawfull triall and condemnation. And this was the fault for the which *Cicero* was openly accuſed. Thereupon *Cicero* ſeeing himſelfe accuſed for this fact, he chaunged his vſuall gowne he wore, and put on a mourning gowne: and ſo ſuffering his beard and haire of his head to grow without any combing, he went in this humble manner, and ſued to the people. But *Clodius* was euer about him in euery place and ſtreete he went, hauing a ſight of raſcals and knaues with him that ſhamefully mocked him for that he had chaunged his gowne and countenance in that ſort, and oftentimes they caſt durt and ſtones at him, breaking his talke and requeſtes he made vnto the people. This notwithſtanding, all the Knights of ROME did in manner chaunge their gownes with him for companie, and of them there were commonly twentie thouſand young Gentlemen of noble houſe which followed him with their haire about their eares & were ſuters to the people for him. Furthermore, the Senate aſſembled to decree that the people ſhould mourne in blackes, as in a common calamitie: But the Conſuls were againſt it. And *Clodius* on the other ſide was with a band of armed mē about the Senate, ſo that many of the Senators ranne out of the Senate, crying, & tearing their clothes for ſorow. Howbeit theſe men ſeeing all that, were nothing the more moued with pitie and ſhame: but either *Cicero* muſt needes abſent himſelf, or elſe determine to fight with *Clodius*. Then went *Cicero* to intreat *Pompey* to ayde him: But he abſented himſelfe of purpoſe out of the citie, becauſe he would not be intreated, and lay at one of his houſes in the countrey, neare vnto the citie of

Alba. So he firſt of all ſent *Piſo* his ſonne in law vnto him to intreate him, and afterwardes went himſelfe in perſon to him. But *Pompey* being told that he was come, had not the hart to ſuffer him to come to him, to looke him in the face: for he had bene paſt all ſhame to haue refuſed the requeſt of ſo worthy a man, who had before ſhewed him ſuch pleaſure, and alſo done and ſayd ſo many things in his fauour. Howbeit *Pompey* being the ſonne in law of *Cæſar*, did vnfortunately (at his requeſt) forſake him at his neede, vnto whom he was bounde for ſo many infinite pleaſures, as he had receiued of him afore: and therefore when he heard ſay he came to him, he went out at his backe gate and would not ſpeake with him. So *Cicero* ſeeing himſelfe betrayed of him, and now hauing no other refuge to whom he might repayre vnto: he put himſelfe into the handes of the two Conſuls. Of them two, *Gabinius* was euer cruell, and churliſh vnto him. But *Piſo* on the other ſide ſpake alwayes very curteouſly vnto him, and prayed him to abſent himſelfe for a time, and to giue place a litle to *Clodius* furie, and patiently to beare the chaunge of the time: For in ſo doing, he might come againe an other time to be the preſeruer of his country, which was now for his ſake in tumult and ſedition. *Cicero* vpon this aunſwere of the Conſull, conſulted with his friendes: among the which *Lucullus* gaue him aduiſe to tary, and ſayd that he ſhould be the ſtronger. But all the reſt were of contrary opinion, and would haue him to get him away with ſpeede: for the people would ſhortly wiſh for him againe, when they had once bene beaten with *Clodius* furie and folly. *Cicero* liked beſt to follow this counſell. Whereupon hauing had a ſtatue of *Minerua* a long time in his houſe, the which he greatly reuerenced: he caried her himſelfe, and gaue her to the Capitoll with this inſcription: *Vnto Minerua, Protector of* Rome. So, his friends hauing giuen him ſafe cōduct, he went out of Rome about midnight, and tooke his way through the countrey of Lvke by land, meaning to go into Sicile. When it was knowen in Rome that he was fled, *Clodius* did preſently baniſh him by decree of the people, and cauſed billes of inhibition to be ſet vp, that no man ſhould ſecretly receiue him within fiue hundred myles compaſſe of Italie. Howbeit diuers men reuerencing *Cicero*, made no reckoning of that inhibition: but when they had vſed him with all manner of curteſie poſsible, they did conduct him beſides at his departure, ſauing one citie onely in Lvke, called at that time Hipponivm, and now Vibone: where a Sicilian called *Vibius*, (vnto whom *Cicero* before had done many pleaſures, and ſpecially among others, had made him Maiſter of the workes in the yeare that he was Conſull) would not once receiue him into his houſe, but promiſed him he would appoint him a place in the country that he might go vnto. And *Caius Virgilius* alſo, at that time Prætor and gouernour of Sicile, who before had ſhewed himſelfe his very great friend: wrote then vnto him, that he ſhould not come neare vnto Sicile. This grieued him to the hart. Thereupon he went directly vnto the citie of Brvndvsivm, and there imbarked to paſſe ouer the ſea vnto Dyrrachivm, and at the firſt had wind at will: but when he was in the mayne ſea, the wind turned, and brought him backe againe to the place from whence he came. But after that, he hoyſed ſayle againe, and the report went, that at his arriuall at Dyrrachivm when he tooke land, the earth ſhooke vnder him, and the ſea gaue backe together: Whereby the Soothſayers interpreted, that his exile ſhould not be long, becauſe both the one and the other was a token of chaunge. Yet *Cicero*, notwithſtanding that many men came to ſee him for the good will they bare him, and that the cities of Grece contended who ſhould moſt honour him, he was alwayes ſad, and could not be merie, but caſt his eyes ſtill towardes Italie, as paſsioned louers do towardes the women the loue: ſhewing himſelfe faint harted, and tooke this aduerſitie more baſely, then was looked for of one ſo well ſtudied and learned as he. And yet he oftentimes prayed his friends, not to call him Orator, but rather Philoſopher: ſaying, that Philoſophie was his chiefeſt profeſsion, and that for his eloquence he did not vſe it, but as a neceſſary inſtrument to one that pleadeth in the common wealth. But glory, and opinion, hath great power to take mans reaſon from him, euen like a colour, from the mindes of them that are cōmō pleaders in matters of ſtate, and to make them feele the ſelfe ſame paſsions that common people do, by dayly frequenting their companie: vnleſſe they take great heede of them, and that they come to

*Pompey would not ſee Cicero being accuſed.*

*Ciceroes exile.*

*Hipponium, alias Vibone: a citie in Luke.*

*A wonder ſhewed vnto Cicero in his exile.*

*Ciceroes faint hart in his exile.*

*The wonderfull power of glorie.*

practiſe in the common wealth with this reſolute minde , to haue to do with the like matters that the common people haue, but not to entangle themſelues with the like paſsions and moodes, by the which their matters do riſe. Now *Clodius* was not contented that he had baniſhed *Cicero* out of Italie, but further he burnt all his houſes in the countrey, and his houſe alſo in Rome ſtanding in the market place, of the which he built a temple of libertie, and cauſed his goodes to be ſold by the cryer: ſo that the cryer was occupied all day long crying the goodes to be ſold, and no man offered to buy any of them. The chiefeſt men of the citie beginning to be affrayed of theſe violent partes, and hauing the common people at his commaundement, whom he had made very bold and inſolent: he began to inuey againſt *Pompey*, and ſpake ill of his doings in the time of his warres, the which euery man elſe but himſelfe did commend. *Pompey* then was very angry with himſelfe that he had ſo forſaken *Cicero*, and repented him of it, and by his friends procured all the meanes he could to call him home againe from his baniſhmẽt. *Clodius* was againſt it all he could. The Senate notwithſtanding with one full conſent ordeined, that nothing ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the common wealth, before *Ciceroes* baniſhment were firſt repealed. *Lentulus* was at that time Conſull, and there grew ſuch an vprore and ſturre vpon it, that ſome of the Tribunes were hurt in the market place, and *Quintus Cicero* (the brother of *Cicero*) was ſlaine and hidden vnder the dead bodies. Then the people began to chaunge their mindes. And *Annius Milo*, one of the Tribunes, was the firſt man that durſt venture vpon *Clodius*, and bring him by force to be tryed before the Iudges. *Pompey* himſelfe alſo hauing gotten a great number of men about him, aſwell of the citie of Rome as of other townes adioyning to it, being ſtrongly garded with them: he came out of his houſe, and compelled *Clodius* to get him out of the market place, and then called the people to giue their voyces, for the calling home againe of *Cicero*. It is reported that the people neuer paſſed thing with ſo great good will, nor ſo wholly together, as the returne of *Cicero*. And the Senate for their partes alſo, in the behalfe of *Cicero*, ordeined that the cities which had honored and receiued *Cicero* in his exile, ſhould be greatly commended: and that his houſes which *Clodius* had ouerthrowen and raſed, ſhould be reedified at the charge of the common wealth. So *Cicero* returned the ſixteenth moneth after his baniſhment, and the townes and cities he came by, ſhewed themſelues ſo ioyfull of his returne, that all manner of men went to meete and honour him, with ſo great loue and affection, that *Ciceroes* report thereof afterwardes came indeede ſhort of the very truth as it was. For he ſayd, that Italia brought him into Rome vpon their ſhoulders. In ſomuch as *Craſſus* himſelfe, who before his baniſhment was his enemy, went then with very good will vnto him, and became his friend, ſaying: that he did it for the loue of his ſonne, who loued *Cicero* with all his hart. Now *Cicero* being returned, he found a time when *Clodius* was out of the citie, and went with a good company of his friends vnto the Capitoll, and there tooke away the tables, and brake them, in the which *Clodius* had written all his actes that he had paſſed and done in the time of his Tribuneſhip. *Clodius* would afterwardes haue accuſed *Cicero* for it: But *Cicero* aunſwered him, that he was not lawfully created Tribune, becauſe he was of the Patricians, and therefore all that he had done in his Tribuneſhip was voide, and of none effect. Therewith *Cato* was offended, and ſpake againſt him, not for that he liked of *Clodius* doings: (but to the contrary, vtterly miſliked all that he did) but becauſe he thought it out of all reaſon, that the Senate ſhould cancell all thoſe things which he had done and paſſed in his Tribuneſhip, and ſpecially, becauſe amongeſt the reſt that was there which he himſelfe had done in the Ile of Cyprus, and in the citie of Byzantium. Hereupon there grew ſome ſtraungeneſſe betwixt *Cicero* and *Cato*, the which notwithſtanding brake not out to open enmitie: but onely to an abſtinence of their wonted familiaritie, and acceſſe one to an other. Shortly after, *Milo* ſlue *Clodius*. *Milo* being accuſed of murther, prayed *Cicero* to plead his cauſe. The Senate fearing that this accuſation of *Milo*, (who was a hardie man, and of qualitie beſides) would moue ſome ſedition and vprore in the citie: they gaue commiſsion to *Pompey* to ſee iuſtice executed aſwell in this cauſe, as in other offences, that the citie might be quiet, and iudgement alſo executed with ſafetie. Thereupon *Pompey* the night before tooke the higheſt places of the market place, by his ſouldiers that were armed, whom he placed thereabout. *Milo* fearing that *Cicero*

would

*Pompey chaũging minde doth fauour Cicero.*

*Lentulus, Conſull.*

*Cicero called home from baniſhment.*

*Cicero taketh away the tables of Clodius actes out of the Capitoll.*

*Clodius the Tribune, ſlaine by Milo.*

would be affrayed to ſee ſuch a number of harneſt men about him, being no vſuall matter, and that it might peraduenture hinder him to pleade his cauſe well: he prayed him he would come betimes in the morning in his litter into the market place, and there to ſtay the comming of the Iudges, till the place were full. For *Cicero* was not onely fearefull in warres, but timerous alſo in pleading. For indeede he neuer began to ſpeake, but it was in feare: and when his eloquence was come to the beſt proofe and perfection, he neuer left his trembling and timerouſneſſe. In ſomuch that pleading a caſe for *Mutius Murana* (accuſed by *Cato*,) ſtriuing to excell *Hortenſius*, whoſe pleading was very well thought of: he tooke no reſt all night, and what through watching, and the trouble of his minde he was not very well, ſo that he was not ſo well liked for his pleading, as *Hortenſius*. So, going to defend *Miloes* cauſe, when he came out of his litter, and ſaw P*ompey* ſet aloft as if he had bene in a campe, and the market place compaſſed about with armed men, gliſtering in euery corner: it ſo amated him, that he could ſcant faſhion himſelfe to ſpeake, all the partes of him did ſo quake and tremble, and his voyce could not come to him. But *Milo* on the other ſide ſtood boldly by him himſelfe, without any feare at all of the iudgement of his cauſe, neither did he let his haire grow, as other men accuſed did: neither did he weare any mourning gowne, the which was (as it ſeemed) one of the chiefeſt cauſes that condemned him. Yet many held opinion that this timerouſneſſe of *Cicero* came rather of the good will he bare vnto his friendes, then of any cowardly minde of himſelfe. He was alſo choſen one of the Prieſtes of the Soothſayers, which they call Augures, in the roome of *P. Craſſus* the younger, who was ſlaine in the Realme of PARTHIA. Afterwardes, the prouince of CILICIA being appointed to him, with an armie of twelue thouſand footemen, and two thouſand fiue hundred horſemen, he tooke the ſea to go thither. So when he was arriued there, he brought CAPPADOCIA againe into the ſubiection and obedience of king *Ariobarzanes* according to his commiſsion and commaundement giuen by the Senate: moreouer, both there and elſewhere he tooke as excellent good order as could be deuiſed, in reducing of things to quietneſſe without warres. Furthermore, finding that the CILICIANS were growen ſomewhat ſtout and vnruly, by the ouerthrow the ROMAINES had of the PARTHIANS, and by reaſon of the riſing and rebellion in SYRIA: he brought them vnto reaſon by gentle perſwaſions, and neuer receiued giftes that were ſent him, no not from Kinges and Princes. Furthermore, he did diſburden the prouinces of the feaſtes and banckets they were wont to make other gouernours before him. On the other ſide alſo, he would euer haue the company of good and learned men at his table, and would vſe them well, without curioſitie and exceſſe. He had neuer porter to his gate, nor was ſeene by any man in his bed: For he would alwayes riſe at the breake of day, and would walke or ſtand before his doore. He would curteouſly receiue all them that came to ſalute and viſite him. Further they report of him, that he neuer cauſed man to be beaten with roddes, nor to teare his owne garments. In his anger he neuer reuiled any man, neither did deſpightfully ſet fine vpon any mans head. Finding many things alſo belonging to the common wealth, which priuate men had ſtollen and imbecelled to their owne vſe: he reſtored againe vnto the cities, whereby they grew very rich and wealthy: and yet did ſaue their honor and credit that had taken them away, and did them no other hurt, but onely conſtrained them to reſtore that which was the common wealthes. He made a litle warre alſo, and draue away the theeues that kept about the Mountaine Amanus, for the which exploit his ſouldiers called him Imperator, to ſay, chiefe Captaine. About that time there was an Orator called *Cæcilius*, who wrote vnto him from ROME, to pray him to ſend him ſome Leoperds, or Panthers out of CILICIA, becauſe he would ſhew the people ſome paſtime with them. *Cicero* boaſting of his doings, wrote to him againe, that there were no more Leoperds in CILICIA, but that they were all fled into CARIA for anger, that ſeeing all things quiet in CILICIA, they had leaſure now to hunt them. So when he returned towardes ROME, from the charge of his gouernement, he came by RHODES and ſtayed a few dayes at ATHENS, with great delight, to remember how pleaſauntly he liued there before, at what time he ſtudied there. Thither came to him the chiefeſt learned men of the citie, and his friends alſo, with whom he was acquainted at his firſt being there. In fine, hauing receiued all the honorable enterteinmẽt in GRECE

*Cicero fearefull in warres, and timerous in pleading.*

*Cicero pleadeth Miloes caſe.*

*Cicero choſen Augure.*

*Cicero Proconſull of Cilicia.*

*Ciceroes integritie for the gouernement of his prouinces.*

*Mons Amanus. Cicero called Imperator.*

that could be: he returned vnto ROME, where at his arriuall he found great factions kindled, the which men ſaw plainly would grow in the end to ciuill warre. Thereupon the Senate hauing decreed that he ſhould enter in triumphe into the citie: he aunſwered, that he would rather (all parties agreed) follow *Cæſars* coche in triumphe. So he trauelled very earneſtly betweene *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, eftſoones writing vnto *Cæſar*, & alſo ſpeaking vnto *Pompey* that was preſent, ſeeking all the meanes he could, to take vp the quarrell and miſliking betwixt them two. But it was ſo impoſsible a matter, that there was no ſpeach of agreement would take place. So *Pompey* hearing that *Cæſar* was not farre from ROME, he durſt no longer abide in ROME, but fled with diuers of the greateſt men in ROME. *Cicero* would not follow him whẽ he fled, and therefore men thought he would take part with *Cæſar*: but this is certaine, that he was in a maruellous perplexitie, and could not eaſely determine what way to take. Whereupon he wrote in his Epiſtles: what way ſhould I take? *Pompey* hath the iuſter and honeſter cauſe of warre, but *Cæſar* can better execute, and prouide for himſelfe and his friendes with better ſafetie: ſo that I haue meanes enough to flie, but none to whom I might repaire. In all this ſturre, there was one of *Cæſars* friends called *Trebatius*, which wrote a letter vnto *Cicero*, and told him that *Cæſar* wiſhed him in any caſe to come to him, and to run with him the hope and fortune he vndertooke: but if he excuſed himſelfe by his age, that then he ſhould get him into GRECE, & there to be quiet from them both. *Cicero* maruelling that *Cæſar* wrote not to him himſelfe, aunſwered in anger, that he would do nothing vnworthy of his actes all the dayes of his life thitherto: and to this effect he wrote in his letters. Now *Cæſar* being gone into SPAYNE, *Cicero* imbarked immediatly to go to *Pompey*. So when he came vnto him, euery man was very glad of his comming, but *Cato*. Howbeit *Cato* ſecretly reproued him for comming vnto *Pompey*, ſaying: that for himſelfe he had bene without all honeſty at that time to haue forſaken that part, the which he had alwayes taken and followed from the beginning of his firſt practiſe in the commõ wealth: but for him on the other ſide, that it had bene better for the ſafetie of his country, and chiefly for all his friends, that he had bene a newter to both, & ſo to haue taken things as they had fallen out: and that he had no manner of reaſon nor inſtant cauſe to make him to become *Cæſars* enemie, and by comming thither to put himſelfe into ſo great perill. Theſe perſwaſions of *Cato* ouerthrew all *Ciceroes* purpoſe and determination, beſides that *Pompey* himſelfe did not employe him in any matter of ſeruice or importance. But hereof himſelfe was more in fault then *Pompey*, becauſe he confeſſed openly that he did repent him he was come thither. Furthermore, he ſcorned and diſdained all *Pompeys* preparations and counſels, the which indeede made him to be had in ielouſie and ſuſpition. Alſo he would euer be fleering and gybing at thoſe that tooke *Fompeys* part, though he had no liſt himſelfe to be merie. He would alſo go vp and downe the campe very ſad and heauie, but yet he would euer haue one ieſt or other to make men laugh, although they had as litle luſt to be merie as he: and ſurely, it ſhall do no hurt to call ſome of them to minde in this place. *Domitius* being very deſirous to preferre a gentleman to haue charge of men, to recommende him, he ſayd he was an honeſt, wiſe, and ſober man. Whereto *Cicero* preſently anſwered: Why doeſt thou not keepe him thẽ to bring vp thy children? An other time when they commended *Theophanes* LESBIAN, (that was maiſter of all the artificers of the campe) becauſe he had notablie comforted the RHODIANS when they had receiued a great loſſe of their nauy: ſee, ſayd *Cicero*, what a goodly thing it is to haue a GRECIAN, maiſter of artificers in the campe? When both battels came to ioyne together, and that *Cæſar* had in manner all the aduantage, and kept them as good as beſieged: *Lentulus* told him on a time, that he heard ſay all *Cæſars* friends were mad, and melancholie men. Why, quoth *Cicero* to him again: doeſt thou ſay that they do enuie *Cæſar*? An other called *Martius*, comming lately out of ITALIE, ſaid, that there ranne a rumor in ROME, that *Pompey* was beſieged. What, quoth *Cicero* to him againe: and diddeſt thou take ſhippe to come and ſee him thy ſelfe, becauſe thou mighteſt beleeue it, when thou haddeſt ſeene it? *Pompey* being ouerthrowen, one *Nonius* ſayd there was yet good hope left, becauſe they had taken ſeuẽ Eagles within *Pompeys* campe. Thy perſwaſiõ were not ill, quoth *Cicero*, ſo we were to fight but with pyes or dawes. *Labienus* repoſed all his truſt in certaine Oracles, that *Pompey* of neceſsitie muſt haue the vpper hand. Yea ſayd *Cicero*, but

*Cicero ſeeketh to pacifie the quarrell betwixt Pompey and Cæſar.*

*Ciceroes words of Pompey and Cæſar.*

*Cicero goeth vnto Pompey.*

but for all this goodly ſtratageme of warre, we haue not long ſince loſt our whole campe.

*Cato gaue place to Cicero, and offered him the charge of the nauie at Dyrrachium.*

After the battell of Pharſalia, where *Cicero* was not by reaſon of his ſickeneſſe: *Pompey* being fled, and *Cato* at that time at DYRRACHIVM, where he had gathered a great number of men of warre, & had alſo prepared a great nauie: he prayed *Cicero* to take charge of all this army, as it pertained vnto him, hauing bene Conſull. *Cicero* did not onely refuſe it, but alſo told them he would meddle no more with this warre. But this was enough to haue made him bene ſlaine: for the younger *Pompey* and his friendes called him traitor, and drewe their ſwordes vpon him to kill him, which they had done, had not *Cato* ſtepped betweene them and him, and yet had he much a doe to ſaue him, and to conuey him ſafely out of the campe. When *Cicero* came to BRVNDVSIVM, he ſtaied there a certaine time for *Cæſars* comming, who came but ſlowly, by reaſon of his troubles he had in ASIA, as alſo in ÆGYPT. Howbeit newes being brought at length that *Cæſar* was arriued at TARENTVM, and that he came by lande vnto BRVNDVSIVM: *Cicero* departed thence to goe meete him, not miſtruſting that *Cæſar* would not pardon him, but rather being aſhamed to come to his enemie being a conqueror, before ſuch a number of men as he had about him. Yet he was not forced to doe or ſpeake any thing vnſeemely to his calling. For *Cæſar* ſeeing him comming towardes him farre before the reſt that came with him: he lighted from his horſe and imbraced him, and walked a great way a foote with him, ſtill talking with him only, and euer after he did him great honor & made much of him. Inſomuch as *Cicero* hauing written a booke in praiſe of *Cato*: *Cæſar* on the other ſide wrote an other, and praiſed the eloquence and life of *Cicero*, matching it with the life of *Pericles*, and *Theramenes*. *Ciceroes* booke was intituled *Cato*, & *Cæſars* booke called *Anticato*, as much to ſay as againſt *Cato*. They ſay further, that *Quintus Ligarius* being accuſed to haue bene in the field againſt *Cæſar*, *Cicero* tooke vpon him to defend his cauſe: and that *Cæſar* ſaid vnto his friends about him, what hurt is it for vs to heare *Cicero* ſpeake, whom we haue not heard of long time? For otherwiſe *Ligarius* (in my opinion) ſtandeth alreadie a condemned man, for I know him to be a vile man, and mine enemie.

*The force of Ciceroes eloquence, how it altered Cæſar.*

But when *Cicero* had begunne his Oration, he moued *Cæſar* maruellouſly, he had ſo ſweete a grace, and ſuch force in his wordes: that it is reported *Cæſar* chaunged diuers colours, and ſhewed plainely by his countenance, that there was a maruellous alteration in all the parts of him. For, in the end when the Orator came to touch the battell of Pharſalia, then was *Cæſar* ſo troubled, that his bodie ſhooke withall, and beſides, certaine bookes he had, fell out of his handes, and he was driuen againſt his will to ſet *Ligarius* at libertie.

*Ciceroes life vnder Cæſar.*

Afterwardes, when the common wealth of ROME came to be a kingdome, *Cicero* leauing to practiſe any more in the ſtate, he gaue himſelfe to reade Philoſophie to the young men that came to heare him: by whoſe acceſſe vnto him (becauſe they were the chiefeſt of the nobilitie in ROME) he came againe to beare as great ſway and authoritie in ROME, as euer he had done before. His ſtudie and endeuour was, to write matters of Philoſophie dialogue wiſe, and to tranſlate out of Greeke into Latine, taking paines to bring all the Greeke wordes, which are proper vnto logicke and naturall cauſes, vnto Latin. For he was the firſt man by report that gaue Latin names vnto theſe Greeke words, which are proper vnto Philoſophers, as, φαντασία, he termed, *Viſio*. Κατάϑεσις *Aſſenſus*. Ἐποχὴ, *Aſſenſus cohibitio*. Κατάληψις, *Comprehenſio*. Τὸ ἄτομον *Corpus indiuiduum*. Τὸ ἀμερὲς *Corpus ſimplex*. Τὸ κενὸν *Vacuum*, & many other ſuch like words. But though he were not the firſt, yet was it he that moſt did deuiſe and vſe them, and turned ſome of them by tranſlation, others into proper termes: ſo that at length they came to be well taken, knowen, and vnderſtanded of euerie man. And for his readineſſe in writing of verſes, he would vſe them many times for his recreation: for it is reported, that whenſoeuer he tooke in hand to make any, he would diſpatch fiue hundred of thē in a night. Nowe, all that time of his recreation and pleaſure, he would commonly be at ſome of his houſes in the country, which he had neere vnto THVSCVLVM, from whence he would write vnto his friends, that he led *Laertes* life: either ſpoken merily as his maner was, or elſe pricked forward with ambition, deſiring to returne againe to be a practiſer in the common wealth, being wearie with the preſent time and ſtate thereof. How ſoeuer it was, he came oftentimes to ROME, only to ſee *Cæſar* to keepe him his friend, and would euer be the firſt man to confirme any honors decreed vnto him, and was alwaies ſtudious to vtter ſome newe matter to prayſe him and his doings. As that was he ſaide touching the ſtatues of *Pompey*, the which being ouerthrowen, *Cæſar* commaunded them to be ſet vp againe, and ſo they were. For *Cicero* ſaid, that by that curteſie in ſetting vp of *Pompeys* ſtatues againe, he did eſtabliſh his owne. So *Cicero* being determined to write all the ROMAINE hiſtorie, and to mingle with them many of the GRECIANS doings, adding thereunto all the fables and deuiſes which they doe write and report: he was hindered of his purpoſe againſt his will, by many open and priuate troubles that came vpon him at once: whereof notwithſtanding he himſelfe was cauſe of the moſt of them.

*Cicero did put away his wife Terentia.*

For firſt of all, he did put away his wife *Terentia*, becauſe ſhe had made but ſmall account of him in all the warres: ſo that he departed from ROME hauing no neceſſary thing with him to entertaine him out of his country, and yet when he came backe againe into ITALIE, ſhe neuer ſhewed any ſparke of loue or good will towardes him. For ſhe neuer came to BRVNDVSIVM to him, where he remained a long time: and worſe then that, his daughter hauing the heart to take ſo long a iorney in hand to goe to him, ſhe neither gaue her company to conduct her, nor money or other furniture conuenient for her, but ſo handled the matter, that *Cicero* at his returne to ROME found bare walles in his houſe and nothing in it, and yet greatly brought in debt beſides. And theſe were the honeſteſt cauſes alleaged for their diuorſe.

*Cicero maried a young maiden.*

But beſides that *Terentia* denyed all theſe, *Cicero* himſelfe gaue her a good occaſion to cleare her ſelfe, becauſe he ſhortly after maried a young maiden, being fallen in fancie with her (as *Terentia* ſaid) for her beautie: or, as *Tyro* his ſeruant wrote, for her riches, to the ende that with her goods he might pay his debts. For ſhe was very rich, and *Cicero* alſo was appointed her gardian, ſhe being left ſole heire. Now, becauſe he ought a maruelous ſumme of mony, his parents & friends did counſell him to marry this young maiden, notwithſtanding he was too old for her, becauſe that with her goods he might ſatisfie his creditors. But *Antonius* ſpeaking of this mariage of *Cicero*, in his anſwers & orations he made againſt the PHILIPPIANS: he doth reproue him for that he put away his wife, with whom he was growen olde, being merry with him by the way for that he had bene an idle man, and neuer went from the ſmoke of his chimney, nor had bene abroade in the warres in any ſeruice of his country or common wealth. Shortly after that he had maried his ſecond wife, his daughter died in labor of child, in *Lentulus* houſe, whoſe ſecond wife ſhe was, being before maried vnto *Piſo*, who was her firſt husband. So the Philoſophers and learned men came of all ſides to comfort him: but he tooke her death ſo ſorowfully, that he put away his ſecond wife, becauſe he thought ſhe did reioyce at the death of his daughter. And thus much touching the ſtate and troubles of his houſe.

*Cicero not made priuy to the conſpiracie againſt Cæſar.*

Now touching the conſpiracie againſt *Cæſar*, he was not made priuie to it, although he was one of *Brutus* greateſt friendes, and that it grieued him to ſee things in that ſtate they were brought vnto, and albeit alſo he wiſhed for the time paſt, as much as any other man did. But in deede the conſpirators were affraide of his nature, that lacked hardineſſe: and of his age, the which oftentimes maketh the ſtouteſt and moſt hardieſt natures, faint hearted & cowardly. Notwithſtanding, the conſpiracie being executed by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, *Cæſars* friends being gathered together, euerie man was affraide that the citie would againe fall into ciuill warres. And *Antonius* alſo, who was Conſull at that time, did aſſemble the Senate, and made ſome ſpeech and motion then to draw things againe vnto quietneſſe. But *Cicero* hauing vſed diuers perſwaſions fit for the time, in the ende he moued the Senate to decree (following the example of the ATHENIANS) a generall obliuion of things done againſt *Cæſar*, and to aſſigne vnto *Brutus* and *Caſſius* ſome gouernements of prouinces. Howbeit nothing was concluded: for the people of themſelues were ſorie, when they ſawe *Cæſars* bodie brought through the market place. And when *Antonius* alſo did ſhew them his gowne all bebloudied, cut, & thruſt through with ſwordes: then they were like madde men for anger, and ſought vp and downe the market place if they could meete with any of them that had ſlaine him: and taking fire brandes in their handes, they ranne to their houſes to ſet them a fire. But the conſpirators hauing preuented this danger, ſaued themſelues: and fearing that if they taried at ROME, they ſhould haue many ſuch alaroms, they forſooke the citie.

*Priuate grudge betwixt Antonius and Cicero.*

Then *Antonius* began to looke aloft, and became fearefull to all men, as though he ment to make himſelfe king: but yet moſt of all vnto *Cicero*, aboue all others. For *Antonius* perceiuing that *Cicero* began againe to increaſe in credit and authoritie, and knowing that he was *Brutus* very friend: he did miſlike to ſee him come neere him, and beſides, there was at that time ſome gealouſie betwixt them, for the diuerſitie and difference of their manners and diſpoſitions. *Cicero* being affraid of this, was firſt of all in minde to goe with *Dolabella* to his prouince of SYRIA, as one of his Lieutenants. But they that were appointed to be Conſuls the next yeare following after *Antonius*, two noble citizens, & *Ciceroes* great friends, *Hircius* & *Panſa*: they intreated him not to forſake them, vndertaking that they would plucke downe this ouergreat power of *Antonius*, ſo he would remaine with them. But *Cicero*, neither beleuing nor altogether miſtruſting them, forſooke *Dolabella*, and promiſed *Hircius* and *Panſa*, that he would ſpend the ſommer at ATHENS, and that he would returne againe to ROME ſo ſoone as they were entred into their Conſulſhippe. With this determination *Cicero* tooke ſea alone, to goe into GRECE. But as it chaunceth oftentimes, there was ſome let that kept him he could not ſaile, and newes came to him daily from ROME, as the manner is, that *Antonius* was wonderfully changed, and that now he did nothing any more without the authoritie and conſent of the Senate, and that there lacked nothing but his perſon, to make all things well. Then *Cicero* condemning his daſtardly feare, returned forthwith to ROME, not being deceiued in his firſt hope. For there came ſuch a number of people out to meete him, that he could doe nothing all day long, but take them by the handes, and imbrace them: who to honour him, came to meete him at the gate of the citie, as alſo by the way to bring him to his houſe. The next morning *Antonius* aſſembled the Senate, and called for *Cicero* by name. *Cicero* refuſed to goe, and kept his bedde, fayning that he was wearie with his iorney and paines he had taken the day before: but indeede, the cauſe why he went not, was, for feare and ſuſpition of an ambuſh that was laide for him by the way, if he had gone, as he was informed by one of his very good friends. *Antonius* was maruellouſly offended that they did wrongfully accuſe him, for laying of any ambuſh for him: and therefore ſent ſouldiers to his houſe, and commaunded them to bring him by force, or elſe to ſette his houſe a fire. After that time, *Cicero* and he were alwaies at iarre, but yet coldly enough, one of them taking heede of an other: vntill that the young *Cæſar* returning from the citie of APOLLONIA, came as lawfull heire vnto *Iulius Cæſar* Dictator, and had contention with *Antonius* for the ſumme of two thouſande fiue hundred Myriades, the which *Antonius* kept in his handes of his fathers goods. Thereupon, *Philip* who had married the mother of this young *Cæſar*, and *Marcellus*, who had alſo married his ſiſter, went with young *Cæſar* vnto *Cicero*, & there agreed together, that *Cicero* ſhould helpe young *Cæſar* with the fauour of his authoritie and eloquence, as well towardes the Senate, as alſo to the people: and that *Cæſar* in recompence of his good will ſhould ſtand by *Cicero*, with his money and ſouldiers. For this young *Cæſar*, had many of his fathers old ſouldiers about him, that had ſerued vnder him. Now there was an other cauſe that made *Cicero* glad to imbrace the friendſhippe of this young *Cæſar*, and that was this. Whileſt *Pompey* and *Iulius Cæſar* were aliue, and in good caſe: *Cicero* dreamed one night that the Senators ſonnes were called into the Capitoll, becauſe *Iupiter* had appointed to ſhew them him, that one day ſhould come to be Lord and king of ROME, and that the ROMAINES being deſirous to ſee who it ſhould be, ranne all vnto the temple: and that all the children likewiſe were waiting there in their goodly garded gownes of purple, vntill that ſodainely the dores of the temple were open, & then that all the children roſe one after an other, & went and paſſed by the image of *Iupiter*, who looked vpon them all, and ſent them diſcontented, ſauing this young *Cæſar*, vnto whom he put forth his hande as he paſſed by, and ſaide: My Lordes of ROME this child is he that ſhall end all your ciuill warres, when he commeth to be Lord of ROME. Some ſay, that *Cicero* had this viſion in his dreame, and that he caried in good memory the looke of this child, howbeit that he knew him not: and that the next morning he went of purpoſe into the field of *Mars*, where theſe young boyes did exerciſe them ſelues, who, when they came thither, had broken vp from playing, and were going home, and that amongſt them he firſt ſaw him whom he had dreamed of, and knew him very well, and muſing at him the more, aſked him whoſe ſonne he was. The boy anſwered, that he was the ſonne of one *Octauius* (a man otherwiſe of no great calling) & of *Accia*, the ſiſter of *Iulius Cæſar*: who hauing no childe, made him his heire by his laſt will and teſtament, and left him all

*Cicero ſaileth into Greece.*

*Ill will betwixt Cicero and Antonius.*

*Cicero & Octauius Cæſar ioyned in friendſhip.*

*Ciceroes dream of Octauius, adopted ſonne of Iulius Cæſar.*

*Octauius and Accia, the parents of Octauius Cæſar.*

his landes and goods. After that time, it is reported, that *Cicero* was very glad to ſpeake to him when he met with him, and that the boy alſo liked *Ciceroes* friendſhippe, and making of him: for by good happe the boy was borne the ſame yeare that *Cicero* was Conſull. And theſe be the reaſons alleaged, why *Cicero* did fauor this young *Cæſar*. But in truth, firſt of all the great malice he bare vnto ***Antonius***, and ſecondly his nature that was ambitious of honor, were (in my opinion) the chiefeſt cauſes why he became young *Cæſars* friend: knowing that the force and power of his ſouldiers, would greatly ſtrengthen his authoritie and countenance in manedging the affaires of the ſtate, beſides that the young man could flatter him ſo well, that he called him father. But ***Brutus*** being offended with him for it, in his Epiſtles he wrote vnto ***Atticus***, he ſharply reproueth *Cicero*, ſaying, that for feare of ***Antonius*** he flattered this young *Cæſar*: whereby it appeared, he did not ſo much ſeeke for the libertie of ROME, as he did procure himſelfe a louing and gentle maiſter. This notwithſtanding, ***Brutus*** brought with him *Ciceroes* ſonne that ſtudied Philoſophie at ATHENS, and gaue him charge of men vnder him and imployed him in great affaires, wherein he ſhewed himſelfe very forwarde and valiant. Now *Ciceroes* authoritie & power grew againe to be ſo great in ROME, as euer in was before. For he did what he thought good, and ſo vexed ***Antonius***, that he draue him out of the citie, and ſent the two Conſuls *Hircius* and *Panſa* againſt him, to fight with him: and cauſed the Senate alſo to decree, that young *Cæſar* ſhould haue ſergeantes to carie roddes and axes before him, and all other furniture for a Prætor, as a man that fighteth for his country. After that ***Antonius*** had loſt the battell, and that both the Conſuls were ſlaine, both the armies came vnto *Cæſar*. The Senate then being affraid of this young man, that had ſo great good fortune, they practiſed by honors and gifts to call the armies from him, which he had about him, and ſo to miniſh the greatneſſe of his power: ſaying, that their country now ſtood in no neede of force nor feare of defence, ſith her enemie ***Antonius*** was fled and gone. *Cæſar* fearing this, ſent men ſecretly vnto *Cicero*, to pray him to procure that they two together might be choſen Conſuls and that when they ſhould be in office, he ſhould doe and appoint what he thought good, hauing the young man at his commaundement, who deſired no more but the honor only of the name. *Cæſar* himſelfe confeſſed afterwardes, that being affraide he ſhould haue beene vtterly caſt away, to haue bene left alone: he finely ſerued his turne by *Ciceroes* ambition, hauing perſwaded him to require the Conſulſhip, through the helpe and aſſiſtance that he would giue him. But there was *Cicero* finely colted, as old as he was, by a young man, when he was contented to ſue for the Conſulſhip in his behalfe, and to make the Senate agreeable to it: wherefore his friends preſently reproued him for it, and ſhortly after he perceiued he had vndone himſelfe, and together alſo loſt the libertie of his countrie. For this young man ***Octauius Cæſar*** being growen to be very great by his meanes and procurement: when he ſaw that he had the Conſulſhip vpon him, he forſooke *Cicero*, and agreed with ***Antonius*** and ***Lepidus***. Then ioyning his armie with theirs, he deuided the Empire of ROME with them, as if it had bene lands left in common betwene them: and beſides that, there was a bill made of two hundred men and vpwards, whom they had appointed to be ſlaine. But the greateſt difficultie and difference that fell out betwene them, was about the outlawing of *Cicero*. For ***Antonius*** would hearken to no peace betwene them, vnleſſe *Cicero* were ſlaine firſt of all: ***Lepidus*** was alſo in the ſame mind with ***Antonius***: but *Cæſar* was againſt them both. Their meeting was by the citie of BOLONIA, where they continued three dayes together, they three only ſecretly conſulting in a place enuironed about with a litle riuer. Some ſay that *Cæſar* ſtucke hard with *Cicero* the two firſt dayes, but at the third, that he yeelded and forſooke him. The exchaunge they agreed vpon betwene them, was this. *Cæſar* forſooke *Cicero*: ***Lepidus***, his owne brother ***Paulus***: and ***Antonius***, ***Lucius Cæſar*** his vncle by the mothers ſide. Such place tooke wrath in them, as they regarded no kinred nor bloud, and to ſpeake more properly, they ſhewed that no brute or ſauage beaſt is ſo cruell as man, if with his licentiouſnes he haue libertie to execute his wil. While theſe matters were a brewing, *Cicero* was at a houſe of his in the country, by the city of THVSCVLVM, hauing at home with him alſo his brother *Q. Cicero*. Newes being brought them thither of theſe proſcriptions or outlawries, appointing men to be ſlaine: they determined to goe to ASTYRA, a place by the ſea ſide where *Cicero* had an other houſe, there to take

ſea,

*Octauius Cæſar was borne in the yeare of Ciceroes Conſulſhip.*

*Ciceroes great power at Rome*

*Octauius Cæſar ſueth to be Conſull.*

*Octauius Cæſar forſaketh Cicero.*

*Note the fickleneſſe of youth.*

*The meeting of the Triumuiri: Antonius, Lepidus, Octauius Cæſar.*

*Cicero appointed to be ſlaine*

ſea, and from thence to goe into MACEDON vnto *Brutus*. For there ranne a rumor that *Brutus* was very ſtrong, and had a great power. So, they cauſed themſelues to be conueyed thither in two litters, both of them being ſo weake with ſorrow and griefe, that they could not otherwiſe haue gone their waies. As they were on their way, both their litters going as neere to ech other as they could, they bewailed their miſerable eſtate: but *Quintus* chiefly, who tooke it moſt grieuouſly. For, remembring that he tooke no money with him when he came from his houſe, and that *Cicero* his brother alſo had very litle for himſelfe: he thought it beſt that *Cicero* ſhould holde on his iorney, whileſt he himſelfe made an arrant home to fetch ſuch things as he lacked, and ſo to make haſte againe to ouertake his brother. They both thought it beſt ſo, and then tenderly imbracing one an other, the teares falling from their eyes, they tooke leaue of each other. Within few daies after, *Quintus Cicero* being betrayed by his owne ſeruants, vnto them that made ſearch for him: he was cruelly ſlaine, and his ſonne with him.

*Quintus Cicero ſlaine.*

But *Marcus Tullius Cicero* being caried vnto ASTYRA, and there finding a ſhippe ready, imbarked immediatly, and ſayled alongſt the coaſt vnto mount Circe, hauing a good gale of winde. There the mariners determining forthwith to make ſaile againe, he came a ſhore, either for feare of the ſea, or for that he had ſome hope that *Cæſar* had not altogether forſaken him: and therewithall returning towardes ROME by land, he had gone about a hundred furlong thence. But then being at a ſtraight how to reſolue, and ſodainely chaunging his minde: he would needes be caried backe againe to the ſea, where he continued all night maruellous ſorowfull, and full of thoughts. For one while he was in minde to goe ſecretly vnto *Octauius Cæſars* houſe, & to kill himſelfe by the hearth of his chimney, to make the furies of hell to reuenge his bloud: but being affraid to be intercepted by the way, & cruelly handled, he turned from that determination. Then falling into other vnaduiſed determinations, being perplexed as he was, he put himſelfe againe into his ſeruantes handes, to be conueyed by ſea to an other place called *CAPITES. There he had a very proper pleaſant ſommer houſe, where the North windes, called Eteſiæ, doe giue a trimme freſh aire in the ſommer ſeaſon.

** Some doe read Caiete.*

In that place alſo there is a litle temple dedicated vnto *Apollo*, not farre from the ſea ſide. From thence there came a great ſhole of crowes, making a maruellous noyſe, that came flying towards *Ciceroes* ſhippe, which rowed vpon the ſhore ſide. This ſhole of crowes came and lighted vppon the yard of their ſaile, ſome crying, and ſome pecking the cords with their bils: ſo that euery man iudged ſtraight, that this was a ſigne of ill lucke at hand.

*A wonderous matter foreſhewed by crowes vnto Cicero.*

*Cicero* notwithſtanding this, came a ſhore, and went into his houſe, and laide him downe to ſee if he could ſleepe. But the moſt part of theſe crowes came and lighted vpon the chamber windowe where he lay, making a wonderfull great noyſe: and ſome of them got vnto *Ciceroes* bedde where he lay, the clothes being caſt ouer his head, and they neuer left him, till by litle and litle they had with their bils pluckt off the clothes that couered his face. His men ſeeing that, and ſaying to themſelues that they were too vile beaſts, if they would tarie to ſee their maſter ſlaine before their eyes, conſidering that brute beaſts had care to ſaue his life, ſeeing him ſo vnworthily intreated, and that they ſhould not doe the beſt they could to ſaue his life: partly by intreatie, and partly by force, they put him againe into his litter to carie him to the ſea. But in the meane time came the murderers appointed to kil him, *Herennius* a Centurion, and *Popilius Læna*, Tribune of the ſouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thouſande men, whoſe cauſe *Cicero* had once pleaded before the Iudges, when he was accuſed for the murther of his owne father) hauing ſouldiers attending vpon them.

*Herennius, & Popilius, ſent to kill M. T. Cicero.*

So *Ciceroes* gate being ſhut, they entred the houſe by force, and miſſing him, they asked them of the houſe what was become of him. They aunſwered, they could not tell. Howbeit there was a young boy in the houſe called *Philologus*, a ſlaue infranchiſed by *Quintus Cicero*, whom *Tullius Cicero* had brought vp in the Latin tongue, and had taught him the liberall ſciences: he tolde this *Herennius*, that his ſeruants caried him in a litter towardes the ſea, through darke narrowe lanes, ſhadowed with wood on either ſide. *Popilius* the Colonell taking ſome ſouldiers with him, ranne about on the outſide of the lanes to take him at his comming out of them: and *Herennius* on the other ſide entred the lanes. *Cicero* hearing him comming, commaunded his men to ſet downe his litter, and taking his beard in his left hande, as

*M. T. Cicero ſlaine by Herennius.*

his manner was, he ſtoutly looked the murtherers in the faces, his head and beard being all white, and his face leane and wrinckled, for the extreame ſorrowes he had taken: diuerſe of them that were by, helde their handes before their eyes, whileſt *Herennius* did cruelly murder him. So *Cicero* being three ſcore and foure yeares of age, thruſt his necke out of the litter, and had his head cut off by *Antonius* commandement, and his hands alſo, which wrote the orations (called the Philippians) againſt him. For ſo did *Cicero* call the orations he wrote againſt him, for the malice he bare him: and doe yet continue the ſame name vntill this preſent time. When theſe poore diſmembred members were brought to ROME, *Antonius* by chaunce was buſily occupied at that time about the election of certaine officers: who when he heard of them and ſaw them, he cried out aloude that now all his outlawries and proſcriptions were executed: and thereupon commaunded his head and his handes ſhould ſtraight be ſet vp ouer the pulpit for orations, in the place called Roſtra. This was a fearefull and horrible ſight vnto the ROMAINES, who thought they ſaw not *Ciceroes* face, but an image of *Antonius* life and diſpoſition: who among ſo many wicked deedes as he committed, yet he did one act onely that had ſome ſhew of goodneſſe, which was this. He deliuered *Philologus* into the hands of *Pomponia*, the wife of *Quintus Cicero*: and when ſhe had him, beſides other cruell torments ſhe made him abide, ſhe compelled him to cut his owne fleſh off by litle morſels, and to broyle them, and then to eate them. Some hiſtoriographers do thus report it. But *Tyro* who was a ſlaue infranchiſed by *Cicero*, made no mention of the treaſon of this *Philologus*. Howbeit I vnderſtood that *Cæſar Auguſtus* long time after that, went one day to ſee one of his Nephewes, who had a booke in his hande of *Ciceroes*: and he fearing leaſt his Vncle would be angrie to finde that booke in his handes, thought to hide it vnder his gowne. *Cæſar* ſaw it, and tooke it from him, and read the moſt part of it ſtanding, and then deliuered it to the young boy, and ſaide vnto him: he was a wiſe man in deede, my childe, and loued his countrie well. After he had ſlaine *Antonius*, being Conſull: he made *Ciceroes* ſonne his colleague and fellow Conſull with him, in whoſe time the Senate ordained that the images of *Antonius* ſhould be throwen downe, and depriued his memory of all other honors: adding further vnto his decree, that from thence foorth none of the houſe and family of the *Antonij* ſhould euer after beare the chriſten name of *Marcus*. So, Gods iuſtice made the extreame reuenge and puniſhment of *Antonius* to fall into the houſe of *Cicero*.

*Ciceroes head and hands ſet vp ouer the pulpit for orations.*

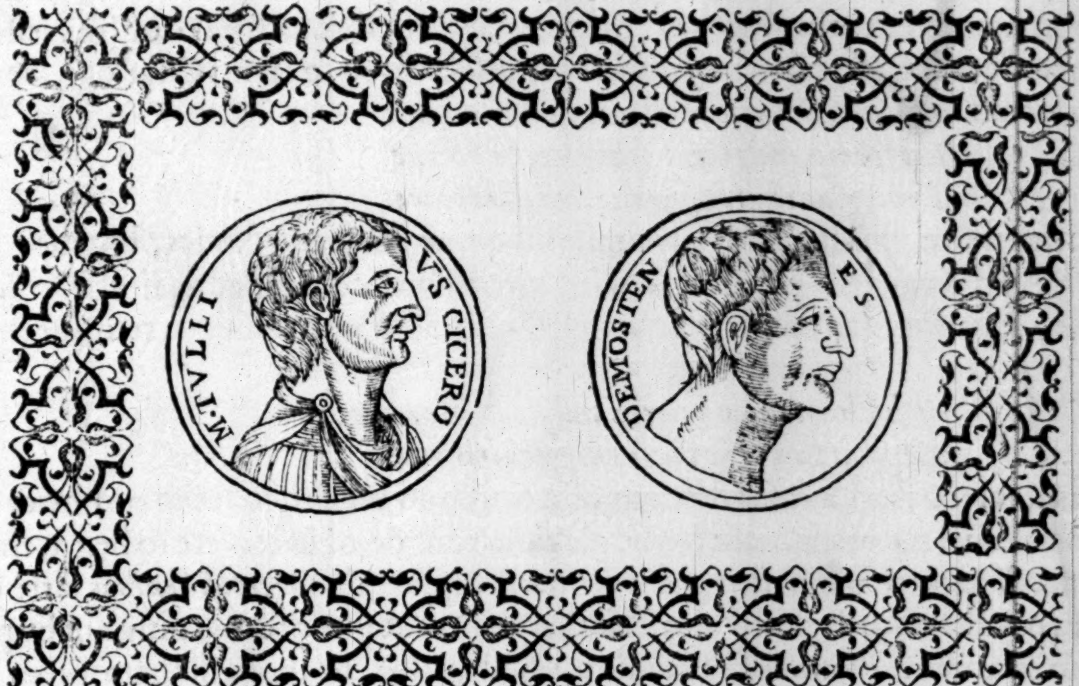
*A ſtrange and cruell puniſhment taken by Pomponia (Quintus Ciceroes wife) of Philologus for betraying of his maiſter.*

*Auguſtus Cæſars teſtimony of Cicero.*

*Ciceroes ſonne Conſull with Auguſtus Cæſar.*

*The decree of the Senate againſt Antonius being dead.*

# THE COMPARISON OF *Cicero with Demoſthenes.*



THis is as much as we could gather by our knowledge touching the notable actes and deedes worthy of memory, written of *Cicero* and *Demoſthenes*. Furthermore, leauing the compariſon a ſide of the difference of their eloquence in their Orations: me thinkes I may ſay thus much of them. That *Demoſthenes* did wholly imploy all his wit and learning (naturall or artificiall) vnto the art of Rethoricke, and that in force, and vertue of eloquence, he did excell all the Orators in his time: and for grauity and magnificent ſtile, all thoſe alſo that onely write for ſhew or oſtentation: and for ſharpeneſſe and art, all the Sophiſters and Maiſters of Rethoricke. And that *Cicero* was a man generally learned in all ſciences, and that had ſtudied diuerſe bookes, as appeareth plainely by the ſundry bookes of Philoſophy of his owne making, written after the manner of the Academicke Philoſophers. Furthermore, they may ſee in his Orations he wrote in certaine cauſes to ſerue him when he pleaded: that he ſought occaſions in his by-talke to ſhew men that he was excellently well learned. Furthermore, by their phraſes a man may diſcerne ſome ſparke of their manners and conditions. For *Demoſthenes* phraſe hath no maner of fineneſſe, geaſtes, nor grace in it, but is altogether graue and harſhe, and ſmelleth not of the lampe, as *Pytheas* ſaied when he mocked him: but ſheweth a great drinker of water, extreame paines, and therewith alſo a ſharpe and ſower nature. But *Cicero* oftentimes fell from pleaſaunt tauntes, vnto plaine ſcurrility: and turning all his pleadings of matters of importaunce, to ſport and laughter, hauing a grace in it, many times he did forget the comlineſſe that became a man of his calling. As in his Oration for *Cælius*, where he ſayeth, it is no maruell if in ſo great aboundance of wealth and fineneſſe he giue him ſelfe a litle to take his pleaſure: and that it was a folly not to vſe pleaſures lawfull and tollerable, ſith the famouſeſt Philoſophers that euer were, did place the chiefe felicity of man, to be in pleaſure. And it is reported alſo that *Marcus Cato* hauing accuſed *Muræna*, *Cicero* being Conſull, defended his cauſe, and in his Oration pleaſauntly girded all the ſect of the Stoicke Philoſophers for *Catoes* ſake, for the ſtraunge opinions they holde, which they call Paradoxes: inſomuch as he made all the people and Iudges alſo fall a laughing a good. And *Cato* him ſelfe alſo ſmiling a litle, ſayed vnto them that ſate by him: what a laughing and mocking Conſull haue we, my Lords? but letting that paſſe, it ſeemeth that *Cicero* was of a pleaſaunt and merry nature: for his face ſhewed euer great life and mirth in it. Whereas in *Demoſthenes* countenaunce on the other ſide, they might diſcerne a maruellous

*Demoſthenes eloquence.*

*Ciceroes rare and diuerſe doctrines.*

*Demoſthenes and Ciceroes manners.*

diligence and care, and a penſiue man, neuer weary with paine: inſomuch that his enemies, (as he reporteth him ſelfe) called him a peruerſe and froward man. Furthermore, in their writings is diſcerned, that the one ſpeaketh modeſtly in his owne praiſe, ſo as no man can iuſtly be offended with him: and yet not alwayes, but when neceſſity enforceth him for ſome matter of great importaunce, but otherwiſe very diſcreete and modeſt to ſpeake of him ſelfe. *Cicero* in contrary maner, vſing too often repetition of one ſelfe thing in all his Orations, ſhewed an extreame ambition of glorie, when inceſſantly he cried out:

*Demoſthenes modeſt in praiſing of himſelf: Cicero too full of oſtentation.*

*Let ſpeare and ſhield giue place to gowne,*
*And giue the tongue the laurell crowne.*

Yea furthermore, he did not onely praiſe his owne actes and deedes, but the Orations alſo which he had written or pleaded, as if he ſhould haue contended againſt *Iſocrates*, or *Anaximenes*, a maiſter that taught Rethoricke, and not to goe about to reforme the people of ROME:

*VVhich were both fierce and ſtout in armes,*
*And fit to worke their enemies harmes.*

*Demoſthenes and Ciceroes cunning in their Orations in the common wealth.*

*Authority ſheweth ment vertues and vices.*

*Ciceroes abſtinence from money.*

*Demoſthenes a money taker.*

For, as it is requiſite for a Gouernour of a common wealth to ſeeke authority by his eloquence: ſo, to couet the praiſe of his owne glorious tongue, or as it were to beg it, that ſheweth a baſe mind. And therefore in this point we muſt confeſſe that *Demoſthenes* is farre grauer, and of a nobler minde: who declared him ſelfe, that all his eloquence came only but by practiſe, the which alſo required the fauor of his auditory: and further, he thought them fooles and madde men (as in deede they be no leſſe) that therefore would make any boaſt of them ſelues. In this they were both alike, that both of them had great credit and authority in their Orations to the people, and for obtayning that they would propound: Inſomuch as Captaines, and they that had armies in their hands, ſtood in neede of their eloquence. As *Chares*, *Diopithes*, and *Leoſthenes*, they all were holpen of *Demoſthenes*: and *Pompey*, and *Octauius Cæſar* the yong man, of *Cicero*: as *Cæſar* him ſelfe confeſſeth in his Commentaries he wrote vnto *Agrippa*, and *Mæcenas*. But nothing ſheweth a mans nature and condition more, (as it is reported, and ſo is it true) then when one is in authority: for that bewraieth his humor, and the affections of his minde, and layeth open alſo all his ſecret vices in him. *Demoſthenes* could neuer deliuer any ſuch proofe of him ſelfe, becauſe he neuer bare any office, nor was called forward. For hee was not Generall of the army, which he him ſelfe had prepared againſt king *Philip*. *Cicero* on the other ſide being ſent Treaſurer into CICILE, and Proconſull into CILICIA and CAPPADOCIA, in ſuch a time as couetouſnes raigned moſt: (inſomuch that the Captains and Gouernors whom they ſent to gouerne their prouinces, thinking it villany and daſtardlineſſe to rob, did violently take things by force, at what time alſo to take bribes was reckonned no ſhame, but to handle it diſcreetly, he was the better thought of, and beloued for it) he ſhewed plainely that he regarded not money, and gaue foorth many proofes of his curteſie and goodneſſe. Furthermore, *Cicero* being created Conſull by name, but Dictator in deede, hauing abſolute power and authority ouer all things to ſuppreſſe the rebellion and conſpirators of *Catiline*: he proued *Platoes* prophecy true, which was: That the cities are ſafe from danger, when the chiefe Magiſtrates and Gouernours (by ſome good diuine fortune) doe gouerne with wiſedome and iuſtice. *Demoſthenes* was reproued for his corruption, and ſelling of his eloquence: becauſe ſecretly he wrote one Oration for *Phormio*, and an other in the ſelfe ſame matter for *Apollodorus*, they being both aduerſaries. Further, he was defamed alſo for receiuing money of the king of PERSIA, and therewithall condemned for the money which he had taken of *Harpalus*. And though ſome peraduenture would obiect, that the reports thereof (which are many) doe lye: yet they can not poſſibly deny this, that *Demoſthenes* had no power to refrain from looking of the preſents which diuers kings did offer him, praying him to accept them in good part for their ſakes: neither was that the part of a man that did take vſury by trafficke on the ſea, the extreameſt yet of all other. In contrary manner (as we haue ſaied before) it is certaine that *Cicero* being Treaſurer, refuſed the gifts which the SICILIANS offered him, there: and the preſents alſo which the king of the CAPPADOCIANS offred him whileſt he was Proconſull in CILICIA, and thoſe eſpecially which his friends preſſed vpon him to take of them, being a great ſumme of money, when he went as a baniſhed man out of Rome. Furthermore, the baniſhment of the one was infamous to him, becauſe by iudgement he was baniſhed as a theefe. The baniſhment of the other was for as honorable an act as euer he did, being baniſhed for ridding his countrey of wicked men. And therefore of *Demoſthenes*, there was no ſpeach after he was gone: but for *Cicero*, all the Senate chaunged their apparell into blacke, and determined that they would paſſe no decree by their authority, before *Ciceroes* baniſhment was reuoked by the people. In deede *Cicero* idlely paſſed his time of baniſhment, and did nothing all the while he was in Macedon: and one of the chiefeſt actes that *Demoſthenes* did, in all the time that he dealt in the affaires of the common wealth, was in his baniſhment. For he went into euery city, and did aſſiſt the Ambaſſadours of the Grecians, and refuſed the Ambaſſadours of the Macedonians. In the which he ſhewed him ſelfe a better citizen, then either *Themiſtocles*, or *Alcibiades*, in their like fortune and exile. So when he was called home, and returned, hee fell againe to his olde trade which he practiſed before, and was euer againſt *Antipater*, and the Macedonians. Where *Lælius* in open Senate ſharpely tooke vp *Cicero*, for that he ſate ſtill and ſayed nothing, when that *Octauius Cæſar* the young man made petition againſt the law, that he might ſue for the Conſulſhippe, and being ſo young, that he had neuer a haire on his face. And *Brutus* ſelfe alſo doth greatly reproue *Cicero* in his letters, for that he hadde maintained and nouriſhed, a more grieuous and greater tyranny, then that which they had put downe. And laſt of all, me thinketh the death of *Cicero* moſt pittifull, to ſee an old man caried vp and downe, (with tender loue of his ſeruauntes) ſeeking all the waies that might be to flie death, which did not long preuent his naturall courſe: and in the end, old as he was, to ſee his head ſo pittifully cut off. Whereas *Demoſthenes*, though he yeelded a litle, intreating him that came to take him: yet for that he had prepared the poyſon long before, that he had kept it long, and alſo vſed it as he did, he can not but be maruellouſly commended for it. For ſith the god *Neptune* denied him the benefite of his ſanctuarie, he betooke him to a greater, and that was death: whereby he ſaued him ſelfe out of the ſouldiers handes of the tyraunt, and alſo ſcorned the blouddy cruelty of *Antipater*.

*Diuers cauſes of the baniſhment of Demoſthenes and Cicero.*

*The difference betwixt Demoſthenes and Ciceroes death.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Demetrius.*

DEMETRIVS MACED REX

*How ſences and arts do agree & differ.*

WHo firſt likened arts to our ſenſes, ſeemeth to haue reſpected eſpecially that one property of them both, in receiuing obiects of contrary quality: for, in the vſe and end of their operation, there is great difference. The ſenſes receiue indifferently, without diſcretion and iudgement, white and blacke, ſweete and ſower, ſoft and hard: for their office is only to admit their ſeuerall obiects, and to cary and referre the iudgement thereof to the common ſenſe. But artes being the perfection of reaſon, receiue and allow thoſe things only which make for their operatiõ, regarding and eſchewing the contraries. The one chiefly, and for vſe: the other by the way, and with intent to auoide them. So Phiſicke dealeth with diſeaſes, Muſicke with diſcords, to the end to remoue them, and worke their contraries, & the great Ladies of all other artes. Temperance, iuſtice, and wiſedome, doe not onely conſider honeſty, vprightnes, and profit: but examine withall, the nature and effects of lewdnes, corruption, and damage. And innocency, which vaunteth her want of experience in vndue practiſes: men call ſimplicity, and ignorance of things, that be neceſſary and good to be knowen. And therefore the ancient LACEDÆMONIANS in their ſolemne feaſtes forced their ILOTES the bondmen, to ouercharge themſelues with wine: and ſuch they ſhewed them vnto their youth, by the apparant beaſtlines of drunken men, to work in them an abhorring of ſo lothſome vice. Wherein, although I can not much praiſe them for humanity or wiſdome, that corrupt and ſpoile one man, by example of him, to correct and reclaime an other: yet (as I hope) it ſhall not be reprehended in me, if amongeſt the reſt I put in one or two paire of ſuch, as liuing in great place and accompt, haue increaſed their fame with infamy. Which in trueth, I do not, to pleaſe & draw on the reader with variety of report: but as *Iſmenias* the THEBAN Muſitian ſhewed his ſchollers, both thoſe that ſtrake a cleane ſtroke, with, do ſo, and ſuch as bungled it, with, doe not ſo: and *Antigenidas* thought men ſhould like better, & with greater deſire contend for skil, if they heard and diſcerned vntuneable notes: ſo thinke I, we ſhall be the forwarder in reading and following the good, if we know the liues, and ſee the deformity of the wicked. This treaty containeth the liues of *Demetrius*, ſurnamed the Fortgainer, and *M. Anthony* the Triumuir, and great examples to confirme the ſaying of *Plato*: That from great minds, both great vertues and great vices do proceed. They were both giuen ouer to women & wine, both valiant & liberal, both ſumptuous and high minded, fortune ſerued thẽ both alike, not only in the courſe of their

*The maner of the Spartans to make their ſlaues drunke.*

*The cauſe of deſcribing the liues of the wicked.*

*Plato of vertue and vice.*

liues, in attempting great matters, ſometimes with good, ſomtimes with ill ſucceſſe, in getting and loſing things of great conſequence, ouerthrowing both when they feared not, reſtoring both when they hoped not. But alſo in their end there was no great difference, the one brought to his death by his mortall enemies, and the others fortune not much vnlike. But now to our hiſtory. *Antigonus* had two ſonnes by his wife *Stratonice*, the daughter of *Corraus*, the one of them he named *Demetrius*, and the other *Philip*, after his fathers name. Thus farre the moſt writers doe agree: howbeit ſome hold opinion, that *Demetrius* was not the ſonne of *Antigonus*, but his Nephew. But becauſe his father died leauing him a childe, and that his mother was ſtraight maried againe vnto *Antigonus*: thereupon came the report that he was *Antigonus* ſonne. Howſoeuer it was, *Philip*, that was not much younger then *Demetrius*, died. Now for *Demetrius*, though he was a very bigge man, he was nothing ſo high as his father, but yet ſo paſſing and wonderfull faire, that no painter could poſſibly draw his picture and counterfeate to his likenes. For they ſaw a ſweete countenaunce, mixed with a kinde of grauity in his face, a feare with curteſie, and an incomparable Princely maieſty accompanied with a liuely ſpirit and youth; and his witte and manners were ſuch, that they were both fearefull, and pleaſaunt vnto men that frequented him. For as he was moſt pleaſaunt in company hauing leyſure, and moſt giuen to banketting, pleaſant life, and more wantonly giuen to follow any luſt and pleaſure, then any king that euer was: yet was he alwayes very carefull and diligent in diſpatching matters of importance. And therefore he maruellouſly commended, and alſo endeuoured to follow *Dionyſius*, (as much to ſay, as *Bacchus*) aboue all the other goddes, as he that had beene a wiſe and valiant Captaine in warre, and that in peace inuented and vſed all the pleaſure that might be. He maruellouſly loued and reuerenced his father, and it ſeemeth that the duetifulnes he ſhewed vnto his mother, was more to diſcharge the due obedience and duety of a ſonne, then otherwiſe to entertaine his father, for feare of his power, or hope to be his heire. And for proofe hereof we read, that one day as he came home from hunting, he went vnto his father *Antigonus*, giuing audience to certaine Ambaſſadors, and after he had done his duetie to him, and kiſſed him: he ſate downe by him euen as he came from hunting, hauing his dartes in his hand, which he caried out a hunting with him. Then *Antigonus* calling the Ambaſſadors aloude as they went their way, hauing receiued their aunſwere: my Lords, ſaid he, you ſhall cary home this report of my ſonne and me, be witneſſes I pray you, how wee liue one with another. As meaning to ſhew thereby, that the agreement betwixt the father and the ſonne together, is a great ſafety to the affaires of a king, as alſo a manifeſt proofe of his greatneſſe: ſo iealous is a king to haue a companion, beſides the hate and miſtruſt it ſhould breede. So that the greateſt Prince and moſt auncienteſt of all the ſucceſſors of *Alexander*, boaſted that he ſtoode not in feare of his ſonne, but did ſuffer him to ſitte by him, hauing a dart in his hand. So was this houſe onely of all other the MACEDONIAN kings, leaſt defiled with ſuch villany, many ſucceſſions after: and to confeſſe a troth, in all *Antigonus* race there was not one, but *Philip* onely, that ſlue his owne ſonne. But we haue many examples of diuers other houſes of kings, that haue put their ſonnes, wiues, and mothers to death: and for their brethren, it was an ordinary thing with them to kill them, and neuer ſticke at it. For like as Geometricians would haue men graunt them certaine propoſitions which they ſuppoſe without proofe: euen ſo was this holden for a generall rule, to kill their brethren, for the ſafety of their eſtate. But further, to ſhew you more plainely that *Demetrius* was of a noble and curteous nature, and that he dearely loued his friendes: we may alleadge this example. *Mithridates*, the ſonne of *Ariobarzanes*, was his familiar friend and companion (for they were both in manner of an age) and he commonly followed *Antigonus* court, and neuer practiſed any villany or treaſon to him, neither was he thought ſuch a man: yet *Antigonus* did ſomewhat ſuſpect him, becauſe of a dreame he had. He thought that being in a goodly great field, he ſowed of theſe ſcrapings of gold, and that of that ſeede, firſt of all came vp goodly wheate which had eares of gold: howbeit that ſhortly after returning that way againe, he found nothing but the ſtraw, and the eares of the wheate cut off, and that he being angry and very ſory for it, ſome tolde him that *Mithridates* had cut off theſe golden eares of wheate, and had caried them with him into the realme of PONT. *Antigonus* being maruellouſly troubled with this dream, after he had

*Demetrius parentage.*

*The death of Philip the yonger brother of Demetrius.*

*Demetrius beauty.*

*Demetrius manners.*

*Demetrius loue to his father.*

*A king can abide no equall.*

*The ſport of the Eaſt kings was to kill their own children, wiues and mothers.*

*Demetrius curteſie.*

*Antigonus dreame.*

made his ſonne ſweare vnto him that he would make no man aliue priuy to that he would tell him: he told him all his dreame what he had dreamed, and therewith that he was determined to put this young man *Mithridates* to death. *Demetrius* was maruellous ſory for it, and therefore the next morning, this young noble Prince going as he was wont to paſſe the time away with *Mithridates*, he durſt not by word of mouth vtter that he knew, becauſe of his oth: howbeit, taking him aſide from his other familiars, when they were both together by them ſelues, he wrote on the ground with the end of his dart, *Mithridates* looking on him: flie *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* found ſtraight what he ment, and fled the very ſame night into Cappadocia: and ſhortly after it was his deſtiny to fulfill *Antigonus* dreame. For he conquered manie goodly countries, and it was he only that eſtabliſhed the houſe of the kingdome of Pont, the which the Romaines afterwardes ouerthrew, about the eight ſucceſſion. By theſe examples we may eaſily coniecture the good nature and curteſie of *Demetrius*. For like as the elementes (according to *Empedocles* opinion) are euer at * ſtrife together, but ſpecially thoſe that are neareſt each to other: euen ſo, though all the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* were at continual warres together, yet was it ſooneſt kindled, and moſt cruell betweene them which bordered neareſt vnto each other, and that by being neare neighbours, had alwaies occaſion of brawle together, as fell out at that time betweene *Antigonus* and *Ptolomy*. This *Antigonus* lay moſt commonly in the countrey of Phrygia: who hauing intelligence that *Ptolomy* was gone into Cyprus, and that he ouerranne all Syria, winning by force, or faire meanes, all the townes and cities ſubiect vnto them: he ſent his ſonne *Demetrius* thither, being at that time but two and twenty yeares of age, and it was the firſt time that euer he tooke charge as generall to his father, in matters of great importaunce. But he being a young man, and that had no skill of warres, fighting a battell with an old ſouldier (trained vp in the diſcipline of warres vnder *Alexander* the great, and that through him, and in his name, had fought many great battels) was ſoone ouerthrowen, and his army put to flight, by the city of Gaza. At which ouerthrow were ſlaine fiue thouſand men, and almoſt eight thouſand taken: and beſides, *Demetrius* loſt his tents and pauilions, his gold and ſiluer, and to be ſhort, all his whole cariage. But *Ptolomy* ſent him all his things againe, and his friendes alſo that were taken after the battell, with great curteous wordes: that he would not fight with them for all things together, but onely for honor, and Empire. *Demetrius* receiuing them at his handes, beſought the gods that hee might not long liue a debter vnto *Ptolomy* for this great curteſie, but that he might quickly requite it with the like again. Now *Demetrius* tooke not this ouerthrow like a yong man, though it was his firſt ſouldierfare: but like an olde and wiſe Captaine, that had abidden many ouerthrowes, he vſed great diligence to gather men againe to make new armors, and to keepe the cities and countries in his handes vnder obedience, and did traine and exerciſe his ſouldiers in armes, whom he had gathered together. *Antigonus* hauing newes of the ouerthrow of his ſon *Demetrius*, ſaid no more, but that *Ptolomy* had ouercome beardles men: and that afterwardes he ſhould fight with bearded men. But now, becauſe he would not diſcorage his ſonne altogether, who craued leaue once againe to fight a battell with *Ptolomy*: he graunted him. So, ſhortly after came *Cilles*, *Ptolomyes* generall, with a great puiſant army, to driue him altogether out of Syria. For they made no great accompt of *Demetrius*, becauſe he had bene once ouerthrowen before. Howbeit *Demetrius* ſtale vpon him, gaue him charge on the ſodaine, and made him ſo afraid, that he tooke both the campe, and the generall, with ſeuen thouſand priſoners beſides, and wanne a maruellous treaſure of money: which made him a glad man, not ſo much for the gaine he ſhould haue by it, as for the oportunity hee had thereby to come out of *Ptolomyes* debt, nothing regarding the treaſure nor the honour he had gotten by this victory, but onely the benefite of this requitall of *Ptolomyes* curteſie towardes him. But yet he did nothing of his owne head, before he had written to his father: and then receiuing full graunt and commiſſion from him to diſpoſe of all things as he thought good, he ſent backe *Cilles* vnto *Ptolomy*, and al his other friends beſides, with great and rich gifts which he bountifully beſtowed on them. This misfortune and ouerthrow did vtterly put *Ptolomy* out of all Syria, and brought *Antigonus* alſo from the city of Celænes, for the exceeding ioy he had of this victory, as alſo for the great deſire he had to ſee his ſonne. After that, he ſent *Demetrius* into Arabia, againſt a people

*Demetrius ſaueth Mithridates life.*

*Mithridates king of Pont.*

** Becauſe he ſayd, that loue and diſcord were euer the efficient cauſes of generation and corruption of all things.*

*Enmity betwixt Antigonus and Ptolomy.*

*Demetrius generall to Antigonus, againſt Ptolomy.*

*Demetrius ouerthrowen in battell by Ptolomy.*

*The bountifulnes of Ptolomie the conqueror, vnto Demetrius conquered.*

*Demetrius victory of Ptolomy.*

*Demetrius thankefulnes vnto Ptolomy.*

people called the NABATHÆIANS, to conquer them: but there he was in great daunger and diſtreſſe in the deſerts for lacke of water, howbeit he neuer ſhewed any ſigne that he was afraid. Thereby he ſo aſtonied the barbarous people, that he had leaſure enough to retire with ſafety, and with a great bootie of a thouſand camels, which he brought away with him. About that time *Seleucus* (whom *Antigonus* had driuen from BABYLON) returning thither againe, he came and conquered it without other ayd then of himſelfe: and went with a great armie againſt the people and nations confining vpon the INDIANS, and the prouinces adioyning vnto mount Caucaſus, to conquer them. Thereupon *Demetrius* hoping to find MESOPOTAMIA without any gard or defence, ſodainly paſſed ouer the riuer of Euphrates, & came vnlooked for vnto BABYLON, & there diſtreſſed the garriſon of *Seleucus*, that kept one of the caſtells or citadels of the citie, being two of them: and then putting in ſeuen thouſand ſouldiers to keepe them, he commanded the reſt of his men to get what they could, and to bring it away with them. After that he marched towardes the ſea to returne home, leauing thereby the Realme and kingdome of *Seleucus* in better ſtate and ſafetie, then it was when he inuaded it. For it appeared that he had taken all the coūtrie from *Seleucus*, leauing him nothing in it, by ſpoyling and foraging all that was there. At his returne home, newes were brought him that *Ptolomy* lay at the ſiege of the citie of HALYCARNASSVS: whereupon he drew thither with ſpeed to make him raiſe the ſiege, and thereby ſaued the citie from him. Now becauſe by this exploite they wanne great fame, both of them (*Antigonus* and *Demetrius*) fell into a maruellous deſire to ſet all GRECE at libertie, the which *Ptolomy* and *Caſſander* kept in ſeruitude and bondage. Neuer king tooke in hand a more honorable nor iuſter warre and enterpriſe, then that was. For, what power or riches he could gather together, in oppreſſing of the barbarous people: he beſtowed it all in reſtoring the GRECIANS to their libertie, and onely to winne fame and honor by it. So, they being in conſultation what way to take, to bring their purpoſe and deſire to paſſe, and hauing taken order to begin firſt at ATHENS: one of *Antigonus* chiefeſt friends about him, told him that he ſhould take the citie, and place a good garriſon there for themſelues, if they could once winne it: for, ſaid he, it will be a good bridge to paſſe further into all GRECE. *Antigonus* would not harken to that, but ſaid, that the loue and good will of men was a ſurer bridge, & that the citie of ATHENS was as a beacon to all the land, the which would immediatly make his doings ſhine through the world, as a creſſet light, vpon the toppe of a keepe or watch tower. Thus *Demetrius* hoyſed ſaile, hauing fiue thouſand ſiluer talents, and a fleete of two hundred and fiftie ſaile, and ſailed towardes the citie of ATHENS: in the which *Demetrius* PHALERIAN was gouernor in the behalf of *Caſſander*, & kept a great ſtrong garriſon there within the hauen and caſtle of MVNICHEA. He had an excellent good winde to further his iorney, ſo that with his good foreſight and ſpeede he made, he arriued in the hauen of PIRÆA, the fiue and twentie day of the moneth Thargelion (now called May) before any man knew of his comming. Now when this fleete was within a kenning of the city, and leſſe, that they might eaſily ſee them from thence: euery man prepared him ſelfe to receiue them, taking them to be *Ptolomyes* ſhippes. But in fine, the Captaines and gouernours vnderſtanding too late who they were, did what they could to helpe them ſelues: but they were all in hurly burly, as men compelled to fight out of order, to keepe their enemies from landing, and to repulſe them, comming ſo ſodainely vpon them. *Demetrius* hauing found the barre of the hauen open, launched in preſently. Then being come to the view of them all, and ſtanding vppon the hatches of his galley, he made ſignes with his hand that he prayed ſilence. The tumult being pacified, he proclaimed aloud by one of his Heraulds, that his father had ſent him in a happy hower to deliuer the ATHENIANS from all their garriſons, and to reſtore them againe to their auncient liberty and freedome, to enioy their lawes and auncient gouernment of their forefathers. After the proclamation made, all the common people ſtraight threwe downe their weapons and targets at their feete, to clappe their handes with great ſhoutes of ioy: praying him to land, and calling him aloud their Sauior, and benefactor. Now for them that were with *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, they all thought good to let the ſtronger in, although he performed not that he promiſed, and alſo ſent Ambaſſadours vnto him to treate of peace. *Demetrius* receiued them very curteouſly, and ſent with them for pledge, one of the deareſt

*Demetrius inuaded Arabia.*

*Demetrius inuadeth Meſopotamia.*

*Antigonus and Demetrius do goe about to ſet Greece at libertie.*

*Demetrius Phalerian, gouernor of Athens for Caſſander.*

*Demetrius reſtoreth the Athenians to their liberties.*

friends his father had, *Ariſtodemus* MILESIAN. Furthermore, he was not careles of the health and ſafety of *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, who by reaſon of the change and alteration of the gouernment of the common wealth of ATHENS, ſtood more in feare of the people of ATHENS, than of his enemies. Therefore *Demetrius* regarding the fame and vertue of the man, cauſed him to be conueyed (according to his deſire) vnto THEBES, with good and ſufficient ſafe conduct. And for *Demetrius* himſelfe, although he was very deſirous to ſee the citie, he ſayed he would not come into it, before he had firſt reſtored it vnto her ancient libertie and freedome, and alſo driuen away the garriſon thence: and thereuppon he caſt trenches round about the caſtle of MVNYCIA. In the meane ſeaſon becauſe he would not be idle, he hoyſed ſayle, and coaſted toward the citie of MEGARA, within the which *Caſſander* alſo kept a ſtrong garriſon. *Demetrius* buſily following theſe matters, was aduertiſed that *Crateſipolis*, ſurnamed *Polyperchon*, (who had bene *Alexanders* wife) a Lady of paſſing fame and beautie, and lay at that time in the citie of PATRAS, would be glad to ſee him: he leauing his armie within the territorie of the MEGARIANS, took his iorney preſently vnto her, with a few of his lighteſt armed men, and yet he ſtole from them, and made his tent to be ſet vp a good way from them, becauſe this Ladie might not be ſeene when ſhe came vnto him. Some of his enemies hauing preſent intelligence thereof, came and ſet vpon him before he knew it. *Demetrius* was ſo ſcared, that he had no further leyſure, but to caſt an ill fauored cloke about him, the firſt that came to hand, and diſguiſing himſelfe to flie for life, and ſcaped very hardly, that he was not ſhamefully taken of his enemies for his incontinencie. But though they miſſed him, they took his tent and all his money in it. After that, the citie of MEGARA was taken and won from *Caſſanders* men, where *Demetrius* ſouldiers would haue ſacked all: howbeit the ATHENIANS made humble interceſſion for them, that they might not be ſpoyled. *Demetrius* thereupon, after that he had driuen out *Caſſanders* garriſon, he reſtored it againe to her former libertie. In doing that he called to mind the Philoſopher *Stilpo*, a famous man in MEGARA, though he liued a quiet and contemplatiue life. He ſent for him, and asked him if any of his men had taken any thing of his. *Stilpo* aunſwered him, they had not: For, ꝙ he, I ſaw no man that tooke my learning from me. This notwithſtanding, all the ſlaues of the citie were in manner caried away. Another time, *Demetrius* making much of him, as he was going his way ſaid vnto him: well, *Stilpo*, I leaue you your citie free. It is true, Ò king, ꝙ he, for thou haſt left vs neuer a ſlaue. Shortly after, he returned againe vnto ATHENS, and laide ſiege to the caſtle of MVNICHIA, the which he tooke, and draue out the garriſon, & afterwards raſed it to the ground. After that, through the intreatie and earneſt deſire of the ATHENIANS, who praied him to come and refreſh himſelfe in their citie: he made his entry into it, and cauſed all the people to aſſemble, and then reſtored vnto them their auncient lawes and libertie of their country, promiſing them beſides, that he would procure his father to ſende them an hundred and fiftie thouſande buſhels of wheate, and as much wodde and timber as ſhould ſerue to make them a hundred and fiftie gallies. Thus, the ATHENIANS through *Demetrius* means, recouered the Democratia againe, (to wit, their populer gouernment) fifteene yeares after they had loſt it, and liued all the time betweene their loſſe and reſtitution from the warre called Lamiacus warre, and the battell that was fought by the city of CRANON, in the ſtate of Oligarchia, to wit, vnder the gouernment of a few gouernors in ſight, but in truth a Monarchy or kingdome, becauſe they were vnder the gouernment of one man *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, that had abſolute authority ouer them. But by this meanes they made their ſauior and preſeruer of their country, *Demetrius* (who ſeemed to haue obtained ſuch honor and glory through his goodnes and liberality) hatefull and odious to all men, for the ouergreat and vnmeaſurable honors which they gaue him. For firſt of all, they called *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* kings, who before that time had alwaies refuſed the name, and the which, (among all other princely honors and prerogatiues graunted) they that had deuided betweene them the Empire of *Philip* and *Alexander*, durſt neuer once preſume to chalenge, nor to take vppon them. So vnto them onely they gaue the ſtile and names of the goddes ſauiors, and tooke away their yearely Maior, whom they called *Eponymos*, becauſe they did ſhew the yeares of old time, by the names of them that had bene Maiors. Furthermore, in ſtead thereof they ordained in the councell of the city, that there ſhould yearely be

*Demetrius Antigonus, honoreth Demetrius Phalerius.*

*Demetrius daunger for lecherie.*

*Demetrius winneth the citie of Megara, and reſtoreth it to her libertie.*

*Stilpo a famous Philoſopher in Megara.*

*Stilpoes ſayings vnto Demetrius.*

*Demetrius reſtoreth the Athenians to their lawes and liberty.*

*Democratia: populer gouernment.*

*Oligarchia: the gouerment of a few.*

*Too much honors decreed to Demetrius by the Athenians.*

be choſen one by voices of the people, whom they ſhoulde name the Prieſt of their Sauiors whoſe name they ſhould write and ſubſcribe in all publike grants and couenantes, to ſhewe the yeare: and beſides all this, that they ſhould cauſe their pictures to be drawen in the veyle or holy banner, in the which were ſet out the images of their goddes, the patrons and protectors of their citie. And furthermore they did conſecrate the place where *Demetrius* firſt came out of his coch, and there did ſet vp an aulter, and called it *Demetrius* aulter comming out of his coch: and vnto their tribes they added two other, the ANTIGONIDES, and the DEMETRIADES. Their great councell at large which they created yearely of fiue hundreth men, was then firſt of all brought into ſixe hundreth, becauſe euery tribe muſt needes furniſh of themſelues, fifty counſellers. But yet the ſtrangeſt acte, and moſt newe found inuention of flatterie, was that of *Stratocles*, (being the common flatterer and people pleaſer) who put forth this decree, by the which it was ordained: that thoſe whom the common wealth ſhould ſend vnto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, ſhould in ſtead of Ambaſſadors be called Theori, as much to ſay as miniſters of the ſacrifices. For ſo were they called, whom they ſent to DELPHES, to *Apollo Pythias*, or vnto ELIDE, to *Iupiter Olympias*, at the common and ſolemne feaſts of all GRECE, to doe the ordinarie ſacrifices and oblations for the health and preſeruation of the cities. This *Stratocles* in all things elſe was a deſperate man, and one that had alwayes led a wicked and diſſolute life: and for his ſhameles boldnes, he ſeemed wholly to followe the ſteps of *Cleons* foole hardines, and old inſolencie, which (when he liued) he ſhewed vnto the people. He openly kept a harlot in his houſe called *Phylacion*. One day ſhe hauing bought for his ſupper, beaſtes heads and neckes commonly eaten, he ſaid vnto her: why, how now? thou haſt bought me acates which we toſſe like bals, that haue to doe in the common wealth. Another time when the armie of the ATHENIANS was ouerthrowen by ſea, by the Ile of AMORGOS: he would needes preuent the newes of this ouerthrowe, and came through the ſtreete of Ceranicus, crowned with garlands of flowers, as if the ATHENIANS had wonne the battell: and was alſo the author of a decree, whereby they did ſacrifice vnto the goddes, to giue them thankes for the victorie: and meate was giuen amongſt euery tribe, in token of common ioy. But ſhortly after the Meſſengers arriued, which brought report of the ſhipwracke and ouerthrowe. The people were in an vprore withal, and ſent for *Stratocles* in a maruellous rage. But he with a face of braſſe came vnto them, and arrogantly defended the peoples ill will, and angrily told them: well, and what hurt haue I done you, If I haue made you mery theſe two daies? Such was *Stratocles* impudencie and raſhneſſe. But, as the Poet *Ariſtophanes* ſaith:

*The boldneſſe of Stratocles Athenian.*

*Stratocles true ſaying.*

*But whotter matters were that time in hand,*
*Than fire that waſteth both by ſea and land.*

For there was another that paſſed *Stratocles* in knauerie. Who procured a decree, that as often as *Demetrius* came into the citie of ATHENS, he ſhould be receiued with all ceremonies and like ſolemnitie, as they vſe in the feaſtes of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*: and further that they ſhould giue vnto him that did excell all the reſt in ſumptuouſnes and riches, at ſuch time as *Demetrius* made his entry into the citie, ſo much money out of the common treaſure, as ſhould ſerue to make an image or other offring, which ſhould be conſecrated to the temples in memorie of his liberalitie. And laſt of all, they chaunged the name of the moneth Munichion (to wit the moneth of Ianuarie) and called it Demetrion: and the laſt day of the moneth which they called before the new and old moone, they then called it the Demetriade: and the feaſtes of *Bacchus* alſo called then Dionyſia, they preſently named Demetria. But the goddes by diuers ſignes and tokens ſhewed plainely, that they were offended with theſe chaunges and alterations. For the holy banner in the which (according to the order ſet downe) they had painted the images of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, with the pictures of *Iupiter* and *Minerua*: as they caried it a proceſſion through the ſtreete Ceranicus, it was torne a ſunder in the middeſt by a tempeſt of winde. And furthermore, about the aulters which were ſet vp in the honor of *Demetrius* and *Antigonus*, there grew a great deale of hemlock, the which otherwiſe was vnpoſſible to grow there. On the feaſt day alſo of *Bacchus*, they were compelled to leaue the pompe or proceſſion for that day, it was ſuch an extreame hard froſt out of all ſeaſon: and beſides, there fell ſuch a myll dew and great froſt vpon it, that not onely their vines and oliues were

*The moneth of Munychion altered & called Demetrion, for the honor of Demetrius name.*

*Wonders.*

*Hemlocke the vſuall herbe, with the iuyce whereof they poyſoned offenders at Athens.*

*Philippides the Poet.*

killed with it, but alſo the moſt part of the wheate blades which were newly ſprong vp. And therefore the Poet *Philippides* ( an enemie of the aforeſaide *Stratocles* ) in one of his comedies writeth certaine verſes againſt him to this effect.

*The party for whoſe wickednes the vayle was rent in twaine,*  
*VVhich with the honor due to God did worſhip men moſt vaine,*  
*Is he for whom our budding vines were blaſted with the froſt.*  
*Thoſe things and not our comedies haue vs ſo derely coſt.*

This *Philippides* was very well beloued of king *Lyſimachus*, inſomuch that for his ſake the king had done many pleaſures to the common wealth of ATHENS. For he loued him ſo dearly, that as often as he ſawe him, or met with him at the beginning of any warre, or matter of great importance: he was of opinion that he brought him good lucke. For in deed he did not ſo much eſteeme him for the excellencie of his arte, but he was much more to be beloued and eſteemed, for his vertuous and honeſt conditions. He was no troubleſom man, neither was he infected with the finenes of court, as he ſhewed one day when the king made much of him, and giuing him good countenance ſayed vnto him: what wilt thou haue me giue thee of my things *Philippides*? euen what it ſhall pleaſe thee, O king, ſo it be none of thy ſecretes. Thus much we thought good to ſpeake of him in bytalke, becauſe an honeſt player of comedies ſhould match with a ſhameleſſe and impudent Orator of the people. But yet there was another *Democlides*, of the village of SPHETTVS, that dreamed out a more ſtranger kinde of honor, touching the conſecration of their targets, which they dedicated to the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES, that is to ſay, that they ſhould go & aske the oracle of *Demetrius*. But I wil ſhew you the very effect and forme of the law as it was ſet downe. In good houre: the people ordeine that he ſhould be choſen one of the Citizens of ATHENS, which ſhall goe vnto our ſauiour: and after that he hath done due ſacrifice vnto him, he ſhall aske *Demetrius* our ſauior, after what ſort the people ſhall with greateſt holines and deuotion, without delay, make conſecration of their holieſt giftes and offerings: and according to the oracle it ſhall pleaſe him to giue them, the people ſhall duely execute it. Thus, laying vpon *Demetrius* al theſe fooliſh mockeries, who beſides was no great wiſe man, they made him a very foole. *Demetrius* being at that time at leaſure in ATHENS, he maried a widow called *Eurydice*, which came of that noble and ancient houſe of *Miltiades*, and had bene married before vnto one *Opheltas* Prince of the CYRENIANS, and that after his death returned againe to ATHENS. The ATHENIANS were very glad of this marriage, and thought it the greateſt honor that came to their citie, ſuppoſing he had done it for their ſakes. Howbeit he was ſoone wonne to be married, for he had many wiues, but amongſt them all, he loued *Phila* beſt, and gaue her moſt honor and preheminence aboue them all: partly for the reſpect of her father *Antipater*, and partly alſo for that ſhe had bene firſt maried vnto *Craterus*, whom the MACEDONIANS loued beſt when he liued, and moſt lamented after his death, aboue all the other ſucceſſors of *Alexander*. His father I ſuppoſe made him to mary her by force, although in deede her yeares was not meet for him: for he was maruellous young, and ſhee very old. And when *Demetrius* ſeemed not to be contented withall, his father rowned him ſoftly in the eare with this ſaying:

*Philippides notable anſwer vnto king Lyſimachus not deſiring to heare his ſecrets.*

*Demetrius maried vnto Eurydice at Athens.*

*Demetrius had many wiues together.*

*Phila Demetrius wife. Antipaters daughter, and Craterus widdow.*

*The iudgement of mariage, and obedience.*

*Refuſe no woman nere ſo old,*  
*VVhoſe mariage bringeth ſtore of gold.*

Wherein he alluded cunningly to theſe verſes of *Euripides*.

*Refuſe not to become a thrall,*  
*VVhere lucre may inſue withall.*

But ſo much did *Demetrius* honor his wife *Phila*, and all his other wiues he maried, that he was not aſhamed to keepe a number of Curtiſans, and other mens wiues beſides: ſo that hee onely of all other kings in his time, was moſt detected with this vice of lechery. While theſe things paſſed on in this ſort, he was commanded by his father, to fight with *Ptolomy* for the Realme of CYPRVS. So there was no remedy but he muſt needes obey him, although otherwiſe he was very ſory to leaue the warre he had begunne, to ſet the GRECIANS at liberty, the which had bene farre more honorable and famous. Howbeit, before he departed from ATHENS, hee ſent vnto *Cleonides Ptolomyes* generall, that kept the cities of CORINTHE and

SICYONE,

ONE, to offer him money if he would ſet their cities at liberty. But *Cleonides* would not be delt withall that way. Thereupon *Demetrius* ſtraight way tooke ſea, and ſayled with all his armie towards CYPRVS, where at his firſt comming he ouercame *Menelaus Ptolomyes* brother. But ſhortly after, *Ptolomy* went thither in perſon with a great armie both by ſea and land, and there paſſed betwixt them fierce threatnings and proud words to ech other. For *Ptolomy* ſent to *Demetrius* to bid him to depart if he were wiſe, before all his army came together: which would tread him vnder their feet, and martch vpon his belly, if he taried his comming. *Demetrius* on the other ſide ſent him word, that he would doe him this fauor to let him eſcape, if he would ſweare and promiſe vnto him to withdrawe his garriſons which he had in the cities of CORINTHE, and SYCIONE. So the expectation of this battell made theſe two Princes not only very penſiue to fight one with the other, but alſo all the other Lordes, Princes, and Kings: becauſe the ſucceſſe therof was vncertaine, which of them two ſhould preuaile. But euery man iudged this, that which of them obtained the victory, he ſhould not only be Lord of the realm of CYPRVS and SYRIA, but therewith alſo of greater power then all the reſt. *Ptolomy* in perſon with fifty ſaile began to row againſt his enemie *Demetrius*, and commanded his brother *Menelaus* that when he ſawe them faſt grappled in fight together, he ſhould lanch out of the hauen of SALAMINA, and giue charge vpon the rereward of *Demetrius* ſhips, to breake their order, with the threeſcore gallies he had in charge. *Demetrius* on the other ſide prepared tenne gallies againſt theſe three ſcore, thinking them enow to choke vp the hauen mouth being but narrow, ſo that none of the gallies that were within could come out: and furthermore, he diſperſed his armie by land vpon the foreland points which reach into the ſea, and went him ſelfe into the maine ſea with nine ſcore gallies, and gaue ſuch a fierce charge vppon *Ptolomy*, that he valiantly made him flie. Who when he ſawe his armie broken, fled as ſpeedily as he could with eight gallies only: for all the reſt were either broken or ſuncke in fight, and thoſe eight only eſcaped, beſides three ſcore and tenne which were taken, and all their ſouldiers in them. And as for his cariage, his traine, his friends, his officers, & houſhold ſeruants, his wiues, his gold and ſiluer, his armor, engines of batterie, and all ſuch other warlike furniture & munition as was conueyed abord his carects and great ſhips riding at anker: of all theſe things nothing eſcaped *Demetrius* hands, but all was brought into his campe. Among thoſe ſpoiles alſo was taken that famous curtiſan *Lamia*, who at the firſt had her name only, for her paſſing playing vpon the flute: but after ſhe fell to curtiſan trade, her countenance and credit increaſed the more. So that euen then when her beautie through yeares fell to decay, and that ſhe founde *Demetrius* much younger than her ſelfe: yet ſhe ſo wan him with her ſweete conuerſation and good grace, that he only liked her, and al the other women liked him. After this victory by ſea, *Menelaus* made no more reſiſtance, but yeelded vp SALAMINA and his ſhips vnto *Demetrius*, and put into his hands alſo twelue hundred hotſmen, and twelue thouſand footemen well armed. This ſo famous and triumphant victory was yet much more beautified, by *Demetrius* great bounty and goodnes which he ſhewed in giuing his enemies ſlaine in battell honorable funerals, ſetting the priſoners at liberty without ranſom paying, and giuing moreouer twelue hundred complet armors vnto the ATHENIANS. After this, *Demetrius* ſent *Ariſtodemus* MILESIAN vnto his father *Antigonus*, to tell him by word of mouth the newes of this victory. *Ariſtodemus* was the greateſt flatterer in all *Antigonus* Court, who deuiſed then, as it ſeemeth to me, to adde vnto this exploit the greateſt flattery poſſible. For when he had taken land after he was come out of the Ile of CYPRVS, he would in no wiſe haue the ſhip he came in to come near the ſhoare, but commanded them to ride at anker, and no man ſo hardy to leaue the ſhip: but he him ſelfe got into a litle boat, and went vnto *Antigonus*, who all this while was in maruellous feare & perplexity for the ſucceſſe of this battell, as men may eaſily iudge they are, which hope after ſo great incertainties. Now when word was broght him that *Ariſtodemus* was comming to him all alone, then was he worſe troubled then afore, inſomuch that he could ſcant keepe within dores him ſelfe, but ſent his ſeruaunts and friends one after an other to meete *Ariſtodemus*, to aske him what newes, and to bring him word preſently againe how the world went. But not one of them could get any thing out of him, for he went on ſtill faire and ſoftly with a ſad countenance, and verie demurely, ſpeaking neuer a worde. Wherefore *Antigonus* heart

*Battell by ſea in the Ile of Cyprus betwixt Demetrius Antigonus & Ptolomy.*

*Demetrius victorie of Ptolomy.*

*Lamia, the famous curtiſan taken by Demetrius, vpon the defeating of Ptolomy.*

*Salamina yeelded vp to Demetrius.*

*Ariſtodemus a notorious flatterer in Antigonus Court.*

being cold in his belly, he could ſtay no longer, but would himſelfe goe and meet with *Ariſtodemus* at the gate, who had a maruellous preaſe of people following of him, beſides thoſe of the court which ranne out to heare his anſwer. At length when he came neare vnto *Antigonus*, holding out his right hand vnto him, he cryed out aloud, God ſaue thee, ô king *Antigonus*: we haue ouercome king *Ptolomy* in battell by ſea, and haue wonne the realme of CYPRVS, with ſixteen thouſand and eight hundreth priſoners. Then anſwered *Antigonus*, & God ſaue thee to. Truly *Ariſtodemus* thou haſt kept vs in a traunce a good while, but to puniſh thee for the paine thou haſt put vs to, thou ſhalt the later receiue the reward of thy good newes. Then was the firſt time that the people with a loude voice called *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* kings. Now for *Antigonus*, his friends and familiars did at that preſent inſtant put on the royal band or diadeame vpon his head: but for *Demetrius*, his father ſent it vnto him, and by his letters called him king. They alſo that were in EGYPT with *Ptolomy*, vnderſtāding that, did call and ſalute him by the name of king: becauſe it ſhould not ſeeme that for one ouerthrow receiued, their hartes were dead. Thus this ambition by iealouſie and emulation, went from man to man to all *Alexanders* ſucceſſors. For *Lyſimachus* then alſo began to weare the diadeame, and likewiſe *Seleucus*, as often as he ſpake with the GRECIANS: for before that time, he dealt in matters with the barbarous people as a king. But *Caſſander*, though others wrote themſelues kings, he only ſubſcribed after his wonted manner. Now this was not onely an increaſe of a new name, or changing of apparell, but it was ſuch an honor, as it liſt vp their hearts, and made them ſtand vpon themſelues: and beſides it ſo framed their maner of life and conuerſation with men, that they grew more proud and ſtately, then euer they were before: like vnto common players of tragedies, who apparelling themſelues to play their partes vpon the ſtage doe change their gate, their countenance, their voice, their manner of ſitting at the table, and their talke alſo. So that afterwardes they grewe more cruell in commaunding their ſubiects, when they had once taken away the viſer & diſſimulation of their abſolute power, which before made them farre more lowly and gentle in many matters vnto them. And all this came through one vile flatterer, that brought ſuch a wonderfull chaunge in the world. *Antigonus* therefore puffed vp with the glory of the victorie of his ſonne *Demetrius*, for the conqueſt of CYPRVS: he determined forthwith to ſet vpon *Ptolomy*. Himſelfe led the army by lande, hauing his ſonne *Demetrius* ſtill rowing by the ſhore ſide with a great fleete of ſhips. But one of his familiars called *Medius*, being a ſleepe had a viſion one night that told him, what ſhould be the end and ſucceſſe of this iorney. He thought he ſawe *Antigonus* runne with all his armie who ſhould haue the vpper hand, and that at the firſt he ranne with great force and ſwiftneſſe: but that afterwardes his ſtrength and breath failed him ſo much, that when he ſhould returne, he had ſcant any poulſe or breath, and with much a doe retyred againe. And euen ſo it chanced vnto him. For *Antigonus* by land, was eftſoones in great danger: and *Demetrius* alſo by ſea was often in hazard to leaue the coaſt, and by ſtorme and weather to be caſt into places, where was neither hauen, creekes, nor harbarough for his ſhippes. And at length, hauing loſt a great number of his ſhippes, he was driuen to returne without any attempt giuen. Now *Antigonus* was at that time litle leſſe then foure ſcore yeare old, but yet his fatte and corpulent body was more comberſome to him then his yeares: therefore being growen vnmeete for wars, he vſed his ſonne in his place. Who for that he was fortunate, as alſo ſkilfull through the experience he had gotten, did wiſely gouerne the waightieſt matters. His father beſides did not paſſe for his youthfull partes, lauiſhe expences, and common drunkennes he gaue himſelfe vnto. For in time of peace, he was giuen ouer to all thoſe vices: but in time of warre, he was as ſober and continent, as any man ſo borne by nature. And therefore it is reported, that *Lamia* being manifeſtly knowen to be Miſtreſſe ouer him, one day when he was come from hunting, he came (as his manner was) to kiſſe his father: and that *Antigonus* ſmiling vppon him ſaied, what, how now Sonne, doeſt thou thinke thou art kiſſing of *Lamia*? Another time *Demetrius* was many daies together drinking and ryoting, and ſaw not his father: and then to excuſe him ſelfe vnto him, he tolde him he had gotten a rewme that made him keepe his chamber, that he could not come to him. So I heard, ſayed *Antigonus*: but was it of THASOS or CHIOS, that rewme? he ſpake it, becauſe that in either of thoſe two Ilandes, there

*The firſt time Antigonus & Demetrius were called kings.*

*Note the force of flattery by Ariſtodemus Mileſian.*

*Antigonus & Demetrius iorney againſt Ptolomy.*

*Medius dream*

*Antigonus mirth with his ſon Demetrius.*

were excellent good wines: another time *Demetrius* ſent his father word that he was not wel. Thereupon *Antigonus* went to ſee him, and comming thither, he met a faier young boye at his dore. So he went vp to his chamber, and ſitting down by his beddes ſide, he tooke him by the hand to feele his poulſe. *Demetrius* told him that his feuer had left him but a litle before. I know it well ſaied *Antigonus*: for I met the young boy euen at the dore as I came in. So *Antigonus* did gently beare with his ſonnes faults, in reſpect of his many other vertues he had. The voice goeth that the SCYTHIANS, when they are diſpoſed to drink drunk together, do diuerſe times twang the ſtrings of their bowes, as though that would ſerue to keepe the ſtrength of their courage & hardines, which otherwiſe the pleaſantnes of the wine would take frō them. But *Demetrius* gaue himſelfe to one thing at one ſelfe time. Somtime to take his pleaſure, ſometime to deale in matters of waight, and in all extremity he euer vſed but one of them, & would neuer mingle the one with the other: and yet this notwithſtanding he was no leſſe politike and circumſpect to prepare all maner of munition for warres. For as he was a wiſe Captaine to leade an armie, ſo was he alſo very carefull to prouide all things meet for their furniture, and would rather haue too much, then too litle. But aboue al, he exceeded in ſumptous building of ſhips, and framing of all ſorts of engines of batterie, and ſpecially for the delight he tooke to inuent and deuiſe them. For he had an excellent naturall witte to deuiſe ſuch workes, as are made by witte and hand, and did not beſtow his witte and inuention in handie craftes, in trifling toyes and bables: as many other kings that haue giuen themſelues to playe on flutes, others to paint and draw, and others alſo to Turners crafte. As *Aeropus* king of MACEDON, who delighted to make fine tables, and pretie lampes. And *Attalus*, ſurnamed *Philometor* (to ſay, as louer of his mother) that would plant and ſet phiſicall herbes, as Helleborum, Lingwort, or Beares foote: Hoſcynamum, Henbane, Cicuta, Hemlocke, Aconitum, Libardbaine or Woolſebaine, and Dorycinum: for the which we haue no Engliſh word: all theſe would he ſet himſelfe with his owne handes in the gardaines of his owne pallace, and alſo gather them in time of the yeare, to know the vertue and power of them. As: *Arſaces* the kings of PARTHIA, that boaſted they could themſelues make their arrowes heades, and ſharpen them, But the artificers workes which *Demetrius* practiſed, ſhewed that they came from a King. For his manner of workemanſhippe had a certen greatneſſe in it, the which euen with the ſubtiltie and fineneſſe of his workes, ſhewed the trimme handling of the workeman: So that they appeared not onely worthie the vnderſtanding and riches of a king, but alſo the forging and making by the handes of a great king. For his friends did not onely wonder at their greatneſſe, but his very enemies alſo were delighted with the beautie of them. And this is more true then meet to be ſpoken: the enemies could not but maruell when they ſawe his gallies rowing alongeſt the coaſt, with fifteene or ſixteene bancks of owers: and his engines of batterie which they called Elepolis (as much to ſaye, engines to take cities) were a ſpectacle of great admiration vnto thoſe whom he beſieged, as the euents following did throughly witneſſe. For *Lyſimachus* who of all other kings did malice *Demetrius* moſt comming to raiſe the ſiege from the citie of SOLI in CILICIA, the which *Demetrius* beſieged: he ſent vnto him to pray him to let him ſee his engines of batterie, & his gallies rowing vpon the ſea. *Demetrius* granting him, *Lyſimachus* returned with wonderfull admiration. The RHODIANS alſo hauing long time defended his ſiege, at the laſt made peace with him, and prayed him to leaue ſome one of his engines with them, for a perpetuall teſtimonie and remembrance both of his power, & alſo of their corage and valiantnes. The cauſe why *Demetrius* made war with the RHODIANS was, becauſe they were confederates with king *Ptolomy*, he brought againſt their walles the greateſt engine he had, the foot whereof was like a tile, more long then broad, and at the baſe on either ſide it was eight and fortie cubits long, and threeſcore and ſixe high, riſing ſtill narrow euen to the very top: ſo that the vpper parts were narrower then the nether, and within it were many pretie roomes and places conueied for ſouldiers. The forepart of it was open towards the enemy, & euery roome or partition had windowes out of which they beſtowed all kind of ſhot, becauſe they were full of armed men fighting with all ſorts of weapons. But nowe, becauſe it was ſo well framed and counterpeaſed, that it gaue no waye nor reeld on either ſide, which way ſoeuer they remoued it, but that it ſtood faſt and vpright vpon

*A ſtrange cuſtom of the Scythians in their drunkenneſſe.*

*Demetrius a skilfull Captain & an excellent ſhipwright.*

*Sundry delightes of Princes.*

*Demetrius wonderfull workes.*

*Demetrius beſieged Rhodes.*

*The deſcription of Demetrius greateſt engine of battery, called Elepolis.*

her ſoundation,making a terrible noiſe and ſound : that made the worke as wonderfull to behold,as it was a maruellous pleaſure for men to ſee it. In this warre were brought vnto *Demetrius* two notable armors weighing forty pound a peece, and made by one *Zoilus* an armorer, who to ſhew the hardnes and goodnes of the temper, ſuffered them to be proued and ſhot at, at ſixe ſcore paces,with the engines of their battrie : and albeit the armors were ſhot at and hit, yet were they neuer pierced, and but onely a litle race or ſcratch ſeene,as it were of a bodkin or penknife,and had no more hurt. *Demetrius* alwaies wore one of them in theſe warres,and *Alcimus* Albanian the other,the ſtrongeſt and valianteſt man he had in all his hoaſt, and that onely caried a complet armor weighing ſix ſcore pound,where all other ſouldiers wore none aboue three ſcore. This *Alcimus* was ſlaine at Rhodes valiantly fighting by the Theater. In this ſiege the Rhodians did valiantly defend themſelues, that *Demetrius* could doe no acte worthy memorie. This notwithſtanding,although he ſaw he could not preuaile, but loſe his time, yet was he the more obſtinately bent againſt them , to be euen with them : becauſe they had taken a ſhip of his, in the which his wife *Phila* had ſent vnto him certen hangings of tapeſtrie, linnen, apparell , and letters , and becauſe they had ſent them all vnto *Ptolomy*,aſſoone as they had taken them. But therein they did not follow the honeſt curteſie of the Athenians: who hauing intercepted certaine currers of king *Philips* that made war againſt them, they opened all the letters they caried, and read them, ſauing onely his wife *Olympiaes* letters ſhe ſent him,the which they ſent vnto king *Philip* ſealed,as they were when they receiued them. Now though this part did much grieue and offend him, yet he could not find in his hart to ſerue thē in that ſort,when he might haue done it not long after. For by chance at that time,*Protogenes* an excellent painter,borne in Caunus,did paint them the draught of the citie of Ialysus. *Demetrius* found this table in a houſe in the ſuburbes of the citie, being almoſt ended. The Rhodians thereupon ſending an Herauld vnto him, to beſeech him to ſpare the defacing of ſo goodly a worke : he returned them anſwer, that he would rather ſuffer his fathers images to be burnt, then ſo excellent and paſſing a worke as that to be loſt, and brought to nothing. For it is reported,that *Protogenes* was ſeuen yeares drawing of the ſame:and it is ſaid alſo that *Apelles* himſelfe when he ſaw it, did ſo wonder at it , that his ſpeech failed him , and he ſtood mute a long time, and at laſt ſayed : ſurely there is a wonderfull peece of worke and of great labor, yet they want thoſe graces and ornamentes whereby thoſe that I paint doe reach vnto heauen. This table afterwardes being brought to Rome, and hanged vp with others , was in the end burnt by fire. Now as the Rhodians were deſirous to be rid of this warre,and that *Demetrius* alſo was willing to take any honeſt occaſion to doe it: the Ambaſſadors of the Athenians came happely to ſerue both their deſires , who made peace betwene them with theſe conditions. That the Rhodians ſhould be confederates with *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* againſt all men,but *Ptolomy* only. The Athenians ſent for *Demetrius*,vpon *Caſſanders* comming to laye ſiege to their citie. Whereupon *Demetrius* immediately hoyſed ſayle towards Athens, with three hundreth and thirtie gallies,and a great number of men of warre beſides: ſo that he did not only driue *Caſſander* out of the prouince of Attica,but followed him euen to the ſtraight of Thermopyles, & there ouerthrew him in ſet battell,and receiued the citie of Heraclea,which willingly yeelded vnto him, & ſix thouſand Macedonians that came vnto him to take his part. So in his returne backe,he ſet all the Grecians at libertie on this ſide the ſtraight: he made league with the Boeotians, and tooke the citie of Cencrees,and the caſtles of Phyle and Panactos, in the fronters and confines of Attica,in the which *Caſſander* had left garriſons to keepe the country in ſubiection : and after he had driuen them out of the countrie,he rendred the forts again vnto the Athenians. Therfore though it ſeemed the Athenians had before beſtowed to their vttermoſt power al kinds of honors that could be offred him , euery man ſtriuing for life to preferre the ſame : yet they found out new deuiſes to flatter and pleaſe him. For they ordained that the place behind the temple of *Minerua* called Parthenon ( as who would ſay, the temple of the virgin ) ſhould be prepared for his houſe to lye in : and they ſayd, that the goddeſſe *Minerua* did lodge him with her. But to ſay truly, he was too vnchaſt a gheſt, to thinke that a maiden goddeſſe would be content he ſhould lye with her. And yet his father *Antigonus* perceiuing that they had lodged his

*The armors made of notable temper by Zoilus an armorer.*

*Alcimus Albanian,wore an armor of ſix ſcore pound weight.*

*The diſcurteſie of the Rhodians.*

*The great curteſie of the Athenians vnto king Philp.*

*Protogenes, borne in the citie of Caunus: an excellent painter.*

*Protogenes table of the city of Ialyſus greatly commended by Apelles himſelfe.*

*Demetrius concludeth peace with the Rhodians.*

*Demetrius victories in Grece*

ſonne *Philip* on a time in a houſe, where there were three young women, he ſayd nothing to *Philip* himſelfe, but before him he ſent for the harbinger, and ſayed vnto him: wilt thou not remoue my ſonne out of this ſtraight lodging, and prouide him of a better? And *Demetrius*, that ſhould haue reuerenced the goddeſſe *Minerua*, though for no other reſpect but becauſe he called her his eldeſt ſiſter, (for ſo he would ſhe ſhould be called) he defiled all the caſtle where was the temple of theſe holy virgins, with horrible and abhominable inſolencies, both towards young boyes of honeſt houſes, as alſo vnto yong women of the citie. So that this place ſeemed to be moſt pure and holy, at ſuch time as he lay with his common curtiſans, *Chryſis*, *Lamia*, *Demo*, and *Anticyra*. It ſhall not be greatly for the honor of the citie of ATHENS, to tell particularly all the abhominable partes he committed there. But *Democles* vertue and honeſtie deſerueth worthy and condigne remembrance. This *Democles* was a young boye that had no haire on his face, of whoſe beautie *Demetrius* being informed by the ſurname he had, as commonly called through the citie, *Democles* the faire: he ſought diuerſe wayes to intiſe him, both by faire meanes, large promiſes and giftes, and alſo with threates beſides. But when he ſaw no man could bring him to the bent of his bow, and that the young boy in the end ſeeing him ſo importunate vpon him, came no more to the common places of exerciſe, where other children vſed to recreate themſelues, and that to auoide the common ſtooues, he went to waſh himſelfe in another ſecret ſtooue: *Demetrius* watching his time and hower of going thither, followed him, and got in to him being alone. The boy ſeing himſelfe alone, and that he could not reſiſt *Demetrius*, tooke off the couer of the kettle or cauldron where the water was boyling, and leaping into it, drowned himſelfe. Truely he was vnworthie of ſo lamentable an end, but yet he ſhewed a noble hart, worthy of his beautie and countrie. But he did not as another called *Cleanetus*, the ſon of *Cleomedon*, who brought letters from *Demetrius*, directed to the people, whereby through *Demetrius* interceſſion and requeſt, his fathers fine of fiftie talents in the which he was condemned (and for nonpayment remained priſoner) was cleerly remitted and forgiuen. But by this acte, he not onely ſhamed and diſhonored himſelfe, but alſo troubled all the citie. For the people thereupon releaſed *Cleomedon* of his fine, but therwith they made a decree that no Citizen ſhould thenceforth bring any more letters from *Demetrius*. But afterward vnderſtanding that *Demetrius* was maruellouſly offended with this decree: they did not only reuoke their firſt decree, but they did alſo put ſome of them to death, which were the procurers and authors of the decree, and others alſo they baniſhed. And further they made a law, that the people of ATHENS ſhould account all religions to the gods, and iuſt vnto men, whatſoeuer it pleaſed *Demetrius* to order and appoint. At that time there was one of the chiefeſt men of the citie, that ſayd *Stratocles* was a mad man to preferre ſuch matters. Indeed quoth *Demochares* ſurnamed LACONIAN, he were a mad man if he were otherwiſe. and he ſpake it, becauſe this *Stratocles* had many great pleaſures at *Demetrius* hands for this flatterie. Howbeit, *Demochares* being accuſed & condemned vpon theſe words, he was baniſhed ATHENS. See the ATHENIANS how they vſed themſelues, who ſeemed to be deliuered from the garriſon they had before, and to be reſtored vnto their former libertie and freedome. From thence *Demetrius* went into PELOPONNESVS, and neuer an enemie of his durſt tarie his comming, but al fled before him, and left him their caſtles & towns. This *Demetrius* wan vnto himſelf all the countrie called ACTE, and all ARCHADIA, ſauing the citie of MANTINEA: and for the ſum of an hundreth talents giuen amongſt them: he deliuered the cities of ARGOS, SICYONE, and of CORINTHE, from the garriſons that laye amongſt them. About that time fell out the great feaſt of *Iuno* in ARGOS, called Heræa. Therefore *Demetrius*, to honor this feaſt with the GRECIANS, married *Deidamia* (the daughter of *Eacides*, king of the MOLOSSIANS, & ſiſter of *Pyrrhus*) and perſwaded the SICYONIANS to leaue their citie, and to come and build in another goodly place neare vnto it, where they nowe doe dwell: and ſo with the place and ſituation, he changed alſo the name of the citie. For in ſtead of SICYONE, he made it to be called DEMETRIADE. Then at a generall aſſemblie of the ſtates of GRECE, which was kept in the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, called ISTHMOS: *Demetrius* was choſen Lieutenant generall of all the GRECIANS, as *Philip* and *Alexander* (both kings of MACEDON) had bene before him, vnto whom he did not only compare himſelfe, but thought himſelfe greater then they,

*Antigonus ſhamfaſtnes.*

*Demetrius wantonnes.*

*The names of Demetrius curtiſans.*

*Demetrius iorney into Peloponneſus*

*Demetrius maried Deidamia king Pyrrhus ſiſter: and changed the name of the citie of Sicyone and called it Demetriade.*

*Demetrius choſen generall of all Grece.*

becauſe fortune ſmiled on him, and for that he had ſo good ſucceſſe in all his affaires. Whereas *Alexander* did neuer take away the title and name of king, from any other kings: neither did euer call him ſelfe king of kings, although he had giuen vnto diuerſe of them the name and power of a king: and in contrary manner alſo, *Demetrius* laughed them to ſcorne which called any other Princes, kings but his father and himſelf. Moreouer he tooke great pleaſure to hear his flatterers, who being at banquets called for wine to drinke to king *Demetrius*, and then to *Seleucus* maiſter of the elephants, to *Ptolomy* Admirall, to *Lyſimachus*, keeper of the treaſure, & to *Agathocles* SILICIAN, gouernor of the Iles. All the kings, but *Lyſimachus*, laughed at theſe toyes when they were reported to thẽ: but *Lyſimachus* was very angrie, & thought great ſcorn that *Demetrius* ſhould reckon him a gelding, for that it was an old cuſtom cõmonly to giue an Eunuch the charge of keeping the treaſure. So *Lyſimachus* of all other Princes did beare him moſt malice, and becauſe he would finely taunt him for that he euer kept *Lamia* his Curtiſan with him: vntill this preſent time, ſayd he, I neuer ſaw harlot play in a tragedie before. *Demetrius* anſwered him againe, that his harlot was chaſter then *Penelope* his wife. So *Demetrius* departing for that time out of PELOPONNESVS, tooke his iorney towards ATHENS, & wrote before to the ATHENIANS, that when he came thither he would be receiued into the fraternitie of the holy miſteries, and that he ment they ſhould ſhew him at one ſelfe time, all that was to be ſeene, euen from the leaſt to the higheſt ſecrets of their ceremonies, called Epoptices, becauſe they made the brethren of the fraternitie ſee them long time after that they had bene firſt receiued into the leſſer ceremonies: the which was not lawfull then, neither was euer heard of before. For theſe ſmaller miſteries, in old time were celebrated in the moneth of Nouember, and the greater in the month of Auguſt: and beſide it was not lawfull to celebrate or vſe theſe ceremonies within the ſpace of a yeare one of the other. When theſe letters were openly read, no man durſt ſpeake againſt them, but *Pythodorus* the Prieſt, who caried the torche lighted when they ſhewed theſe miſteries. Howbeit his words preuailed not, for by the deuiſe of *Stratocles* it was enacted at an aſſembly of the citie, that the moneth of March in the which they were at that time, ſhould be called and reputed Nouember. And ſo as they could beſt helpe it, by their ordinances of the citie they did receiue *Demetrius* into the fraternitie of the miſteries: and afterwardes againe, this ſelfe moneth of March which they had tranſlated into Nouember, became ſodainely Auguſt: and in the ſelfeſame yeare was celebrated the other ceremonie of theſe great miſteries, whereby *Demetrius* was admitted to ſee the moſt ſtraight and ſecret ceremonies. Therfore *Philippides* the Poet inueighing againſt the ſacriledge, and impietie of religion prophaned by *Stratocles*, made theſe verſes of him:

*Demetrius pride.*

*Philippides verſes againſt Stratocles the boaſter.*

*Into one moneth his comming hither*
*Hath thruſt vp all the yeare togither.*

And afterwards becauſe *Stratocles* was the procurer that *Demetrius* was lodged in the temple of *Mineruа* within the caſtle:

*Of chaſt Mineruaes holy church he makes a filthy ſtewes,*
*And in that virgins very ſight his harlots doth abuſe.*

But yet of all the inſolent partes done at that time in ATHENS, (although many were committed) none of all the reſt grieued the ATHENIANS more, then this did: that *Demetrius* commanded them they ſhould preſently furniſh him with two hundreth & fifty talents. The taxation of this payment was very hard vnto them, both for the ſhortneſſe of the time appointed them, as alſo for the impoſſibilitie of abating any part of it. When he had ſeene all this maſſe of money layed on a heape before him, he commanded it ſhould be giuen to *Lamia*, & among his other Curtiſans, to buy them ſope. The ſhame the ATHENIANS receiued by this gift, grieued them more, than the loſſe of their money: & the words he ſpake to the great contempt of them and their citie, did more trouble them, then the payment they made. Some ſay notwithſtanding, that *Demetrius* did not alone vſe the ATHENIANS thus ſhamfully, but the THESSALIANS alſo in the ſame manner. But paſſing this ouer: *Lamia* of her ſelfe & through her owne countenance did get a great ſumme of money together of diuerſe perſons for one ſupper ſhe made vnto *Demetrius*, the preparation whereof was of ſuch exceeding charge, that *Lycæus* borne in the Ile of SAMOS, did ſet downe the order thereof in writing. And therfore a certen

*Demetrius prodigall gift of 250 talents to his curtiſans to buy them ſope.*

*Lamia made Demetrius a ſupper of her owne coſt.*

Poet no leſſe pleaſantly, then truly, called this *Lamia*, Elepolis: to witte, an engine to take cities. And *Demochares* alſo borne in the citie of SOLI, called *Demetrius* a fable, becauſe he had *Lamia* euer with him: as in the fables which olde women tell litle children, there is euer lightly a *Lamia*, as much to ſay, as a witch, or ſorcereſſe. So that the great credit and authoritie this *Lamia* had and the loue which *Demetrius* bare her: did not onely cauſe his wiues ſuſpect and enuy him, but made him hated alſo of all his friends & familiars. And therfore certen gentlemē, whom *Demetrius* ſent in ambaſſade vnto king *Lyſimachus*, he talking familiarly with thē, & paſſing the time away, ſhewed them great wounds of the clawes of a lyon vpon his armes and legges, telling them alſo how he was forced to fight with a lyon, when through king *Alexanders* fury he was ſhut vp in his denne with him: they ſmiling to heare him, told him that the king their maiſter had alſo certen markes and bitings on his necke, of a wilde beaſt called *Lamia*. And to ſay truly, it was a wonderfull thing, that marying (as he did) his wife *Phila* ſo much againſt his will, becauſe ſhe was too old for him: howe he was ſo rauiſhed with *Lamia*, and did ſo conſtantly loue her ſo long together, conſidering alſo that ſhe was very old, & paſt the beſt. Therefore *Demo*, ſurnamed *Mania*, (as much to ſaye the mad woman) pleaſantly anſwered *Demetrius*, asking her one night when *Lamia* had played on the flute all ſupper time, what ſhe thought of *Lamia*? an old woman, ô king ꝗ ſhe. Another time when frute was ſerued in, after the bourd was taken vp: do you ſee ſaid *Demetrius*, how many prety fine knacks *Lamia* ſendeth me? My mother, anſwered *Demo* againe, will ſend you more then theſe, if you pleaſe to lye with her. It is reported of this *Lamia*, that ſhe ouerthrew *Bocchoris* iudgment in a matter. In EGYPT there was a young man that had a maruellous fancie vnto a famous Curtiſan called *Thonis*: who did aske him ſuch a great ſumme of money to lye with her, that it was vnpoſsible for him to giue it her. At length, this amarous youth being ſo deepe in loue with her, dreamed one night he laye with her, and enioyed her: ſo that for the pleaſure he tooke by his conceit and imagination, when he awaked, his earneſt loue was ſatisfied. This Curtiſan whom he had caſt fancie to, hearing of this his dreame, did put him in ſute before the iudges, to be payed her hyer for the pleaſure the young man had taken of her by imagination. *Bocchoris* hearing the ſumme of her complaint, commaunded the young man to bring before him in ſome veſſell, at a certen day appointed, as much money as ſhe did ask him to lye with her. Then he bad him to toſſe it to and fro in his hand before the Curtiſan, that ſhe ſhould not only haue the ſhadow and ſight of it: for ꝗ he, imagination and opinion is but a ſhadow of truth. *Lamia* ſaid this was no equall iudgment: for ſaith ſhe, the ſhadow only or the ſight of money, did not ſatisfie the couetouſnes of the Curtiſan, as the young mans luſt was quenched by his dreame. Thus enough ſpoken of *Lamia*. But now the miſfortunes and ieaſts of him we preſently write of: they doe tranſport our hiſtorie, as from a comicall into a tragicall theater, that is to ſaye, from pleaſant and light matter, into lamentable and bitter teares. For all the Princes and Kings conſpired generally againſt *Antigonus*, and ioyned all their force and armies together. Therefore *Demetrius* departed forthwith out of GRECE, and came to ioyne with his father, whoſe courage he found more liuely and better giuen to this warre then his yeares required: beſides that *Demetrius* comming made him the bolder, and did lifte vp his heart the more. And yet ſeemeth to me, that if *Antigonus* would but haue yeelded vp a fewe trifling things, or that he either could or would haue bridled his ouer immoderate couetous deſire to raigne: he had both kept for himſelfe all the time of his life, and alſo lefte after his death vnto his ſonne, the ſupreameſt dignitie and power, aboue all the other Kings and ſucceſſors of *Alexander*. But he was ſo cruell, and ſo raſh of nature, and as inſolent and braue in his doings, as in his words: that thereby he ſtirred vp and brought vpon him as his enemies, many great and mightie Princes. For euen at that preſent time he ſaid, that he would as eaſily diſperſe and ſcatter aſunder that conſpiracie againſt him, as chowghes or other litle birdes comming to pecke vp the corne newely ſowen, are eaſily ſcared away with a ſtone or making any litle noyſe. So he caried to the field with him, aboue threeſcore and tenne thouſand footemen, tenne thouſand horſemen, and threeſcore and fifteene Elephantes. His enemies had threeſcore and foure thouſande footemen, and fiue hundreth horſemen more then he, with foure hundreth Elephants, and ſix ſcore carts of warre. When the two armies were

*Lamia Elepolis*

*The ſaying of Demo a curtiſan, touching. Lamia and Demetrius*

*A prety ſute commenced vpon a louers dreame, and the iudgement reuerſed by Lamia the Curtiſan.*

*The ſubtilty of Lamia, reuerſing Bocchoris ſentence.*

*The conſpiracy of the kings againſt Antigonus.*

*Antigonus & his enemies armie.*

one neare vnto the other, me thinkes he had ſome imagination in his head that changed his hope, but not his courage. For in al other battels and conflicts, hauing cōmonly vſed to looke big on the matter, to haue a loud high voice, and to vſe braue words, and ſometime alſo euen in the chiefeſt of all the battell to giue ſome pleaſant mocke or other, ſhewing a certaine truſt he had in himſelfe, and contempt of his enemie: then they ſawe him oftentimes alone and verie penſiue, without euer a word to any man. One day he called all his armie together, and preſented his ſonne vnto the ſouldiers, recommending him vnto them, as his heire and ſucceſſor, and talked with him alone in his tent. Whereat men maruelled the more, becauſe that he neuer vſed before to impart to any man the ſecrets of his counſell & determination, no not to his owne ſonne, but did all things of himſelfe: and then commanded that thing openly to to be done which he had ſecretly purpoſed. For proofe hereof it is ſaid, *Demetrius* being but a young man, asked him on a time when the campe ſhould remoue: and that *Antigonus* in anger anſwered him, art thou affraid thou ſhalt not heare the ſound of the trūpet?

*Demetrius dreame and ſignes.*

Furthermore, there fell out many ill ſignes and tokens that killed their harts. For *Demetrius* dreamed that *Alexander* the great appeared armed vnto him at all peeces, and that he asked him what word or ſignall of battell they were determined to giue, at the day of battell, he anſwered that they were determined to giue, *Iupiter* and *Victorie*. Then ſaied *Alexander*, I will goe to thine enemies that ſhall receiue me: & afterwards at the very day of the ouerthrow, when all their army were ſet in battell ray: *Antigonus* comming out of his tent: had ſuch a great fall, that he fell flat on his face to the ground, and hurt himſelfe verie ſorely. So when he was taken vp, then liſting vp his hands to heauen, he made his prayer vnto the gods, that it would pleaſe them to grant him victorie, or ſodaine death without great paine, before he ſhould ſee himſelfe vanquiſhed and his armie ouerthrowen. When both battels came to ioyne, and that they fought hand to hand: *Demetrius* that had the moſt part of the horſmen with him, went & gaue charge vpon *Antiochus* the ſonne of *Seleucus*, and fought it out ſo valiantly on his ſide, that he ouerthrew his enemies, and put them to flight. But too fondly following the chaſe of them that fled, and out of time: he marred all, and was the occaſion of the loſſe of his victorie.

*Demetrius vpon the firſt onſet, made Antiochus the ſonne of Seleucus flie. Ouerraſhly chaſing the enemies, he loſt his victorie and was ouercome.*

For when he returned from the chaſe, he could not ioyne againe with their footemen, becauſe the Elephants were betwene both. Then *Seleucus* perceiuing *Antigonus* battell was naked of horſemen, he did not preſently ſet vpon them, but turned at one ſide as though he would enuirone them behind, and made them affraid: yet making head as he would charge them, only to giue them leaſure to come on their ſide as they did. For the moſt part of *Antigonus* hoaſt did forſake him and yeelded vnto his enemies: the reſt of them fled euery man. And when a great troupe of men together went with great furie to giue charge on that ſide where *Antigonus* was: one of them that were about him ſaide vnto him: your grace had neede take heede, for theſe men come to charge vs. He aunſwered againe: but how ſhould they knowe me? and if they did my ſonne *Demetrius* wil come & help me. This was his laſt hope, and ſtill he looked euery way, if he could ſee his ſonne comming towards him: till at length he was ſlaine with arrowes, darts and pikes. For of all his friends & ſouldiers, there taried not one man by his body, but *Thorax* of the city of LARISSA in THESSALIE.

*The death of king Antigonus.*

Now the battell hauing ſuch ſucceſſe as you haue heard. The Kings and Princes that had won ſo noble a victorie, as if they had cut a great body into ſundry peeces: they deuided *Antigonus* kingdom among them, and euery man had his part of all the prouinces and coūtries which *Antigonus* kept adding that vnto their other dominions which they poſſeſſed before.

*Demetrius flight.*

Now *Demetrius* flying with all poſſible ſpeede that might be, with fiue thouſand footmen & foure thouſand horſemen, he got to the citie of EPHESVS: where euery man miſtruſted, that being needie of money as he was, he would not ſpare the temple of *Diana* in EPHESVS, but would rifle all the gold and ſiluer in it. And in contrarie manner alſo *Demetrius* being affraied of his ſouldiers, leaſt they would ſpoyle it againſt his will: he ſodainly departed thence, and ſayled towards GRECE, putting his greateſt confidence & affiance in the ATHENIANS, becauſe he had left his wife *Deidamia* at ATHENS, with ſhippes and ſome money, ſuppoſing he could goe no whither with better ſafetie in his aduerſitie, then to ATHENS, of whoſe good willes he thought himſelfe aſſured. Wherefore when Ambaſſadors of the ATHENIANS came vnto him. and found him not far from the Iles of Cy-

CLADES, as he ſayled with great ſpeede towardes ATTICA, and that they had declared vnto him, he ſhould forbeare to come vnto their citie, becauſe the people had made an ordinaunce to ſuffer no mo kings to come into ATHENS, and that they had ſent *Deidamia* his wiſe honorably accompanied vnto the citie of MEGARA: then was *Demetrius* for very anger & paſsion of minde, cleane out of countenaunce, although vntill that time he had patiently borne his aduerſitie, and his hart had neuer failed him. But this nipped him to the hart, when he ſaw (that contrary to expectation) the ATHENIANS had deceiued and ſayled him in his greateſt neede, and that in his aduerſitie he found their former friendſhip counterfeit, and altogether diſſembled. Whereby moſt plainly appeareth, that the moſt vncertaine and deceiueable proofe of peoples good wils and cities towardes Kings and Princes, are the immeaſurable and extreme honors they do vnto them. For ſith it is ſo, that the truth and certaintie of honour proceedeth from the good will of thoſe that giue it: the feare which the common people commonly ſtand in of the power of kings, is ſufficient cauſe for them to miſtruſt that the people do it not with good will and from their harts, conſidering that for feare they do the ſelfe ſame things, which they will alſo do for loue. Therefore graue and wiſe Princes ſhould not paſſe ſo much for the images and ſtatues they ſet vp for them, or the tables or diuine honours they do decree vnto them: as to regard their owne workes and deedes, and weying them truly, ſo to beleeue and receiue their honours for true, or otherwiſe to reiect and miſtruſt them, as things done by compulſion. For commonly it is that which maketh the people to hate kings the more, when they do accept theſe immeaſurable and extreme honours done vnto them, but thoſe ſortes chiefly hate them moſt, that againſt their wils are forced to do them thoſe honors. *Demetrius* ſeeing thẽ how iniuriouſly the ATHENIANS had vſed him, & at that time not knowing how to be reuenged of them: he modeſtly ſent vnto them only to make his complaints, and to demaund his ſhippes, among the which was that galley of ſixteen banckes of owers. The which when he had receiued, he hoyſed ſaile immediatly towards the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, and there found all things to go againſt him. For in euery place where he had left any garriſon, the Captaines that had the charge of them, either yeelded them vp, or elſe reuolted, & kept them againſt him. Therefore leauing *Pyrrhus* his Lieutenant in GRECE, he tooke ſea againe, & ſailed towards CHERRONESVS, & there with the miſchieues he did, & with the ſpoyles he got in king *Lyſimachus* land, he payed his men, and enriched his army, the which began againe to increaſe, & to be dreadfull to his enemies. But now for *Lyſimachus*, the other kings made no great account of him, neither did they ſturre to giue him aide, becauſe he was nothing inferiour vnto *Demetrius*: and for that he was of greater power and poſſeſsiõs then themſelues, they therefore were the more affrayed of him. Shortly after, *Seleucus* ſent vnto *Demetrius*, to require his daughter *Stratonice* in mariage, notwithſtanding that he had a ſonne already called *Antiochus*, by his wife *Apama* a PERSIAN. Howbeit he thought that his affaires and greatneſſe of his eſtate and kingdome, was able enough to maintaine many ſucceſſours after him. And furthermore, he conſidered with himſelfe that he ſhould haue neede of *Demetrius* allyance, becauſe he ſaw *Lyſimachus* himſelfe matche with one of *Ptolomyes* daughters, & his ſonne *Agathocles* with his other daughter. *Demetrius* ſeeing this good fortune offered him beyond all hope, preſently tooke his daughter with him, & ſayled with all his ſhippes directly towardes SYRIA. In the which voyage he was conſtrained of neceſsitie to land ſometimes, and ſpecially in CILICIA, the which *Pliſtarchus* the brother of *Caſſander* kept at that time, being giuen him by the other kings for his part and portion of the ſpoyle of *Antigonus*, after he was ouerthrowen. This *Pliſtarchus* thinking that *Demetrius* landed not to refreſh himſelfe, but to forrage and ſpoyle becauſe he would complaine of *Seleucus* for the allyance he made with their common enemie, without the conſent and priuitie of all the other Kings and Princes confederates, he went purpoſly vnto his brother *Caſſander*. *Demetrius* hauing intelligence thereof, ſodainly inuaded the land, and ſpoyled as farre as the citie of CYNDES, and caried away (which he had leauied) twelue hundred talentes, which he found yet left of his fathers treaſure: and then with all the ſpeede he could poſsible he returned to his ſhips, and hoyſed ſayle. Shortly after, his wife *Phila* alſo came vnto him. So *Seleucus* receiued them all neare vnto the citie of OROSSVS, and there their meeting was Princely, without ſorow or ſuſpition

*The vnfaithfulneſſe of the Athenians towardes Demetrius.*

*Ouer great honours are ſignes of vnconſtãt friendſhip.*

*Seleucus requireth Stratonice (Demetrius daughter) in mariage.*

*Pliſtarchus, the brother of Caſſander, at that time Gouernour of Cilicia.*

*Demetrius inuadeth Cilicia.*

one of the other. Firſt of all **Seleucus** did feaſt **Demetrius** in his tent, in the middeſt of his campe: and afterwardes **Demetrius** feaſted him againe in his galley, with thirteen bankes of owers. Thus they paſſed many dayes together, feaſting and reioycing ech with other, being vnarmed, and hauing no ſouldiers to wait vpon them: vntill at length **Seleucus** with his wife **Stratonice** departed, and tooke his way with great pompe towards the citie of ANTIOCH.

*Seleucus marieth Stratonice, Demetrius daughter.*

Now for **Demetrius**, he kept the prouince of CILICIA, and ſent his wife **Phila** vnto her brother **Caſſander**, to aunſwere the complaints and accuſations of **Pliſtarchus** againſt him. In the meane time **Deidamia** his wife departed out of GRECE to come vnto him: who after ſhe had remained with him a few dayes, dyed of a ſickeneſſe.

*The death of Deidamia Demetrius wife. Demetrius marieth Ptolemæide, Ptolomies daughter.*

Afterwardes **Demetrius** comming againe in fauour with **Ptolomie**, by **Seleucus** his ſonne in lawes meanes: he maried his daughter **Ptolemæide**. Hitherunto **Seleucus** vſed **Demetrius** very curteouſly: but afterwardes he prayed him to deliuer him CILICIA again, for a ſumme of money that he offered him: but **Demetrius** plainly denied him.

*Diſſention betwixt Demetrius and Seleucus. Platoes ſaying of riches.*

Then did **Seleucus** ſhew a cruell and tyrannicall couetouſnes: for in anger, and with fierce threats and countenaunce he asked him the cities of TYR, and SIDON. But therein me thinks he lacked honeſtie and ciuilitie: as though he that had vnder his obedience and ſubiection all that which lay betwixt the INDIANS, and the ſea of SYRIA, was in ſuch neede and pouertie: that for two cities only, he ſhould driue his father in law from him, who had ſuſtained ſo hard and bitter chaunge. But thereby he rightly confirmed **Platoes** ſaying: that he that will be rich in deede, muſt endeuour himſelfe not to increaſe his riches, but rather to diminiſh his couetouſneſſe. For he ſhall neuer be but a begger, and needy, whoſe couetous deſire hath no end. This notwithſtanding, **Demetrius** yeelded not for feare, but prouided to repleniſh the cities with good garriſons to keepe them againſt him: ſaying, that though he had bene ouercome ten thouſand times more in battell, yet it ſhould neuer ſincke into his head that he ſhould be contented, and thinke himſelfe happy to buy **Seleucus** allyance ſo deare. On the other ſide, being aduertiſed that one **Lachares** hauing ſpied oportunitie when the ATHENIANS were in ciuill warres one againſt the other, and that he had ouercome them, and did tyrannically vſurpe the gouernement: he then perſwaded himſelfe that he might eaſely winne it againe, if he came thither vpon the ſodaine.

*Demetrius iorney againſt the Athenians.*

Thereupon he croſſed the ſeas with a great fleete of ſhippes, without any daunger: but he had ſuch a great ſtorme and tempeſt vpon the coaſt of ATTICA, that he loſt the moſt part of his ſhippes, and a great number of men beſides. But for himſelfe he ſcaped, and began to make a litle warre with the ATHENIANS. Yet perceiuing that he did no good there, but loſt his time: he ſent ſome of his men to gather a number of his ſhips againe together, & he himſelfe in the meane time went into PELOPONNESVS, to lay ſiege to the citie of MESSENA, where his perſon was in great daunger. For fighting hard by the wall, he had ſuch a blow with a dart, that it hit him full in the mouth, and ranne through his cheeke. Notwithſtãding this, after he was healed of that wound, he brought into his ſubiection againe, certaine townes that had rebelled againſt him. After that, he returned again into ATTICA, & tooke the cities of ELEVSIN, and of RHAMNVS: & then ſpoyled all the country, & tooke a ſhip fraught with corne, & hong vp the marchaunt that ought it, & the maiſter of the ſhip that brought it. Thereby to terrifie all other marchaunts, that they ſhould be affrayed to bring any more corne thither, & ſo to famiſh the citie, by keeping them from all things neceſſarie for their ſuſtenance: and ſo it happened. For a buſhell of ſalt was ſold at ATHENS for fortie ſiluer Drachmas, and the buſhell of wheate for three hundred Drachmas. In this extreme neceſſitie, the ATHENIANS had but a ſhort ioy for the hundred and fiftie galleies they ſaw neare vnto ÆGINA, the which **Ptolomie** ſent to aide them. For when the ſouldiers that were in them ſaw that they brought vnto **Demetrius** a great number of ſhips out of PELOPONNESVS, out of CYPRVS, & diuers other parts, which amounted in the whole to the number of three hundred ſayle: they weyed their anckers, and fled preſently. Then **Lachares** forſooke the city, and ſecretly ſaued himſelfe.

*The Atheniãs do yeeld vnto Demetrius.*

Now the ATHENIANS, who before had commaunded vpon paine of death, that no man ſhould make any motion to the councell, to treate of any peace with **Demetrius**: they did then vpon **Lachares** flying, preſently open the gates next vnto **Demetrius** campe, and ſent Ambaſſadours vnto him, not looking for any grace or peace, but becauſe neceſſitie draue them to it. During this ſo hard and ſtraight ſiege, there fell out many wonderfull and ſtraunge things: but among others,this one is of ſpeciall note. It is reported that the father and the ſonne ſitting in their houſe, voyde of all hope of life: there fell a dead rat before them from the toppe of the houſe, and that the father and ſonne ſought who ſhould haue it to eate, Moreouer,that at the ſelfe ſame ſiege the Philoſopher *Epicurus* maintained himſelfe and his ſchollers, by giuing them a proportion of beanes euery day, by the which they liued. Thus the citie of ATHENS being brought vnto this extremitie, *Demetrius* made his entrie into it,and gaue commaundement to all the citizens, that they ſhould aſſemble euery man within the Theater: where he made them to be compaſſed in with armed ſouldiers, and then placed all his gard armed about the ſtage. Afterwardes he came downe himſelfe into the Theater,through high galleries and entries by the which the common players vſed to come to play their partes in tragedies, in ſomuch as the ATHENIANS were then worſe affrayed then before: howbeit *Demetrius* preſently pacified their feare, as ſoone as he began to ſpeake vnto them. For he did not faſhion his oration with a haſtie angry voyce, neither did he vſe any ſharpe or bitter wordes: but onely after he had curteouſly told them their faultes and diſcurteſie towardes him, he ſayd he forgaue them,and that he would be their friend againe: and furthermore, he cauſed ten millions of buſhels of wheate to be giuen vnto them, and ſtabliſhed ſuch Gouernours there, as the people miſliked not of. Then *Democles* the Orator, ſeeing that the people gaue out great ſhoutes of ioy in the prayſe of *Demetrius*,& that the Orators dayly contended in the pulpit for orations,who ſhould exceede other in preferring new honors for *Demetrius*: he cauſed an order to be made,that the hauẽs of PIRÆVS & MVNYCHIA ſhould be put into *Demetrius* hãds, to vſe at his pleaſure. This being ſtabliſhed by voyces of the people, *Demetrius* of his owne priuate authoritie did place a great garriſon within the forte called MVSÆVM, becauſe the people ſhould rebell no more againſt him, nor diuert him from his other enterpriſes. Thus when he had taken ATHENS,he went to ſet vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS. But *Archidamus* king of LACEDÆMON, came againſt him with a puiſſant army, whom he diſcomfited in battell,and put to flight, by the citie of MANTINEA. After that he inuaded LACONIA with all his army,& made an inrode to the citie of SPARTA, where he once againe ouerthrew the LACEDÆMONIANS in ſet battell, tooke fiue hundred of them priſoners, and ſlue two hundred: in ſomuch that euery man thought he might euen then go to SPARTA without any daunger to take it, the which had neuer yet bene taken afore by any. But there was neuer king that had ſo often and ſodaine chaunges of fortune as *Demetrius*, nor that in other affaires was euer ſo often litle,and then great: ſo ſodainly downe, and vp againe: ſo weake,and ſtraight ſo ſtrong. And therefore it is reported,that in his great aduerſities whẽ fortune turned ſo cõtrary againſt him, he was wont to cry out vpon fortune,that which *AEſchylus* ſpeaketh in a place:

*A rare deuiſe of Epicurus, at the ſtraight ſiege of Athens, to keepe his ſchollers aliue with beanes.*

*Demetrius clemencie vnto the Athenians.*

*Demetrius iorney againſt the Lacedæmonians.*

*Demetrius variable fortune.*

*Thou ſeemſt to haue begotton me, of purpoſe for to ſhow*
*Thy force in lifting of me vp, me downe againe to throw.*

Now againe when his affaires proſpered ſo well, and that he was likely to recouer a great force and kingdome: newes were brought him, firſt that *Lyſimachus* had taken all his townes from him,which he held in ASIA: and on the other ſide, that *Ptolomie* had won from him all the realme of CYPRVS, the citie of SALAMINA onely excepted, in the which he kept his mother and children very ſtraightly beſieged. This notwithſtanding,fortune played with him,as the wicked woman *Archilochus* ſpeaketh of, who,

*Demetrius misfortunes.*

*Did in the one hand water ſhow,*
*And in the other fire beſtow.*

For taking him away, and (as it were) the citie of SPARTA alſo out of his handes by theſe dreadfull newes, euen when he was certaine to haue won it: ſhe preſently offered him hopes of other great and new things, by this occaſion following. After the death of *Caſſander*, *Philip* who was the eldeſt of all his other ſonnes,and left his heire and ſucceſſour in the kingdome of MACEDON: he reigned no long time ouer the MACEDONIANS, but deceaſed ſoone after his father was dead. The two other brethren alſo fell at great variance, and warres together: ſo that the one called *Antipater*, ſlue his owne mother *Theſſalonica*: and the other being *Alexander*, called in to aide him *Demetrius*, and *Pyrrhus*, the one out of the realme of EPIRVS, and the other out of PELOPONNESVS. *Pyrrhus* came firſt before *Demetrius*, and kept a great

*Great diſſention and ſtrife for the realme of Macedon, after the death of Caſſander.*

*Antipater and Alexander, the ſonnes of Caſſander.*

part of MACEDON for recompence of his paynes, comming to aide him at his deſire: ſo that he became a dreadfull neighbour vnto *Alexander* himſelf, that had ſent for him into his country. Furthermore, when he was aduertiſed that *Demetrius* did preſently vpon the receite of his letters, ſet forward with all his armie to come to ayde him: the young Prince *Alexander*, was twiſe as much more amazed and affrayed, for the great eſtate and eſtimation of *Demetrius*. So he went to him notwithſtanding, and receiued him at a place called *Deion*, and there imbraced and welcomed him. But immediatly after, he told him that his affaires were now in ſo good ſtate, that prayſed be the goddes he ſhould not now neede his preſence to aide him. After theſe wordes the one began to miſtruſt the other. So it chaunced one day, that as *Demetrius* went to *Alexanders* lodging where the feaſt was prepared: there came one to him to tell him of an ambuſh that was layed for him, and how they had determined to kill him when he ſhould thinke to be merie at the banket. But *Demetrius* was nothing abaſhed at the newes, and onely went a litle ſoftlier, not making ſuch haſt as he did before, and in the meane time ſent to commaunde his Captaines to arme their men, and to haue them in readineſſe: and willed his gentlemen and all the reſt of his officers that were about him, (which were a greater number by many then thoſe of *Alexanders* ſide) euery man of them to go in with him into the hall, and to tarie there till he roſe from the table. By this meanes the men whom *Alexander* had appointed to aſſault him, they durſt not, being affrayed of the great traine he had brought with him. Furthermore, *Demetrius* faining that he was not well at eaſe at that time to make merie, he went immediatly out of the hall, and the next morning determined to depart, making him beleeue that he had certaine newes brought him of great importance: and prayed *Alexander* to pardon him, that he could no longer keepe him companie, for that he was driuen of neceſſitie to depart from him, and that an other time they would meete together, with better leaſure and libertie. *Alexander* was very glad to ſee that *Demetrius* went his way out of MACEDON not offended, but of his owne good will: whereupon he brought him into THESSALY, and when they were come to the citie of LARISSA, they began againe to feaſt one an other, to intrappe eche other: the which offered *Demetrius* occaſion to haue *Alexander* in his hand, as he would wiſh himſelfe. For *Alexander* of purpoſe would not haue his gard about him fearing leaſt thereby he ſhould teach *Demetrius* alſo to ſtand vpon his gard. Thus *Alexander* turned his practiſe for an other, vpon himſelfe: for he was determined not to ſuffer *Demetrius* to ſcape his handes, if he once againe came within daunger. So *Alexander* being bidden to ſupper to *Demetrius*, he came accordingly. *Demetrius* riſing from the bord in the middeſt of ſupper, *Alexander* roſe alſo, being affrayed of that ſtraunge manner, and followed him foote by foote to the very doore. Then *Demetrius* ſayd but to his warders at the gate, kill him that followeth me. With thoſe wordes he went out of the doores, and *Alexander* that followed him was ſlaine in the place, and certaine of his gentlemen with him which came to reſcue him: of the which, one of them as they killed him ſayd, that *Demetrius* had preuented them but one day. All that night, (as it is no other likely) was full of vprore and tumult. Howbeit, the next morning the MACEDONIANS being maruellouſly troubled and affrayed of *Demetrius* great power, whẽ they ſaw that no man came to aſſaile them, but that *Demetrius* in contrary maner ſent vnto them to tell them that he would ſpeake with them, and deliuer them reaſon for that he had done: then they all began to be bold againe, and willingly gaue him audience. Now *Demetrius* needed not to vſe many wordes, nor to make any long Orations, to win them vnto him: for, becauſe they hated *Antipater* as a horrible mãqueller and murtherer of his mother, and becauſe they had no better man to preferre, they eaſily choſe *Demetrius* king of MACEDON, and thereupon brought him backe into MACEDON, to take poſſeſsion of the kingdome. This chaunge was not miſliked of the other MACEDONIANS that remained at home in their country, for that they yet remembred the traiterours and wicked fact of *Caſſander*, againſt *Alexander* the great: for which cauſe they vtterly hated & deteſted all his iſſue and poſteritie. And furthermore, if there were any ſparke of remembrance in their harts, of the bounty and goodneſſe of their grandfather *Antipater*: *Demetrius* receiued the fruite and benefit, for his wife *Philaes* ſake, by whom he had a ſonne that ſhould ſucceede him in the kingdom, and was a proper youth, in campe with his father. *Demetrius* hauing this great good happe and fortune come

*Demetrius inuaded Macedon.*

*Wyles betwixt Alexander & Demetrius.*

*Demetrius killeth Alexāder the ſonne of Caſſander.*

*Demetrius proclaymed king of Macedon.*

vnto him, he receiued newes alſo that P*tolomy* had not onely raiſed his ſiege from the citie of SALAMINA, where he kept his mother and children ſtraightly beſieged: but further, that he had done them great honour, and beſtowed great giftes vpon them. On the other ſide alſo he was aduertiſed, that his daughter *Stratonice*, who had before bene maried vnto *Seleucus*, was now maried againe vnto *Antiochus*, the ſonne of the ſayd *Seleucus*, and how that ſhe was crowned Queene of all the barbarous nations inhabiting in the high prouinces of ASIA: and that came to paſſe in this maner. It chaunced that this young Prince *Antiochus* (as loue ouercommeth all men) became in loue with his mother in law *Stratonice*, who already had a ſonne by *Seleucus* his father. She being young, & paſsing fayre, he was ſo rauiſhed with her, that though he proued all the wayes poſsible to maiſter his furie and paſsion that way: yet he was ſtill the weaker. So that in the end, condemning himſelfe to death becauſe he found his deſire abhominable, his paſsion incurable, and his reaſon vtterly ouercome: he reſolued to kill himſelfe by litle and litle, with abſtinence from meate and drinke, and made no other reckoning to remedy his griefe, faining to haue ſome ſecret inward diſeaſe in his body. Yet could he not ſo finely cloke it, but that *Eraſiſtratus* the Phiſitian eaſily found his griefe, that loue, not ſickneſſe, was his infirmitie: howbeit it was hard for him to imagine with whom he was in loue. *Eraſiſtratus* being earneſtly bent to finde out the partie he loued, he ſat by this young Prince all day long in his chamber, and when any fayre young boy or wife came to ſee him, he earneſtly looked *Antiochus* in the face, and carefully obſerued all the partes of the body, and outward mouings, which do commonly bewray the ſecret paſsions & affections of the minde. So hauing marked him diuers times, that when others came to ſee him, whatſoeuer they were, he ſtill remained in one ſelfe ſtate, and that when *Stratonice* his mother in law came alone or in company of her husband *Seleucus* to viſite him, he commonly perceiued thoſe ſignes in him, which *Sappho* writeth to be in louers (to wit, that his wordes & ſpeach did faile him, his colour became red, his eyes ſtill rowled to & fro, and then a ſodaine ſweat would take him, his pulſe would beate faſt and riſe high, and in the end, that after the force and power of his hart had failed him, and ſhewed all theſe ſignes, he became like a man in an extaſie and traunſe, & white as a kearcher) he then gathering a true coniecture by theſe ſo manifeſt ſignes and declarations, that it was onely *Stratonice* whom this young Prince fanſied, and the which he forced himſelfe to keepe ſecret to the death: thought that to bewray it to the king it would offend him much, but yet truſting to his great affection & fatherly loue he bare to his ſonne, he ventured one day to tell him, that his ſonnes ſickneſſe was no other but loue, and withall, that his loue was impoſsible to be enioyed, and therefore that he muſt of neceſsitie dye, for it was incurable. *Seleucus* was cold at the hart to heare theſe newes: ſo he asked him, what, is he incurable? Yea, Sir, aunſwered the Phiſitian, becauſe he is in loue with my wife. Then replied *Seleucus* againe, alas *Eraſiſtratus*, I haue alwayes loued thee as one of my deareſt friends, and wouldeſt thou not now do me this pleaſure, to let my ſonne marry thy wife, ſith thou knoweſt it well that I haue no mo ſonnes but he, and that I ſee he is but caſt away, if thou helpe me not? But your grace would not do it your ſelfe, ſayd *Eraſiſtratus*: if he were in loue with *Stratonice*. O, ſayd *Seleucus* to him againe, that it were the will of the gods, ſome god or man could turne his loue that way: for mine owne part, I would not onely leaue him the thing he loued, but I would giue my kingdome alſo to ſaue his life. Thē *Eraſiſtratus* ſeeing that the king ſpake theſe wordes frō his hart, and with abundance of teares: he tooke him by the right hand, and told him plainly, your grace needeth not *Eraſiſtratus* helpe in this. For being father, husband, and king, your ſelfe alſo may onely be the Phiſitian, to cure your ſonnes diſeaſe. When *Seleucus* heard that, he called an aſſemblie of the people, and declared before them all that he was determined to crown his ſonne *Antiochus* king of the high prouinces of ASIA, & *Stratonice* Queene, to marry them together: and that he was perſwaded that his ſonne, (who had alwayes ſhewed him ſelfe obedient to his fathers will) would not diſobey him in this mariage. And as for *Stratonice*, if ſhe miſliked this mariage, and would not conſent vnto it becauſe it was no common matter: then he prayed that his friends would perſwade her ſhe ſhould thinke all good & comely that ſhould pleaſe the king; and withall that concerned the generall benefit of the realme and common wealth. Hereupon *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* were married together. But now to returne

*Antiochus, the ſonne of Seleucus maried his mother in law Stratonice, with his fathers good will.*

*Eraſiſtratus Phiſitian to Seleucus.*

*Eraſiſtratus the Phiſitians care, to finde out the young Prince Antiochus loue.*

*Sappho deſcribeth the ſignes and tokens of a paſſioned louer.*

*Seleucus loue vnto his ſonne Antiochus.*

again to the hiſtory of *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* came by the kingdome of MACEDON & THESSALIE, by this meanes as you haue heard, and did moreouer poſſeſſe the beſt part of PELOPONNESVS, and on this ſide the ſtraight, the cities of MEGARA, & ATHENS. Furthermore he led his army againſt the BOEOTIANS, who were at the firſt willing to make peace with him. But after that *Cleonymus* king of SPARTA was come into the citie of THEBES with his army, the BOEOTIANS encouraged by the faire words & allurement of one *Piſis*, borne in the city of THESPIS, who at that time bare all the ſway & chiefe authoritie amongſt them: they gaue vp their treaty of peace they had begun with *Demetrius* & determined to make warre. Therupon *Demetrius* wēt to beſiege the city of THEBES, & layd his engines of battery vnto it: in ſomuch as *Cleonymus* for feare, ſtale ſecretly out of the citie. Thereupon the THEBANS being alſo affrayed, yeelded themſelues vnto *Demetrius* mercy: who putting great garriſons into the cities, & hauing leauied a great ſumme of money of the prouince, left them *Hieronymus* the hiſtoriographer, his Lieutenant & Gouernour there. So it appeared that he vſed them very curteouſly, & did them many pleaſures, and ſpecially vnto *Piſis*. For when he had taken him priſoner, he did him no hurt, but receiued him very curteouſly, and vſed him well: and furthermore, he made him Polemarchus, (to wit, campe maiſter) in the city of THESPIS. Shortly after theſe things were thus brought to paſſe, king *Lyſimachus* by chaunce was taken by an other barbarous Prince called *Dromichetes*. Thereupon, *Demetrius*, to take ſuch a noble occaſion offred him, went with a great army to inuade the coũtry of THRACIA, ſuppoſing he ſhould find no man to withſtand him, but that he might conquer it at his pleaſure. Howbeit, ſo ſoone as *Demetrius* backe was turned, the BOEOTIANS reuolted again from him, & therwithall newes was brought him, that *Lyſimachus* was deliuered out of priſon. Then he returned backe with all ſpeede, maruellouſly offended with the BOEOTIANS, whom he found already diſcomfited in battell, by his ſonne *Antigonus*, & went againe to lay ſiege to the citie of THEBES, being the chiefe city of all that prouince of BOEOTIA. But at that preſent time, *Pyrrhus* came & forraged all THESSALIE, and entred euen to the ſtraight of THERMOPILES. Therfore *Demetrius* was conſtrained to leaue his ſonne to continue the ſiege at THEBES, whileſt he himſelfe went againſt *Pyrrhus*, who ſodainly returned againe into his realme. So *Demetrius* left ten thouſand footemen, & a thouſand horſemen in THESSALY to defend the country, & returned with the reſt of his army to win THEBES. Thereupon he brought his great engine of batterie called Elepolis, againſt the wall, as you haue heard before, the which was thruſt forward by litle and litle, with great labour, by reaſon of the waight & heauines of it: ſo that it could ſcant be driuē forward two furlongs in two months. But the BOEOTIANS & the THEBANS did valiãtly defend themſelues: and *Demetrius* of a malitious minde and deſire of reuenge, (more oftner then needefull, or to any purpoſe) compelled his men to go to the aſſault, and to hazard themſelues: ſo that there were daily a great number of them ſlaine. *Antigonus* his ſonne perceiuing it: alas, ſayd he, why do we thus ſuffer our men to be ſlaine and caſt away to no purpoſe? Wherefore *Demetrius* angrily aunſwered him againe: what needeſt thou to care? Is there any* corne to be diſtributed to thoſe that are dead? But notwithſtanding, becauſe men ſhould not thinke he ſtill meant to put others in daunger, and durſt not venture himſelfe: he fought with them, till at length he was ſhot through the necke with a ſharpe arrow head, that was ſhot at him from the wall. Wherewithall he fell very ſicke, but yet raiſed not his ſiege, nor remoued his campe, but tooke the citie of THEBES againe by aſſault: the which being not long before againe repleniſhed with people, was in ten yeares ſpace twiſe won and taken. Now he put the THEBANS in a maruellous feare, by his cruell threats he gaue them at his cõming into THEBES: ſo that they looked to haue receiued the extremeſt puniſhment the vanquiſhed could haue, through the iuſt wrath and anger of the conquerour. Howbeit after *Demetrius* had put thirteen of them to death, and baniſhed ſome: he pardoned all the reſt. About that time fell out the celebration of the feaſt called Pythia, in the honour of *Apollo*: and becauſe the ÆTOLIANS kept all the high wayes to bring them vnto the city of DELPHES in the which of old time they did vſe to celebrate thoſe ſports aforeſaid: he cauſed them to be kept and ſolemniſed at ATHENS as in a place where this god in reaſon ſhould be beſt honored & reuerenced, becauſe he was patrone of the citie, and for that the ATHENIANS maintained that he was their progenitor. From thence he

returned

*The citie of Thebes yeelded vnto Demetrius.*

*Hieronymus the hiſtoriographer, Demetrius Lieutenaunt.*

**Corne monthly diſtributed to the ſouldiers, as their wages.*

returned into Macedon,& knowing that it was againſt his nature to liue idlely, & in peace, & ſeing on the other ſide alſo that the Macedonians did him more ſeruice,& were more obediēt to him in warres,& that in time of peace they grew ſeditious,full of vanity & quarell:he went to make warre with the Ætolians,& after he had ſpoiled & deſtroyed their country, he left *Pantauchus* his Lieutenant there,with a great part of his army. *Demetrius* himſelfe went in the meane time with the reſt of his army againſt *Pyrrhus*: and *Pyrrhus* alſo againſt him, but they miſſed of meeting ech with other. Whereupon *Demetrius* paſſed further vnto the realme of Epirus,the which he ſpoiled & forraged. *Pyrrhus* on the other ſide went on ſo farre that he met with *Pantauchus*,*Demetrius* Lieutenant with whom he fought a battell, & came to the ſword with him:ſo that he did both hurt him,and was alſo hurt by him. But in the end *Pyrrhus* had the vpper hand,he put *Pantauchus* to flight,& ſlue a great number of his men,& tooke fiue thouſand priſoners:the which was the chiefe ouerthrow of *Demetrius*. For *Pyrrhus* wan not the Macedonians ill will ſo much for the miſchieues & hurts he had done vnto thē, as he got himſelfe great fame & renowne with thē, becauſe himſelfe alone had with his own hands done all the noble exploits of warre in that iourney: for the which, he was afterwardes had in great eſtimation among the Macedonians. Now many of them began to ſay, that he was the only king of all others, in whom the liuely image of the hardines & valiantnes of *Alexander* the great was to be ſeene: and that all the reſt,( but ſpecially *Demetrius*) did but counterfeit his grauitie and Princely countenaunce, like players vpon a ſtage that would counterfeit his countenance & geſture. And to ſay truly, there was much fineneſſe and curioſity about *Demetrius*,to make him a playing ſtocke in cōmon playes. For ſome ſay, that he did not only weare a great hat with his diademe vpon his head, & was apparelled in purple gownes imbrodered with gold: but alſo that he did vſe to weare certaine wollen ſhooes on his feete died in purple colour,not wouen,but faſhioned together like a felt, & gild vpon it. And furthermore,he had long before cauſed a cloke to be made of a maruellous rich & ſumptuous peece of worke. For vpon it was drawen the figure of the world,with ſtarres and circles of heauen,the which was not throughly finiſhed by the chaunge of his fortune. So,there was neuer king of Macedon after him that durſt weare it: albeit there were many proud and arrogant kings that ſucceeded him. Now the Macedonians were not onely ſory,and offended to ſee ſuch things, as they were not wont to be acquainted withall: but they much more miſliked this curious maner of life,& ſpecially becauſe he was ill to come to,and worſe to be ſpoken with. For he gaue no audiēce,or if he did,he was very rough,& would ſharply take them vp that had to do with him. As,he kept the Ambaſſadors of the Athenians two yeares,& would geue thē no anſwere: & yet made as though he loued them better,then any other people of Grece. An other time alſo he was offended, becauſe the Lacedæmonians had ſent but one mā only Ambaſſador vnto him,taking it that they had done it in deſpight of him. And ſo did the Ambaſſador of the Lacedæmonians anſwer him very gallātly,after the Laconian maner. For whē *Demetrius* asked him,how chaūceth it that the Lacædemonians do ſend but one man vnto me? No more but one,ſaid he,O king,vnto one. On a time he came abroad more plainly & popular like,then he was wont to do:whereby he put the people in good hope that they might the eaſilier ſpeake with him,and that he would more curteouſly heare their complaints. Thereupon many came,and put vp their humble ſupplications and bils of petition vnto him. He receiued them,& put them vp in the lappe of his cloke. The poore ſuters were glad of that,and waited vpon him at his heeles, hoping they ſhould quickely be diſpatched: but when he was vpon the bridge of the riuer of Axius,he opened his cloke,& caſt them all into the riuer. This went to the harts of the Macedonians,who then thought they were no more gouerned by a king,but oppreſſed by a tyrant & it grieued them ſo much more,becauſe they did yet remember (either for that they had ſeene themſelues, or otherwiſe heard their forefathers ſay) how curteous king *Philip* was in all ſuch matters, and how that one day as he paſſed through the ſtreete,a poore old woman pluckt him by the gowne, and eftſoones humbly beſought him to heare her, but he aunſwered her he was not then at leaſure. Whereupon the poore woman plainly cried out to him,leaue then to be king. This word ſo nettled him, and he tooke ſuch a cōceit of it, that he returned preſently to his pallace,and ſetting all other matters a part,did no-

*Demetrius iorney againſt Pyrrhus.*

*Demetrius inſolencie.*

*Demetrius cloke drawen with the figure of the world, and ſtarres.*

*The plaine aunſwere of the Ambaſſador of Sparta, vnto Demetrius.*

*Axius fl.*

*The prayſe of king Philips curteſie.*

*The bold ſpeach of a poore woman to king Philip.*

thing elſe many dayes but gaue himſelfe to heare all ſutes, and began with this poore old woman. For truly nothing becommeth a Prince better, thẽ to miniſter iuſtice: for *Mars* (as *Timotheus* ſaith) ſignifieth force, & is a tyrant: but iuſtice & law, according to *Pindarus*, is Queene of all the world. Moreouer, the wiſe Poet *Homer* ſaith not that Princes and Kings haue receiued the cuſtody of engines, & of munitiõ, neither alſo ſtrõg & mighty ſhips of *Iupiter*, to keepe thẽ to deſtroy townes withall: but with them to maintaine law & iuſtice. And therefore he calleth not the cruell & bloudy king, but the iuſt and mercifull Prince, *Iupiters* friend & ſcholler. And *Demetrius* boaſted that he had a name & title contrary vnto *Iupiter*, whom they called *Polieus*, or *Poliouchos*, ſignifying protector and preſeruer of cities: and that he was called *Poliorcetes*, a Fortgainer. Thus the ill was taken for the good, & vice preferred for vertue: becauſe he could not diſcerne the truth frõ falſehood, which turned his iniuſtice to glory, & iniquity to honour. But now to returne where we left: *Demetrius* fell into a great & daungerous ſickeneſſe in the citie of PELLA, during which time he almoſt loſt all MACEDON, by a ſodaine inuaſion *Pyrrhus* made, who in maner rode it all ouer, & came as farre as the city of EDESSA. Howbeit ſo ſoone as he recouered health again, he eaſily draue him out, & afterwardes made peace with him, becauſe he would not fighting with him (whõ he ſhould haue daily at his doores ſtil ſkirmiſhing ſometime here, ſometime there) loſe the oportunity, and weaken himſelf to bring that to paſſe which he had determined. For he had no ſmall matters in his head, but thought to recouer all the realmes his father had: and beſides, the preparation he made was no leſſe ſufficiẽt, then the purpoſe of ſuch an imagination required. For he had leauied & aſſembled an army of a hũdred thouſand footemen, lacking but two thouſand: and vnto them he had alſo well neare twelue thouſand horſemen, and had beſides gotten aboue fiue hundred ſhippes together, which were built part in the hauen of PIRÆVS, part at CORINTH, part in the city of CHALCIS, and part about PELLA. He himſelfe in perſon went through their workehouſes, & ſhewed the artificers how they ſhould make them, & did helpe to deuiſe them: ſo that euery man wondred not only at his infinite preparation, but at the greatnes & ſumptuouſnes of his workes. For at that time there was no man liuing that euer ſaw a gally of fifteen or ſixteen bankes of owers. But this is true, that afterwardes *Ptolomie*, ſurnamed *Philopator*, built a gally of forty bankes of owers, the which was two hundred foure ſcore cubits long, & from the keele in height to the top of the poope, eight & forty cubits: & to looke to the tackle & guide her, required foure hundred mariners, & foure thouſand water men to row her, & beſides all that ſhe could yet cary aboue the hatches, well neare three thouſand fighting mẽ. Howbeit this gally neuer ſerued to other purpoſe but for ſhew, & was like to a houſe that neuer ſturred: & it was neuer remoued out of the place where it was built but with maruellous a do, & great dãger, more to make men wõder at it, then for any ſeruice or commodity it could be imployed vnto. But now, the beauty of *Demetrius* ſhips did nothing hinder their ſwiftneſſe & goodnes for fight, neither did the hugenes of their building take away the vſe of them, but their ſwiftneſſe and nimblenes deſerued more commendation, then their ſumptuouſnes & ſtatelineſſe. Thus as this great power & preparation was in hand, being ſuch as neuer king before (ſince the time of *Alexander* the great) had aſſembled a greater to inuade ASIA: theſe three kings, *Ptolomy*, *Seleucus*, and *Lyſimachus*, did all ioyne together againſt him. And afterwardes alſo, they ſent Ambaſſadours vnto *Pyrrhus* in the name of thẽ all, to draw him to their ſide, alluring him to come into MACEDON, perſwading him not to repoſe any truſt in the peace *Demetrius* had made with him, to make account of at as a good & ſure place: for, they ſaid that *Demetrius* did not giue him pledge that he would neuer make warre with him, but rather firſt tooke oportunity himſelf to make warre with whõ he thought good. *Pyrrhus* conſidering ſo much, & finding their words true, there roſe a ſharpe & cruell warre on euery ſide againſt *Demetrius*, who tracted time, & ſtayed yet to begin. For at one ſelfe time, *Ptolomie* with a great fleete of ſhippes came downe into GRECE, and made all GRECE reuoult frõ him: & *Lyſimachus* alſo on THRACIAES ſide, & *Pyrrhus* vpon the borders of EPIRVS, cõfining with the realme of MACEDON, they entred with a great army, & ſpoyled and ſacked all as they went. Thereupon *Demetrius* leauing his ſonne *Antigonus* in GRECE, he returned with all poſſible ſpeed into MACEDON, to go firſt againſt *Lyſimachus*. But as he was preparing to go againſt him, newes were brought him that *Pyrrhus* had already taken the city

*The chiefeſt office of a king.*

*Demetrius called a Fortgainer.*

*Demetrius armie & preparation for the recouering of his realme againe.*

*Ptolomies wõderfull galley of forty bankes of owers.*

*Three kings Seleucus, Ptolomie, and Lyſimachus conſpired againſt Demetrius.*

of BERRHOEA. This newes being blowen abroad amõgſt the MACEDONIANS, all *Demetrius* doings were turned topſie turuey. For all his campe was ſtraight full of teares & complaints, & his men begã openly to ſhew their anger againſt him, ſpeaking all the ill they could of him, ſo that they would tary no lõger, but euery one prayed leaue to depart, pretending to looke to their buſineſſe at home, but in truth to go & yeeld themſelues vnto *Lyſimachus*. Wherfore *Demetrius* thought it beſt for him to get him as farre from *Lyſimachus* as he could, and to bend all his army againſt *Pyrrhus*: becauſe the other was their coũtry man, & familiarly knowen amõg the moſt of them, for that they had ſerued together vnder *Alexander* the great, and that as he thought, the MACEDONIANS would not preferre *Pyrrhus* a ſtrãger, before him. But there his iudgement failed him. For as ſoone as *Pyrrhus* had pitched his campe hard by him, the MACEDONIANS that had euer loued valiantneſſe, and had of ancient time eſteemed him worthier to be king, that was the beſt ſouldier and valianteſt in the field, and furthermore had heard the report of his great clemency & curteſie he had ſhewed to the priſoners he had taken: they hauing had good will of long time ſought but good occaſion to forſake *Demetrius*, and to yeeld them ſelues vnto *Pyrrhus*, or to any other Prince whatſoeuer he were. Then they ſecretly began to ſteale away one after an other, by ſmall companies at the firſt: but afterwardes there roſe ſuch a generall tumult againſt him throughout all the campe, that ſome of thẽ were ſo deſperat to go into his tent to bid him flie, and ſaue himſelfe, becauſe the MACEDONIANS were too weary with fighting for his curioſitie. And yet *Demetrius* found theſe words more gentle, & modeſt, in reſpect of the vile & cruell words which others gaue him. So he went into his tent, & caſt a blacke cloke about his face, in ſtead of his rich and ſtately cloke he was wont to weare: not like vnto a king, but like a cõmon player when the play is done, & then ſecretly ſtale away. When this was knowen in the campe, many of his ſouldiers ran to his tent to rifle it, and euery man tooke ſuch hold of it to haue his part, that they tare it in peeces, and drew their ſwords to fight for it. But *Pyrrhus* cõming in the middeſt of the tumult, pacified this ſturre, & preſently without blow giuẽ, wan all *Demetrius* campe: & afterwardes he deuided the realme of MACEDON with *Lyſimachus*, in the which *Demetrius* had quietly raigned the ſpace of ſeuen yeares. Now *Demetrius* being thus miſerably ouerthrowẽ, & turned out of his realme: he fled vnto the citie of CASSANDRIA. There he found his wife *Phila*, who tooke it maruellous heauily, and could not abide to ſee him againe a priuate man, driuen out of his kingdome, and the moſt miſerable king that euer was of all other. Wherefore intending no more to follow vaine hope, and deteſting the fortune of her husband: ſhe being more conſtant in calamitie then in proſperitie, killed her ſelfe with poyſon ſhe tooke. *Demetrius* went from thence into GRECE, purpoſing to gather together the reſt of his ſhipwrackes: and there aſſembled all his Captaines and friendes that he had. So it ſeemeth to me, the compariſon *Menelaus* maketh of his fortune, in one of the tragedies of *Sophocles*, in theſe verſes:

*Demetrius armie forſaketh him, and goeth to Pyrrhus.*

*Phila, Demetrius wife poyſoneth her ſelf.*

*My ſtate doth turne continually about on fortunes wheele,*
*VVhoſe double dealing diuers times inforſt I am to feele:*
*Reſembling right the moone whoſe face abideth at no ſtay*
*Two nights together, but doth chaunge in ſhape from day to day:*
*At firſt ſhe riſeth ſmall with hornes. And as in age ſhe growes,*
*VVith fuller cheekes and brighter light a greater face ſhe ſhewes.*
*And when ſhe commeth to the full, and ſhineth fayre and bright,*
*Among the goodly gliſtring ſtarres the goodlyeſt in the night:*
*She fades and falles away againe, and runnes a counterpace,*
*Vntill ſhe haue forgone the light and figure of her face.*

*Demetrius ſtraunge fortune.*

This compariſon might I ſay much better be applied vnto *Demetrius* fortune, to his riſing and falling, and to his ouerthrow and reliefe againe. For when euery man thought his force and power vtterly ouerthrowen, then began he to riſe againe by repayre of ſouldiers, which by litle and litle came vnto him, and ſtraight reuiued him with good hope. This was the firſt time that he was euer ſeene meanely apparelled, like a priuate man vp and downe the country, without ſome ſhew or tokens of a king. And there was one that ſeeing him in this eſtate at THEBES, pleaſauntly applied theſe verſes of *Euripides* vnto him:

*Demetrius miſerie from Princely happineſſe.*

*Of god immortall, now become a mortall wight:*
*Iſmenus bankes and Dirces ſtreames he haunteth in our ſight.*

*Crates the Philoſopher deliuereth Athens from Demetrius ſiege.*

*Demetrius maried Ptolemaide.*

*Demetrius troubles in Aſia.*

Now when he began to haue ſome hope againe, and was(as it were)entred into the great high way of kings, and had gotten ſouldiers about him, which made a body and ſhew of royall power: he reſtored the THEBANS their libertie and gouernement againe. But the ATHENIANS once more reuolted from him, and did reuoke the dignitie and Prieſthood of *Diphilus*, who had bene that yeare created Prieſt of the ſauiours, in ſtead of the Gouernour, which they called in old time Eponymos, as we haue told you before: and made a law, that from thenceforth the auncient and common Gouernours of their citie ſhould be reſtored againe to their auncient manner: and they ſent alſo into MACEDON vnto king *Pyrrhus*, rather to terrifie *Demetrius* (whom they ſaw begin to riſe againe) then for any hope they had he would come and helpe them. Howbeit *Demetrius* came againſt them with great furie, and did ſtraightly beſiege the citie of ATHENS. Then the ATHENIANS ſent *Crates* the Philoſopher to him, a man of great eſtimation and authoritie, who ſo handled him, partly by intreatie, and partly alſo through his wiſe perſwaſions and counſels he gaue him for his profit:that *Demetrius* preſently raiſed his ſiege. Wherefore, after he had gathered together ſo many ſhippes as were left him, and had imbarked twelue thouſand footemen, and a ſmall number of horſemen: he preſently tooke ſea,and ſailed towardes ASIA, meaning to take the prouinces of CARIA & LYDIA from *Lyſimachus*,and to make them to rebell againſt him. There *Eurydice*,ſiſter to his wife *Phila*, receiued him by the citie of MILETVM, hauing with her one of *Ptolomyes* daughters and hers,called *Ptolemaide*, the which had bene afore affianced to him by *Seleucus* meanes. So he maried *Ptolemaide* there,with the good will and conſent of her mother *Eurydice*. After his mariage he preſently went into the field againe, and did ſet forwardes to winne ſome cities,whereof many willingly receiued him, and others he tooke by force. Amongſt them he tooke the city of SARDIS, whither came diuers Captaines vnto him of king *Lyſimachus*,who yeelded themſelues,and brought him a great number of men,and much money beſides. But *Demetrius* receiuing aduertiſement that *Agathocles*,*Lyſimachus* ſonne, followed him with a great army: he went thence into PHRYGIA,making account, and alſo hoping,that if he could winne ARMENIA,he might eaſily make MEDIA rebell, and then that he would ſee if he could conquer the high prouinces of ASIA,where he might haue many places of refuge, if fortune turned againſt him. *Agathocles* followed him very neare, and yet ſkirmiſhing diuers times with him, *Demetrius* alway had the better: howbeit *Agathocles* did cut off his victuals from him euery way and kept him at ſuch a ſtraight, that his mẽ durſt no more ſtray from the campe to forrage: wherefore, they ſuſteined great want of victuals, and then began his men to be affrayed, and to miſtruſt that he would make them follow him into ARMENIA and MEDIA. The famine dayly increaſed more and more in his army,and it chaunced beſides, that miſsing his way, and failing to gage the forde well as he paſſed ouer the riuer of Lycus, the furie and force of the riuer caried his men downe the ſtreame,and drowned a great number of them: and yet notwithſtanding theſe great troubles, they mocked him beſides. For one wrote at the entry and comming into his tent,the firſt verſe of the tragedie of *Oedipus* COLONIAN, written by *Sophocles*, chaunging onely,ſome word.

*Thou impe of old and blind Antigonus.*
*To what a point haſt thou now caried vs?*

*Plague,by ill meate.*

*Demetrius famine.*

But in the end, the plague began alſo in the middeſt of this famine, (a common thing, and almoſt a matter of neceſsitie, it ſhould ſo be) becauſe that men being driuen to neede and neceſsitie, do frame themſelues to eate all that comes to hand: whereupon he was driuen to bring backe thoſe few men that remained, hauing loſt of all ſortes (good and bad) not ſo few as eight thouſand fully told. When he came into the prouince of TARSVS, he commaunded his men in no caſe to meddle with any thing, becauſe the country was ſubiect vnto king *Seleucus*, whom he would in no wiſe diſpleaſe. But when he ſaw it was impoſsible to ſtay his men being now brought to ſuch extremitie and neede, & that *Agathocles* had bard vp the ſtraights and paſſages of mount Taurus againſt him: he wrote a letter vnto *Seleucus*, firſt declaring his miſerable ſtate and hard fortune, and then preſenting his humble petition and requeſt vnto him, praying him to take pitie vpō his friend, whom ſpightfull fortune had throwen into ſuch miſerie & calamitie, that could not but moue his greateſt enemies to haue compaſsion of him. Theſe letters ſomewhat ſoftened *Seleucus* hart, in ſomuch that he wrote to his Gouernours & Lieutenants of thoſe parts, to furniſh *Demetrius* perſon with all things needefull for a Princes houſe, & victuals ſufficient to maintaine his men. But one *Patrocles*, a graue wiſe man accounted, and *Seleucus* faithfull friend alſo, came to tell him, that the charge to entertaine *Demetrius* ſouldiers, was not the greateſt fault he made therin, & moſt to be accounted of: but that he did not wiſely looke into his affaires, to ſuffer *Demetrius* to remaine in his country, conſidering that he had alway bene a more fierce and venturous Prince then any other, to enterpriſe any matters of great importāce, & now he was brought to ſuch deſpaire & extremitie, that he had framed his men which were but ranke cowardes (contrary to their nature) to be moſt deſperat and hardy in greateſt daungers. *Seleucus* being moued with theſe perſwaſions, preſently tooke his iourney into CILICIA with a great army. *Demetrius* being aſtonied with this ſodaine chaunge, and dreading ſo great an army, got him to the ſtrongeſt places of mount Taurus. Then he ſent vnto *Seleucus*, firſt of all to pray him to ſuffer him to conquer certain barbarous people there abouts, who liued according to their owne lawes, and neuer had king: to the end that he might yet there with ſafetie end the reſt of his life and exile, ſtaying at length in ſome place where he might be ſafe. Secondly if that liked him not, then that it would yet pleaſe him to victuall his men for the winter time onely, in the ſame place where they were, and not to be ſo hard harted vnto him as to driue him thence, lacking all needefull things, and ſo to put him into the mouth of his moſt cruell and mortall enemies. But *Seleucus* miſtruſting his demands, ſent vnto him that he ſhould winter if he thought good, two monethes, but no more, in the country of CATAONIA, ſo he gaue him the chiefeſt of his friends for hoſtages: howbeit in the meane time he ſtopped vp all the wayes and paſſages going from thence into SYRIA. *Demetrius* now ſeeing himſelf kept in of all ſides, like a beaſt to be taken in the toyle: he was driuē to truſt to his own ſtrength. Therupō he ouerranne the countrey there abouts, & as oftē as it was his chaunce to haue any skirmiſh or conflict with *Seleucus*, he had euer the better of him: and ſometime alſo when they draue the armed cartes with ſithes againſt him, he ouercame them, & put the reſt to flight. Then he draue them away that kept the toppe of the mountaines, and had barred the paſſages to keepe him that he ſhould not go into SYRIA, and ſo kept them himſelfe. In fine, finding his mens harts lift vp againe, & pretily encouraged: his hart alſo grew ſo bigge, that he determined to fight a battel with *Seleucus*, and to ſet all at ſix and ſeuen. So that *Seleucus* was at a ſtraight with himſelfe, and wiſt not what to do. For he had returned backe the ayde which *Lyſimachus* ſent vnto him, becauſe he was affrayed of him, and miſtruſted him. On the other ſide alſo he durſt not fight with *Demetrius* alone, being affrayed to venture himſelf with a deſperate man: and alſo miſtruſting much his vnconſtant fortune, the which hauing brought him to great extremitie, raiſed him vp againe to great proſperitie. But in the meane ſpace *Demetrius* fell into a great ſickeneſſe, the which brought his body very weake & low, and had almoſt vtterly ouerthrowen his affaires. For his ſouldiers, ſome of them yeelded themſelues to his enemies, and others ſtale away without leaue, and went where they liſted. Afterwardes when he had hardly recouered his health, and within forty dayes ſpace was pretily growen to ſtrength againe: with thoſe few ſouldiers that remained with him, he ſeemed to his enemies, that he would go and inuade CILICIA. But then ſodainly in the night without ſounding any trumpet, he remoued his campe, and went an other way: and hauing paſſed ouer mount Amanus, he ſpoyled all the countrey vnder it, as farre as the region of CYRRESTICA. But *Seleucus* followed him, and camped hard by him. Therupon *Demetrius* ſodainly armed his men, and went out by night to aſſault *Seleucus*, & to take him ſleeping when he miſtruſted nothing. So that *Seleucus* knew nothing of his ſtealing on him but late enough, vntill that certaine traitours of *Demetrius* campe that fled before, went quickly to aduertiſe him finding him a ſleepe, and brought him newes of the daunger he was in. Then *Seleucus* in a maze and feare withall, got vp, and ſounded the alarme: and as he was putting on his hoſe and making him ready he cryed out, (ſpeaking to his friendes and familiars about him) we haue now a cruell and daungerous beaſt to deale with. *Demetrius* on the other ſide perceiuing by the great ſturre & noyſe

*Patrocles ſtirreth vp Seleucus againſt Demetrius.*

*Deſperate men are not to be fought with.*

*Amanus mont.*

*Demetrius deſpairing of his good ſucceſſe: attempteth to aſſault Seleucus by night.*

he heard in the enemies campe, that his enterpriſe was diſcouered: he retired againe with ſpeed, and the next morning by breake of day, *Seleucus* went and offred him battell. *Demetrius* prepared himſelfe to ioyne with him, and hauing giuen one of his faithfull friendes the leading of one of the wings of his army, himſelfe led the other, and ouerthew ſome of his enemies on his ſide. But *Seleucus* in the middeſt of the battell lighted from his horſe, and taking his helmet from his head, he tooke a target on his arme, and went to the firſt ranckes of his armie, to make himſelfe knowen vnto *Demetrius* men: perſwading them to yeeld themſelues vnto him, and to acknowledge in the end, that he had ſo long time deferred to giue them battell, rather to ſaue them, then to ſpare *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* ſouldiers hearing him ſay ſo, they did him humble reuerence, and acknowledging him for their king, they all yeelded vnto him. *Demetrius* hauing ſundry times before proued ſo many chaunges & ouerthrowes of fortune, thinking yet to eſcape this laſt alſo, & to paſſe it ouer: he fled vnto the gates Amanides, which are certaine ſtraightes of the mount Amanus. There he founde certaine litle thicke groues, where he determined to ſtay all night with certaine gentlemen of his houſe, and a few other of his houſhold ſeruants & officers which had followed him: meaning, if he could poſsible, to take his way towardes the citie of CAVNVS, to go to that ſea coaſt, hoping to heare of his ſhippes there. But when it was told him he had no victuals nor prouiſion left onely to ſerue him that day: he began then to deuiſe ſome other way. At length, one of his familiar friendes *Soſigenes* came vnto him, that had foure hundred peeces of gold about him in his girdle. So hoping that with the ſame money he might flie to the ſea, they tooke their way by night directly, to the toppe of the mountaine. But when they perceiued that the enemies kept watch there, and that there were great ſtore of fires hard by them: they then diſpayred to paſſe any farther, leaſt they ſhould be ſeene. So they returned to the ſelfe ſame place from whence they came, not all of them, for ſome of them fled: neither had they that remained alſo any life in them as before. So, one among the reſt tooke vpon him, to ſay, that there was no other way to ſcape, but to put *Demetrius* into *Seleucus* hands. *Demetrius* therewithall drew out his ſword, and would haue ſlaine himſelfe: but his friendes about him would not ſuffer him, but perſwaded him to yeeld himſelfe vnto *Seleucus*. Thereupon he ſent vnto *Seleucus*, to tell him that he yeelded himſelfe vnto him. *Seleucus* was ſo ioyfull of the newes, that he ſayd it was not *Demetrius* good fortune that ſaued him, but his owne: who beſides many other happy good turnes ſhe had done him, gaue him yet ſo honorable occaſion and good happe, as to make the world to know his clemencie & curteſie. Thereupon immediatly he called for his officers of houſhold, and commaunded them to ſet vp his richeſt pauilion, and to prepare all things meete to receiue him honorably. There was one *Appolonides* a gentleman in *Seleucus* Court, who ſometime had bene very familiar with *Demetrius*: Him *Seleucus* ſent immediatly vnto *Demetrius*, to will him to be of good cheare, and not to be affrayed to come to the king his Maiſter, for he ſhould find him his very good friend. So ſoone as the kings pleaſure was knowen, a few of his Courtiers went at the firſt to meete him: but afterwardes, euery man ſtriued who ſhould go meete him firſt, becauſe they were all in hope that he ſhould preſently be much made of, and grow in credit with *Seleucus*. But hereby they turned *Seleucus* pitie into enuie, and gaue occaſion alſo to *Demetrius* enemies and ſpightfull men, to turne the kings bountifull good nature from him. For they put into his head many doubts and daungers, ſaying, that certainly ſo ſoone as the ſouldiers ſaw him, there would grow great ſturre and chaunge in their campe. And therefore, ſhortly after that *Appollonides* was come vnto *Demetrius*, being glad to bring him theſe good newes, and as others alſo followed him one after an other, bringing him ſome good newes from *Seleucus*, and that *Demetrius* himſelfe after ſo great an ouerthrow (although that before he thought it a ſhamefull part of him to haue yeelded his body into his enemies hands) chaunged his minde at that time, and began then to grow bold, and to haue good hope to recouer his ſtate againe: behold, there came one of *Seleucus* Captaines called *Pauſanias*, accompanied with a thouſand footemen & horſemen in all, who compaſſed in *Demetrius* with them, and made the reſt depart that were come vnto him before, hauing charge giuen him not to bring him to the Court, but to cõuey him into CHERRONESVS of SYRIA, whither he was brought, and euer after had a ſtrong garriſon about him to keepe him. But otherwiſe, *Seleucus*

*Demetrius armie forſooke him, & yelded themſelues to Seleucus.*

*Demetrius flyeth from Seleucus.*

*Demetrius yeeldeth himſelfe vnto Seleucus.*

*Demetrius kept as priſoner in Syria, by Seleucus.*

*leucus* ſent him officers,money, and all things elſe meete for a Princes houſe: and his ordinarie fare was ſo delicate, that he could wiſh for no more then he had. And furthermore, he had places of libertie & pleaſure appointed him,both to ride his horſe in, and alſo pleaſant walkes, and goodly arbors to walke or ſit in,and fine parkes full of beaſts where he might hunt: moreouer,the king ſuffered his owne houſhold ſeruants that followed him when he fled,to remain with him if they would. And furthermore,there daily came ſome one or other vnto him from *Seleucus*,to comfort him,and to put him in hope,that ſo ſoone as *Antiochus* & *Stratonice* were come,they would make ſome good agreement & peace betwene them. *Demetrius* remaining in this eſtate, wrote vnto his ſonne *Antigonus*, and to his friendes and Lieutenants which he had at CORINTH and ATHENS, that they ſhould giue no credite to any letters written in his name, though his ſeale were to thē: but that they ſhould keepe the townes they had in charge for his ſonne *Antigonus*,and all the reſt of his forces,as if he himſelfe were dead. When *Antigonus* heard the pitifull captiuitie of his father, he maruellous grieuouſly tooke his hard fortune,wearing blackes for ſorrow,and wrote vnto all the other kings,but vnto *Seleucus* ſpecially, beſeeching him to take him as a pledge for his father, and that he was readie to yeeld vp all that he kept, to haue his fathers libertie. The like requeſt did many cities make vnto him, and in manner all Princes, but *Lyſimachus*: who promiſed *Seleucus* a great ſumme of money to put *Demetrius* to death. But *Seleucus*,who of long time had no great fancie to *Lyſimachus*, but rather vtterly deſpiſed him: did then thinke him the more cruell and barbarous,for this vile and wicked requeſt he made vnto him. Wherefore he ſtill delayed time, becauſe he would haue *Demetrius* deliuered by his ſonne *Antiochus* & *Stratonices* meanes, for that *Demetrius* ſhould be bound to them for his deliuerie, and for euer ſhould acknowledge it to them. Now for *Demetrius*, as he from the beginning patiently tooke his hard fortune, ſo did he daily more and more forget the miſerie he was in. For firſt of all,he gaue himſelfe to riding & hunting,as farre as the place gaue him libertie. Then by litle and litle he grew to be very groſſe,and to giue ouer ſuch paſtimes, and therewithall he fell into drunkennes and dicing: ſo that in that ſort he paſſed away the moſt part of his time,as it ſhould ſeeme,either to auoid the grieuous thoughts of his hard fortune,which came into his mind when he was ſober: or els vnder culler of drunkennes and eating,to ſhadowe the thoughts he had: or elſe finding in himſelfe that it was that maner of life he had long deſired, and that through his vaine ambition and folly till that time he could neuer attaine vnto,greatly turmoyling and troubling himſelfe and others, ſuppoſing to find in warres,by ſea & land, the felicitie and delight which he had found in eaſe & idlenes, when he neither thought of it, nor looked for it. For what better end can euill and vnaduiſed kings and princes looke for, of all their troubles, dangers, and warres? who in deede deceiue themſelues greatly, not onely for that they follow their pleaſure and delights as their chiefeſt felicitie, in ſteede of vertue and honeſt life: but alſo,becauſe that in truth they can not be mery & take their pleaſure as they would. So, *Demetrius* after he had bene ſhut vp in CHERRONESVS three yeares together,by eaſe, groſſenes,and drunkennes, fell ſicke of a diſeaſe whereof he died, when he was foure & fifty yeare old. Therefore was *Seleucus* greatly blamed,and he him ſelfe alſo did much repent him that he ſo ſuſpected him as he did, & that he followed not *Dromichetes* curteſie, a barbarous man borne in THRACIA, who had ſo royally and courteouſly intreated *Lyſimachus*, whom he had taken priſoner in the warres. But yet there was ſome tragicall pompe in the order of his funerall. For his ſonne *Antigonus* vnderſtanding that they brought him the aſhes of his bodie, he tooke ſea with all his ſhips,and went to meete them,to receiue them in the Iles: and when he had receiued them, he ſet vp the funerall pot of gold(in the which were his embers) vpon the poope of his Admirall galley. So,all the cities & towns whereby they paſſed or harboured, ſome of them did put garlands of flowers about the pot, others alſo ſent a number of men thither in mourning apparell, to accompany and honor the conuoy, to the very ſolemnitie of his funerals. In this ſort ſailed all the whole fleete towards the citie of CORINTHE, the pot being plainely ſeene farre off, ſtanding on the toppe of the Admirall galley: all the place about it being hanged about with purple,& ouer it,the diademe or royall band, and about it, alſo were goodly young men armed, which were as Penſioners to *Demetrius*. Furthermore, *Xenophantus* the famouſeſt Muſition in that time, being ſet hard

*The naturall loue of Antigonus to his father Demetrius*

*Demetrius turned his captiuitie into pleaſure.*

*The death of Demetrius in Cherroneſus.*

*The funerals of Demetrius.*

*Xenophantus a famous muſition.*

by it, played a ſweete and lamentable ſong on the flute, where withall the ores keeping ſtroke and meaſure, the ſound did meete with a gallant grace, as in a conuoy where the mourners doe knocke their breaſts, at the foote of euery verſe. But that which moſt made the people of CORINTH to weepe and lament, which ranne to the peere, and all alongſt the ſhore ſide to ſee it: was *Antigonus*, whom they ſaw all beblubbered with teares, apparelled as a mourner in blackes. Now, after they had brought a wonderfull number of garlands and noſegayes, and caſt them vpon the funerall pot, and had ſolemnized all the honors poſſible for the funerals at CORINTH: *Antigonus* caried away the pot to burie it in the citie of DEMETRIADE, the which bare the name of *Demetrius* that was dead, and was a newe citie, that had beene repleniſhed with people, and built of litle townes which are about IOLCOS. *Demetrius* left two children by his firſt wife *Phila*, to wit, *Antigonus* and *Stratonice*: and two other ſonnes, both of them named *Demetrius*, the one ſurnamed the leane, of a woman of ILLYRIA, & the other king of the CYRENIANS, of his wife *Ptolemæide*: and another by *Deidamia* called *Alexander*, who liued in ÆGYPT. And it is reported alſo, that he had another ſon called *Corrhæbus*, by his wife *Eurydice*, and that his poſteritie raigned by ſucceſſion from the father to the ſonne, vntill the time of *Perſeus*: who was the laſt king of MACEDON, whom the ROMAINS ouercame by *Paulus Æmylius*, and wan all the Realme of MACEDON vnto the Empire of ROME. Now that the MACEDONIAN hath plaied his part, giue the ROMAIN alſo leaue to come vpon the ſtage.

*Demetrius poſteritie.*

*Perſeus king of Macedon (the laſt king of Macedon) came of the poſteritie of Demetrius.*

# THE LIFE OF

## *Marcus Antonius.*

*Antonius parentage.*

ANTONIVS grandfather was that famous Orator whom *Marius* ſlew, becauſe he tooke *Syllaes* part. His father was an other *Antonius* ſurnamed* *Cretan*, who was not ſo famous, nor bare any great ſway in the common wealth: howbeit otherwiſe he was an honeſt man, and of a very good nature, and ſpecially very liberall in giuing, as appeareth by an act he did. He was not very wealthy, and therefore his wife would not let him vſe his liberalitie and franke nature. One day a friend of his comming to him to pray him to helpe him to ſome money, hauing great neede: *Antonius* by chance had no money to giue him, but he commaunded one of his men to bring him ſome water in a ſiluer baſen, and

* *Becauſe that by his death he ended the warre which he vnfortunately made againſt thoſe of Creta.*

*The liberalitie of Antonius father.*

after he had brought it him, he waſhed his beard as though he ment to haue ſhauen it, and then found an arrant for his man to ſend him out, and gaue his friend the ſiluer baſen, and bad him get him money with that. Shortly after, there was a great ſturre in the houſe among the ſeruants, ſeeking out this ſiluer baſen. Inſomuch as *Antonius* ſeeing his wife maruellouſly offended for it, & that ſhe would examine all her ſeruants, one after another about it, to know what was become of it: at length he confeſſed he had giuen it away, & prayed her to be contented. His wife was *Iulia*, of the noble houſe and family of *Iulius Cæſar*: who for her vertue & chaſtitie, was to be compared with the nobleſt Ladie of her time. *M. Antonius* was brought vp vnder her, being married after her firſt husbands death, vnto *Cornelius Lentulus*, whom *Cicero* put to death with *Cethegus*, and others, for that he was of *Catilines* conſpiracie againſt the common wealth. And this ſeemeth to be the originall cauſe and beginning of the cruell and mortall hate *Antonius* bare vnto *Cicero*. For *Antonius* ſelfe ſaith, that he would neuer giue him the body of his father in law to bury him, before his mother went firſt to intreat *Ciceroes* wife: the which vndoubtedly was a flat lie. For *Cicero* denied buriall to none of them, whom he executed by law. Now *Antonius* being a faire young man, and in the prime of his youth: he fell acquainted with *Curio*, whoſe friendſhip and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague vnto him. For he was a diſſolute man, giuen ouer to all luſt and inſolencie, who to haue *Antonius* the better at his commandement, trained him on into great follies, and vaine expences vpon women, in rioting and banqueting. So that in ſhort time, he brought *Antonius* into a maruellous great debt, and too great for one of his yeares, to wit: of two hundred and fiftie talents, for all which ſumme *Curio* was his ſuertie. His father hearing of it, did put his ſonne from him, and forbad him his houſe. Then he fell in with *Clodius*, one of the deſperateſt and moſt wicked Tribunes at that time in ROME. Him he followed for a time in his deſperate attempts, who bred great ſturre and miſchiefe in ROME: but at length he forſooke him, being weary of his raſhnes and folly, or els for that he was affraid of thẽ that were bent againſt *Clodius*. Thereupon he left ITALY, & went into GRECE, & there beſtowed the moſt part of his time, ſometime in warres, and otherwhile in the ſtudie of eloquence. He vſed a manner of phraſe in his ſpeech, called Aſiatike, which caried the beſt grace and eſtimation at that time, and was much like to his manners and life: for it was full of oſtentation, fooliſh brauerie, and vaine ambition. After he had remained there ſome time, *Gabinius* Proconſull going into SYRIA, perſwaded him to goe with him, *Antonius* told him he would not goe as a priuate man: Wherefore *Gabinius* gaue him charge of his horſemen, and ſo tooke him with him. So, firſt of all he ſent him againſt *Ariſtobulus*, who had made the IEVVES to rebell, & was the firſt man himſelfe that got vp to the wall of a caſtle of his, and ſo draue *Ariſtobulus* out of all his holds: & with thoſe few men he had with him, he ouercame all the IEVVES in ſet battle, which were many againſt one, and put all of them almoſt to the ſword, and furthermore, tooke *Ariſtobulus* himſelfe priſoner with his ſonne. Afterwards *Ptolomy* king of ÆGYPT, that had bene driuen out of his country, went vnto *Gabinius* to intreat him to go with his armie with him into ÆGYPT, to put him againe into his kingdome: and promiſed him if he would goe with him, tenne thouſand talents. The moſt part of the Captaines thought it not beſt to goe thither, and *Gabinius* himſelfe made it daintie to enter into this warre: although the couetouſneſſe of theſe tenne thouſand talents ſtucke ſorely with him. But *Antonius* that ſought but for oportunitie and good occaſion to attempt great enterpriſes, and that deſired alſo to gratifie *Ptolomyes* requeſt: he went about to perſwade *Gabinius* to goe this voyage. Now they were more affraid of the way they ſhould goe, to come to the citie of PELVSIVM, then they feared any daunger of the warre beſides: becauſe they were to paſſe through deepe ſandes and deſert places, where was no freſh water to be had all the mariſſes thorough, which are called the mariſſes Serbonides, which the ÆGYPTIANS call the exhalations or fume, by the which the Gyant *Typhon* breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the ouerflowing of the red ſea, which breaketh out vnder the ground in that place, where it is deuided in the narroweſt place from the ſea on this ſide. So *Antonius* was ſent before into ÆGYPT with his horſemen, who did not only winne that paſſage, but alſo tooke the citie of PELVSIVM (which is a great citie) with all the ſouldiers in it: and thereby he cleared the way, and made it ſafe for all the reſt of the armie, and the

*Iulia the mother of M. Antonius.*

*Antonius corrupted by Curio.*

*Antonius vſed in his pleading the Aſiatike phraſe.*

*Antonius had charge of horſemen vnder Gabinius Proconſull, going into Syria.*

*Antonius acts againſt Ariſtobulus.*

*Antonius tooke Ariſtobulus priſoner.*

*Antonius acts in Aegypt vnder Gabinius.*

hope of the victorie alſo certaine for his Captaine. Nowe did the enemies themſelues feele the frutes of *Antonius* curteſie, and the deſire he had to winne honor. For when *Ptolomy* (after he had entred into the citie of PELVSIVM) for the malice he bare vnto the citie, woud haue put all the ÆGYPTIANS in it to the ſword: *Antonius* withſtood him, & by no meanes would ſuffer him to doe it. And in all other great battels and skirmiſhes which they fought, and were many in number, *Antonius* did many noble actes of a valiant and wiſe Captaine: but ſpecially in one battell, where he compaſſed in the enemies behinde, giuing them the victory that fought againſt them, whereby he afterwards had ſuch honorable reward, as his valiantnes deſerued. So was his great curteſie alſo much commended of all, the which he ſhewed vnto *Archelaus*. For hauing bene his very friend, he made warre with him againſt his will while he liued: but after his death he ſought for his bodie, and gaue it honorable buriall. For theſe reſpects he wanne himſelfe great fame of them of ALEXANDRIA, and he was alſo thought a worthy man of all the ſouldiers in the ROMAINES campe. But beſides all this, he had a noble preſence, and ſhewed a countenance of one of a noble houſe: he had a goodly thicke beard, a broad forehead, crooke noſed, and there appeared ſuch a manly looke in his countenance, as is commonly ſeene in *Hercules* pictures, ſtamped or grauen in mettall. Now it had bene a ſpeech of old time, that the familie of the *Antonij* were diſcended from one *Anton*, the ſonne of *Hercules*, whereof the family tooke name. This opinion did *Antonius* ſeeke to confirme in all his doings: not onely reſembling him in the likeneſſe of his bodie, as we haue ſaide before, but alſo in the wearing of his garments. For when he would openly ſhewe himſelfe abroad before many people, he would alwaies weare his caſſocke girt downe low vppon his hippes, with a great ſword hanging by his ſide, and vpon that, ſome ill fauoured cloke. Furthermore, things that ſeeme intollerable in other men, as to boaſt commonly, to ieaſt with one or other, to drinke like a good fellow with euery bodie, to ſit with the ſouldiers when they dine, and to eate and drinke with them ſouldierlike: it is incredible what wonderfull loue it wanne him amongſt them. And furthermore, being giuen to loue: that made him the more deſired, and by that meanes he brought many to loue him. For he would further euery mans loue, and alſo would not be angry that men ſhould merily tell him of thoſe he loued. But beſides all this, that which moſt procured his riſing and aduancement, was his liberalitie, who gaue all to the ſouldiers, and kept nothing for himſelfe: and when he was growen to great credite, then was his authoritie and power alſo very great, the which notwithſtanding himſelfe did ouerthrowe, by a thouſand other faults he had. In this place I will ſhewe you one example onely of his wonderfull liberalitie. He commanded one day his coferer that kept his money, to giue a friend of his fiue and twentie Myriades: which the ROMAINES call in their tongue, *Decies*. His coferer maruelling at it, and being angry withall in his minde, brought him all this money, in a heape together, to ſhewe him what a maruellous maſſe of money it was. *Antonius* ſeeing it as he went by, asked what it was: his coferer anſwered him, it was the money he willed him to giue vnto his friend. Then *Antonius* perceiuing the ſpight of his man, I thought, ſaid he, that *Decies* had bene a greater ſumme of money then it is, for this is but a trifle: and therfore he gaue his friend as much more another time, but that was afterwards. Now the ROMAINS maintaining two factions at ROME at that time, one againſt the other, of the which, they that tooke part with the Senate, did ioyne with *Pompey* being then in ROME: and the contrarie ſide taking part with the people, ſent for *Cæſar* to aide them, who made warres in GAVLE. Then *Curio Antonius* friend, that had chaunged his garmentes, and at that time tooke part with *Cæſar*, whoſe enemie he had bene before: he wanne *Antonius*, and ſo handled the matter, partly through the great credite and ſway he bare amongſt the people, by reaſon of his eloquent tongue: and partly alſo by his exceeding expence of money hee made which *Cæſar* gaue him: that *Antonius* was choſen Tribune, and afterwards made Augure. But this was a great helpe and furtherance to *Cæſars* practiſes. For ſo ſoone as *Antonius* became Tribune he did oppoſe himſelfe againſt thoſe things which the Conſull *Marcellus* preferred: (who ordeined that certaine legions which had beene alreadie leauied and billed, ſhould be giuen vnto *Cneus Pompey*, with further commiſſion and authoritie to leauie others vnto them) and ſet downe an order, that the ſouldiers which were alreadie leauied and aſſembled, ſhould be

ſent

*Antonius curteſie vnto Archelaus being dead.*

*Antonius ſhape and preſence.*

*The houſe of the Antonij diſcended from Hercules.*

*Antonius liberalitie.*

*Antonius Tribune of the people, and Augure.*

ſent into Syria, for a newe ſupply vnto *Marcus Bibulus*, who made warre at that time againſt the Parthians. And furthermore, prohibition that *Pompey* ſhould leauie no more men, and alſo that the ſouldiers ſhould not obey him. Secondly, where *Pompeys* friends and followers would not ſuffer *Cæſars* letters to be receiued, and openly read in the Senate: *Antonius* hauing power and warrant by his perſon, through the holines of his tribuneſhip, did read them openly, and made diuers men chaunge their mindes: for it appeared to them that *Cæſar* by his letters required no vnreaſonable matters. At length, when they preferred two matters of conſideration vnto the Senate, whether they thought good that *Pompey* or *Cæſar*, ſhould leaue their armie: there were fewe of the Senators that thought it meete *Pompey* ſhould leaue his armie, but they all in manner commanded *Cæſar* to doe it. Then *Antonius* riſing vp, asked whether they thought it good that *Pompey* and *Cæſar* both, ſhould leaue their armies. Thereunto all the Senators iointly together gaue their whole conſent, and with a great crie commending *Antonius*, they prayed him to referre it to the iudgement of the Senate. But the Conſuls would not allow of that. Therefore *Cæſars* friendes preferred other reaſonable demaundes and requeſts againe, but *Cato* ſpake againſt them: and *Lentulus*, one of the Conſuls draue *Antonius* by force out of the Senate, who at his going out made grieuous curſes againſt him. After that, he tooke a ſlaues gowne, and ſpeedily fled to *Cæſar*, with *Quintus Caſſius*, in a hyred coch. When they came to *Cæſar*, they cryed out with open mouth, that all went hand ouer head at Rome: for the Tribunes of the people might not ſpeake their mindes, and were driuen away in great daunger of their liues, as many as ſtoode with law and iuſtice. Hereupon *Cæſar* incontinently went into Italy with his army, which made *Cicero* ſay in his Philippides: that as *Hellen* was cauſe of the warre of Troy, ſo was *Antonius* the author of the ciuill warres, which indeede was a ſtarke lie. For *Cæſar* was not ſo fickle headed, nor ſo eaſily caried away with anger, that he would ſo ſodainly haue gone & made warre with his country, vpon the ſight onely of *Antonius* and *Caſſius*, being fled vnto him in miſerable apparell, and in a hyred coch: had he not long before determined it with himſelfe. But ſith in deede *Cæſar* looked of long time but for ſome colour, this came as he wiſhed, & gaue him iuſt occaſion of warre. But to ſay truely, nothing elſe moued him to make warre with all the world as he did, but one ſelfe cauſe, which firſt procured *Alexander* and *Cyrus* alſo before him: to wit, an inſatiable deſire to raigne, with a ſenſeles couetouſnes to be the beſt man in the world, the which he could not come vnto, before he had firſt put downe *Pompey*, and vtterly ouerthrowen him. Now, after that *Cæſar* had gotten Rome at his commandement, & had driuen *Pompey* out of Italy, he purpoſed firſt to goe into Spayne, againſt the legions *Pompey* had there: and in the meane time to make prouiſion for ſhippes and marine preparation, to follow *Pompey*. In his abſence, he left *Lepidus* that was Prætor, gouernor of Rome: and *Antonius* that was Tribune, he gaue him charge of all the ſouldiers, and of Italy. Then was *Antonius* ſtraight maruellouſly commended and beloued of the ſouldiers, becauſe he commonly exerciſed himſelfe among them, and would oftentimes eate and drinke with them, and alſo be liberall vnto them, according to his abilitie. But then in contrary manner, he purchaſed diuers other mens euill willes, becauſe that through negligence he would not doe them iuſtice that were iniuried, & delt very churliſhly with them that had any ſute vnto him: and beſides all this, he had an ill name to intiſe mens wiues. To conclude, *Cæſars* friends that gouerned vnder him, were cauſe why they hated *Cæſars* gouernment (which in deede in reſpect of himſelfe was no leſſe than a tyrannie) by reaſon of the great inſolencies & outragious parts that were committed: amongſt whom *Antonius*, that was of greateſt power, and that alſo committed greateſt faultes, deſerued moſt blame. But *Cæſar* notwithſtanding, when he returned from the warres of Spayne, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put vp againſt him: but contrarily, becauſe he found him a hardy man, & a valiant Captaine, he employed him in his chiefeſt affayres, and was no whit deceiued in his opinion of him. So he paſſed ouer the Ionian ſea vnto Brvndvsivm, being but ſlenderly accompanied: & ſent vnto *Antonius* & *Gabinius*, that they ſhould imbarke their men as ſoone as they could, and paſſe them ouer into Macedon. *Gabinius* was affraide to take the ſea, becauſe it was very rough, and in the winter time: & therefore fetched a great compaſſe about by land. But *Antonius* fearing ſome daunger might come vnto *Cæſar*, becauſe

*Antonius acts for Cæſar.*

*Antonius flyeth from Rome vnto Cæſar.*

*Cicero reproued for lying.*

*Alexander, Cyrus, & Cæſar: all commaunded to raigne.*

*Cæſars ambition the onely cauſe of the ciuill warre.*

*Cæſar gaue the charge of Italy vnto Antonius.*

*Antonius vices.*

he was compaſſed in with a great number of enemies: firſt of all he draue away *Libo*, who rode at ancker with a great armie, before the hauen of BRVNDVSIVM. For he manned out ſuch a number of pynnaſies, barkes, and other ſmall boates about euery one of his gallyes, that he draue him thence. After that, he imbarked into ſhippes twentie thouſande footemen, and eight hundred horſemen, and with this armie he hoyſed ſaile. When the enemies ſawe him, they made out to followe him: but the ſea roſe ſo high, that the billowes put backe their gallies that they could not come neere him, and ſo he ſcaped that daunger. But withall he fell vpon the rockes with his whole fleete, where the ſea wrought verie high: ſo that he was out of all hope to ſaue himſelfe. Yet by good fortune, ſodainely the winde turned Southweſt, and blew from the gulfe, driuing the waues of the riuer into the maine ſea. Thus *Antonius* looſing from the lande, and ſayling with ſafetie at his pleaſure, ſoone after he ſawe all the coaſtes full of ſhipwrackes. For the force and boyſterouſneſſe of the winde, did caſt away the gallies that followed him: of the which, many of them were broken and ſplitted, and diuers alſo caſt away, & *Antonius* tooke a great number of them priſoners, with a great ſumme of money alſo. Beſides all theſe, he tooke the citie of LYSSVS, and brought *Cæſar* a great ſupply of men, and made him couragious, comming at a pinch with ſo great a power to him. Nowe there were diuers hotte ſkirmiſhes and encounters, in the which *Antonius* fought ſo valiantly, that he caried the praiſe from them all: but ſpecially at two ſeuerall times, when *Cæſars* men turned their backes, and fled for life. For he ſtepped before them, and compelled them to returne againe to fight: ſo that the victorie fell on *Cæſars* ſide. For this cauſe he had the ſecond place in the campe among the ſouldiers, and they ſpake of no other man vnto *Cæſar*, but of him: who ſhewed plainely what opinion he had of him, when at the laſt battell of PHARSALIA (which in deede was the laſt triall of all, to giue the Conquerour the whole Empire of the worlde) he himſelfe did leade the right wing of his armie, and gaue *Antonius* the leading of the left wing, as the valianteſt man and ſkilfulleſt ſouldier of all thoſe he had about him. After *Cæſar* had wonne the victorie, and that he was created Dictator, he followed *Pompey* ſteppe by ſteppe: howbeit before he named *Antonius* generall of the horſemen, and ſent him to ROME. The generall of the horſemen is the ſecond office of dignitie, when the Dictator is in the citie: but when he is abroad, he is the chiefeſt man, and almoſt the onely man that remaineth, and all the other officers and Magiſtrates are put downe, after there is a Dictator choſen. Notwithſtanding, *Dolabella* being at that time Tribune, and a young man deſirous of chaunge and innouation: he preferred a law which the ROMAINES call Nouas tabulas (as much to ſay, as a cutting off and cancelling of all obligations and ſpecialties, and were called the new tables, becauſe they were driuen then to make bookes of daily receit and expence) and perſwaded *Antonius* his friend (who alſo gaped for a good occaſion to pleaſe and gratifie the common people) to aide him to paſſe this lawe. But *Trebellius* and *Aſinius* diſſwaded from it all they could poſſible. So by good hap it chanced that *Antonius* miſtruſted *Dolabella* for keeping of his wife, and tooke ſuch a conceite of it, that he thruſt his wife out of his houſe being his coſin Germane, and the daughter of *C. Antonius*, who was Conſull with *Cicero*: and ioyning with *Aſinius*, he reſiſted *Dolabella*, & fought with him. *Dolabella* had gotten the market place where the people doe aſſemble in councell, and had filled it full of armed men, intending to haue this law of the new tables to paſſe by force. *Antonius* by cōmandement of the Senate, who had giuen him authoritie to leauie men, to vſe force againſt *Dolabella*: he went againſt him, and fought ſo valiantly, that men were ſlaine on both ſides. But by this meanes, he got the ill will of the common people, & on the other ſide, the noble men (as *Cicero* ſaith) did not only miſlike him, but alſo hate him for his naughtie life: for they did abhor his banquets and drunken feaſts he made at vnſeaſonable times, & his extreame waſtfull expences vpon vaine light huſwiues, & then in the day time he would ſleepe or walke out his drunkenneſſe, thinking to weare away the fume of the aboundance of wine which he had taken ouer night. In his houſe they did nothing but feaſt, dance, and maske: and himſelfe paſſed away the time in hearing of fooliſh playes, or in marrying theſe plaiers, tumblers, ieaſters, & ſuch ſort of people. As for proofe hereof it is reported, that at *Hippias* mariage, one of his ieaſters, he drank wine ſo luſtily all night, that the next morning when he came to pleade before the people

aſſembled

*Antonius taketh ſea with his army at Brunduſium, and goeth vnto Cæſar.*

*Antonius manhood in warre.*

*Antonius led the left wing of Cæſars battell at Pharſalia where Pompey loſt the field.*

*The dignitie of the generall of the horſemen.*

*Diſſention betwixt Antonius and Dolabella.*

*Antonius abominable life.*

aſſembled in councell, who had ſent for him: he being queſie ſtomached with his ſurfet he had taken, was compelled to lay all before them, and one of his friends held him his gown in ſtead of a baſen. He had an other pleaſant player called *Sergius*, that was one of the chiefeſt men about him, and a woman alſo called *Cytheride*, of the ſame profeſſion, whom he loued dearly: he caried her vp and downe in a litter vnto all the townes he went, and had as many men waiting vpon her litter, ſhe being but a plaier, as were attending vpon his own mother. It grieued honeſt men alſo very much, to ſee that when he went into the countrey, he caried with him a great number of cubbords full of ſiluer and gold plate, openly in the face of the world, as it had bene the pompe or ſhew of ſome triumph: and that eftſoones in the middeſt of his iourney hee would ſet vp his hals & tents hard by ſome greene groue or pleaſant riuer, & there his Cookes ſhould prepare him a ſumptuous dinner. And furthermore, Lions were harneſſed in traſes to draw his carts: and beſides alſo, in honeſt mens houſes in the cities where he came, he would haue common harlots, curtiſans, and theſe tumbling gillots lodged. Now it greued men much, to ſee that *Cæſar* ſhould be out of ITALY following of his enemies, to end this great war, with ſuch great perill and danger: and that others in the meane time abuſing his name and authority, ſhould commit ſuch inſolent and outragious parts vnto their Citizens. This me thinks was the cauſe that made the conſpiracy againſt *Cæſar* increaſe more and more, and layed the reynes of the bridle vppon the ſouldiers neckes, whereby they durſt boldlier commit many extortions, cruelties and robberies. And therefore *Cæſar* after his returne pardoned *Dolabella*, and being created Conſull the third time, he tooke not *Antonius*, but choſe *Lepidus*, his colleague and fellow Conſull. Afterwardes when *Pompeys* houſe was put to open ſale, *Antonius* bought it: but when they asked him money for it, he made it very ſtrange, and was offended with them, and writeth him ſelfe that he would not goe with *Cæſar* into the warres of AFRICKE, becauſe he was not well recompenced for the ſeruice hee had done him before. Yet *Cæſar* did ſomewhat bridle his madneſſe and inſolency, not ſuffering him to paſſe his fault ſo lightly away, making as though he ſaw them not. And therefore he left his diſſolute maner of life, and maried *Fuluia* that was *Clodius* widdow, a woman not ſo baſely minded to ſpend her time in ſpinning and houſewiuery, and was not contented to maſter her husband at home, but would alſo rule him in his office abroade, and commaund him, that commaunded legions and great armies: ſo that *Cleopatra* was to giue *Fuluia* thankes for that ſhee had taught *Antonius* this obedience to women, that learned ſo well to be at their commandement. Now, becauſe *Fuluia* was ſomewhat ſower and crooked of condition, *Antonius* deuiſed to make her pleaſaunter, and ſomewhat better diſpoſed: and therefore he would play her many prety youthfull partes to make her merry. As he did once, when *Cæſar* returned the laſt time of all Conquerour out of SPAINE, euery man went out to meete him: and ſo did *Antonius* with the reſt. But on the ſodaine there ranne a rumor through ITALY, that *Cæſar* was dead, and that his enemies came againe with a great army. Thereuppon he returned with ſpeede to ROME, and tooke one of his mens gownes, and ſo apparelled came home to his houſe in a darke night, ſaying that he had brought *Fuluia* letters from *Antonius*. So he was let in, and brought to her muffled as he was, for being knowen: but ſhe taking the matter heauily, asked him if *Antonius* were well. *Antonius* gaue her the letters, and ſayd neuer a word. So when ſhee had opened the letters, and beganne to read them: *Antonius* ramped of her necke, and kiſſed her. We haue told you this tale for examples ſake onely, and ſo could we alſo tell you of many ſuch like as theſe. Now when *Cæſar* was returned from his laſt warre in SPAINE, all the chiefeſt nobility of the city, road many daies iorney from ROME to meete him, where *Cæſar* made maruellous much of *Antonius*, aboue al the mē that came vnto him. For he alwaies tooke him into his coche with him, through out all ITALY: and behind him, *Brutus Albinus* and *Octauius*, the ſon of his Neece, who afterwards was called *Cæſar*, and became Emperor of ROME long time after. So *Cæſar* being afterwards choſen Conſull the fift time, he immediately choſe *Antonius* his colleague and companion: and deſired by depoſing him ſelf of his Conſulſhip, to make *Dolabella* Conſull in his roome, and had already moued it to the Senat. But *Antonius* did ſtoutly withſtand it, and openly reuiled *Dolabella* in the Senate: and *Dolabella* alſo ſpared him as litle. Thereuppon *Cæſar* being aſhamed of the matter, he let it alone. An other time alſo when

*Antonius laid vp his ſtomack before the whole aſſembly.*

*Antonius inſolency.*

*Cæſar, & Lepidus, Conſuls.*

*Antonius buyeth Pompeys houſe.*

*Antonius maried Fuluia, Clodius widow*

*Fuluia ruled Antonius at home, and abroad.*

*Cæſar, and Antonius, Conſuls.*

*Cæſar* attempted againe to ſubſtitute *Dolabella* Conſull in his place, *Antonius* cried out, that the ſignes of the birds were againſt it: ſo that at length *Cæſar* was compelled to giue him place, and to let *Dolabella* alone, who was maruellouſly offended with him. Now in truth, *Cæſar* made no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that *Cæſar* anſwered one that did accuſe *Antonius* and *Dolabella* vnto him for ſome matter of conſpiracy: tuſh ſaied he, they be not thoſe fat fellowes and fine comed men that I feare, but I miſtruſt rather theſe pale and leane men, meaning by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, who afterwardes conſpired his death, and ſlue him. *Antonius* vnwares afterwards, gaue *Cæſars* enemies iuſt occaſion and colour to doe as they did: as you ſhall heare. The ROMAINS, by chance celebrated the feaſt called Lupercalia, and *Cæſar* being apparelled in his triumphing robe, was ſet in the Tribune where they vſe to make their orations to the people, and from thence did behold the ſport of the runners. The manner of this running was this. On that day there are many young men of noble houſe, and thoſe ſpecially that be chiefe officers for that yeare: who running naked vp and downe the city annointed with the oile of oliue, for pleaſure do ſtrike them they meete in their way, with white leather thongs they haue in their hands. *Antonius* being one among the reſt that was to runne, leauing the ancient ceremonies and old cuſtomes of that ſolemnity: he ranne to the Tribune where *Cæſar* was ſet, and caried a laurell crowne in his hand, hauing a royall band or diademe wreathed about it, which in old time was the auncient marke and token of a king. When he was come to *Cæſar*, he made his fellow runners with him lift him vp, and ſo he did put this laurell crowne vpon his head, ſignifying thereby that he had deſerued to be king. But *Cæſar* making as though he refuſed it, turned away his head. The people were ſo reioyced at it, that they all clapped their handes for ioy. *Antonius* againe did put it on his heade: *Cæſar* againe refuſed it, and thus they were ſtriuing off and on a great while together. As oft as *Antonius* did put this laurell crowne vnto him, a few of his followers reioyced at it: and as oft alſo as *Cæſar* refuſed it, all the people together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderfull thing, that they ſuffered all things ſubiects ſhould doe by commaundement of their kings: and yet they could not abide the name of a king, deteſting it as the vtter deſtruction of their liberty. *Cæſar* in a rage roſe out of his ſeate, and plucking downe the choller of his gowne from his necke, he ſhewed it naked, bidding any mā ſtrike off his head that would. This laurell crown was afterwards put vpon the head of one of *Cæſars* ſtatues or images, the which one of the Tribunes pluckt of. The people liked his doing therein ſo well, that they waited on him home to his houſe, with great clapping of hands. Howbeit *Cæſar* did turne thē out of their offices for it. This was a good incoragement for *Brutus* & *Caſſius* to conſpire his death, who fel into a conſort with their truſtieſt frends, to execute their enterpriſe: but yet ſtood doubtfull whether they ſhould make *Antonius* priuy to it or not. All the reſt liked of it, ſauing *Trebonius* only. He told them, that when they rode to meet *Cæſar* at his returne out of SPAIN, *Antonius* and he alwaies keeping company, and lying together by the way, he felt his mind a far off: but *Antonius* finding his meaning, would hearken no more vnto it, and yet notwithſtanding neuer made *Cæſar* acquainted with this talk, but had faithfully kept it to himſelf. After that they conſulted whether they ſhould kil *Antonius* with *Cæſar*. But *Brutus* would in no wiſe conſent to it, ſaying: that ventring on ſuch an enterpriſe as that, for the maintenance of law and iuſtice, it ought to be cleare from all villany. Yet they fearing *Antonius* power, and the authority of his office, appointed certain of the conſpiracy, that when *Cæſar* were gone into the Senate, and while others ſhould execute their enterpriſe, they ſhould keepe *Antonius* in a talke out of the Senat houſe. Euen as they had deuiſed theſe matters, ſo were they executed: and *Cæſar* was ſlaine in the middeſt of the Senat. *Antonius* being put in a feare withall, caſt a ſlaues gowne vpon him, and hid himſelfe. But afterwardes when it was told him that the murtherers ſlue no man elſe, and that they went onely into the Capitoll: he ſent his ſon vnto them for a pledge, and bad them boldly come downe vppon his word. The ſelfe ſame day he did bid *Caſſius* to ſupper, and *Lepidus* alſo bad *Brutus*. The next morning the Senat was aſſēbled, & *Antonius* himſelf preferred a law that all things paſt ſhould be forgotten, and that they ſhould appoint prouinces, vnto *Caſſius* & *Brutus*: the which the Senat confirmed, and further ordained, that they ſhould cancel none of *Cæſars* lawes. Thus went *Antonius* out of the Senate more praiſed, and better eſteemed, then euer man was: becauſe it

*Antonius vnwittingly gaue Cæſars enemies occaſion to conſpire againſt him.*

*Antonius Lupercian putteth the diademe vpon Cæſars head.*

*Brutus & Caſſius conſpire Cæſars death.*

*Conſultation about the murther of Antonius with Cæſar.*

ſeemed to euery man that he had cut off all occaſion of ciuill warres, and that he had ſhewed him ſelfe a maruellous wiſe gouernour of the common wealth, for the appeaſing of theſe matters of ſo great waight and importance. But now, the opinion he conceiued of him ſelfe after he had a litle felt the good will of the people towards him, hoping thereby to make him ſelfe the chiefeſt man if he might ouercome *Brutus*: did eaſily make him alter his firſt minde. And therefore when *Cæſars* body was brought to the place where it ſhould be buried, he made a funerall oration in commendation of *Cæſar*, according to the ancient cuſtome of praiſing noble men at their funerals. When he ſaw that the people were very glad and deſirous alſo to heare *Cæſar* ſpoken of, and his praiſes vttered: he mingled his oration with lamentable words, and by amplifying of matters did greatly moue their hearts and affections vnto pity and compaſſion. In fine to conclude his oration, he vnfolded before the whole aſſembly the blouddy garments of the dead, thruſt through in many places with their ſwords, and called the malefactors, cruell and curſed murtherers. With theſe words he put the people into ſuch a fury, that they preſently tooke *Cæſars* body, and burnt it in the market place, with ſuch tables & fourmes as they could get together. Then when the fire was kindled, they tooke firebrands, and ran to the murtherers houſes to ſet them a fire, and to make them come out to fight. *Brutus* therefore and his accomplices, for ſafety of their perſons were driuen to flie the city. Then came all *Cæſars* frends vnto *Antonius*, and ſpecially his wife *Calpurnia* putting her truſt in him, ſhe brought the moſt part of her money into his houſe, which amounted to the ſumme of foure thouſand talents, and furthermore brought him all *Cæſars* bookes and writings, in the which were his memorials of all that he had done and ordained. *Antonius* did daily mingle with them ſuch as he thought good, and by that means he created new officers, made new Senators, called home ſome that were baniſhed, and deliuered thoſe that were priſoners: and then hee ſayed that all thoſe things were ſo appointed and ordayned by *Cæſar*. Therefore the ROMAINES mocking them that were ſo moued, they called them CHARONITES: becauſe that when they were ouercome, they had no other helpe but to ſay, that thus they were found in *Cæſars* memorials, who had ſailed in *Charons* boate, and was departed. Thus *Antonius* ruled abſolutely alſo in all other matters, becauſe he was Conſull, and *Caius* one of his brethren Prætor, and *Lucius* the other, Tribune. Now things remayning in this ſtate at ROME, *Octauius Cæſar* the yonger came to ROME, who was the ſonne of *Iulius Cæſars* Neece, as you haue heard before, and was left his lawfull heire by will, remayning at the time of the death of his great Vncle that was ſlaine, in the city of APOLLONIA. This yong man at his firſt arriuall went to ſalute *Antonius*, as one of his late dead father *Cæſars* frends, who by his laſt will & teſtament had made him his heire: and withall, he was preſently in hand with him for money and other things which were left of truſt in his hands, becauſe *Cæſar* had by will bequeathed vnto the people of ROME, three ſcore and fifteene ſiluer Drachmas to be giuen to euery man, the which he as heire ſtoode charged withall. *Antonius* at the firſt made no reckonning of him, becauſe he was very young: and ſayed he lacked witte, and good friends to aduiſe him, if he looked to take ſuch a charge in hand, as to vndertake to be *Cæſars* heire. But when *Antonius* ſaw that he could not ſhake him off with thoſe wordes, and that he was ſtill in hand with him for his fathers goods, but ſpecially for the ready money: then he ſpake and did what he could againſt him. And firſt of all, it was he that did keepe him from being Tribune of the people: and alſo when *Octauius Cæſar* beganne to meddle with the dedicating of the chaire of gold, which was prepared by the Senate to honor *Cæſar* with: he threatned to ſend him to priſon, and moreouer deſiſted not to put the people in an vprore. This yong *Cæſar* ſeeing his doings, went vnto *Cicero*, and others, which were *Antonius* enemies, and by them crept into fauor with the Senate: and he himſelfe ſought the peoples good will euery manner of way, gathering together the olde ſouldiers of the late deceaſed *Cæſar*, which were diſperſed in diuers cities and colonies. *Antonius* being affrayd of it, talked with *Octauius* in the Capitoll, and became his frend. But the very ſame night *Antonius* had a ſtrange dreame, who thought that lightning fell vpon him, and burnt his right hād. Shortly after word was brought him, that *Cæſar* lay in wait to kil him. *Cæſar* cleared him ſelfe vnto him, and told him there was no ſuch matter: but he could not make *Antonius* beleue the contrary. Whereuppon they became further enemies then euer they were: inſomuch that

*Antonius maketh vprore among the people, for the murther of Cæſar.*

*Calpurnia, Cæſars wife.*

*Charonites, why ſo called.*

*M. Antonius Conſull. Caius Antonius Prætor. Lucius Antonius Tribune, all three brethren.*

*Variance betwixt Antonius and Octauius Cæſar, heire vnto Iulius Cæſar.*

*Octauius Cæſar ioyned in frendſhip with Cicero.*

*Antonius and Octauius became friends.*

*Antonius dreame.*

*Antonius iudged an enemy by the Senate.*

*Hircius and Panſa Conſuls.*

*Antonius ouerthrowen in battell by the city of Modena.*

*Antonius patient in aduerſity.*

*Antonius hardnes in aduerſity, notwithſtanding his fine bringing vp.*

*Antonius wan all Lepidus army from him.*

*Varius, ſurnamed Cotylon.*

both of them made friends of either ſide to gather together all the old ſouldiers through ITALY, that were diſperſed in diuers townes: and made them large promiſes, & ſought alſo to win the legions on their ſide, which were already in armes. *Cicero* on the other ſide being at that time the chiefeſt man of authority and eſtimation in the city, he ſtirred vp all men againſt *Antonius:* ſo that in the end he made the Senate pronounce him an enemy to his country, and appointed yong *Cæſar* Sergeants to cary axes before him, and ſuch other ſignes as were incident to the dignity of a Conſull or Prætor: and moreouer ſent *Hircius* and *Panſa*, then Conſuls, to driue *Antonius* out of ITALY. Theſe two Conſuls together with *Cæſar*, who alſo had an army, went againſt *Antonius* that beſieged the city of MODENA, and there ouerthrew him in battel: but both the Conſuls were ſlaine there. *Antonius* flying vpon this ouerthrow, fell into great miſery all at once: but the chiefeſt want of all other, and that pinched him moſt, was famine. Howbeit he was of ſuch a ſtrong nature, that by patience he would ouercome any aduerſitie, and the heauier fortune lay vpon him, the more conſtant ſhewed he himſelſe. Euery man that feeleth want or aduerſity, knoweth by vertue and diſcretion what he ſhould doe: but when in deede they are ouerlayed with extremity, and be ſore oppreſſed, few haue the hearts to follow that which they praiſe and commend, and much leſſe to auoide that they reproue and miſlike. But rather to the contrary, they yeeld to their accuſtomed eaſie life: and through faint heart, & lacke of corage, doe chaunge their firſt mind and purpoſe. And therefore it was a wonderfull example to the ſouldiers, to ſee *Antonius* that was brought vp in all fineneſſe and ſuperfluity, ſo eaſily to drinke puddle water, and to eate wild frutes and rootes: and moreouer it is reported, that euen as they paſſed the Alpes, they did eate the barkes of trees, and ſuch beaſts, as neuer man taſted of their fleſh before. Now their intent was to ioyne with the legions that was on the other ſide of the Mountains, vnder *Lepidus* charge: whom *Antonius* tooke to be his friend, becauſe he had holpen him to many things at *Cæſars* hand, through his meanes. When he was come to the place where *Lepidus* was, he camped hard by him: and when he ſaw that no man came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venter him ſelfe, and to goe vnto *Lepidus.* Since the ouerthrow he had at MODENA, he ſuffred his beard to grow at length and neuer clipt it, that it was maruellous long, and the haire of his head alſo without koming: and beſides all this, he went in a mourning gowne, and after this ſort came hard to the trenches of *Lepidus* campe. Then he beganne to ſpeake vnto the ſouldiers, and many of them their hearts yerned for pity to ſee him ſo poorely arrayed, and ſome alſo through his wordes beganne to pity him: inſomuch that *Lepidus* beganne to be affrayed, and therefore commaunded all the trumpets to ſound together to ſtoppe the ſouldiers eares, that they ſhoulde not hearken to *Antonius.* This notwithſtanding, the ſouldiers tooke the more pity of him, and ſpake ſecretly with him by *Clodius* and *Lælius* meanes, whom they ſent vnto him diſguiſed in womens apparel, and gaue him counſell that he ſhould not be afraid to enter into their campe, for there were a great number of ſouldiers that would receiue him, and kil *Lepidus*, if he would ſay the word. *Antonius* would not ſuffer thẽ to hurt him, but the next morning he went with his army to wade a ford, at a litle riuer that ran betweene them: and him ſelfe was the foremoſt man that tooke the riuer to get ouer, ſeeing a number of *Lepidus* campe that gaue him their handes, plucked vp the ſtakes, and layed flat the bancke of their trenche to let him in to their campe. When he was come into their campe, and that he had all the army at his commandement: he vſed *Lepidus* very curteouſly, imbraced him, and called him father: and though in deede *Antonius* did all, and ruled the whole army, yet he alway gaue *Lepidus* the name and honor of the Captaine. *Munatius Plancus*, lying alſo in campe hard by with an army: vnderſtanding the report of *Antonius* curteſie, he alſo came and ioined with him. Thus *Antonius* being a foote againe, and growen of great power, repaſſed ouer the Alpes, leading into ITALY with him ſeuenteene legions, and tenne thouſand horſemen, beſides ſixe legions he left in gariſon among the GAVLES, vnder the charge of one *Varius*, a companion of his that woulde drinke luſtely with him, and therefore in mockery was ſurnamed *Cotylon*: to wit, a bibber. So *Octauius Cæſar* would not leane to *Cicero*, when he ſaw that his whole trauell & endeuor was onely to reſtore the common wealth to her former liberty. Therefore he ſent certaine of his friends to *Antonius*, to make them friends againe: and thereupon all three met together, (to wit, *Cæſar*, *Antonius*, and *Lepidus*) in an Iland enuironned round about with a litle riuer, and there remained three daies together. Now as touching all other matters, they were eaſily agreed, and did deuide all the Empire of ROME betweene them, as if it had bene their own inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for euery one of them would kill their enemies, and ſaue their kinſmen and friends. Yet at length, giuing place to their greedy deſire to be reuenged of their enemies, they ſpurned all reuerence of bloud, and holines of frendſhip at their feete. For *Cæſar* left *Cicero* to *Antonius* wil, *Antonius* alſo forſooke *Lucius Cæſar*, who was his Vncle by his mother: and both of them together ſuffered *Lepidus* to kill his owne brother *Paulus*. Yet ſome writers affirme, that *Cæſar* and *Antonius* requeſted *Paulus* might be ſlaine, and that *Lepidus* was contented with it. In my opinion there was neuer a more horrible, vnnaturall, and crueller change then this was. For thus chaunging murther for murther, they did aſwell kil thoſe whō they did forſake and leaue vnto others, as thoſe alſo which others left vnto them to kill: but ſo much more was their wickedneſſe and cruelty great vnto their friends, for that they put them to death being innocents, and hauing no cauſe to hate them. After this plot was agreed vpon betweene them: the ſouldiers that were thereabouts, would haue this friendſhip & league betwixt them confirmed by mariage, and that *Cæſar* ſhould mary *Claudia*, the daughter of *Fuluia*, and *Antonius* wife. This mariage alſo being agreed vpon, they condemned three hūdred of the chiefeſt citizens of ROME, to be put to death by proſcription. And *Antonius* alſo commanded them to whom he had giuen commiſſion to kill *Cicero*, that they ſhould ſtrike off his head and right hand, with the which he had written the inuectiue Orations (called Philippides) againſt *Antonius*. So when the murtherers brought him *Ciceroes* head and hand cut off, he beheld them a long time with great ioy, and laughed heartely, and that oftentimes for the great ioy he felt. Then when he had taken his pleaſure of the ſight of them, he cauſed thē to be ſet vp in an open place, ouer the pulpit for orations (where when he was aliue, he had often ſpoken to the people) as if he had done the dead man hurt, and not bleamiſhed his owne fortune, ſhewing him ſelfe (to his great ſhame and infamy) a cruell man, and vnworthy the office & authority he bare. His vncle *Lucius Cæſar* alſo, as they ſought for him to kill him, and followed him hard, fled vnto his ſiſter. The murtherers comming thither, forcing to break into her chamber, ſhe ſtood at her chamber dore with her armes abroad, crying out ſtill: you ſhall not kil *Lucius Cæſar*, before you firſt kill me, that bare your Captaine in my wombe. By this meanes ſhe ſaued her brothers life. Now the gouernment of theſe Triumuiri grew odious and hatefull to the ROMAINS, for diuers reſpects: but they moſt blamed *Antonius*, becauſe he being elder then *Cæſar*, and of more power and force then *Lepidus*, gaue him ſelfe againe to his former riot and exceſſe, when he left to deale in the affairs of the cōmonwealth. But ſetting aſide the ill name he had for his inſolency, he was yet much more hated in reſpect of the houſe he dwelt in, the which was the houſe of *Pompey* the great: a man as famous for his temperance, modeſty, and ciuil life, as for his three triumphes. For it grieued them to ſee the gates commonly ſhut againſt the Captaines, Magiſtrates of the city, and alſo Ambaſſadors of ſtraunge nations, which were ſometimes thruſt from the gate with violence: and that the houſe within was full of tumblers, anticke dauncers, iuglers, players, ieaſters, and drunkards, quaffing and guzling, and that on them he ſpent and beſtowed the moſt part of his money he got by all kind of poſſible extortions, bribery and policy. For they did not only ſel by the crier the goods of thoſe whom they had outlawed, and appointed to murther, ſlanderouſly deceiued the poore widowes and yong orphanes, and alſo raiſed al kind of impoſts, ſubſidies, and taxes: but vnderſtanding alſo that the holy veſtall Nuns had certaine goods and money put in their cuſtody to keepe, both of mens in the city, and thoſe alſo that were abroade: they went thither, and tooke them away by force. *Octauius Cæſar* perceiuing that no money would ſerue *Antonius* turne, he prayed that they might deuide the money betweene them, and ſo did they alſo deuide the army, for them both to goe into MACEDON to make warre againſt *Brutus* and *Caſsius*: and in the meane time they left the gouernment of the city of ROME vnto *Lepidus*. When they had paſſed ouer the ſeas, and that they beganne to make warre, they being both camped by their enemies, to wit, *Antonius* againſt *Caſsius*, and *Cæſar* againſt *Brutus*: *Cæſar* did no great matter, but *Antonius* had alway the vpper hand, and did all. For at the firſt battell

*The conſpiracy and meeting of Cæſar, Antonius, and Lepidus.*

*The proſcription of the Triumuiri.*

*Antonius cruelty vnto Cicero.*

*Lucius Cæſars life ſaued, by his ſiſter.*

*Antonius riot in his Triumuirate.*

*The praiſe of Pompey the great.*

*The valiantnes of Antonius againſt Brutus.*

*The death of Caſſius.*

*Brutus ſlue him ſelfe.*

*Antonius gaue honorable buriall vnto Brutus.*

*Antonius great curteſie in Greece.*

*The plagues of Italy, in riot.*

*Cæſar* was ouerthrowen by **Brutus**, and loſt his campe, and very hardly ſaued him ſelfe by flying from them that followed him. Howbeit he writeth himſelfe in his Commentaries, that he fled before the charge was giuen, becauſe of a dreame one of his friends had. ***Antonius*** on the other ſide ouerthrew *Caſſius* in battell, though ſome write that he was not there himſelfe at the battel, but that he came after the ouerthrow, whileſt his men had the enemies in chaſe. So *Caſſius* at his earneſt requeſt was ſlaine by a faithfull ſeruant of his own called *Pindarus*, whom he had infranchiſed: becauſe he knew not in time that **Brutus** had ouercome *Cæſar*. Shortly after they fought an other battell againe, in the which **Brutus** was ouerthrowen, who afterwardes alſo ſlue himſelf. Thus ***Antonius*** had the chiefeſt glory of all this victory, ſpecially becauſe *Cæſar* was ſicke at that time. ***Antonius*** hauing found **Brutus** body after this battell, blaming him much for the murther of his brother *Caius*, whom he had put to death in MACEDON for reuenge of *Ciceroes* cruel death, and yet laying the fault more in *Hortenſius* then in him: he made *Hortenſius* to be ſlaine on his brothers tombe. Furthermore, he caſt his coate armour (which was wonderful rich and ſumptuous) vpon **Brutus** body, and gaue commandement to one of his ſlaues infranchiſed, to defray the charge of his buriall. But afterwards, ***Antonius*** hearing that his infranchiſed bondman had not burnt his coate armour with his body, becauſe it was very rich, and worth a great ſumme of money, and that he had alſo kept backe much of the ready money appointed for his funerall and tombe: he alſo put him to death. After that *Cæſar* was conuayed to ROME, and it was thought he would not liue long, nor eſcape the ſicknes he had. ***Antonius*** on the other ſide went towards the Eaſt prouinces and regions, to leauy money: and firſt of all he went into GREECE, and caried an infinite number of ſouldiers with him. Now, becauſe euery ſouldier was promiſed fiue thouſand ſiluer Drachmas, he was driuen of neceſſity to impoſe extreame tallages and taxations. At his firſt comming into GREECE, hee was not hard nor bitter vnto the GRECIANS, but gaue himſelfe onely to heare wiſe men diſpute, to ſee playes, and alſo to note the ceremonies and ſacrifices of GREECE, miniſtring iuſtice to euerie man, and it pleaſed him maruellouſly to heare them call him ***Philellen***, (as much to ſay, a louer of the GRECIANS) and ſpecially the ATHENIANS, to whom he did many great pleaſures. Wherfore the MEGARIANS, to exceed the ATHENIANS, thinking to ſhew ***Antonius*** a goodly ſight: they praid him to come and ſee their Senat houſe, and councel hall. ***Antonius*** went thither to ſee it: ſo when he had ſeene it at his pleaſure, they asked him, my Lord, how like you our hall? Me thinks (q he) it is litle, old, and ready to fall downe. Furthermore he tooke meaſure of the temple of *Apollo Pythias*, and promiſed the Senat to finiſh it. But when he was once come into ASIA, hauing left *Lucius Cenſorinus* Gouernor in GREECE, and that he had felt the riches and pleaſures of the Eaſt parts, and that Princes, great Lords, and Kings, came to wait at his gate for his comming out, and that Queenes and Princeſſes to excell one an other, gaue him verie rich preſents, and came to ſee him, curiouſly ſetting forth them ſelues, & vſing all art that might be to ſhew their beauty, to win his fauour the more: (*Cæſar* in the meane ſpace turmoyling his wits and body in ciuill wars at home, ***Antonius*** liuing merrily and quietly abroad) he eaſily fell again to his old licentious life. For ſtraight one ***Anaxenor*** a plaier of the cithern, ***Xoutus*** a plaier of the flutes, *Metrodorus* a tumbler, and ſuch a rabble of minſtrels and fit miniſters for the pleaſures of ASIA, (who in finenes and flattery paſſed all the other plagues he brought with him out of ITALY) all theſe flocked in his court, and bare the whole ſway: and after that, all went awry. For euery one gaue them ſelues to riot and exceſſe, when they ſaw he delighted in it: and all ASIA was like to the city *Sophocles* ſpeaketh of in one of his tragedies:

*VVas full of ſweete perfumes, and pleaſaunt ſongs,*
*VVith woefull weeping mingled thereamongs.*

*Antonius cruelty in Aſia.*

For in the city of EPHESVS, women attired as they goe in the feaſtes and ſacrifice, of ***Bacchus***, came out to meete him with ſuch ſolemnities and ceremonies, as are then vſed: with men and children diſguiſed like Fawnes and Satyres. Moreouer, the city was full of Iuey, and darts wreathed about with Iuey, pſalterions, flutes and howboyes; and in their ſongs they called him ***Bacchus***, father of mirth, curteous, and gentle: and ſo was he vnto ſome, but to the moſt part of men, cruell, and extreame. For he robbed noble men and gentle men of their goods, to giue it vnto vile flatterers: who oftentimes begged mens goods liuing, as though they had bene dead, and would enter their houſes by force. As he gaue a citizens houſe of MAGNESIA vnto a cooke, becauſe ( as it is reported ) he dreſſed him a fine ſupper. In the end he doubled the taxation, and impoſed a ſecond vpon ASIA. But then *Hybraas* the Orator ſent from the eſtates of ASIA, to tell him the ſtate of their countrie, boldly ſaid vnto him: if thou wilt haue power to lay two tributes in one yere vpon vs, thou ſhouldeſt alſo haue power to giue vs two ſommers, two autumnes, and two harueſts. This was gallantly and pleaſantly ſpoken vnto *Antonius* by the Orator, and it pleaſed him well to heare it: but afterwardes amplifying his ſpeech, hee ſpake more boldly, and to better purpoſe. ASIA hath payed the two hundred thouſand talents. If all this money be not come to thy cofers, then aske account of them that leauied it: but if thou haue receiued it, and nothing be left of it, then are we vterly vndone. *Hybraas* words netled *Antonius* roundly. For he vnderſtoode not many of the thefts and robberies his officers committed by his authoritie, in his treaſure and affaires: not ſo much becauſe he was careleſſe, as for that he ouerſimply truſted his men in all things. For he was a plaine man, without ſubtiltie, and therefore ouerlate founde out the foule faultes they committed againſt him: but when he heard of them, he was much offended, and would plainely confeſſe it vnto them whom his officers had done iniurie vnto, by countenance of his authoritie. He had a noble minde, as well to puniſh offenders, as to reward well doers: and yet he did exceede more in giuing, then in puniſhing. Now for his outragious manner of railing he commonly vſed, mocking and flouting of euery man: that was remedied by it ſelfe. For a man might as boldly exchange a mocke with him, & he was as well contented to be mocked, as to mock others. But yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that thoſe which told him ſo plainly, & truly in mirth: would neuer flatter him in good earneſt, in any matter of weight. But thus he was eaſily abuſed by the praiſes they gaue him, not finding how theſe flatterers mingled their flatterie, vnder this familiar and plaine manner of ſpeech vnto him, as a fine deuiſe to make difference of meates with ſharpe and tart ſauce, & alſo to keepe him by this frank ieaſting & bourding with him at the table, that their common flatterie ſhould not be troubleſome vnto him, as men doe eaſily miſlike to haue too much of one thing: and that they handled him finely thereby, when they would giue him place in any matter of waight, and follow his counſell, that it might not appeare to him they did it ſo much to pleaſe him, but becauſe they were ignorant, and vnderſtoode not ſo much as he did. *Antonius* being thus inclined, the laſt and extreameſt miſchiefe of all other (to wit, the loue of *Cleopatra*) lighted on him, who did waken and ſtirre vp many vices yet hidden in him, and were neuer ſeene to any: and if any ſparke of goodneſſe or hope of riſing were left him, *Cleopatra* quenched it ſtraight, and made it worſe then before. The manner how he fell in loue with her was this. *Antonius* going to make warre with the PARTHIANS, ſent to command *Cleopatra* to appeare perſonally before him, when he came into CILICIA, to aunſwere vnto ſuch accuſations as were laide againſt her, being this: that ſhe had aided *Caſsius* and *Brutus* in their warre againſt him. The meſſenger ſent vnto *Cleopatra* to make this ſummons vnto her, was called *Dellius*: who when he had throughly conſidered her beautie, the excellent grace and ſweeteneſſe of her tongue, he nothing miſtruſted that *Antonius* would doe any hurt to ſo noble a Ladie, but rather aſſured himſelfe, that within few dayes ſhe ſhould be in great fauor with him. Thereupon he did her great honour, and perſwaded her to come into CILICIA, as honourably furniſhed as ſhe could poſſible, and bad her not to be affraide at all of *Antonius*, for he was a more courteous Lord, then any that ſhe had euer ſeene. *Cleopatra* on the other ſide beleeuing *Dellius* words, & geſſing by the former acceſſe and credit ſhe had with *Iulius Cæſar*, and *Cneus Pompey* (the ſonne of *Pompey* the great) onely for her beautie: ſhe began to haue good hope that ſhe might more eaſily win *Antonius*. For *Cæſar* and *Pompey* knew her when ſhe was but a young thing, & knew not then what the worlde ment: but now ſhe went to *Antonius* at the age when a womans beautie is at the prime, and ſhe alſo of beſt iudgement. So, ſhe furniſhed her ſelfe with a world of gifts, ſtore of gold and ſiluer, and of riches and other ſumptuous ornaments, as is credible enough ſhe might bring from ſo great a houſe, and from ſo wealthie and rich a realme as ÆGYPT was. But yet ſhe caried nothing with her wherein ſhe truſted more then in her ſelfe, and in the charmes and inchauntment of her paſſing beautie and grace. Therefore when ſhe was

*Hybraas words vnto Antonius touching their great payments of money vnto him.*

*Antonius ſimplicitie.*

*Antonius maners.*

*Antonius loue to Cleopatra whom he ſent for into Cilicia*

*The wonderfull ſumptuouſnes of Cleopatra, Queene of Aegypt, going vnto Antonius.*

*Cydnus fl.*

*The ſumptuous preparations of the ſuppers of Cleopatra and Antonius.*

*Cleopatraes beautie.*

*An order ſet vp by Antonius and Cleopatra.*

*The exceſſiue expences of Antonius and Cleopatra in AEgypt.*

ſent vnto by diuers letters, both from *Antonius* himſelfe, and alſo from his friendes, ſhe made ſo light of it and mocked *Antonius* ſo much, that ſhe diſdained to ſet forward otherwiſe, but to take her barge in the riuer of Cydnus, the poope whereof was of gold, the ſailes of purple, and the owers of ſiluer, which kept ſtroke in rowing after the ſound of the muſicke of flutes, howboyes, cytherns,, vyolls, and ſuch other inſtruments as they played vpon in the barge. And now for the perſon of her ſelfe: ſhe was laide vnder a pauillion of cloth of golde of tiſſue, apparelled and attired like the goddeſſe *Venus*, commonly drawen in picture: and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretie faire boyes apparelled as painters doe ſet foorth god *Cupide*, with litle fans in their hands, with the which they fanned winde vpon her. Her Ladies and gentlewomen alſo, the faireſt of them were apparelled like the nymphes *Nereides* (which are the myrmaides of the waters) and like the *Graces*, ſome ſtearing the helme, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderfull paſſing ſweete ſauor of perfumes, that perfumed the wharfes ſide, peſtered with innumerable multitudes of people. Some of them followed the barge all alongſt the riuers ſide: others alſo ranne out of the citie to ſee her comming in. So that in the end, there ranne ſuch multitudes of people one after an other to ſee her, that *Antonius* was left poſt alone in the market place, in his Imperiall ſeate to giue audience: and there went a rumour in the peoples mouthes, that the goddeſſe *Venus* was come to play with the god *Bacchus*, for the generall good of all ASIA. When *Cleopatra* landed, *Antonius* ſent to inuite her to ſupper to him. But ſhe ſent him worde againe, he ſhould doe better rather to come and ſuppe with her. *Antonius* therefore to ſhew himſelfe curteous vnto her at her arriuall, was contented to obey her, and went to ſupper to her: where he found ſuch paſſing ſumptuous fare, that no tongue can expreſſe it. But amongſt all other things, he moſt wondered at the infinite number of lightes and torches hanged on the toppe of the houſe, giuing light in euery place, ſo artificially ſet and ordered by deuiſes, ſome round, ſome ſquare: that it was the rareſt thing to behold that eye could diſcerne, or that euer bookes could mention. The next night, *Antonius* feaſting her, contended to paſſe her in magnificence and finenes: but ſhe ouercame him in both. So that he himſelfe began to ſcorne the groſſe ſeruice of his houſe, in reſpect of *Cleopatraes* ſumptuouſnes and fineneſſe. And when *Cleopatra* found *Antonius* ieaſts and ſlents to be but groſſe, and ſouldier like, in plaine manner: ſhe gaue it him finely, and without feare taunted him throughly. Now her beautie (as it is reported) was not ſo paſſing, as vnmatchable of other women, nor yet ſuch, as vpon preſent viewe did enamor men with her: but ſo ſweete was her companie and conuerſation, that a man could not poſſiblie but be taken. And beſides her beautie, the good grace ſhe had to talke and diſcourſe, her curteous nature that tempered her words & deedes, was a ſpurre that pricked to the quick. Furthermore, beſides all theſe, her voice and words were maruellous pleaſant: for her tongue was an inſtrument of muſicke to diuers ſportes and paſtimes, the which ſhe eaſily turned to any language that pleaſed her. She ſpake vnto few barbarous people by interpreter, but made them anſwere her ſelfe, or at the leaſt the moſt part of them: as the ÆTHIOPIANS, the ARABIANS, the TROGLODYTES, the HEBRVES, the SYRIANS, the MEDES, and the PARTHIANS, and to many others alſo, whoſe languages ſhe had learned. Whereas diuers of her progenitors, the kings of ÆGYPT, could ſcarce learne the ÆGYPTIAN tongue only, & many of them forgot to ſpeake the MACEDONIAN. Now, *Antonius* was ſo rauiſhed with the loue of *Cleopatra*, that though his wife *Fuluia* had great warres, and much a doe with *Cæſar* for his affaires, and that the armie of the PARTHIANS (the which the kings Lieutenantes had giuen to the only leading of *Labienus*) was now aſſembled in MESOPOTAMIA readie to inuade SYRIA: yet, as though all this had nothing touched him, he yeelded himſelfe to goe with *Cleopatra* into ALEXANDRIA, where he ſpent and loſt in childiſh ſports (as a man might ſay) and idle paſtimes, the moſt pretious thing a man can ſpend, as *Antiphon* ſaith: and that is, time. For they made an order betwene them, which they called Amimetobion (as much to ſay, no life comparable and matchable with it) one feaſting each other by turnes, and in coſt, exceeding all meaſure and reaſon. And for proofe hereof, I haue heard my grandfather *Lampryas* report, that one *Philotas* a Phiſitian, borne in the city of AMPHISSA, told him that he was at that preſent time in ALEXANDRIA, and ſtudied Phiſicke: and that hauing acquaintance with one of *Antonius* cookes, he tooke him with him to *Antonius* houſe, ( being a young man deſirous to ſee things) to ſhew him the wonderfull ſumptuous charge and preparation of one only ſupper. When he was in the kitchin, and ſaw a world of diuerſities of meates, and amongſt others, eight wild boares roſted whole: he began to wonder at it, and ſaide, ſure you haue a great number of gueſtes to ſupper. The cooke fell a laughing, and anſwered him, no (ꝙ he) not many gueſtes, nor aboue twelue in all: but yet all that is boyled or roaſted muſt be ſerued in whole, or elſe it would be marred ſtraight. For *Antonius* peraduenture will ſuppe preſently, or it may be a pretie while hence, or likely enough he will deferre it longer, for that he hath drunke well to day, or elſe hath had ſome other great matters in hand: and therefore we doe not dreſſe one ſupper onely, but many ſuppers, becauſe we are vncertaine of the houre he will ſuppe in. *Philotas* the Phiſitian tolde my grandfather this tale, and ſaide moreouer, that it was his chaunce ſhortly after to ſerue the eldeſt ſonne of the ſaide *Antonius*, whom he had by his wife *Fuluia*: and that he ſate commonly at his table with his other friendes, when he did not dine nor ſuppe with his father. It chaunced one day there came a Phiſitian that was ſo full of words, that he made euery man wearie of him at the bord: but *Philotas* to ſtoppe his mouth, put out a ſubtle propoſition to him. It is good in ſome ſort to let a man drinke colde water that hath an agew: euery man that hath an agew hath it in ſome ſort, ergo it is good for a man that hath an agew to drinke cold water. The Phiſitian was ſo grauelled & amated withall, that he had not a word more to ſay. Young *Antonius* burſt out in ſuch a laughing at him, and was ſo glad of it, that he ſaid vnto him: *Philotas*, take all that, I giue it thee: ſhewing him his cubbord full of plate, with great pots of gold and ſiluer. *Philotas* thanked him, and told him he thought himſelf greatly bound to him for this liberality, but he would neuer haue thought that he had had power to haue giuen ſo many things, and of ſo great value. But much more he maruelled, when ſhortly after one of young *Antonius* men brought him home all the pots in a basket, bidding him ſet his marke and ſtampe vpon them, and to locke them vp. *Philotas* returned the bringer of them, fearing to be reproued if he tooke thẽ. Then the young gentleman *Antonius* ſaid vnto him: alas poore man, why doeſt thou make it niſe to take them? Knoweſt thou not that it is the ſonne of *Antonius* that giues them thee, and is able to do it? If thou wilt not beleeue me, take rather the readie money they come to: becauſe my father peraduenture may aske for ſome of the plate, for the antike & excellent workmanſhip of them. This I haue heard my grandfather tell oftentimes. But now againe to *Cleopatra*. *Plato* writeth that there are foure kinds of flatterie: but *Cleopatra* deuided it into many kinds. For ſhe, were it in ſport, or in matters of earneſt, ſtill deuiſed ſundrie newe delights to haue *Antonius* at commaundement, neuer leauing him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of her ſight. For ſhe would play at dice with him, drinke with him, & hunt commonly with him, and alſo be with him when he went to any exerciſe or actiuitie of body. And ſometime alſo, when he would goe vp and downe the citie diſguiſed like a ſlaue in the night, & would peere into poore mens windowes & their ſhops, and ſcold and braule with them within the houſe: *Cleopatra* would be alſo in a chamber maides array, and amble vp & downe the ſtreetes with him, ſo that oftentimes *Antonius* bare away both mockes & blowes. Now, though moſt men miſliked this maner, yet the ALEXANDRIANS were commonly glad of this iolity, and liked it well, ſaying very gallantly, and wiſely: that *Antonius* ſhewed them a comicall face, to wit, a merie countenance: and the ROMAINES a tragicall face, to ſay, a grimme looke. But to reckon vp all the fooliſh ſportes they made, reuelling in this ſort: it were too fonde a part of me, and therefore I will only tell you one among the reſt. On a time he went to angle for fiſh, and when he could take none, he was an angrie as could be, becauſe *Cleopatra* ſtood by. Wherefore he ſecretly commaunded the fiſher men, that when he caſt in his line, they ſhould ſtraight diue vnder the water, and put a fiſh on his hooke which they had taken before: and ſo ſnatched vp his angling rodde, and brought vp fiſh twiſe or thriſe. *Cleopatra* found it ſtraight, yet ſhe ſeemed not to ſee it, but wondred at his excellent fiſhing: but when ſhe was alone by her ſelfe among her owne people, ſhe tolde them how it was, and bad them the next morning to be on the water to ſee the fiſhing. A number of people came to the hauen, and got into the fiſher boates to ſee this fiſhing. *Antonius* then threw in his line and *Cleopatra* ſtraight commanded one of her men to

*Eight wilde boares roaſted whole.*

*Philotas a Phiſitian, borne in Amphiſſa, reporter of this feaſt.*

*Philotas, Phiſitian to the younger Antonius.*

*Philotas ſubtle propoſition.*

*Plato writeth of foure kinds of flatterie.*

*Cleopatra Queene of all flatterers.*

*Antonius fiſhing in Aegypt.*

diue vnder water before *Antonius* men, and to put ſome old ſalt fiſh vpon his baite, like vnto thoſe that are brought out of the country of PONT. When he had hong the fiſh on his hook, *Antonius* thinking he had taken a fiſh in deede, ſnatched vp his line preſently. Then they all fell a laughing. *Cleopatra* laughing alſo, ſaid vnto him: leaue vs (my Lord) ÆGYPTIANS (which dwell in the country of PHARVS & CANOBVS) your angling rod: this is not thy profeſſion: thou muſt hunt after conquering of realmes and countries. Now *Antonius* delighting in theſe fond and childiſh paſtimes, very ill newes were brought him from two places. The firſt from ROME, that his brother *Lucius* and *Fuluia* his wife, fell out firſt betwene themſelues, and afterwards fell to open warre with *Cæſar*, & had brought all to nought, that they were both driuen to flie out of ITALY. The ſecond newes, as bad as the firſt: that *Labienus* conquered all ASIA with the armie of the PARTHIANS, from the riuer of Euphrates, and from SYRIA, vnto the countries of LYDIA and IONIA. Then beganne *Antonius* with much a do, a litle to rouſe him ſelfe as if he had bene wakened out of a deepe ſleepe, and as a man may ſay, comming out of a great drunkenneſſe. So, firſt of all he bent himſelfe againſt the PARTHIANS, and went as farre as the country of PHOENICIA: but there he receiued lamentable letters from his wife *Fuluia*. Whereupon he ſtraight returned towardes ITALY, with two hundred ſaile: and as he went, tooke vp his friends by the way that fled out of ITALIE, to come to him. By them he was informed, that his wife *Fuluia* was the only cauſe of this warre: who being of a peeuiſh, crooked, and troubleſome nature, had purpoſely raiſed this vprore in ITALY, in hope thereby to withdraw him from *Cleopatra*. But by good fortune, his wife *Fuluia* going to meete with *Antonius* ſickned by the way, and died in the citie of SICYONE: and therefore *Octauius Cæſar*, and he were the eaſilier made friends together. For when *Antonius* landed in ITALIE, and that men ſaw *Cæſar* asked nothing of him, and that *Antonius* on the other ſide laide all the fault & burden on his wife *Fuluia*: the friendes of both parties would not ſuffer them to vnrippe any old matters, and to proue or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the firſt procurer of this warre, fearing to make matters worſe betwene them: but they made them friendes together, and deuided the Empire of ROME betwene them, making the ſea Ionium the bounds of their diuiſion. For they gaue all the prouinces Eaſtward vnto *Antonius*: and the countries Weſtward, vnto *Cæſar*: and left AFRICKE vnto *Lepidus*: and made a law, that they three one after an other ſhould make their friends Conſuls, when they would not be themſelues. This ſeemed to be a ſound councell, but yet it was to be confirmed with a ſtraighter bond, which fortune offered thus. There was *Octauia* the eldeſt ſiſter of *Cæſar*, not by one mother, for ſhe came of *Ancharia*, & *Cæſar* himſelfe afterwards of *Accia*. It is reported, that he dearly loued his ſiſter *Octauia*, for in deede ſhe was a noble Ladie, and left the widow of her firſt husband *Caius Marcellus*, who died not long before: and it ſeemed alſo that *Antonius* had bene widower euer ſince the death of his wife *Fuluia*. For he denied not that he kept *Cleopatra*, but ſo did he not confeſſe that he had her as his wife: & ſo with reaſon he did defend the loue he bare vnto this ÆGYPTIAN *Cleopatra* Thereupon euery man did ſet forward this mariage, hoping thereby that this Ladie *Octauia*, hauing an excellent grace, wiſedom, & honeſtie, ioyned vnto ſo rare a beautie, that when ſhe were with *Antonius* (he louing her as ſo worthy a Ladie deſerueth) ſhe ſhould be a good meane to keepe good loue & amitie betwixt her brother and him. So when *Cæſar* & he had made the match betwene them, they both went to ROME about this mariage, although it was againſt the law, that a widow ſhould be maried within tenne monethes after her husbandes death. Howbeit the Senate diſpenſed with the law, and ſo the mariage proceeded accordingly. *Sextus Pompeius* at that time kept in SICILIA, and ſo made many an inrode into ITALIE with a great number of pynnaſies and other pirates ſhippes, of the which were Captaines two notable pirats, *Menas* and *Menecrates*, who ſo ſcoured all the ſea thereabouts, that none durſt peepe out with a ſaile. Furthermore, *Sextus Pompeius* had dealt very friendly with *Antonius*, for he had courteouſly receiued his mother, when ſhe fled out of ITALIE with *Fuluia*: and therefore they thought good to make peace with him. So they met all three together by the mount of Miſena, vpon a hill that runneth farre into the ſea: *Pompey* hauing his ſhippes ryding hard by at anker, and *Antonius* and *Cæſar* their armies vpon the ſhore ſide, directly ouer againſt him. Now, after they had agreed that *Sextus Pompeius* ſhould haue SICILE

*The warres of Lucius, Antonius and Fuluia, againſt Octauius Cæſar.*

*The death of Fuluia Antonius wife.*

*All the Empire of Rome deuided betwene the Triumuiri. Octauia, the halfe ſiſter of Octauius Cæſar and daughter of Ancharia which was not Cæſars mother.*

*A law at Rome for marying of widowes. Antonius maried Octauia, Octauius Cæſars halfe ſiſter*

*Antonius and Octauius Cæſar, do make peace with Sextus Pompeius.*

and Sardinia, with this condition, that he ſhould ridde the ſea of all theeues and pirats, and make it ſafe for paſſengers, and withall that he ſhould ſend a certaine of wheate to Rome: one of them did feaſt an other, and drew cuts who ſhould beginne. It was *Pompeius* chaunce to inuite them firſt. Whereupon *Antonius* asked him: and where ſhall we ſup? There, ſaid *Pompey*, and ſhewed him his admirall galley which had ſixe banks of owers: that (ſaid he) is my fathers houſe they haue left me. He ſpake it to taunt *Antonius*, becauſe he had his fathers houſe, that was *Pompey* the great. So he caſt anckers enow into the ſea, to make his galley faſt, and then built a bridge of wood to conuey them to his galley, from the head of mount Miſena: and there he welcomed them, and made them great cheere. Now in the middeſt of the feaſt, when they fell to be merie with *Antonius* loue vnto *Cleopatra*: *Menas* the pirate came to *Pompey*, & whiſpering in his eare, ſaid vnto him: ſhall I cut the gables of the ankers, and make thee Lord not only of Sicile and Sardinia, but of the whole Empire of Rome beſides? *Pompey* hauing pauſed a while vpon it, at length anſwered him: thou ſhouldeſt haue done it, and neuer haue told it me, but now we muſt content vs with that we haue. As for my ſelfe, I was neuer taught to breake my faith, nor to be counted a traitor. The other two alſo did likewiſe feaſt him in their campe, and then he returned into Sicile. *Antonius* after this agreement made, ſent *Ventidius* before into Asia to ſtay the Parthians, and to keepe them they ſhould come no further: and he himſelfe in the meane time, to gratifie *Cæſar*, was contented to be choſen *Iulius Cæſars* prieſt and ſacrificer, & ſo they ioyntly together diſpatched all great matters, concerning the ſtate of the Empire. But in all other maner of ſports and exerciſes, wherein they paſſed the time away the one with the other: *Antonius* was euer inferior vnto *Cæſar*, & alway loſt, which grieued him much. With *Antonius* there was a ſoothſayer or aſtronomer of Ægypt, that could caſt a figure, and iudge of mens natiuities, to tell them what ſhould happen to them. He, either to pleaſe *Cleopatra*, or elſe for that he found it ſo by his art, tolde *Antonius* plainely, that his fortune (which of it ſelfe was excellent good, and very great) was altogether bleamiſhed and obſcured by *Cæſars* fortune: and therefore he counſelled him vtterly to leaue his company, and to get him as farre from him as he could. For thy *Demon* ſaid he, (that is to ſay, the good angell and ſpirit that keepeth thee) is affraide of his: and being coragious & high when he is alone, becometh fearefull and timerous when he commeth neere vnto the other. Howſoeuer it was, the euents enſuing proued the Ægyptians words true. For, it is ſaid, that as often as they two drew cuts for paſtime, who ſhould haue any thing, or whether they plaied at dice, *Antonius* alway loſt. Oftentimes when they were diſpoſed to ſee cockfight, or quailes that were taught to fight one with an other: *Cæſars* cockes or quailes did euer ouercome. The which ſpighted *Antonius* in his mind, although he made no outward ſhew of it: and therfore he beleeued the Ægyptian the better. In fine, he recommended the affaires of his houſe vnto *Cæſar*, & went out of Italy with *Octauia* his wife, whom he caried into Grece, after he had had a daughter by her. So *Antonius* lying al the winter at Athens, news came vnto him of the victories of *Ventidius*, who had ouercome the Parthians in battell, in the which alſo were ſlaine, *Labienus* and *Pharnabates*, the chiefeſt Captaine king *Orodes* had. For theſe good newes he feaſted all Athens, and kept open houſe for all the Grecians, and many games of price were plaid at Athens, of the which he himſelfe would be iudge. Wherfore leauing his gard, his axes, and tokens of his Empire at his houſe, he came into the ſhew place (or liſtes) where theſe games were plaide in a long gowne and ſlippers after the Grecian faſhion, and they caried tippeſtaues before him, as martials men do carie before the Iudges to make place: and he himſelfe in perſon was a ſtickler to part the young men, when they had fought enough. After that, preparing to go to the warres, he made him a garland of the holy Oliue, and caried a veſſell with him of the water of the fountaine Clepſydra, becauſe of an Oracle he had receiued that ſo commaunded him. In the meane time, *Ventidius* once againe ouercame *Pacorus*, (*Orodes* ſonne king of Parthia) in a battel fought in the country of Cyrrestica, he being come againe with a great armie to inuade Syria: at which battell was ſlaine a great number of the Parthians, & among them *Pacorus*, the kings owne ſonne ſlaine. This noble exploit as famous as euer any was, was a full reuenge to the Romaines, of the ſhame and loſſe they had receiued before by the death of *Marcus Craſſus*: and he made the Parthians flie, and

*Sextus Pompeius taunt to Antonius.*

*Sextus Pompeius being offered wonderfull great fortune for his honeſtie and faithes ſake, refuſed it.*

*Antonius told by a ſoothſaier, that his fortune was inferiour vnto Octauius Cæſar.*

*Antonius vnfortunate in ſport and earneſt, againſt Octauius Cæſar.*

*Orodes king of Parthia.*

*Ventidius notable victorie of the Parthians.*

*The death of Pacorus, the king of Parthias ſonne.*

glad to keepe themſelues within the confines and territories of MESOPOTAMIA, & MEDIA, after they had thriſe together bene ouercome in ſeuerall battels. Howbeit *Ventidius* durſt not vndertake to follow them any farther, fearing leaſt he ſhould haue gotten *Antonius* diſpleaſure by it. Notwithſtanding, he led his armie againſt them that had rebelled, and conquered them againe: amongſt whom he beſieged *Antiochus*, king of COMMAGENA, who offered him to giue a thouſand talents to be pardoned his rebellion, and promiſed euer after to be at *Antonius* commaundement. But *Ventidius* made him anſwere, that he ſhould ſend vnto *Antonius*, who was not farre off, & would not ſuffer *Ventidius* to make any peace with *Antiochus*, to the end that yet this litle exploit ſhould paſſe in his name, and that they ſhould not thinke he did any thing but by his Lieutenant *Ventidius*. The ſiege grew very long, becauſe they that were in the towne, ſeeing they could not be receiued vppon no reaſonable compoſition: determined valiantly to defende themſelues to the laſt man. Thus *Antonius* did nothing, and yet receiued great ſhame, repenting him much that he tooke not their firſt offer. And yet at laſt he was glad to make truce with *Antiochus*, and to take three hundred talents for compoſition. Thus after he had ſet order for the ſtate & affaires of SYRIA, he returned againe to ATHENS: and hauing giuen *Ventidius* ſuch honours as he deſerued, he ſent him to ROME, to triumph for the PARTHIANS. *Ventidius* was the onely man that euer triumphed of the PARTHIAN's vntill this preſent day, a meane man borne, and of no noble houſe nor family: who only came to that he attained vnto, through *Antonius* friendſhippe, the which deliuered him happie occaſion to atchieue to great matters. And yet to ſay truely, he did ſo well quit himſelfe in all his enterpriſes, that he confirmed that which was ſpoken of *Antonius* and *Cæſar*: to wit, that they were alway more fortunate when they made warre by their Lieutenants, then by themſelues. For *Soſsius*, one of *Antonius* Lieutenants in SYRIA, did notable good ſeruice: and *Canidius* whom he had alſo left his Lieutenant in the borders of ARMENIA, did conquer it all. So did he alſo ouercome the kings of the IBERIANS and ALBANIANS, and went on with his conqueſts vnto mount Caucaſus. By theſe conqueſts, the fame of *Antonius* power increaſed more and more, and grew dreadfull vnto all the barbarous nations. But *Antonius* notwithſtanding, grew to be maruellouſly offended with *Cæſar*, vpon certaine reportes that had beene brought vnto him: and ſo tooke ſea to go towards ITALY with three hundred ſaile. And becauſe thoſe of BRVNDVSIVM would not receiue his armie into their hauen, he went farther vnto TARENTVM. There his wife *Octauia* that came out of GRECE with him, beſought him to ſend her vnto her brother: the which he did. *Octauia* at that time was great with child, and moreouer had a ſecond daughter by him, and yet ſhe put her ſelfe in iorney, and met with her brother *Octauius Cæſar* by the way, who brought his two chiefe friends, *Mæcenas* and *Agrippa* with him. She tooke them aſide, and with all the inſtance ſhe could poſsible, intreated them they would not ſuffer her that was the happieſt woman of the worlde, to become now the moſt wretched and vnfortunateſt creature of all other. For now, ſaid ſhe, euery mans eyes doe gaze on me, that am the ſiſter of one of the Emperors and wife of the other. And if the worſt counſell take place, (which the goddes forbid) and that they growe to warres: for your ſelues, it is vncertaine to which of them two the goddes haue aſsigned the victorie, or ouerthrowe. But for me, on which ſide ſoeuer victorie fall, my ſtate can be but moſt miſerable ſtill. Theſe wordes of *Octauia* ſo ſoftned *Cæſars* heart, that he went quickly vnto TARENTVM. But it was a noble ſight for them that were preſent, to ſee ſo great an armie by land not to ſturre, and ſo many ſhippes a flote in the roade, quietly and ſafe: and furthermore, the meeting and kindneſſe of friendes, louingly imbracing one an other. Firſt, *Antonius* feaſted *Cæſar*, which he graunted vnto for his ſiſters ſake. Afterwardes they agreed together, that *Cæſar* ſhould giue *Antonius* two legions to goe againſt the PARTHIANS: and that *Antonius* ſhould let *Cæſar* haue a hundred gallies armed with braſen ſpurres at the prooes. Beſides all this, *Octauia* obteyned of her huſband, twentie brigantines for her brother: and of her brother for her huſbande, a thouſande armed men. After they had taken leaue of each other, *Cæſar* went immediatly to make warre with *Sextus Pompeius*, to get SICILIA into his handes. *Antonius* alſo leauing his wife *Octauia* and litle children begotten of her with *Cæſar*, and his other children which he had by *Fuluia*: he went directly into ASIA. Then beganne this peſtilent plague and miſchiefe

*Ventidius the only man of the Romaines, that triumphed for the Parthians.*

*Canidius conqueſts.*

*New diſpleaſures betwixt Antonius and Octauius Cæſar*

*The words of Octauia vnto Mæcenas and Agrippa.*

*Octauia pacifieth the quarrell betwixt Antonius, and her brother Octauius Cæſar.*

chiefe of *Cleopatraes* loue (which had ſlept a long time, and ſeemed to haue beene vtterly forgotten, and that *Antonius* had giuen place to better counſell) againe to kindle, and to be in force, ſo ſoone as *Antonius* came neare vnto Syria. And in the end, the horſe of the minde as *Plato* termeth it, that is ſo hard of raine (I meane the vnreyned luſt of concupiſcence) did put out of *Antonius* head, all honeſt and commendable thoughtes: for he ſent *Fonteius Capito* to bring *Cleopatra* into Syria. Vnto whom, to welcome her, he gaue no trifling things: but vnto that ſhee had already, he added the prouinces of Phoenicia, thoſe of the nethermoſt Syria, the Ile of Cyprus, and a great part of Cilicia, and that countrey of Iury, where the true balme is, and that part of Arabia where the Nabatheians doe dwell, which ſtretcheth out towardes the Ocean. Theſe great giftes much miſliked the Romaines. But now, though *Antonius* did eaſily giue away great ſeigniories, realmes, and mighty nations vnto ſome priuate men, and that alſo he tooke from other kings their lawfull realms: (as from *Antigonus* king of the Ievves, whom he openly beheaded, where neuer king before had ſuffered like death) yet all this did not ſo much offend the Romaines, as the vnmeaſurable honors which he did vnto *Cleopatra*. But yet he did much more aggrauat their malice and ill will towards him, becauſe that *Cleopatra* hauing brought him two twins, a ſonne and a daughter, he named his ſon *Alexander*, and his daughter *Cleopatra*, and gaue them to their ſurnames, the Sun to the one, and the moone to the other. This notwithſtanding, hee that could finely cloke his ſhamefull deeds with fine words, ſaid that the greatnes and magnificence of the Empire of Rome appeared moſt, not where the Romains tooke, but where they gaue much: & nobility was multiplied amongſt men, by the poſterity of kings, when they left off their ſeede in diuers places: and that by this meanes his firſt aunceſter was begotten of *Hercules*, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and poſterity, in the wombe of one only woman, fearing *Solons* lawes, or regarding the ordinaunces of men touching the procreation of children: but that he gaue it vnto nature, and eſtabliſhed the foundation of many noble races and families in diuers places. Now when *Phraortes* had ſlaine his father *Orodes*, and poſſeſſed the kingdome: many gentlemen of Parthia forſooke him, & fled from him. Amongſt them was *Monaſes*, a noble man, and of great authority among his country men, who came vnto *Antonius*, that receiued him, & compared his fortune vnto *Themiſtocles*, and his own riches and magnificence, vnto the kings of Perſia. For he gaue *Monaſes* 3. cities, Lariſſa, Arethuſa, & Hierapolis, which was called before Bombyce. Howbeit the king of Parthia ſhortly after called him home againe, vpon his faith & word. *Antonius* was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to ſteale vpon *Phraortes* vnprouided. For he ſent vnto him, and told him that they would remaine good frends, & haue peace together, ſo he would but only redeliuer the ſtanderds & enſignes of the Romains, which the Parthians had won in the battel where *Marcus Craſſus* was ſlaine, & the men alſo that remained yet priſoners of this ouerthrow. In the meane time he ſent *Cleopatra* backe into Ægypt, & tooke his way towards Arabia & Armenia, & there tooke a general muſter of al his army he had together, & of the kings his confederats that were come by his commandement to aide him, being a maruellous number: of the which the chiefeſt was *Artauaſdes*, king of Armenia, who did furniſh him with ſix thouſand horſmen, and ſeuen thouſand footmen. There were alſo of the Romains about three ſcore thouſand footemen, & of horſmen (Spaniards & Gauls reckoned for Romains) to the number of ten thouſand, & of other nations thirty thouſand men, reckoning together the horſmen and light armed footmen. This ſo great & puiſant army which made the Indians quake for fear, dwelling about the country of the Bactrians, & all Aſia alſo to tremble: ſerued him to no purpoſe, & all for the loue he bare to *Cleopatra*. For the earneſt great deſire he had to lie all winter with her, made him begin his warre out of due time, and for haſt, to put all in hazard, being ſo rauiſhed and enchaunted with the ſweete poiſon of her loue, that he had no other thought but of her, and how he might quickly returne againe: more then how he might ouercome his enemies. For firſt of all, where he ſhould haue wintered in Armenia to refreſh his men, wearied with the long iorney they had made, hauing come eight thouſand furlongs, and then at the beginning of the ſpring to go and inuade Media, before the Parthians ſhould ſtir out of their houſes and garriſons: he could tary no longer, but led them forthwith vnto the prouince

*Plato calleth concupiſcence the horſe of the minde.*

*Antonius ſent for Cleopatra into Syria.*

*Antonius gaue great prouinces vnto Cleopatra.*

*Antigonus king of Iury, the firſt king beheaded by Antonius.*

*Antonius twinnes by Cleopatra, and their names.*

*Phraortes ſlue his father Orodes, king of Perſia.*

*Antonius great and puiſant army.*

*Antonius drunke with the loue of Cleopatra.*

of ATROPATENE, leauing ARMENIA on the left hand, and forraged all the countrey. Furthermore, making all the haſt he could, he left behind him engines of battery which were caried with him in three hundred carts, (among the which alſo there was a ramme foure ſcore foot long) being things moſt neceſſary for him, and the which he could not get again for money, if they were once loſt or marred. For the high prouinces of ASIA haue no trees growing of ſuch height & length, neither ſtrong nor ſtraight enough to make ſuch like engines of battery. This notwithſtanding, he left them all behind him, as a hinderance to bring his matters & intent ſpeedily to paſſe: and left a certaine number of men to keepe them, and gaue them in charge vnto one *Tatianus*. Then he went to beſiege the city of PHRAATA, being the chiefeſt and greateſt city the king of MEDIA had, where his wife and children were. Then he ſtraight found his owne fault, and the want of his artillery he left behind him, by the worke he had in hand: for he was faine for lacke of a breache (where his men might come to the ſword with their enemies that defended the walle) to force a mount of earth hard to the walles of the city, the which by litle and litle with great labour, roſe to ſome height. In the meane time king *Phraortes* came downe with a great army: who vnderſtanding that *Antonius* had left his engines of battery behind him, he ſent a great number of horſemen before, which enuironned *Tatianus* with all his cariage, and ſlue him, and tenne thouſand men he had with him. After this, the barbarous people tooke theſe engines of battery and burnt them, and got many priſoners, amongſt whom they tooke alſo king *Polemon*. This diſcomfiture maruellouſly troubled al *Antonius* army, to receiue ſo great an ouerthrow (beyond their expectation) at the beginning of their iorney: inſomuch that *Artabazus*, king of the ARMENIANS, deſpairing of the good ſucceſſe of the ROMAINS: departed with his men, notwithſtanding that he was him ſelfe the firſt procurer of this warre and iorney. On the other ſide, the PARTHIANS came coragiouſly vnto *Antonius* campe, who lay at the ſiege of their chiefeſt city, and cruelly reuiled and threatned him. *Antonius* therefore fearing that if he lay ſtill and did nothing, his mens hearts would faile them: he tooke ten legions, with three cohorts or enſignes of the Prætors, (which are companies appointed for the guard of the Generall) and all his horſemen, and carried them out to forrage, hoping thereby he ſhould eaſily allure the PARTHIANS to fight a battell. But when he had marched about a dayes iorney from his campe, he ſaw the PARTHIANS wheeling round about him to giue him the onſet, & to skirmiſh with him, when he would think to march his way. Therefore he ſet out his ſignall of battell, and yet cauſed his tents and fardels to be truſſed vp, as though he ment not to fight, but only to lead his men back againe. Then he marched before the army of the barbarous people, the which was martiald like a creſſant or halfe moone: and commaunded his horſemen, that as ſoone as they thought the legions were near enough vnto their enemies to ſet vpon the voward, that then they ſhould ſet ſpurs to their horſes, and begin the charge. The PARTHIANS ſtanding in battell ray, beholding the countenance of the ROMAINS as they marched: they appeared to be ſouldiers in deede, to ſee them march in ſo good array as was poſſible. For in their march, they kept the rancks a litle ſpace one from another, not ſtragling out of order, and ſhaking their pikes, ſpeaking neuer a word. But ſo ſoone as the allarme was giuen, the horſmen ſodainly turned head vpon the PARTHIANS, and with great cries gaue charge on them: who at the firſt receiued their charge coragiouſly, for they were ioined nearer thē within an arrows ſhoote. But when the legions alſo came to ioine with them, ſhouting out aloud, and ratling of their armors: the PARTHIANS horſes and them ſelues were ſo affraied and amazed withall, that they all turned taile and fled, before the ROMAINES could come to the ſword with them, Then *Antonius* followed thē hard in chaſe, being in great good hope by this conflict to haue brought to end all, or the moſt part of this warre. But after that his footemen had chaſed them fifty ſurlongs off, and the horſemen alſo thriſe as farre: they found in all but thirty priſoners taken, and about foure ſcore men only ſlaine But this did much diſcorage them, when they cōſidered with them ſelues, that obtaining the victory, they had ſlaine ſo few of their enemies: and where they were ouercome, they loſt as many of their men, as they had done at the ouerthrow when the cariage was taken. The next morning, *Antonius* army truſſed vp their cariage, and marched backe towards their campe: and by the way in their returne they met at the firſt a few of the PARTHIANS: then going further, they met a few

*Antonius beſiegeth the city of Phraata in Media.*

*The Parthians take Antonius engines of battery.*

*Battell betwixt the Parthians and Antonius.*

*The Romaines good order in their march.*

few moe. So at length when they all came together, they reuiled them, and troubled them on euery ſide, as freſhly and couragiouſly, as if they had not bene ouerthrowen: ſo that the ROMAINES very hardly got to their campe with ſafety. The MEDES on the other ſide, that were beſieged in their chiefe city of PHRAATA, made a ſaly out vpon thẽ that kept the mount, which they had forced and caſt againſt the wall of the city, and draue them for feare, from the mount they kept. *Antonius* was ſo offended withall, that he executed the Decimation. For he deuided his men by ten legions, and then of them he put the tenth legion to death, on whom the lotte fell: and to the other nine, he cauſed them to haue barley giuen them in ſtead of wheate. Thus this war fell out troubleſome vnto both parties, and the end thereof much more fearefull. For *Antonius* could looke for no other of his ſide, but famine: becauſe he could forrage no more, nor fetch in any victuals, without great loſſe of his men. *Phraortes* on the other ſide, he knew well enough that he could bring the PARTHIANS to any thing els, but to lie in campe abroad in the winter. Therefore he was affrayed, that if the ROMAINS continued their ſiege all winter long, and made warre with him ſtill: that his men would forſake him, and ſpecially becauſe the time of the yeare went away a pace, and the aire waxed cloudy, and cold, in the equinoctiall autumne. Thereupon he called to minde this deuiſe. He gaue the chiefeſt of his gentlemen of the PARTHIANS charge, that when they met the ROMAINES out of their campe, going to forrage, or to water their horſe, or for ſome other prouiſion. that they ſhould not diſtreſſe them too much, but ſhould ſuffer them to cary ſomewhat away, and greatly commend their valiantnes and hardines, for the which their king did eſteeme them the more, and not without cauſe. After theſe firſt baites and allurements, they began by litle and litle to come nearer vnto them, and to talke with them a horſebacke, greatly blaming *Antonius* ſelfewil that did not giue their king *Phraortes* occaſiõ to make a good peace, who deſired nothing more, then to ſaue the liues of ſo goodly a company of valiant men: but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greateſt and moſt dreadfull enemies he could haue, to wit: winter, and famine, the which they ſhould hardly away withall, though the PARTHIANS did the beſt they could to aide and accompany them. Theſe wordes being oftentimes brought to *Antonius*, they made him a litle pliant, for the good hope he had of his returne: but yet he would not ſend vnto the king of PARTHIA, before they had firſt asked theſe barbarous people that ſpake ſo curteouſly vnto his men, whether they ſpake it of them ſelues, or that they were their maiſters words. When they told them the king him ſelfe ſaid ſo, and did perſwade them further not to feare or miſtruſt them: then *Antonius* ſent ſome of his frends vnto the king, to make demand for the deliuery of the enſignes and priſoners he had of the ROMAINS, ſince the ouerthrow of *Craſſus*: to the end it ſhould not appeare, that if he asked nothing, they ſhould thinke he were glad that he might only ſcape with ſafety out of the danger he was in. The king of PARTHIA aunſwered him: that for the enſignes and priſoners he demanded, he ſhould not breake his head about it: notwithſtanding, that if he would preſently depart without delay, he might depart in peaceable maner, and without danger. Wherfore *Antonius* after he had giuen his men ſome time to truſſe vp their cariage, he raiſed his campe, and tooke his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very gallant to entertaine his ſouldiers and men of war, and that he could paſſingly well do it, as wel, or better then any Captaine in his time: yet being aſhamed for reſpects, he would not ſpeake vnto them at his remouing, but willed *Domitius Ænobarbus* to do it. Many of them tooke this in very ill part, and thought that he did it in diſdaine of them: but the moſt part of them preſently vnderſtood the truth of it, & were alſo aſhamed. Therefore they thought it their dueties to cary the like reſpect vnto their Captaine, that their Captaine did vnto them: and ſo they became the more obedient vnto him. So *Antonius* was minded to returne the ſame way he came, being a plaine barren countrey without wod. But there came a ſouldier to him, born in the country of the MARDIANS, who by oft frequẽting the PARTHIANS of long time, knew their faſhions very wel, and had alſo ſhewed himſelf very true & faithfull to the ROMAINS, in the battell where *Antonius* engines of battery and cariage were taken away. This man came vnto *Antonius*, to counſell him to beware how he went that way, & to make his army a prey, being heauily armed, vnto ſo great a number of horſemen, all archers in the open field, where they ſhould haue nothing to let them to compaſſe him roundabout: and

*Decimation a martiall puniſhment.*

*The craft of the Parthians againſt the Romaines.*

*Antonius returneth from the iorney of the Parthians.*

*The Parthiās doe ſet vpon Antonius in his returne.*

*The bold act of Flauius Gallus.*

*Canidius fault, Antonius Captaine.*

that this was *Phraortes* fetch to offer him ſo friendly conditions and curteous words to make him raiſe his ſiege, that he might afterwards meete him as he would, in the plaines: howbeit, that he would guide him, if he thought good, an other way on the right hand, through wods and mountaines, a far nearer way, and where he ſhould find great plenty of all things needefull for his army. *Antonius* hearing what he ſaid, called his counſell together, to conſult vppon it. For after he had made peace with the PARTHIANS, he was loth to giue them cauſe to thinke he miſtruſted them: and on the other ſide alſo he would gladly ſhorten his way, and paſſe by places well inhabited, where he might be prouided of all things neceſſary: therefore he asked the MARDIAN what pledge he would put in, to performe that he promiſed. The MARDIAN gaue himſelfe to be bound hand and foot, til he had brought his army into the country of ARMENIA. So he guided the army thus bound, two dayes together, without any trouble or ſight of enemy. But the third day, *Antonius* thinking the PARTHIANS would no more follow him, and truſting therein, ſuffred the ſouldiers to march in diſorder as euery man liſted. The MARDIAN perceiuing that the dammes of a riuer were newly broken vp, which they ſhould haue paſſed ouer, and that the riuer had ouerflowen the bancks & drowned all the way they ſhould haue gone: he geſſed ſtraight that the PARTHIANS had done it, and had thus broken it open, to ſtay the ROMAINES for getting too far before them. Thereupon he bad *Antonius* looke to him ſelfe, and told him that his enemies were not far from thence. *Antonius* hauing ſet his men in order, as he was placing of his archers and ſling men to reſiſt the enemies, and to driue them backe: they diſcried the PARTHIANS that wheeled round about the army to compaſſe them in on euery ſide, and to breake their rancks, & their light armed men gaue charge vpon them. So after they had hurt many of the ROMAINS with their arrowes, and that they themſelues were alſo hurt by them with their darts and plummets of lead: they retired a litle, and then came againe and gaue charge. Vntill that the horſmen of the GAVLS turned their horſes, and fiercelie gallopped towards them, that they diſperſed them ſo, as all that day they gathered no more together. Thereby *Antonius* knew what to do, and did not onely ſtrengthen the rereward of his army, but both the flancks alſo, with darts and ſling men, and made his army march in a ſquare battell: commanding the horſemen, that when the enemies ſhould come to aſſaile them, they ſhould driue them backe, but not follow them too far. Thus the PARTHIANS foure daies after, ſeeing they did no more hurt to the ROMAINS, then they alſo receiued of them: they were not ſo hot vpon them, as they were commanded, but excuſing them ſelues by the winter that troubled them, they determined to returne backe againe. The fift day, *Flauius Gallus*, a valiant man of his handes, that had charge in the army: came vnto *Antonius* to pray him to let him haue ſome moe of his light armed men then were already in the rereward, and ſome of the horſemen that were in the voward, hoping thereby to doe ſome notable exploite. *Antonius* graunting them vnto him, when the enemies came according to their manner to ſet vpon the taile of the army, and to skirmiſh with them: *Flauius* coragiouſly made them retire, but not as they were wont to do before, to retire and ioyne preſently with their army, for he ouerraſhly thruſt in among them to fight it out at the ſword. The Captaines that had the leading of the rereward, ſeeing *Flauius* ſtray too farre from the army: they ſent vnto him to wil him to retire, but he would not hearken to it. And it is reported alſo, that *Titius* him ſelf the Treaſurer, tooke the enſignes, & did what he could to make the enſigne bearers returne backe, reuiling *Flauius Gallus*, becauſe that through his folly and deſperatneſſe he cauſed many honeſt and valiant men to be both hurt & ſlaine to no purpoſe. *Gallus* alſo fell out with him, and commanded his men to ſtay. Wherefore *Titius* returned again into the army, and *Gallus* ſtil ouerthrowing and driuing the enemies backe whom he met in the voward, he was not ware that he was compaſſed in. Then ſeeing him ſelfe enuironned of all ſides, he ſent vnto the army, that they ſhould come and aide him: but there the Captaines that led the legions (among the which *Canidius*, a man of great eſtimation about *Antonius* made one) committed many faults. For where they ſhould haue made head with the whole army vpon the PARTHIANS, they ſent him aide by ſmall cōpanies: and when they were ſlaine, they ſent him others alſo. So that by their beaſtlineſſe and lacke of conſideration, they had like to haue made all the army flie, if *Antonius* him ſelfe had not come from the front of the battell with the third legion, the which came through the middeſt of them that fled, vntill they came to front of the enemies, and that they ſtayed them frō chaſing any farther. Howbeit at this laſt conflict there were ſlaine no leſſe then three thouſand men, and fiue thouſand beſides brought ſore hurt into the campe, and amongſt them alſo *Flauius Gallus*, whoſe body was ſhot through in foure places, whereof he died. ***Antonius*** went to the tents to viſit & comfort the ſicke and wounded, and for pities ſake he could not refraine from weeping: and they alſo ſhewing him the beſt countenaunce they could, tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be dreſſed, and not to trouble him ſelfe for them, moſt reuerently calling him their Emperour and Captaine: and that for them ſelues, they were whole and ſafe, ſo that he had his health. For in deede to ſay truly, there was not at that time any Emperor or Captaine that had ſo great and puiſant an army as his together, both for luſty youths and corage of the ſouldiers, as alſo for their patience to away with ſo great pains and trouble. Furthermore, the obedience and reuerence they ſhewed vnto their Captaine, with a maruellous earneſt loue and good will, was ſo great: and all were indifferently (as well great as ſmall, the noble men, as meane men, the Captaines and ſouldiers) ſo earneſtly bent to eſteeme ***Antonius*** good will and fauour, aboue their owne life and ſafety: that in this point of martiall diſcipline, the anciēt Romains could not haue done any more. But diuers things were cauſe thereof, as we haue told you before: ***Antonius*** nobility and auncient houſe, his eloquence, his plaine nature, his liberality and magnificence, and his familiarity to ſport and to be merry in company: but ſpecially the care he tooke at that time to helpe, viſite, and lament thoſe that were ſicke and wounded, ſeeing euery man to haue that which was meete for him: that was of ſuch force and effect, as it made them that were ſicke and wounded to loue him better, and were more deſirous to do him ſeruice, then thoſe that were whole and ſound. This victory ſo incoraged the enemies, (who otherwiſe were weary to follow *Antonius* any farther) that all night long they kept the fields, and houored about the Romaines campe, thinking that they would preſently flie, and then that they ſhould take the ſpoile of their campe. So the next morning by breake of day, there were gathered together a far greater number of the Parthians, then they were before. For the rumor was, that there were not much fewer then forty thouſand horſe, becauſe their king ſent thither euen the very gard about his perſon, as vnto a moſt certaine and aſſured victory, that they might be partners of the ſpoile and booty they hoped to haue had: for as touching the king himſelf, he was neuer in any conflict or battel. Then ***Antonius*** deſirous to ſpeake to his ſouldiers, called for a blacke gowne, to appeare the more pittifull to them: but his friends did diſſwade him from it. Therefore he put on his coate armor, and being ſo apparelled, made an oration to his army: in the which he highly commended them that had ouercome and driuen backe their enemies, and greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backes. So that thoſe which had ouercome, praied him to be of good chere: the other alſo to cleare them ſelues, willingly offered to take the lots of *Decimation* if he thought good, or otherwiſe, to receiue what kind of puniſhment it ſhould pleaſe him to lay vpon them, ſo that he would forget any more to miſlike, or to be offended with them. ***Antonius*** ſeeing that, did lift vp his hands to heauen, & made his prayer to the gods, that if in exchange of his former victories, they would now ſend him ſome bitter aduerſity: then that all might light on him ſelfe alone, and that they would giue the victory to the reſt of his army. The next morning, they gaue better order on euery ſide of the army, and ſo marched forward: ſo that when the Parthians thought to returne againe to aſſaile them, they came farre ſhort of the reckonning. For where they thought to come not to fight, but to ſpoile and make hauocke of all: when they came neare them, they were ſore hurt with their ſlings and darts, and ſuch other iauelings as the Romains darted at them, and the Parthians found them as rough and deſperat in fight, as if they had bene freſh men they had dealt withall. Whereuppon their hearts beganne againe to faile them. But yet when the Romains came to goe downe any ſteepe hils or mountaines, then they would ſet on them with their arrowes, becauſe the Romains could go downe but faire and ſoftly. But then againe, the ſouldiers of the legion that caried great ſhields, returned backe, and incloſed them that were naked or light armed, in the middeſt amongeſt them, and did kneele of one knee on the ground, and ſo ſet downe their ſhields before them: and they of the ſecond rancke alſo couered them of the firſt rancke, and the third alſo couered the ſecond, and ſo from rancke

*Flauius Gallus ſlaine.*

*Antonius care of them that were wounded.*

*The loue and reuerence of the ſouldiers vnto Antonius.*

*The rare and ſingular gifts of Antonius.*

*The king of Parthia neuer came to fight in the field.*

*Antonius charitable prayer to the gods for his army.*

*The Romains teſtudo, and couering againſt ſhot.*

to rancke all were couered. Inſomuch that this manner of couering and ſhading them ſelues with ſhields, was deuiſed after the faſhion of laying tiles vpon houſes, and to ſight, was like the degrees of a Theater, and is a moſt ſtrong defence and bulwarke againſt all arrowes and ſhot that falleth vpon it. When the PARTHIANS ſaw this countenance of the ROMAINE ſouldiers of the legion, which kneeled on the ground in that ſort vpon one knee, ſuppoſing that they had bene wearied with trauell: they layed downe their bowes, and tooke their ſpears and launces, and came to fight with them man for man. Then the ROMAINES ſodainly roſe vpon their feete, and with the darts that they threw from them, they ſlue the formoſt, and put the reſt to flight, and ſo did they the next dayes that followed. But by means of theſe dangers and lets, *Antonius* army could winne no way in a day, by reaſon whereof they ſuffered great famine: for they could haue but litle corne, and yet were they driuen daily to fight for it, and beſides that, they had no inſtruments to grinde it, to make bread of it. For the moſt part of them had bene left behind, becauſe the beaſts that caried them were either dead, or els imployed to cary them that were ſore and wounded. For the famine was ſo extreame great, that the eight part of a buſhell of wheate was ſold for fifty Drachmas, and they ſold barely bread by the waight of ſiluer. In the end, they were compelled to liue of hearbs and rootes, but they found few of them that men doe commonly eate of, and were inforced to taſt of them that were neuer eaten before: among the which there was one that killed them, and made them out of their wits. For he that had once eaten of it, his memory was gone from him, and hee knew no manner of thing, but onely buſied him ſelfe in digging and hurling of ſtones from one place to another, as though it had bene a matter of great waight, and to be done with all poſſible ſpede. All the campe ouer, men were buſily ſtouping to the ground, digging and carying of ſtones from one place to an other: but at the laſt, they caſt vp a great deale of choller, and died ſodainely, becauſe they lacked wine, which was the onely ſoueraine remedy to cure that diſeaſe. It is reported that *Antonius* ſeeing ſuch a number of his men die daily, and that the PARTHIANS left them not, neither would ſuffer them to be at reſt: he oftentimes cried out ſighing, and ſayed: O, tenne thouſand. He had the valiantnes of tenne thouſand GRECIANS, in ſuch admiration, whom *Xenophon* brought away after the ouerthrow of CYPRVS: becauſe they had come a farther iorney from BABYLON, and had alſo fought againſt much moe enemies many times told, then them ſelues, and yet came home with ſafety. The PARTHIANS therefore ſeeing that they could not breake the good order of the army of the ROMAINS, and contrarily that they them ſelues were oftentimes put to flight, and welfauoredly beaten: they fell againe to their old crafty ſubtilties. For when they found any of the ROMAINES ſcattered from the army to goe forrage, to ſeeke ſome corne, or other victuals: they would come to them as if they had bene their friends, and ſhewed them their bowes vnbent, ſaying, that them ſelues alſo did returne home to their countrey as they did, and that they would follow them no farther, howbeit that they ſhould yet haue certaine MEDES that would follow them a daies iorney or two, to keepe them that they ſhould doe no hurt to the villages from the high waies, and ſo holding them with this talke, they gently tooke their leaue of them, and bad them farewell, ſo that the ROMAINS began againe to think them ſelues ſafe. *Antonius* alſo vnderſtanding this, being very glad of it, determined to take his way through the plaine countrey, becauſe alſo they ſhould find no water in the mountaines, as it was reported vnto him. So as he was determined to take this courſe, there came into his hoaſt one *Mithridates*, a gentleman from the enemies campe, who was Coſen vnto *Monazes* that fled vnto *Antonius*, and vnto whom he had giuen three cities. When he came to *Antonius* campe, he praid them to bring him one that could ſpeake the PARTHIAN, or SYRIAN tongue. So one *Alexander* ANTIOCHIAN, a familiar of *Antonius*, was brought vnto him. Then the gentleman told him what he was, and ſayed, that *Monazes* had ſent him to *Antonius*, to requite the honor and curteſie he had ſhewed vnto him. After he had vſed this ceremonious ſpeach, he asked *Alexander* if he ſaw thoſe high Mountaines a farre off, which he pointed vnto him with his finger. *Alexander* aunſwered he did. The PARTHIANS (ſayd he) doe lie in ambuſhe at the foote of thoſe Mountaines, vnder the which lieth a goodly plaine champion countrey: and they thinke that you being deceiued with their crafty ſubtill wordes, will leaue the way of the Mountaines, and turne into the plaine. For the

other

*Great famine in Antonius army.*

*A deadly hearbe incurable without wine.*

*The valiantnes of tenne thouſand Grecians, whom Xenophon brought away after the ouerthrow of Cyrus.*

*The Parthians very ſubtile and crafty people.*

*Mithridates a Parthian, bewraieth vnto Antonius the conſpiracy of his own countrey men againſt him.*

other way, it is very hard and painfull, and you ſhall abide great thirſt, the which you are well acquainted withall: but if *Antonius* take the lower way, let him aſſure himſelfe to runne the ſame fortune that *Marcus Craſſus* did. So *Mithridates* hauing ſaid, he departed. *Antonius* was maruellouſly troubled in his mind when he heard thus much, & therfore called for his frends, to heare what they would ſay to it. The Mardian alſo that was their guide, being asked his opinion, anſwered: that he thought as much as the gentleman *Mithridates* had ſayed. For, ſayd he, admit that there were no ambuſhe of enemies in the valley, yet is it a long crooked way, and ill to hit: where taking the Mountaine waye, though it be ſtonie and painefull, yet there is no other danger, but a whole dayes trauelling without any water. So *Antonius* changing his firſt minde and determination, remoued that night, and tooke the Mountaine waye, commaunding euery man to prouide himſelfe of water. But the moſt parte of them lacking veſſells to carie water in, ſome were driuen to fill their ſaletts and murrians with water, and others alſo filled goates ſkinnes to carie water in. Nowe they marching forwarde, word was brought vnto the Parthians that they were remoued: whereupon, contrary to their manner, they preſently followed them the ſelfeſame night, ſo that by breake of day they ouertooke the rereward of the Romains, who were ſo lame and wearied with going, and lacke of ſleep, that they were euen done. For beyond expectation, they had gone that night, two hundreth and fortie furlong, and further, to ſee their enemies ſo ſodamly at their backes, that made them vtterly diſpaire: but moſt of all, the fighting with them increaſed their thirſt, becauſe they were forced to fight as they marched, to driue their enemies backe, yet creeping on ſtill. The voward of the armie by chaunce met with a riuer that was very cleere and cold water, but it was ſalt and venemous to drinke: for ſtraight it did gnaw the guts of thoſe that had drunke it, and made them maruellous drie, and put them into a terrible ache and pricking. And notwithſtanding that the Mardian had told them of it before, yet they would not be ruled, but violently thruſt them backe that would haue kept them from drinking, and ſo dranke. But *Antonius* going vp and downe amongſt them, prayed them to take a litle patience for a while, for hard by there was another riuer that the water was excellent good to drinke, & that from thenceforth the way was ſo ſtonie and ill for horſemen, that the enemies could followe them no further. So he cauſed the retreate to be ſounded to call them backe that fought, and commaunded the tents to be ſet vppe, that the ſouldiers might yet haue ſhadowe to refreſh them with. So when the tents were ſet vp, and the Parthians alſo retyred according to their maner: the gentleman *Mithridates* before named, returned againe as before, and *Alexander* in like maner againe brought vnto him for Interpreter. Then *Mithridates* aduiſed him, that after the army had repoſed a litle, the Romains ſhould remoue forthwith, and with all poſſible ſpeede get to the riuer: becauſe the Parthians would goe no further, but yet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. *Alexander* caried the report therof vnto *Antonius*, who gaue him a great deale of gold plate to beſtow vpon *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* tooke as much of him as he could well cary away in his gowne, and ſo departed with ſpeede. So *Antonius* rayſed his campe being yet day light, and cauſed all his army to march, and the Parthians neuer troubled any of them by the way: but amongeſt them ſelues it was as ill and dreadfull a night as euer they had. For there were Villains of their owne company, who cut their fellowes throats for the money they had, and beſides that, robbed the ſumpters and cariage of ſuch money as they caried: and at length, they ſet vpon *Antonius* ſlaues that draue his owne ſumpters and cariage, they brake goodly tables and riche plate in peeces, and deuided it among them ſelues. Thereuppon all the campe was ſtraight in tumult and vprore: For the reſidue of them were afraid it had bene the Parthians that had giuen them this alarme, and had put all the army out of order. Inſomuch that *Antonius* called for one *Rhamnus*, one of his ſlaues infranchiſed that was of his gard, and made him giue him his faith that he would thruſt his ſword through him when he would bid him, and cut off his head: becauſe he might not be taken aliue of his enemies, nor knowen when he were dead. This grieued his friends to the hart, that they burſt out a weping for ſorrow. The Mardian alſo did comfort him, and aſſured him that the riuer he ſought for was hard by, and that he did geſſe it by a ſweete moyſt wind that breathed vpon them, and by the aire which they found freſher then they were wont, and alſo, for that they

*A ſalt riuer.*

*Antonius great liberality vnto Mithridates, for the care he had of his ſafety.*

*The tumult of Antonius ſouldiers through couetouſnes.*

*Antonius deſperat minde.*

fetched their wind more at libertie: and moreouer, becauſe that ſince they did ſet forward he thought they were neare their iornies end, not lacking much of day. On the other ſide alſo, *Antonius* was enformed, that this great tumult and trouble came not through the enemies, but through the vile couetouſneſſe and villanie of certen of his ſouldiers. Therefore *Antonius* to ſet his armie againe in order, and to pacifie this vprore, ſounded the trumpet that euerie man ſhould lodge. Now day beagn to breake, and the army to fall againe into good order, and all the hurly burly to ceaſe, when the Parthians drew nere, and that their arrowes lighted among them of the rereward of his armie. Thereupon the ſignall of battell was giuen to the light armed men, and the legioners did couer themſelues as they had done before with their ſhields, with the which they receiued & defended the force of the Parthians arrowes, who neuer durſt any more come to handy ſtrokes with them: and thus they that were in the voward, went downe by litle and litle, till at length they ſpyed the riuer. There *Antonius* placed his armed men vpon the ſandes to receiue and driue backe the enemies, and firſt of all, got ouer his men that were ſicke and hurt, and afterwards all the reſt. And thoſe alſo that were left to reſiſt the enemies, had leyſure enough to drinke ſafely, and at their pleaſure. For when the Parthians ſaw the riuer, they vnbent their bowes, and bad the Romains paſſe ouer without any feare, and greatly commended their valiantneſſe. When they had all paſſed ouer the riuer at their eaſe, they tooke a litle breath, and ſo marched forward againe not greatly truſting the Parthians. The ſixth day after this laſt battell, they came to the riuer of Araxes, which deuideth the coũtry of Armenia from Media: the which appeared vnto them very daungerous to paſſe, for the depth and ſwiftnes of the ſtreame. And furthermore, there ranne a rumour through the campe, that the Parthians lay in ambuſh thereabouts, and that they would come & ſet vpon them whileſt they were troubled in paſſing ouer the riuer. But now, after they were all come ſafely ouer without any daunger, and that they had gotten to the other ſide, into the prouince of Armenia: then they worſhipped that land, as if it had bene the firſt land they had ſeene after a long and daungerous voyage by ſea, being now arriued in a ſafe and happie hauen: and the teares ranne downe their cheekes, and euery man imbraced each other for the great ioy they had. But now, keeping the fieldes in this frutefull countrie ſo plentifull of all things, after ſo great a famine and want of all things: they ſo crammed them ſelues with ſuch plenty of victuals, that many of them were caſt into flyxes and dropſies. There *Antonius* muſtring his whole armie, found that he had loſt twentie thouſand footemen, and foure thouſand horſemen, which had not all bene ſlaine by their enemies: for the moſt part of them died of ſickneſſe, making ſeuen and twentie dayes iorney, comming from the citie of Phraata into Armenia, and hauing ouercome the Parthians in eighteen ſeuerall battels. But theſe victories were not throughly performed nor accompliſhed, becauſe they followed no long chaſe: and thereby it eaſily appeared, that *Artabazus* king of Armenia, had reſerued *Antonius* to end this warre. For if the ſixteene thouſand horſemen which he brought with him out of Media, had bene at theſe battels, conſidering that they were armed and apparelled much after the Parthians manner, and acquainted alſo with their fight: When the Romains had put them to flight that fought a battel with them, & that theſe Armenians had followed the chaſe of them that fled, they had not gathered them ſelues againe in force, neither durſt they alſo haue returned to fight with them ſo often, after they had bene ſo many times ouerthrowen. Therefore, all thoſe that were of any credite and countenaunce in the army, did perſwade and egge *Antonius* to be reuenged of this Armenian king. But *Antonius* wiſely diſſembling his anger, he told him not of his trechery, nor gaue him the worſt countenaunce, nor did him leſſe honor then he did before: becauſe he knew his army was weake, and lacked things neceſſary. Howbeit afterwards he returned againe into Armenia with a great army, and ſo with faire wordes, and ſweete promiſes of Meſſengers, hee allured *Artabazus* to come vnto him: whom he then kept priſoner, and led in triumphe in the city of Alexandria. This greatly offended the Romaines, and made them much to miſlike it: when they ſaw that for *Cleopatraes* ſake he depriued his country of her due honor and glory, only to gratifie the Ægyptians. But this was a prety while after. Howbeit then, the great haſt he made to returne vnto *Cleopatra*, cauſed him to put his men to ſo great paines, forcing them to lie in

*Araxes fl.*

*18. ſeuerall battels fought with the Parthians.*

*The treachery of Artabazus king of Armenia, vnto Antonius.*

*Antonius triumphed of Artabazus king of Armenia in Ægypt.*

the field all winter long when it ſnew vnreaſonably, that by the way he loſt eight thouſand of his men, and ſo came downe to the ſea ſide with a ſmall companie, vnto a certen place called Blancbovrg, which ſtandeth betwixt the cities of Berytvs and Sidon, and there taried for *Cleopatra*. And becauſe ſhe taried longer then he would haue had her, he pined away for loue and ſorrow. So that he was at ſuch a ſtraight, that he wiſt not what to doe, and therfore to weare it out, he gaue himſelfe to quaffing and feaſting. But he was ſo drowned with the loue of her, that he could not abide to ſit at the table till the feaſt were ended: but many times while others banquetted, he ranne to the ſea ſide to ſee if ſhe were comming. At length ſhe came and brought with her a world of apparell and money to giue vnto the ſouldiers. But ſome ſaye notwithſtanding, that ſhe brought apparell but no money, and that ſhe tooke of *Antonius* money, and cauſed it to be giuen amongſt the ſouldiers in her owne name, as if ſhe had giuen it them. In the meane time it chanced, that the king of the Medes, and *Phraortes* king of the Parthians, fell at great warres together, the which began (as it is reported) for the ſpoiles of the Romains: and grew to be ſo hot betwene them, that the king of Medes was no leſſe affraied, then alſo in danger to loſe his whole realme. Thereuppon he ſent vnto *Antonius* to pray him to come and make war with the Parthians, promiſing him that he would aide him to his vttermoſt power. This put *Antonius* againe in good comfort, conſidering that vnlooked for, the onely thing he lacked, (which made him he could not ouercome the Parthians, meaning that he had not brought horſemen, and men with darts and ſlings enough) was offred him in that ſort: that he did him more pleaſure to accept it, than it was pleaſure to the other to offer it. Hereuppon, after he had ſpoken with the king of Medes at the riuer of Araxes, he prepared him ſelfe once more to goe through Armenia, and to make more cruell war with the Parthians, then he had done before. Now whileſt *Antonius* was buſie in this preparation, *Octauia* his wife, whom he had left at Rome, would needes take ſea to come vnto him. Her brother *Octauius Cæſar* was willing vnto it, not for his reſpect at all (as moſt authors doe report) as for that he might haue an honeſt colour to make warre with *Antonius* if he did miſuſe her, and not eſteeme of her as ſhe ought to be. But when ſhe was come to Athens, ſhe receiued letters from *Antonius*, willing her to ſtay there vntill his comming, & did aduertiſe her of his iorney and determination. The which though it grieued her much, and that ſhe knew it was but an excuſe: yet by her letters to him of aunſwere, ſhe asked him whether he would haue thoſe things ſent vnto him which ſhe had brought him, being great ſtore of apparell for ſouldiers, a great number of horſe, ſumme of money and gifts, to beſtow on his friends and Captaines he had about him: and beſides all thoſe, ſhe had two thouſande ſouldiers choſen men, all well armed like vnto the Prætors bands. When *Niger*, one of *Antonius* friendes whom he had ſent vnto Athens, had brought theſe newes from his wife *Octauia*, and withall did greatly praiſe her, as ſhe was worthy, and well deſerued: *Cleopatra* knowing that *Octauia* would haue *Antonius* from her, and fearing alſo that if with her vertue and honeſt behauior, (beſides the great power of her brother *Cæſar*) ſhe did adde thereunto her modeſt kind loue to pleaſe her husband, that ſhe would then be too ſtrong for her, and in the end winne him away: ſhe ſubtilly ſeemed to languiſh for the loue of *Antonius*, pining her body for lacke of meate. Furthermore, ſhe euery way ſo framed her countenaunce, that when *Antonius* came to ſee her, ſhe caſt her eyes vpon him, like a woman rauiſhed for ioy. Straight againe when he went from her, ſhe fell a weeping and blubbering, looked rufully of the matter, and ſtill found the meanes that *Antonius* ſhould oftentimes finde her weeping: and then when he came ſodainely vppon her, ſhe made as though ſhee dried her eyes, and turned her face away, as if ſhe were vnwilling that he ſhould ſee her weepe. All theſe trickes ſhe vſed, *Antonius* being in readines to go into Syria, to ſpeake with the king of Medes. Then the flatterers that furthered *Cleopatraes* mind, blamed *Antonius*, and told him that he was a hard natured man, and that he had ſmall loue in him, that would ſee a poore Lady in ſuch torment for his ſake, whoſe life depended only vpon him alone. For, *Octauia*, ſayd they, that was maried vnto him as it were of neceſſity, becauſe her brother *Cæſars* affaires ſo required it: hath the honor to be called *Antonius* lawfull ſpouſe and wife: and *Cleopatra*, being borne a Queene of ſo many thouſands of men, is onely named *Antonius* Leman, and yet that ſhee diſdained not

*Antonius pined away looking for Cleopatra.*

*Cleopatra came to Blancbourg vnto Antonius.*

*Warres betwixt the Parthians and Medes.*

*Octauia, Antonius wife, came to Athens to meete with him.*

*The flickering enticements of Cleopatra, vnto Antonius.*

*The occaſion of ciuill warres betwixt Antonius and Cæſar*

*The loue of Octauia to Antonius her husband and her wiſe and womanly behauior*

*Antonius arrogantly deuideth diuers prouinces vnto his children by Cleopatra.*

*Cæſarion, the ſuppoſed ſonne of Cæſar, by Cleopatra.*

*Alexander & Ptolomy, Antonius ſonnes by Cleopatra.*

*Accuſations betwixt Octauius Cæſar, & Antonius.*

ſo to be called, if it might pleaſe him ſhe might enioy his companie, and liue with him: but if he once leaue her, that then it is vnpoſſible ſhe ſhould liue. To be ſhort, by theſe their flatteries and inticements, they ſo wrought *Antonius* effeminate mind, that fearing leaſt ſhe would make her ſelfe away: he returned againe vnto ALEXANDRIA, & referred the king of MEDES to the next yeare following, although he receiued newes that the PARTHIANS at that time were at ciuill warres among themſelues. This notwithſtanding, he went afterwardes and made peace with him. For he maried his Daughter which was verie young, vnto one of the ſonnes that *Cleopatra* had by him: and then returned being fully bent to make warre with *Cæſar*. When *Octauia* was returned to ROME from ATHENS, *Cæſar* commanded her to goe out of *Antonius* houſe, and to dwell by herſelfe, becauſe he had abuſed her. *Octauia* anſwered him againe, that ſhe would not forſake her husbands houſe, and that if he had no other occaſion to make warre with him, ſhe prayed him then to take no thought for her: for ſayed ſhe, it were too ſhamefull a thing, that two ſo famous Captaines ſhould bring in ciuill warres among the ROMAINS, the one for the loue of a woman, and the other for the iealouſie betwixt one another. Now as ſhe ſpake the word, ſo did ſhe alſo performe the deede. For ſhe kept ſtill in *Antonius* houſe, as if he had bene there, and very honeſtly, and honorably kept his children, not thoſe onely ſhe had by him, but the other which her husband had by *Fuluia*. Furthermore, when *Antonius* ſent any of his men to ROME, to ſue for any office in the common wealth: ſhe receiued him very curteouſly, and ſo vſed her ſelfe vnto her brother, that ſhe obtained the thing ſhe requeſted. Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, ſhe did *Antonius* great hurt. For her honeſt loue and regard to her husband, made euery man hate him, when they ſawe he did ſo vnkindly vſe ſo noble a Ladie: but yet the greateſt cauſe of their malice vnto him, was for the diuiſion of lands he made amongſt his children in the citie of ALEXANDRIA. And to confeſſe a troth, it was too arrogant and inſolent a part, and done (as a man would ſay) in deriſion and contempt of the ROMAINS. For he aſſembled all the people in the ſhew place, where young men doe exerciſe themſelues, and there vppon a high tribunall ſiluered, he ſet two chaires of gold, the one for himſelfe, and the other for *Cleopatra*, and lower chaires for his children: then he openly publiſhed before the aſſembly, that firſt of all he did eſtabliſh *Cleopatra* Queene of ÆGYPT, of CYPRVS, of LYDIA, and of the lower SYRIA, and at that time alſo, *Cæſarion* king of the ſame realmes. This *Cæſarion* was ſuppoſed to be the ſonne of *Iulius Cæſar*, who had left *Cleopatra* great with child. Secondly he called the ſonnes he had by her, the kings of kings, & gaue *Alexander* for his portion, ARMENIA, MEDIA, and PARTHIA, when he had conquered the countrie: and vnto *Ptolemy* for his portion, PHENICIA, SYRIA, and CILICIA. And therwithall he brought out *Alexander* in a long gowne after the faſhion of the MEDES with a high copped tanke hat on his head, narrow in the toppe, as the kings of the MEDES and ARMENIANS doe vſe to weare them: and *Ptolomy* apparelled in a cloke after the MACEDONIAN maner, with ſlippers on his feete, and a broad hat, with a royal band or diademe. Such was the apparell and old attire of the auncient kings and ſucceſſours of *Alexander* the great. So after his ſonnes had done their humble duties, and kiſſed their father and mother: preſently a company of ARMENIAN ſouldiers ſet there of purpoſe, compaſſed the one about, and a like company of the MACEDONIANS the other. Now for *Cleopatra*, ſhe did not only weare at that time, (but at all other times els when ſhe came abroad) the apparell of the goddeſſe *Iſis*, and ſo gaue audience vnto all her ſubiects, as a new *Iſis*. *Octauius Cæſar* reporting all theſe things vnto the Senate, and oftentimes accuſing him to the whole people and aſſembly in ROME: he thereby ſtirred vp all the ROMAINS againſt him. *Antonius* on the other ſide ſent to ROME likewiſe to accuſe him, and the chiefeſt pointes of his accuſations he charged him with, were theſe. Firſt, that hauing ſpoiled *Sextus Pompeius* in SICILE, he did not giue him his part of the Ile. Secondly, that he did detayne in his hands the ſhippes he lent him to make that warre. Thirdly, that hauing put *Lepidus* their companion and triumuirate out of his part of the Empire, and hauing depriued him of all honors: he retayned for him ſelfe the lands and reuenues thereof, which had bene aſſigned vnto him for his part. And laſt of all, that he had in manner deuided all ITALY amongeſt his owne ſouldiers, and had left no part of it for his ſouldiers. *Octauius Cæſar* aunſwered him againe: that for *Lepidus*, he had in deede depoſed him, and taken his part of the Empire from him, becauſe he did ouercruelly vſe his authoritie. And ſecondly, for the conqueſts he had made by force of armes, he was contented *Antonius* ſhould haue his part of them, ſo that he would likewiſe let him haue his part of ARMENIA. And thirdly, that for his ſouldiers, they ſhould ſeeke for nothing in ITALY, becauſe they poſſeſſed MEDIA and PARTHIA, the which prouinces they had added to the Empire of ROME, valiantly fighting with their Emperor and Captaine. *Antonius* hearing theſe newes, being yet in ARMENIA, commaunded *Canidius* to goe preſently to the ſea ſide with his ſixteene legions he had: and he himſelfe with *Cleopatra*, went vnto the citie of EPHESVS, and there gathered together his gallies and ſhippes out of all partes, which came to the number of eight hundreth, reckoning the great ſhippes of burden: and of thoſe *Cleopatra* furniſhed him with two hundreth, and twenty thouſand talents beſides, & prouiſion of victuals alſo to mainteine all the whole armie in this warre. So *Antonius*, through the perſwaſions of *Domitius*, commaunded *Cleopatra*, to returne againe into EGYPT, and there to vnderſtand the ſucceſſe of this warre. But *Cleopatra*, fearing leaſt *Antonius* ſhould againe be made friends with *Octauius Cæſar*, by the meanes of his wife *Octauia*: ſhe ſo plyed *Canidius* with money, and filled his purſe, that he became her ſpokeſman vnto *Antonius*, and told him there was no reaſon to ſend her from this war, who defraied ſo great a charge: neither that it was for his profit, becauſe that thereby the ÆGYPTIANS would then be vtterly diſcoraged, which were the chiefeſt ſtrength of the armie by ſea: conſidering that he could ſee no king of all the kings their confederates, that *Cleopatra* was inferior vnto, either for wiſedom or iudgement, ſeeing that long before ſhe had wiſely gouerned ſo great a realme as ÆGYPT, & beſides that ſhe had bene ſo long acquainted with him, by whom ſhe had learned to manedge great affaires. Theſe faire perſwaſions wanne him: for it was predeſtined that the gouernment of all the world ſhould fall into *Octauius Cæſars* handes. Thus, all their forces being ioyned together, they hoiſed ſaile towards the Ile of SAMOS, and there gaue themſelues to feaſtes and ſolace. For as all the kings, princes, and communalties, peoples and cities from SYRIA, vnto the mariſhes Mæotides, and from the ARMENIANS to the ILLYRIANS, were ſent vnto, to ſend and bring all munition and warlike preparation they could: euen ſo all plaiers, minſtrels, tumblers, fooles, and ieaſters, were commaunded to aſſemble in the Ile of SAMOS. So that, where in manner all the world in euery place was full of lamentations, ſighes and teares: onely in this Ile of SAMOS there was nothing for many daies ſpace, but ſinging and pyping, and all the Theater full of theſe common players, minſtrels, and ſinging men. Beſides all this, euery citie ſent an oxe thither to ſacrifice, and kings did ſtriue one with an other who ſhould make the nobleſt feaſts, & giue the richeſt gifts. So that euery man ſaid, what can they doe more for ioy of victorie, if they winne the battell? When they make alreadie ſuch ſumptuous feaſts at the beginning of the warre? When this was done, he gaue the whole rabble of theſe minſtrels, & ſuch kind of people, the citie of PRIENE to keepe them withall, during this warre. Then he went vnto the citie of ATHENS, and there gaue himſelfe againe to ſee playes and paſtimes, and to keepe the Theaters. *Cleopatra* on the other ſide, being iealous of the honors which *Octauia* had receiued in this city, where in deed ſhe was maruelouſly honored and beloued of the ATHENIANS: to winne the peoples good will alſo at ATHENS, ſhe gaue them great gifts: and they likewiſe gaue her many great honors, and appointed certain Ambaſſadors to cary the decree to her houſe, among the which *Antonius* was one, who as a Citizen of ATHENS reported the matter vnto her, & made an oration in the behalfe of the city. Afterwards he ſent to ROME to put his wife *Octauia* out of his houſe, who (as it is reported) went out of his houſe with al *Antonius* children, ſauing the eldeſt of them he had by *Fuluia*, who was with his father, bewailing and lamenting her curſed hap that had brought her to this, that ſhe was accompted one of the chiefeſt cauſes of this ciuill warre. The ROMAINES did pity her, but much more *Antonius*, & thoſe ſpecially that had ſeene *Cleopatra*: who neither excelled *Octauia* in beautie, nor yet in young yeares. *Octauius Cæſar* vnderſtanding the ſodaine & wonderfull great preparation of *Antonius*, he was not a litle aſtonied at it, (fearing he ſhould be driuen to fight that ſommer) becauſe he wanted many things, & the great and grieuous exactions of money did ſorely oppreſſe the people. For all manner of men elſe, were driuen to pay the fourth part of their goods and reuenue: but the Libertines, (to witte, thoſe whoſe fa-

*Antonius came with eight hundreth ſayle againſt Octauius Cæſar.*

*Antonius carieth Cleopatra with him to the wars, againſt Octauius Cæſar: and kept great feaſting at the Ile of Samos together*

*Antonius put his wife Octauia out of his houſe at Rome.*

thers or other predeceſſors had ſometime bene bond men) they were ceſſed to paye the eight part of all their goods at one payment. Hereuppon, there roſe a wonderfull exclamation and great vprore all ITALY ouer: ſo that among the greateſt faults that euer *Antonius* committed, they blamed him moſt, for that he delayed to giue *Cæſar* battell. For he gaue *Cæſar* leyſure to make his preparations, and alſo to appeaſe the complaints of the people. When ſuch a great ſumme of money was demanded of them, they grudged at it, and grewe to mutinie vpon it: but when they had once payed it, they remembred it no more. Furthermore, *Titius* and *Plancus* (two of *Antonius* chiefeſt friendes and that had bene both of them Conſuls) for the great iniuries *Cleopatra* did them, becauſe they hindred all they could, that ſhe ſhould not come to this warre: they went and yeelded themſelues vnto *Cæſar*, and tolde him where the teſtament was that *Antonius* had made, knowing perfitly what was in it. The will was in the cuſtody of the Veſtall Nunnes: of whom *Cæſar* demanded for it. They anſwered him, that they would not giue it him: but if he would goe and take it, they would not hinder him. Thereupon *Cæſar* went thither, & hauing read it firſt to himſelfe, he noted certen places worthy of reproch: ſo aſſembling all the Senate, he read it before them all. Whereupon diuers were maruellouſly offended, and thought it a ſtrange matter that he being aliue, ſhould be puniſhed for that he had appointed by his will to be done after his death. *Cæſar* chiefly tooke hold of this that he ordained touching his buriall: for he willed that his bodie, though he died at ROME, ſhould be brought in funerall pompe through the middeſt of the market place, and that it ſhould be ſent into ALEXANDRIA vnto *Cleopatra*. Furthermore, among diuers other faults wherewith *Antonius* was to be charged, for *Cleopatraes* ſake: *Caluiſius*, one of *Cæſars* friends reproued him becauſe he had franckly giuen *Cleopatra* all the libraries of the royall citie of PERGAMVM, in the which ſhe had aboue two hundred thouſand ſeuerall bookes. Againe alſo, that being on a time ſet at the table, he ſodainely roſe from the bord and trode vpon *Cleopatraes* foote, which was a ſigne giuen betwene them, that they were agreed of. That he had alſo ſuffred the EPHESIANS in his preſence to call *Cleopatra*, their ſoueraigne Ladie. That diuers times ſitting in his tribunall and chaire of ſtate, giuing audience to all kings and Princes: he had receiued loue letters from *Cleopatra*, written in tables of onyx or chriſtall, and that he had read them, ſitting in his imperiall ſeate. That one day when *Furnius*, a man of great account, and the eloquenteſt man of all the ROMAIN's, pleaded a matter before him: *Cleopatra* by chance cōming through the market place in her litter where *Furnius* was a pleading: *Antonius* ſtraight roſe out of his ſeate, and left his audience to follow her litter. This notwithſtanding, it was thought *Caluiſius* deuiſed the moſt part of all theſe accuſations of his owne head. Neuertheleſſe they that loued *Antonius*, were interceſſors to the people for him, and amongſt them they ſent one *Geminius* vnto *Antonius*, to pray him he would take heede, that through his negligence his Empire were not taken from him, and that he ſhould be counted an enemie to the people of ROME. This *Geminius* being arriued in GREECE, made *Cleopatra* iealous ſtraight of his comming: becauſe ſhe ſurmiſed that he came not but to ſpeake for *Octauia*. Therfore ſhe ſpared not to taunt him al ſupper time, and moreouer to ſpite him the more, ſhe made him to be ſet loweſt of all at the boorde, the which he tooke patiently, expecting occaſion to ſpeake with *Antonius*. Now *Antonius* commanding him at the table to tell him what wind brought him thither: he anſwered him, that it was no table talke, and that he would tell him to morrow morning faſting: but drunke or faſting, howſoeuer it were, he was ſure of one thing, that all would not go well on his ſide, vnles *Cleopatra* were ſent backe into ÆGYPT. *Antonius* tooke theſe words in very ill part. *Cleopatra* on the other ſide anſwered him, thou doeſt well *Geminius*, ſayed ſhe, to tell the truth before thou be compelled by torments: but within few dayes after, *Geminius* ſtale away, and fled to ROME. The flatterers alſo to pleaſe *Cleopatra*, did make her driue many other of *Antonius* faithfull ſeruants and friends from him, who could not abide the iniuries done vnto them: among the which theſe two were chiefe, *Marcus Syllanus*, and *Dellius* the Hiſtoriographer: who wrote that he fled, becauſe her Phiſitian *Glaucus* told him, that *Cleopatra* had ſet ſome ſecretly to kill him. Furthermore he had *Cleopatraes* diſpleaſure, becauſe he ſayed one night at ſupper, that they made them drinke ſower wine, where *Sarmentus* at ROME dranke good wine of FALERNA. This *Sarmentus* was a pleaſaunt young boy, ſuch

*Octauius Cæſar exacteth greeuous payments of the Romaines.*

*Titius and Plancus reuolt from Antonius and doe yeeld to Cæſar.*

*A famous librarie in the citie of Pergamum.*

*Furnius, an eloquent Orator among the Romaines.*

*Geminius ſent from Rome to Antonius, to bid him take heede to him ſelfe.*

*Many of Antonius friends doe forſake him.*

as the Lordes of ROME are wont to haue about them to make them paſtime, which they call their ioyes, and he was *Octauius Cæſars* boye. Now after that *Cæſar* had made ſufficient preparation, he proclaimed open warre againſt *Cleopatra*, and made the people to aboliſh the power and Empire of *Antonius*, becauſe he had before giuen it vp vnto a woman. And *Cæſar* ſayed furthermore, that *Antonius* was not Maiſter of himſelfe, but that *Cleopatra* had brought him beſide himſelfe, by her charmes and amarous poyſons: and that they that ſhoulde make warre with them, ſhould be *Mardian* the Eunuch, *Photinus*, and *Iras*, a woman of *Cleopatraes* bedchamber, that frizeled her haire, and dreſſed her head, and *Charmion*, the which were thoſe that ruled all the affaires of *Antonius* Empire. Before this warre as it is reported, many ſignes and wonders fell out. Firſt of all, the citie of PISAVRVM which was made a colonie to ROME, and repleniſhed with people by *Antonius*, ſtanding vpon the ſhore ſide, of the ſea Adriaticke, was by a terrible earthquake ſuncke into the ground. One of the images of ſtone which was ſet vp in the honor of *Antonius*, in the citie of ALBA, did ſweate many daies together: and though ſome wyped it away, yet it lefte not ſweating ſtill. In the citie of PATRAS whileſt *Antonius* was there, the temple of *Hercules* was burnt with lightning And at the citie of ATHENS alſo, in a place where the warre of the gyants againſt the goddes is ſet out in imagerie: the ſtatue of *Bacchus* with a terrible wind was throwen downe in the Theater. It was ſaid that *Antonius* came of the race of *Hercules*, as you haue heard before, and in the manner of his life he followed *Bacchus*: and therfore he was called the new *Bacchus*. Furthermore, the ſame bluſtering ſtorm of wind, ouerthrew the great monſtrous images at ATHENS, that were made in the honor of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, the which men had named and intituled, the *Antonians*, and yet they did hurt none of the other images which were many beſides. The Admiral galley of *Cleopatra*, was called Antoniade, in the which there chanced a maruellous ill ſigne. Swallowes had bred vnder the poop of her ſhip, and there came others after them that draue away the firſt, and plucked down their neaſts. Now when all things were readie, & that they drew neare to fight: it was found that *Antonius* had no leſſe then fiue hundreth good ſhips of war, among which there were many gallies that had eight & ten bancks of owers, the which were ſumptuouſly furniſhed, not ſo meete for fight, as for triumph: a hundred thouſand footmen, and twelue thouſand horſemen, and had with him to aide him theſe kings and ſubiectes following. *Bocchus* king of LIBYA, *Tarcōdemus* king of high SILICIA, *Archelaus* king of CAPPADOCIA, *Philadelphus* king of PAPHLAGONIA, *Mithridates* king of COMAGENA, and *Adallas* king of THRACIA. All which were there euery man in perſon. The reſidue that were abſent ſent their armies, as *Polemon* king of PONT, *Manchus* king of ARABIA, *Herodes* king of IVRY: and furthermore, *Amyntas* king of LYCAONIA, & of the GALATIANS: and beſides all theſe, he had all the aide the king of MEDES ſent vnto him. Now for *Cæſar*, he had two hundreth and fiftie ſhips of warre, foureſcore thouſand footmen, and well neare as many horſmen as his enemie *Antonius*. *Antonius* for his part, had all vnder his dominion from ARMENIA, & the riuer of Euphrates, vnto the ſea IONIVM & ILLYRICVM. *Octauius Cæſar* had alſo for his part, all that which was in our HEMISPHERE, or halfe part of the world, from ILLYRIA, vnto the Ocean ſea vpon the weſt: then all from the Ocean, vnto mare Siculum: & from AFRICK, all that which is againſt ITALY, as GAVLE, & SPAIN. Furthermore, all from the prouince of CYRENIA, to ÆTHIOPIA, was ſubiect vnto *Antonius*. Now *Antonius* was made ſo ſubiect to a womans will, that though he was a great deale the ſtronger by land, yet for *Cleopatraes* ſake he would needes haue this battell tryed by ſea: though he ſawe before his eyes, that for lacke of water-menne, his Captaines did preſt by force all ſortes of men out of GRECE that they could take vp in the field, as trauellers, muletters, reapers, harueſt men, and young boyes, and yet could they not ſufficiently furniſh his gallies: ſo that the moſt parte of them were emptie, and could ſcant row, becauſe they lacked water-men enowe. But on the contrarie ſide *Cæſars* ſhippes were not built for pompe, high and great, onely for a ſight and brauery, but they were light of yarage: armed and furniſhed with water-men as many as they needed, and had them al in readines, in the hauens of TARENTVM, & BRVNDVSIVM. So *Octauius Cæſar* ſent vnto *Antonius*, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his army into ITALY: and that for his owne part he would giue him ſafe harbor, to land without any trouble, and

*Antonius Empire taken from him.*

*Signes and wonders before the ciuill wars betwixt Antonius & Octauius Cæſar.*

*Peſaro, a citie in Italie, ſunke into the grou͂d by an earthquake.*

*An ill ſigne, foreſhewed by ſwallowes breding in Cleopatraes ſhippe.*

*Antonius power againſt Octa. Cæſar.*

*Antonius had eight kings & their power to ayde him.*

*The armie & power of Octauius Cæſar againſt Antonius.*

*Antonius dominions*

*Octauius Cæſars aominions*

*Antonius too much ruled by Cleopatra.*

that he would withdraw his armie from the ſea, as farre as one horſe could runne, vntil he had put his army a ſhore, & had lodged his men. ***Antonius*** on the other ſide brauely ſent him word againe, and chalenged the combat of him man to man, though he were the elder: and that if he refuſed him ſo, he would then fight a battell with him in the fields of PHARSALIA, as *Iulius Cæſar*, & *Pompey* had done before. Now whilſt *Antonius* rode at anker, lying idlely in harbor at the head of ACTIVM, in the place where the citie of NICOPOLIS ſtandeth at this preſent: *Cæſar* had quickly paſſed the ſea Ionium, and taken a place called TORYNE, before *Antonius* vnderſtoode that he had taken ſhip. Then beganne his men to be affraid, becauſe his armie by land was left behind. But *Cleopatra* making light of it: and what danger, I pray you, ſaid ſhe, if *Cæſar* keepe at* TORYNE? The next morning by breake of day, his enemies comming with full force of owers in battell againſt him, *Antonius* was afraid that if they came to ioyne, they would take and carie away his ſhippes that had no men of warre in them. So he armed all his watermen, and ſet them in order of battell vpon the forecaſtle of their ſhippes, and then liſte vp all his rancks of owers towards the element, as wel on the one ſide as on the other, with the prooes againſt the enemies, at the entrie and mouth of the gulfe, which beginneth at the point of ACTIVM, and ſo kept them in order of battell, as if they had bene armed and furniſhed with water-men and ſouldiers. Thus *Octauius Cæſar* being finely deceiued by this ſtratageme, retyred preſently, and therewithall *Antonius* very wiſely and ſodainly did cut him off from freſh water. For vnderſtanding that the places where *Octauius Cæſar* landed, had very litle ſtore of water, and yet very bad: he ſhutte them in with ſtrong ditches and trenches he caſt, to keepe them from ſalying out at their pleaſure, and ſo to goe ſeeke water farther off. Furthermore, he delt very friendly and courteouſly with *Domitius*, and againſt *Cleopatraes* minde. For, he being ſicke of an agew when he went and tooke a litle boate to go vnto *Cæſars* campe, *Antonius* was very ſorie for it, but yet he ſent after him all his cariage, traine, and men: and the ſame *Domitius*, as though he gaue him to vnderſtand that he repented his open treaſon, he died immediatly after. There were certen kings alſo that forſooke him, and turned on *Cæſars* ſide: as *Amyntas* and *Deiotarus*. Furthermore his fleete and nauy that was vnfortunate in all things, and vnreadie for ſeruice, compelled him to change his minde, and to hazard battell by land. And *Canidius* alſo, who had charge of his armie by land, when time came to follow *Antonius* determination: he turned him cleane contrarie, and counſelled him to ſend *Cleopatra* backe againe, and himſelfe to retire into MACEDON, to fight there on the maine land. And furthermore told him, that *Dicomes* king of the GETES, promiſed him to aid him with a great power: and that it ſhould be no ſhame nor diſhonor to him to let *Cæſar* haue the ſea, (becauſe himſelfe and his men both had bene well practiſed and exerciſed in battels by ſea, in the warre of SICILIA againſt *Sextus Pompeius*) but rather that he ſhould doe againſt all reaſon, he hauing ſo great skill and experience of battelles by land as he had, if he ſhould not imploy the force and valiantnes of ſo many luſty armed footemen as he had readie, but would weaken his armie by deuiding them into ſhippes. But now notwithſtanding all theſe good perſwaſions, *Cleopatra* forced him to put all to the hazard of battell by ſea: conſidering with her ſelfe how ſhe might flie and prouide for her ſafetie, not to helpe him to win the victorie, but to flie more eaſily after the battell loſt. Betwixt *Antonius* campe and his fleet of ſhips, there was a great high point of firme lande that rannea good waye into the ſea, the which *Antonius* vſed often for a walke, without miſtruſt of feare or danger. One of *Cæſars* men perceiued it, and told his maiſter that he would laugh if they could take vp *Antonius* in the middeſt of his walke. Thereupon *Cæſar* ſent ſome of his men to lye in ambuſh for him, and they miſſed not much of taking of him: for they tooke him that came before him, becauſe they diſcouered too ſoon, & ſo *Antonius* ſcaped verie hardly. So when *Antonius* had determined to fight by ſea, he ſet all the other ſhippes on fire, but threeſcore ſhips of EGYPT, and reſerued onely but the beſt and greateſt gallies, from three bancks, vnto tenne bancks of owers. Into them he put two & twenty thouſand fighting men, with two thouſand darters & ſlingers. Now as he was ſetting his men in order of battel, there was a Captaine, and a valiant man, that had ſerued *Antonius* in many battels & conflicts, & had all his body hacked and cut: who as *Antonius* paſſed by him, cryed out vnto him & ſaid: O noble Emperor, how commeth it to paſſe that you truſt to theſe vile brittle ſhippes? what, doe

*Antonius rode at anker at the head of Actiũ: where the citie of Nicopolis ſtandeth.*

** The grace of this tawnt can not properly be expreſſed in any other tongue becauſe of the equiuocation of this word Toryne, which ſignifieth a city of Albania, & alſo a ladell to ſcome the pot with: as if ſhe ment, Cæſar ſat by the fire ſide, ſcomming of the pot.*

*Domitius forſaketh Antonius, & goeth vnto Octauius Cæſar.*

*Amyntas and Deiotarus, doe both reuolt from Antonius and goe vnto Cæſar*

*Antonius in danger of taking at Actiũ.*

*Antonius regardeth not the good counſell of his ſouldier.*

doe you miſtruſt theſe wounds of mine and this ſword? let the Egyptians and Phenicians fight by ſea, and ſet vs on the maine land, where we vſe to conquer, or to be ſlaine on our feete. *Antonius* paſſed by him and ſaid neuer a word, but onely beckned to him with his hand & head, as though he willed him to be of good courage, although indeed he had no great courage himſelfe. For when the maiſters of the gallies and pilots would haue let their ſailes alone, he made them clap them on, ſaying to colour the matter withall, that not one of his enemies ſhould ſcape. All that day and the three dayes following, the ſea roſe ſo high & was ſo boiſterous, that the battell was put off. The fift day the ſtorme ceaſed, and the ſea calmed againe and then they rowed with force of owers in battell one againſt the other: *Antonius* leading the right wing with *Publicola*, & *Cælius* the left, & *Marcus Octauius*, & *Marcus Iuſteius* the midſt. *Octauius Cæſar* on the other ſide, had placed *Agrippa* in the left wing of his army, and had kept the right wing for himſelfe. For the armies by land, *Canidius* was generall of *Antonius* ſide, & *Taurus* of *Cæſars* ſide: who kept their men in battell raye the one before the other, vppon the ſea ſide, without ſtirring one againſt the other. Further, touching both the Chieftaines: *Antonius* being in a ſwift pinnaſe, was caried vp and downe by force of owers through his army, and ſpake to his people to encourage them to fight valiantly, as if they were on maine land, becauſe of the ſteadines and heauines of their ſhips: and commaunded the pilots and maſters of the gallies, that they ſhould not ſturre, none otherwiſe then if they were at anker, and ſo to receiue the firſt charge of their enemies, and that they ſhould not goe out of the ſtraight of the gulfe. *Cæſar* betimes in the morning going out of his tent, to ſee his ſhippes through out: met a man by chance that draue an aſſe before him. *Cæſar* asked the man what his name was. The poore man told him that his name was *Eutychus*, to ſaye fortunate: and his aſſes name Nicon, to ſay Conqueror. Therfore *Cæſar* after he had wonne the battell, ſetting out the market place with the ſpurres of the gallies he had taken, for a ſigne of his victorie: he cauſed alſo the man and his aſſe to be ſet vp in braſſe. When he had viſited the order of his army through out, he tooke a litle pinnaſe, and went to the right wing, and wondred when he ſawe his enemies lye ſtill in the ſtraight, & ſturred not. For decerning them a farre off, men would haue thought they had bene ſhippes riding at anker, and a good while he was ſo perſwaded. So he kept his gallies eight furlong from his enemies: about noon there roſe a litle gale of wind from the ſea, and then *Antonius* men waxing angrie with tarying ſo long, and truſting to the greatnes and height of their ſhips, as if they had bene inuincible: they beganne to march forward with their left wing. *Cæſar* ſeeing that, was a glad man and began a litle to giue backe from the right wing, to alure them to come farther out of the ſtraight & gulfe, to the end that he might with his light ſhippes well manned with water-men, turne and enuirone the gallies of the enemies, the which were heauie of yarage, both for their bignes, as alſo for lacke of watermen to row them. When the skirmiſh began, and that they came to ioine, there was no great hurt at the firſt meeting, neither did the ſhips vehemently hit one againſt the other, as they do commonly in fight by ſea. For on the one ſide, *Antonius* ſhips for their heauines, could not haue the ſtrength and ſwiftnes to make their blowes of any force: and *Cæſars* ſhippes on the other ſide tooke great heede, not to ruſh and ſhocke with the forecaſtelles of *Antonius* ſhips, whoſe prooes were armed with great braſen ſpurres. Furthermore they durſt not flancke them, becauſe their pointes were eaſily broken, which way ſo euer they came to ſet vpon his ſhippes, that were made of great maine ſquare pieces of timber, bounde together with great ironne pinnes: ſo that the battell was much like to a battell by land, or to ſpeake more properly to the aſſault of a citie. For there were alwaies three or foure of *Cæſars* ſhippes about one of *Antonius* ſhippes, and the ſouldiers fought with their pikes, halberds and darts, and threwe pottes and darts with fire. *Antonius* ſhips on the other ſide beſtowed among them, with their crosbowes and engines of batterie, great ſtore of ſhot from their high towers of wood, that were vpon their ſhips. Now *Publicola* ſeing *Agrippa* put forth his left wing of *Cæſars* armie, to compaſſe in *Antonius* ſhippes that fought: he was driuen alſo to looſe off to haue more roome, & going a litle at one ſide, to put thoſe farther off that were affraid, and in the middeſt of the battell. For they were ſore diſtreſſed by *Aruntius*. Howbeit the battell was yet of euen hand, and the victorie doubtfull, being indifferent to both: when ſodainely they ſawe the threeſcore ſhippes of

*Battell by ſea at Actium, betwixt Antonius and Cæſar.*

*A luckie ſigne vnto Octauius Cæſar.*

*Eutychus Nicon, fortunate Conqueror.*

*Cleopatra flyeth*

*The ſoule of a louer liueth in another body. Antonius flyeth after Cleopatra.*

*Antonius lycenceth his friends to depart, and giueth them a ſhippe loden with gold and ſiluer.*

*Antonius nauy ouerthrown by Cæſar.*

*Cleopatra* buſie about their yard maſts, and hoyſing ſaile to flie. So they fled through the middeſt of them that were in fight, for they had bene placed behind the great ſhippes, & did maruellouſly diſorder the other ſhippes. For the enemies them ſelues wondred much to ſee them ſaile in that ſort, with ful ſaile towards PELOPONNESVS. There *Antonius* ſhewed plainly, that he had not onely loſt the courage and hart of an Emperor, but alſo of a valiant man, & that he was not his owne man: (prouing that true which an old man ſpake in myrth, that the ſoule of a louer liued in another body, and not in his owne) he was ſo caried away with the vaine loue of this woman, as if he had bene glued vnto her, & that ſhe could not haue remoued without mouing of him alſo. For when he ſaw *Cleopatraes* ſhippe vnder ſaile, he forgot, forſook, & betrayed them that fought for him, & imbarked vpon a galley with fiue bankes of owers, to follow her that was already begun to ouerthrow him, & would in the end be his vtter deſtruction. When ſhe knew his galley a farre off, ſhe lift vp a ſigne in the poope of her ſhippe, and ſo *Antonius* cōming to it, was pluckt vp where *Cleopatra* was, howbeit he ſaw her not at his firſt comming, nor ſhe him, but went and ſate downe alone in the prow of his ſhippe, and ſaied neuer a word, clapping his head betweene both his hands. In the meane time came certaine light brigantynes of *Cæſars* that followed him hard. So *Antonius* ſtraight turned the prow of his ſhip, and preſently put the reſt to flight, ſauing one *Eurycles* LACEDÆMONIAN, that followed him neare, and preſſed vpon him with great courage, ſhaking a dart in his hand ouer the prow as though he would haue throwen it vnto *Antonius*. *Antonius* ſeing him, came to the fore caſtell of his ſhip and asked him what he was that durſt follow *Antonius* ſo neare? I am anſwered he, *Eurycles* the ſon of *Lachares*, who through *Cæſars* good fortune ſeeketh to reuenge the death of my father. This *Lachares* was condemned of fellonie, and beheaded by *Antonius*. But yet *Eurycles* durſt not venture vpon *Antonius* ſhip, but ſet vpon the other Admirall galley (for there were two) and fell with him with ſuch a blowe of his braſen ſpurre, that was ſo heauie and bigge, that he turned her round, and tooke her, with another that was loden with verie rich ſtuffe and cariage. After *Eurycles* had left *Antonius*, he returned againe to his place, and ſate downe, ſpeaking neuer a word as he did before: and ſo liued three dayes alone, without ſpeaking to any man. But when he arriued at the head of Tænarus, there *Cleopatraes* women firſt brought *Antonius* and *Cleopatra* to ſpeake together, and afterwards, to ſuppe and lye together. Then beganne there againe a great number of Marchaunts ſhippes to gather about them, and ſome of their friends that had eſcaped from this ouerthrow: who brought newes, that his army by ſea was ouerthrown, but that they thought the army by land was yet whole. Then *Antonius* ſent vnto *Canidius*, to return with his army into ASIA, by MACEDON. Now for himſelf, he determined to croſſe ouer into AFRICK, & took one of his carects or hulks loden with gold & ſiluer, and other rich cariage, & gaue it vnto his friends: commanding them to depart, and to ſeeke to ſaue themſelues. They anſwered him weeping, that they would neither doe it, nor yet forſake him. Then *Antonius* verie courteouſly and louingly did comfort them, and prayed them to depart: and wrote vnto *Theophilus* gouernor of CORINTHE, that he would ſee them ſafe, and helpe to hide them in ſome ſecret place, vntill they had made their way & peace with *Cæſar*. This *Theophilus* was the father of *Hypparchus*, who was had in great eſtimation about *Antonius*. He was the firſt of all his infranchiſed bondmen that reuolted from him, and yeelded vnto *Cæſar*, and afterwards went and dwelt at CORINTH. And thus it ſtood with *Antonius*. Now for his armie by ſea, that fought before the head or foreland of ACTIVM: they helde out a long time, and nothing troubled them more then a great boyſterous winde that roſe full in the prooes of their ſhippes and yet with much a doe, his nauie was at length ouerthrowen, fiue houres within night. There were not ſlaine aboue fiue thouſand men: but yet there were three hundreth ſhippes taken as *Octauius Cæſar* writeth himſelfe in his commentaries. Many plainely ſawe *Antonius* flie, and yet could very hardly beleeue it, that he that had nineteene legions whole by land and twelue thouſand horſemen vpon the ſea ſide, would ſo haue forſaken them, and haue fled ſo cowardly: as if he had not oftentimes proued both the one and the other fortune, and that he had not bene throughly acquainted with the diuerſe changes and fortunes of battelles. And yet his ſouldiers ſtill wiſhed for him, and euer hoped that he would come by ſome meanes or other vnto them. Furthermore, they

ſhewed

they ſhewed themſelues ſo valiant and faithfull vnto him, that after they certainely knewe he was fled, they kept themſelues whole together ſeuen dayes. In the ende *Canidius*, *Antonius* Lieutenant, flying by night, and forſaking his campe: when they ſaw themſelues thus deſtitute of their heads and leaders, they yeelded themſelues vnto the ſtronger. This done, *Cæſar* ſayled towards ATHENS, and there made peace with the GRECIANS, and deuided the reſt of the corne that was taken vp for *Antonius* army, vnto the townes and cities of GRECE, the which had bene brought to extreame miſery & pouerty, cleane without money, ſlaues, horſe, & other beaſtes of cariage. So that my grandfather *Nicarchus* told, that all the Citizens of our citie of CHÆRONEA, (not one excepted) were driuen themſelues to carrie a certen meaſure of corne on their ſhoulders to the ſea ſide, that lyeth directly ouer againſt the Ile of ANTICYRA, and yet were they driuen thither with whips. They caried it thus but once: for the ſecond time that they were charged againe to make the like cariage, all the corne being ready to be caried, newes came that *Antonius* had loſt the battel, & ſo ſcaped our poore city. For *Antonius* ſouldiers & deputies fled immediatly, & the citizens deuided the corne amongſt them. *Antonius* being arriued in LIBYA, he ſent *Cleopatra* before into EGYPT from the citie of PARÆTONIVM: & he himſelf remained very ſolitary, hauing only two of his frends with him, with whom he wandred vp and downe, both of them Orators, the one *Ariſtocrates* a GRECIAN, & the other *Lucilius* a ROMAIN: of whõ we haue written in another place, that at the battell where *Brutus* was ouerthrowen, by the citie of PHILIPPES, he came and willingly put himſelfe into the hands of thoſe that followed *Brutus*, ſaying that it was he: becauſe *Brutus* in the meane time might haue liberty to ſaue himſelfe. And afterwards becauſe *Antonius* ſaued his life, he ſtill remained with him: and was very faithfull and friendly vnto him till his death. But when *Antonius* heard, that he whom he had truſted with the gouernment of LIBYA, and vnto whom he had giuen the charge of his army there, had yeelded vnto *Cæſar*: he was ſo mad withall, that he would haue ſlaine himſelfe for anger, had not his friends about him withſtood him, & kept him from it. So he went vnto ALEXANDRIA, and there found *Cleopatra* about a wonderfull enterpriſe, and of great attempt. Betwixt the red ſea, and the ſea betwene the lands that poynt vpon the coaſt of EGYPT there is a litle peece of land that deuideth both the ſeaes, and ſeparateth AFRICK from ASIA: the which ſtraight is ſo narrow at the end where the two ſeas are narroweſt, that it is not aboue three hundreth furlongs ouer. *Cleopatra* went about to lift her ſhippes out of the one ſea, and to hale them ouer the ſtraight into the other ſea: that when her ſhippes were come into the goulfe of ARABIA, ſhe might then carie all her gold and ſiluer away, and ſo with a great companie of men goe and dwell in ſome place about the Ocean ſea farre from the ſea Mediterraneum, to ſcape the danger and bondage of this warre. But now, becauſe the ARABIANS dwelling about the citie of PETRA, did burne the firſt ſhippes that were brought to land, and that *Antonius* thought that his armie by land, which he left at ACTIVM was yet whole: ſhe left off her enterpriſe, and determined to keepe all the portes and paſſages of her realme. *Antonius*, he forſooke the citie and company of his friends, and built him a houſe in the ſea, by the Ile of PHAROS, vpon certen forced mountes which he cauſed to be caſt into the ſea, and dwelt there, as a man that baniſhed himſelfe from all mens companie: ſaying that he would leade *Timons* life, becauſe he had the like wrong offred him, that was before offred vnto *Timon*: and that for the vnthankfulnes of thoſe he had done good vnto, and whom he tooke to be his friends, he was angrie with all men, and would truſt no man. This *Timon* was a citizen of ATHENS, that liued about the warre of PELOPONNESVS, as appeareth by *Plato* and *Ariſtophanes* comedies: in the which they mocked him, calling him a viper and malicious man vnto mankind, to ſhunne all other mens companies, but the companie of young *Alcibiades*, a bold and inſolent youth, whom he would greatly feaſt, and make much of, and kiſſed him verie gladly. *Apemantus* wondering at it, asked him the cauſe what he ment to make ſo much of that young man alone, and to hate all others: *Timon* aunſwered him, I doe it ſaid he, becauſe I know that one day he ſhall doe great miſchief vnto the ATHENIANS. This *Timon* ſomtimes would haue *Apemantus* in his companie, becauſe he was much like of his nature & conditions, and alſo followed him in manner of life. On a time when they ſolemnly celebrated the feaſts called Choæ at ATHENS, (to wit, the feaſts of the dead, where

*Antonius legions doe yeelde themſelues vnto Octauius Cæſar.*

*Lucilius ſpoken of in Brutus life.*

*The fidelitie of Lucilius vnto Antonius.*

*The wonderful attempt of Cleopatra.*

*Antonius followeth the life and example of Timon Miſanthropus the Athenian.*

*Plato and Ariſtophanes teſtimony of Timon Miſanthropus, what he was.*

they make ſprinklings and ſacrifices for the dead) and that they two then feaſted together by themſelues, *Apemantus* ſayed vnto the other: O heere is a trim banquet *Timon*. *Timon* anſwered againe, yea ſayd he, ſo thou wert not heer. It is reported of him alſo, that this *Timon* on a time (the people being aſſembled in the market place about diſpatch of ſome affaires) got vp into the pulpit for orations, where the Orators commonly vſe to ſpeake vnto the people: and ſilence being made, euery man liſtning to heare what he would ſay, becauſe it was a wonder to ſee him in that place: at length he began to ſpeake in this manner. My Lords of ATHENS, I haue a litle yard in my houſe where there groweth a figge tree, on the which many citizens haue hangd thẽſelues: & becauſe I meane to make ſome building on the place, I thought good to let you all vnderſtand it, that before the fig tree be cut downe, if any of you be deſperate, you may there in time goe hang your ſelues. He died in the city of HALES, and was buried vpon the ſea ſide. Now it chanced ſo, that the ſea getting in, it compaſſed his tombe round about, that no man could come to it: and vpon the ſame was written this Epitaphe.

*Heere lyes a wretched corſe, of wretched ſoule bereft,*
*Seeke not my name: a plague conſume you wicked wretches left.*

*The Epitaph of Timon Miſanthropus.*

It is reported that *Timon* himſelf when he liued made this Epitaph: for that which is commonly rehearſed was not his, but made by the Poet *Callimachus*.

*Heere lye I Timon who aliue all liuing men did hate,*
*Paſſe by, and curſe thy fill: but paſſe, and ſtay not heere thy gate.*

Many other things could we tell you of this *Timon*, but this litle ſhall ſuffice at this preſent. But now to returne to *Antonius* againe. *Canidius* himſelfe came to bring him newes, that he had loſt all his armie by land at ACTIVM: on the other ſide he was aduertiſed alſo, that *Herodes* king of IVRIE, who had alſo certen legions and bandes with him, was reuolted vnto *Cæſar*, and all the other kings in like manner: ſo that, ſauing thoſe that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithſtanding did nothing trouble him, and it ſeemed that he was contented to forgoe all his hope, and ſo to be ridde of all his care and troubles. Thereupon he left his ſolitarie houſe he had built by the ſea which he called Timoneon, and *Cleopatra* receiued him into her royall pallace. He was no ſooner com thither, but he ſtraight ſet all the citie on rioting and banquetting againe, and himſelfe to liberalitie and giftes. He cauſed the ſonne of *Iulius Cæſar* & *Cleopatra*, to be enrolled (according to the manner of the ROMAINS) amongſt the number of young men: and gaue *Antyllus*, his eldeſt ſon he had by *Fuluia*, the mans gown, the which was a plaine gowne, without gard or embroderie of purple. For theſe things, there was kept great feaſting, banquetting and dancing in ALEXANDRIA many dayes together. In deede they did breake their firſt order they had ſet downe, which they called Amimetobion, (as much to ſay, no life comparable) & did ſet vp another, which they called Synapothanumenon (ſignifying the order and agreement of thoſe that will dye together) the which in exceeding ſumptuouſnes, and coſt was not inferior to the firſt. For their friendes made themſelues to be inrolled in this order of thoſe that would die together, and ſo made great feaſtes one to another: for euerie man when it came to his turne, feaſted their whole companie and fraternitie. *Cleopatra* in the meane time was verie carefull in gathering all ſorts of poyſons together, to deſtroy men. Now to make proofe of thoſe poyſons which made men die with leaſt paine, ſhe tryed it vpon condemned men in priſon. For when ſhe ſaw the poyſons that were ſodaine and vehement, and brought ſpeedy death with grieuous torments: & in contrary manner, that ſuch as were more milde and gentle, had not that quicke ſpeede and force to make one dye ſodainely: ſhe afterwardes went about to proue the ſtinging of ſnakes and adders, and made ſome to be applyed vnto men in her ſight, ſome in one ſorte and ſome in another. So when ſhe had daily made diuers and ſundrie proofes, ſhe found none of them all ſhe had proued ſo fit, as the biting of an Aſpick, the which cauſeth onely a heauines of the head, without ſwounding or complaining, and bringeth a great deſire alſo to ſleepe, with a litle ſwet in the face, and ſo by litle and litle taketh away the ſenſes & vitall powers, no liuing creature perceiuing that the patients feele any paine. For they are ſo ſorie, when any bodie awaketh them, and taketh them vp: as thoſe that being taken out of a ſound ſleep, are very heauie and deſirous to ſleepe. This notwithſtanding, they ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Octauius Cæſar* in ASIA, *Cleopatra* requeſting

*Antonius rioting in Alexandria after his great loſſe & ouerthrow.*

*Toga virilis.*

*Antillus the eldeſt ſonne of Antonius, by his wife Fuluia.*

*An order erected by Antonius, and Cleopatra, called Synapothanumenon reuoking the former called Amimetobion.*

*Cleopatra very buſie in prouing the force of poyſon.*

*The propertie of the byting of an Aſpicke.*

*Antonius and Cleopatra ſend Ambaſſadors vnto Octauius Cæſar.*

ſting the realme of ÆGYPT for their children, and *Antonins* praying that he might be ſuffered to liue at ATHENS like a priuate mã, if *Cæſar* would not let him remaine in ÆGYPT. And becauſe they had no other men of eſtimation about them, for that ſome were fled, and thoſe that remained, they did not greatly truſt them: they were inforced to ſend ***Euphronius*** the ſchoolemaiſter of their children. For *Alexas* LAODICIAN, who was brought into *Antonius* houſe & fauour by meanes of *Timagenes*, and afterwards was in greater credit with him, then any other GRECIAN: (for that he had alway bene one of *Cleopatraes* miniſters to win *Antonius*, & to ouerthrow all his good determinations to vſe his wife *Octauia* well) him *Antonius* had ſent vnto *Herodes* king of IVRIE, hoping ſtill to keepe him his friend, that he ſhould not reuolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed *Antonius*. For where he ſhould haue kept *Herodes* frõ reuolting from him, he perſwaded him to turne to *Cæſar*: & truſting king *Herodes*, he preſumed to come in *Cæſars* preſence. Howbeit *Herodes* did him no pleaſure: for he was preſently taken priſoner, and ſent in chaines to his own country, & there by *Cæſars* commaundement put to death. Thus was *Alexas* in *Antonius* life time put to death, for betraying of him. Furthermore, *Cæſar* would not graunt vnto *Antonius* requeſtes: but for *Cleopatra*, he made her aunſwere, that he would deny her nothing reaſonable, ſo that ſhe would either put *Antonius* to death, or driue him out of her country. There withall he ſent *Thyreus* one of his men vnto her, a very wiſe and diſcreet man, who bringing letters of credit from a young Lord vnto a noble Lady, and that beſides greatly liked her beautie, might eaſily by his eloquence haue perſwaded her. He was longer in talke with her then any man elſe was, and the Queene her ſelfe alſo did him great honour: in ſomuch as he made *Antonius* ielous of him. Whereupon *Antonius* cauſed him to be taken and well fauoredly whipped, and ſo ſent him vnto *Cæſar*: and bad him tell him that he made him angry with him, becauſe he ſhewed himſelfe proude and diſdainfull towardes him, and now ſpecially when he was eaſie to be angred, by reaſon of his preſent miſerie. To be ſhort, if this miſlike thee ſayd he, thou haſt ***Hipparchus*** one of my infranchiſed bondmen with thee: hang him if thou wilt, or whippe him at thy pleaſure, that we may crie quittaunce. From thenceforth, *Cleopatra* to cleare her ſelfe of the ſuſpition he had of her, ſhe made more of him then euer ſhe did. For firſt of all, where ſhe did ſolemniſe the day of her birth very meanely and ſparingly, fit for her preſent misfortune: ſhe now in contrary maner did keepe it with ſuch ſolemnitie, that ſhe exceeded all meaſure of ſumptuouſneſſe and magnificence: ſo that the gueſtes that were bidden to the feaſts, and came poore, went away rich. Now things paſsing thus, *Agrippa* by diuers letters ſent one after an other vnto *Cæſar*, prayed him to returne to ROME, becauſe the affaires there did of neceſsitie require his perſon and preſence. Thereupon he did deferre the warre till the next yeare following: but when winter was done, he returned againe through SYRIA by the coaſt of AFRICKE, to make warres againſt *Antonius*, and his other Captaines. When the citie of PELVSIVM was taken, there ran a rumor in the citie, that *Seleucus*, by *Cleopatraes* conſent, had ſurrendered the ſame. But to cleare her ſelfe that ſhe did not, *Cleopatra* brought *Seleucus* wife and children vnto *Antonius*, to be reuenged of them at his pleaſure. Furthermore, *Cleopatra* had long before made many ſumptuous tombes and monuments, as well for excellencie of workemanſhip, as for hight and greatneſſe of building, ioyning hard to the temple of *Iſis*. Thither ſhe cauſed to be brought all the treaſure and pretious things ſhe had of the auncient kings her predeceſſours: as gold, ſiluer, emerods, pearles, ebbonie, iuorie, and ſinamon, and beſides all that, a maruellous number of torches, faggots, and flaxe. So *Octauius* *Cæſar* being affrayed to looſe ſuch a treaſure and maſſe of richeſſe, and that this woman for ſpight would ſet it a fire, and burne it euery whit: he alwayes ſent ſome one or other vnto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whileſt he in the meane time drew neare the citie with his armie. So *Cæſar* came, and pitched his campe hard by the citie, in the place where they runne and manage their horſes. ***Antonius*** made a ſaly vpon him, and fought very valiantly, ſo that he draue *Cæſars* horſemen backe, fighting with his men euen into their campe. Then he came againe to the pallace, greatly boaſting of this victorie, and ſweetely kiſſed *Cleopatra*, armed as he was, when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of armes vnto her, that had valiantly fought in this skirmiſh. *Cleopatra* to reward his manlineſſe, gaue him an armour & head peece of cleane gold: howbeit the

*Alexas treaſon iuſtly puniſhed.*

*Peluſium was yeelded vp to Octauius Cæſar.*

*Cleopatraes monuments ſet vp by the tēple of Iſis.*

man at armes when he had receiued this rich gift, ſtale away by night, and went to *Cæſar*? *Antonius* ſent againe to chalenge *Cæſar*, to fight with him hand to hand. *Cæſar* aunſwered him, that he had many other wayes to dye then ſo. Then *Antonius* ſeeing there was no way more honourable for him to dye, then fighting valiantly: he determined to ſet vp his reſt, both by ſea and land. So being at ſupper, (as it is reported) he commaunded his officers and houſehold ſeruaunts that waited on him at his bord, that they ſhould fill his cuppes full, and make as much of him as they could: for ſayd he, you know not whether you ſhall do ſo much for me to morrow or not, or whether you ſhall ſerue an other maiſter: and it may be you ſhall ſee me no more, but a dead body. This notwithſtanding, perceiuing that his friends and men fell a weeping to heare him ſay ſo: to ſalue that he had ſpoken, he added this more vnto it, that he would not lead them to battell, where he thought not rather ſafely to returne with victorie, then valiantly to dye with honour. Furthermore, the ſelfe ſame night within litle of midnight, when all the citie was quiet, full of feare, and ſorrow, thinking what would be the iſſue and end of this warre: it is ſayd that ſodainly they heard a marueillous ſweete harmonie of ſundry ſortes of inſtrumentes of muſicke, with the crie of a multitude of people, as they had bene dauncing, and had ſong as they vſe in *Bacchus* feaſts, with mouings and turnings after the manner of the Satyres: and it ſeemed that this daunce went through the city vnto the gate that opened to the enemies, and that all the troupe that made this noyſe they heard, went out of the citie at that gate. Now, ſuch as in reaſon ſought the depth of the interpretation of this wonder, thought that it was the god vnto whom *Antonius* bare ſingular deuotion to counterfeit and reſemble him, that did forſake them. The next morning by breake of day, he went to ſet thoſe few footemen he had in order vpon the hils adioyning vnto the citie: and there he ſtood to behold his gallies which departed from the hauen, and rowed againſt the gallies of his enemies, and ſo ſtood ſtill, looking what exploit his ſouldiers in them would do. But when by force of rowing they were come neare vnto them, they firſt ſaluted *Cæſars* men: and then *Cæſars* men reſaluted them alſo, and of two armies made but one, and then did all together row toward the citie. When *Antonius* ſaw that his men did forſake him, and yeelded vnto *Cæſar*, and that his footemen were broken and ouerthrowen: he then fled into the citie, crying out that *Cleopatra* had betrayed him vnto them, with whom he had made warre for her ſake. Thē ſhe being affrayed of his fury, fled into the tombe which ſhe had cauſed to be made, and there locked the doores vnto her, and ſhut all the ſprings of the lockes with great boltes, and in the meane time ſent vnto *Antonius* to tell him that ſhe was dead. *Antonius* beleeuing it, ſayd vnto himſelfe: what doeſt thou looke for further, *Antonius*, ſith ſpightfull fortune hath taken from thee the onely ioy thou haddeſt, for whom thou yet reſeruedſt thy life? when he had ſayd theſe words, he went into a chamber & vnarmed himſelfe, and being naked ſaid thus: O *Cleopatra*, it grieueth me not that I haue loſt thy companie, for I will not be long from thee: but I am ſory, that hauing bene ſo great a Captaine and Emperour, I am indeede condemned to be iudged of leſſe courage & noble minde, then a woman. Now he had a man of his called *Eros*, whom he loued and truſted much, and whom he had long before cauſed to ſweare vnto him, that he ſhould kill him when he did commaunde him: and then he willed him to keepe his promiſe. His man drawing his ſword, lift it vp as though he had meant to haue ſtriken his maiſter: but turning his head at one ſide, he thruſt his ſword into himſelfe, and fell downe dead at his maiſters foote. Then ſayd *Antonius*, O noble *Eros*, I thanke thee for this, and it is valiantly done of thee, to ſhew me what I ſhould do to my ſelfe, which thou couldeſt not do for me. Therewithall he tooke his ſword, and thruſt it into his bellie, and ſo fell downe vpon a litle bed. The wounde he had killed him not preſently, for the bloud ſtinted a litle when he was layed: and when he came ſomewhat to himſelfe againe, he prayed them that were about him to diſpatch him. But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out & tormenting himſelfe: vntill at laſt there came a Secretarie vnto him called *Diomedes*, who was commaunded to bring him into the tombe or monument where *Cleopatra* was. Whē he heard that ſhe was aliue, he very earneſtly prayed his men to carie his body thither, and ſo he was caried in his mens armes into the entry of the monument. Notwithſtanding, *Cleopatra* would not open the gates, but came to the high windowes, and caſt out certaine chaines and ropes, in the which *Antonius*

*Strange noyſes heard, and nothing ſeene.*

*Antonius nauie do yeeld themſelues vnto Cæſar.*

*Antonius ouerthrowen by Octauius Cæſar.*

*Cleopatra flieth into her tombe or monument.*

*Eros Antonius ſeruaunt ſlue himſelfe.*

*Antonius did thruſt his ſword into himſelfe, but dyed not preſently.*

*Antonius caried vnto Cleopatraes tombe.*

*nius* was truſſed:and *Cleopatra* her owne ſelfe,with two women onely, which ſhe had ſuffered to come with her into theſe monuments, triſed *Antonius* vp. They that were preſent to behold it, ſayd they neuer ſaw ſo pitifull a ſight. For,they plucked vp poore *Antonius* all bloudy as he was, and drawing on with pangs of death,who holding vp his hands to *Cleopatra*,raiſed vp himſelfe as well as he could. It was a hard thing for theſe women to do,to lift him vp: but *Cleopatra* ſtouping downe with her head, putting to all her ſtrength to her vttermoſt power, did lift him vp with much a do, and neuer let go her hold, with the helpe of the women beneath that bad her be of good courage,and were as ſory to ſee her labour ſo,as ſhe her ſelfe. So when ſhe had gotten him in after that ſort, and layed him on a bed: ſhe rent her garments vpon him,clapping her breſt, and ſcratching her face and ſtomacke. Then ſhe dried vp his bloud that had berayed his face, and called him her Lord, her husband, and Emperour, forgetting her owne miſerie and calamity,for the pitie and compaſsion ſhe tooke of him. *Antonius* made her ceaſſe her lamenting, and called for wine, either becauſe he was a thirſt, or elſe for that he thought thereby to haſten his death. When he had dronke, he earneſtly prayed her, and perſwaded her, that ſhe would ſeeke to ſaue her life, if ſhe could poſsible, without reproche and diſhonour:and that chiefly ſhe ſhould truſt *Proculeius* aboue any man elſe about *Cæſar*. And as for himſelfe, that ſhe ſhould not lament nor ſorow for the miſerable chaunge of his fortune at the end of his dayes: but rather that ſhe ſhould thinke him the more fortunate, for the former triumphes & honours he had receiued,conſidering that while he liued he was the nobleſt and greateſt Prince of the world,& that now he was ouercome,not cowardly,but valiantly, a ROMAINE by an other ROMAINE. As *Antonius* gaue the laſt gaſpe,*Proculeius* came that was ſent frō *Cæſar*. For after *Antonius* had thruſt his ſword in himſelfe, as they caried him into the tombes and monuments of *Cleopatra*, one of his gard called *Dercetæus*, tooke his ſword with the which he had ſtriken himſelfe, and hid it: then he ſecretly ſtale away, and brought *Octauius Cæſar* the firſt newes of his death,& ſhewed him his ſword that was bloudied. *Cæſar* hearing theſe newes, ſtraight withdrew himſelfe into a ſecret place of his tent, and there burſt out with teares, lamenting his hard and miſerable fortune, that had bene his friend and brother in law, his equall in the Empire, and companion with him in ſundry great exploits and battels. Then he called for all his friendes, and ſhewed them the letters *Antonius* had written to him,and his aunſweres alſo ſent him againe,during their quarrell and ſtrife:and how fiercely and proudly the other aunſwered him,to all iuſt and reaſonable matters he wrote vnto him. After this,he ſent *Proculeius*,and commaunded him to do what he could poſsible to get *Cleopatra* aliue, fearing leaſt otherwiſe all the treaſure would be loſt: & furthermore, he thought that if he could take *Cleopatra*,and bring her aliue to ROME,ſhe would maruelloully beautifie and ſet out his triumphe. But *Cleopatra* would neuer put her ſelfe into *Proculeius* handes, although they ſpake together. For *Proculeius* came to the gates that were very thicke & ſtrong, and ſurely barred, but yet there were ſome cranewes through the which her voyce might be heard, and ſo they without vnderſtood, that *Cleopatra* demaunded the kingdome of ÆGYPT for her ſonnes: and that *Proculeius* aunſwered her, that ſhe ſhould be of good cheare, and not be affrayed to referre all vnto *Cæſar*. After he had viewed the place very well,he came and reported her anſwere vnto *Cæſar*. Who immediatly ſent *Gallus* to ſpeake once againe with her, and bad him purpoſely hold her with talke, whileſt *Proculeius* did ſet vp a ladder againſt that high window, by the which *Antonius* was triſed vp, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where *Cleopatra* ſtood to heare what *Gallus* ſayd vnto her. One of her women which was ſhut in her monumēts with her, ſaw *Proculeius* by chance as he came downe, and ſhreeked out: O poore *Cleopatra*, thou art taken. Then when ſhe ſaw *Proculeius* behind her as ſhe came from the gate, ſhe thought to haue ſtabbed her ſelfe in with a ſhort dagger ſhe wore of purpoſe by her ſide. But *Proculeius* came ſodainly vpon her, and taking her by both the hands,ſayd vnto her. *Cleopatra*, firſt thou ſhalt do thy ſelfe great wrong, and ſecondly vnto *Cæſar*: to depriue him of the occaſion and oportunitie, openly to ſhew his bountie and mercie, and to giue his enemies cauſe to accuſe the moſt curteous and noble Prince that euer was, and to appeache him, as though he were a cruell and mercileſſe man, that were not to be truſted. So euen as he ſpake the word, he tooke her dagger from her, and

*A lamentable ſight to ſee Antonius and Cleopatra.*

*The death of Antonius.*

*Octauius Cæſar lamenteth Antonius death.*

*Proculeius ſent by Octauius Cæſar to bring Cleopatra aliue.*

*Cleopatra taken.*

*Cæſar tooke the citie of Alexādria.*

*Cæſar greatly honoured Arrius the Philoſopher.*

*Philoſtratus, the eloquenteſt Oratour in his time, for preſent ſpeach vpon a ſodaine.*

ſhooke her clothes for feare of any poyſon hidden about her. Afterwardes Cæſar ſent one of his infranchiſed men called *Epaphroditus*, whom he ſtraightly charged to looke well vnto her, and to beware in any caſe that ſhe made not her ſelfeaway: and for the reſt, to vſe her with all the curteſie poſsible. And for himſelfe, he in the meane time entred the citie of ALEXANDRIA, and as he went, talked with the Philoſopher *Arrius*, and held him by the hand, to the end that his country men ſhould reuerence him the more, becauſe they ſaw Cæſar ſo highly eſteeme and honour him. Then he went into the ſhew place of exerciſes, and ſo vp to his chaire of ſtate which was prepared for him of a great height: and there according to his commaundement, all the people of ALEXANDRIA were aſſembled, who quaking for feare, fell downe on their knees before him, and craued mercy. *Cæſar* bad them all ſtand vp, and told them openly that he forgaue the people, and pardoned the felonies and offences they had committed againſt him in this warre. Firſt, for the founders ſake of the ſame citie, which was *Alexander* the great: ſecondly, for the beautie of the citie, which he much eſteemed and wondred at: thirdly, for the loue he bare vnto his very friend *Arrius*. Thus did *Cæſar* honour *Arrius*, who craued pardon for himſelfe and many others, and ſpecially for *Philoſtratus*, the eloquenteſt man of all the ſophiſters and Orators of his time, for preſent and ſodaine ſpeach: howbeit he falſly named himſelſe an Academicke Philoſopher. Therfore, Cæſar that hated his nature and conditions, would not heare his ſute. Thereupon he let his gray beard grow long, & followed *Arrius* ſtep by ſtep in a long mourning gowne, ſtill buzzing in his eares this Greeke verſe:

*A wiſe man if that he be wiſe in deede,*
*May by a wiſe man haue the better ſpeede.*

*Antyllus, Antonius eldeſt ſonne by Fuluia, ſlaine.*

*Cæſar* vnderſtanding this, not for the deſire he had to deliuer *Philoſtratus* of his feare, as to rid *Arrius* of malice and enuy that might haue fallen out againſt him: he pardoned him. Now touching *Antonius* ſonnes, *Antyllus*, his eldeſt ſonne by *Fuluia* was ſlaine, becauſe his ſchoolemaiſter *Theodorus* did betray him vnto the ſouldiers, who ſtrake off his head. And the villaine tooke a pretious ſtone of great value from his necke, the which he did ſow in his girdle, and afterwards denied that he had it: but it was found about him, & ſo *Cæſar* truſſed him vp for it. For *Cleopatraes* children, they were very honorably kept, with their gouernours & traine that waited on thē. But for *Cæſarion*, who was ſayd to be *Iulius Cæſars* ſonne: his mother *Cleopatra* had ſent him vnto the INDIANS through ÆTHIOPIA, with a great ſumme of money. But one of his gouernours alſo called *Rhedon*, euē ſuch an other as *Theodorus*, perſwaded him to returne into his country, & told him that Cæſar ſent for him to giue him his mothers kingdome. So, as Cæſar was determining with himſelfe what he ſhould do, *Arrius* ſayd vnto him.

*The ſaying of Arrius the Philoſopher.*

*Too Many Cæſars is not good.*

Alluding vnto a certaine verſe of *Homer* that ſayth:

*Too Many Lordes doth not well.*

*Cæſarion Cleopatraes ſonne, put to death.*

*Cleopatra burieth Antonius.*

*Olympus Cleopatraes Phiſition.*

*Cæſar came to ſee Cleopatra.*

*Cleopatra, a martyred creature, through her owne paſſiō and furie.*

Therefore Cæſar did put *Cæſarion* to death, after the death of his mother *Cleopatra*. Many Princes, great kings & Captaines did craue *Antonius* body of *Octauius Cæſar*, to giue him honourable buriall: but *Cæſar* would neuer take it from *Cleopatra*, who did ſumptuouſly & royally bury him with her own hands, whom *Cæſar* ſuffred to take as much as ſhe would to beſtow vpon his funerals. Now was ſhe altogether ouercome with ſorow & paſsion of minde, for ſhe had knocked her breſt ſo pitifully, that ſhe had martyred it, and in diuers places had rayſed vlcers & inflammations, ſo that ſhe fell into a feuer withall: whereof ſhe was very glad, hoping thereby to haue good colour to abſteine from meate, and that ſo ſhe might haue dyed eaſily without any trouble. She had a Phiſition called *Olympus*, whom ſhe made priuie of her intent, to the end he ſhould helpe her to rid her out of her life: as *Olympus* writeth himſelfe, who wrote a booke of all theſe things. But *Cæſar* miſtruſted the matter, by many coniectures he had, and therefore did put her in feare, and threatned her to put her children to ſhamefull death. With theſe threates, *Cleopatra* for feare yeelded ſtraight, as ſhe would haue yeelded vnto ſtrokes: & afterwards ſuffred her ſelfe to be cured and dieted as they liſted. Shortly after, *Cæſar* came himſelf in perſon to ſee her, & to cōfort her. *Cleopatra* being layed vpon a litle low bed in poore eſtate, when ſhe ſaw Cæſar come into her chamber, ſhe ſodainly roſe vp, naked in her ſmocke, and fell downe at his feete maruellouſly diſfigured: both for that ſhe had plucked her haire from her head, as alſo for that ſhe had martired all her face with her nayles, and beſides, her voyce was ſmall and trembling, her eyes ſunke into her head with continuall blubbering and moreouer, they might ſee the moſt part of her ſtomake torne in ſunder. To be ſhort, her body was not much better then her minde: yet her good grace and comelyneſſe, and the force of her beautie was not altogether defaced. But notwithſtanding this ougly and pitifull ſtate of hers, yet ſhe ſhewed herſelfe within, by her outward lookes and countenance. When *Cæſar* had made her lye downe againe, and ſate by her beds ſide: *Cleopatra* began to cleare and excuſe her ſelfe for that ſhe had done, laying all to the feare ſhe had of *Antonius*: *Cæſar*, in contrary manner, reproued her in euery point. Then ſhe ſodainly altered her ſpeach, and prayed him to pardon her, as though ſhe were affrayed to dye, and deſirous to liue. At length, ſhe gaue him a briefe and memoriall of all the ready money and treaſure ſhe had. But by chaunce there ſtood *Seleucus* by, one of her Treaſurers, who to ſeeme a good ſeruant, came ſtraight to *Cæſar* to diſproue *Cleopatra*, that ſhe had not ſet in all, but kept many things backe of purpoſe. *Cleopatra* was in ſuch a rage with him, that ſhe flew vpon him, & tooke him by the haire of the head, and boxed him welfauouredly. *Cæſar* fell a laughing, and parted the fray. Alas, ſayd ſhe, O *Cæſar*: is not this a great ſhame and reproche, that thou hauing vouchſaued to take the paines to come vnto me, and haſt done me this honour, poore wretch, and caitife creature, brought into this pitifull and miſerable eſtate: and that mine owne ſeruants ſhould come now to accuſe me, though it may be I haue reſerued ſome iewels and trifles meete for women, but not for me (poore ſoule) to ſet out my ſelfe withall, but meaning to giue ſome pretie preſents and giftes vnto *Octauia* and *Liuia*, that they making meanes & interceſsion for me to thee, thou mighteſt yet extend thy fauour and mercy vpon me? *Cæſar* was glad to heare her ſay ſo, perſwading him ſelfe thereby that ſhe had yet a deſire to ſaue her life. So he made her aunſwere, that he did not onely giue her that to diſpoſe of at her pleaſure, which ſhe had kept backe, but further promiſed to vſe her more honorably and bountifully then ſhe would thinke for: and ſo he tooke his leaue of her, ſuppoſing he had deceiued her, but indeede he was deceiued himſelfe. There was a young gentleman *Cornelius Dolabella*, that was one of *Cæſars* very great familiars, & beſides did beare no euill wil vnto *Cleopatra* He ſent her word ſecretly as ſhe had requeſted him, that *Cæſar* determined to take his iorney through SYRIA, & that within three daies he would ſend her away before with her children. When this was told *Cleopatra*, ſhe requeſted *Cæſar* that it would pleaſe him to ſuffer her to offer the laſt oblations of the dead, vnto the ſoule of *Antonius*. This being graunted her, ſhe was caried to the place where his tombe was, and there falling downe on her knees, imbracing the tombe with her women, the teares running down her cheekes, ſhe began to ſpeake in this ſort: O my deare Lord *Antonius*, not long ſithence I buried thee here, being a free woman: and now I offer vnto thee the funerall ſprinklings and oblations, being a captiue and priſoner, and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing & murthering this captiue body of mine with blowes, which they carefully gard and keepe, only to triumphe of thee: looke therefore henceforth for no other honours, offerings, nor ſacrifices from me, for theſe are the laſt which *Cleopatra* can giue thee, ſith now they carie her away. Whileſt we liued together, nothing could ſeuer our companies: but now at our death, I feare me they will make vs chaunge our countryes. For as thou being a ROMAINE, haſt bene buried in ÆGYPT: euen ſo wretched creature I, an ÆGYPTIAN, ſhall be buried in ITALIE, which ſhall be all the good that I haue receiued by thy country. If therefore the gods where thou art now haue any power & authoritie, ſith our gods here haue forſakē vs: ſuffer not thy true friend and louer to be caried away aliue, that in me, they triumphe of thee: but receiue me with thee, and let me be buried in one ſelfe tombe with thee. For though my griefes and miſeries be infinite, yet none hath grieued me more, nor that I could leſſe beare withall: then this ſmall time, which I haue bene driuē to liue alone without thee. Then hauing ended theſe dolefull plaints, and crowned the tombe with garlands and ſundry noſegayes, and maruellous louingly imbraced the ſame: ſhe commaunded they ſhould prepare her bath, and when ſhe had bathed and waſhed her ſelfe, ſhe fell to her meate, and was ſumptuouſly ſerued. Now whileſt ſhe was at dinner, there came a countryman, and brought her a basket. The ſouldiers that warded at the gates, asked him ſtraight what he had in his basket. He opened the basket, and tooke out the

*Seleucus, one of Cleopatraes Treaſurers.*

*Cleopatra beat her treaſurer before Octauius Cæſar.*

*Cleopatraes wordes vnto Cæſar.*

*Cleopatra finely deceiueth Octauius Cæſar, as though ſhe deſired to liue.*

*Cleopatraes lamentation ouer Antonius tombe.*

leaues that couered the figges, and ſhewed them that they were figges he brought. They all of them maruelled to ſee ſo goodly figges. The countryman laughed to heare them, and bad them take ſome if they would. They beleeued he told them truely, and ſo bad him carie them in. After *Cleopatra* had dined, ſhe ſent a certaine table written and ſealed vnto *Cæſar*, and commaunded them all to go out of the tombes where ſhe was, but the two women, then ſhe ſhut the doores to her. *Cæſar* when he receiued this table, and began to read her lamẽtation and petition, requeſting him that he would let her be buried with *Antonius*, found ſtraight what ſhe meant, and thought to haue gone thither himſelfe: howbeit he ſent one before in all haſt that might be, to ſee what it was.

*The death of Cleopatra*

Her death was very ſodaine. For thoſe whom *Cæſar* ſent vnto her ran thither in all haſt poſsible, & found the ſouldiers ſtanding at the gate, miſtruſting nothing, nor vnderſtanding of her death. But when they had opened the doores, they found *Cleopatra* ſtarke dead, layed vpon a bed of gold, attired & arayed in her royall robes, and one of her two women, which was called *Iras*, dead at her feete: and her other woman called *Charmion* halfe dead, and trembling, trimming the Diademe which *Cleopatra* ware vpon her head.

*Cleopatraes two waiting women dead with her.*

One of the ſouldiers ſeeing her, angrily ſayd vnto her: is that well done *Charmion?* Very well ſayd ſhe againe, and meete for a Princeſſe diſcended from the race of ſo many noble kings. She ſayd no more, but fell downe dead hard by the bed. Some report that this Aſpicke was brought vnto her in the basket with figs, & that ſhe had commaunded them to hide it vnder the figge leaues, that when ſhe ſhould thinke to take out the figges, the Aſpicke ſhould bite her before ſhe ſhould ſee her: howbeit, that when ſhe would haue taken away the leaues for the figges, ſhe perceiued it, and ſayd, art thou here then?

*Cleopatra killed with the biting of an Aſpicke.*

And ſo, her arme being naked, ſhe put it to the Aſpicke to be bitten. Other ſay againe, ſhe kept it in a boxe, and that ſhe did pricke and thruſt it with a ſpindle of gold, ſo that the Aſpicke being angerd withall, lept out with great furie, and bit her in the arme. Howbeit few can tell the troth. For they report alſo, that ſhe had hidden poyſon in a hollow raſer which ſhe caried in the haire of her head: and yet was there no marke ſeene of her body, or any ſigne diſcerned that ſhe was poyſoned, neither alſo did they finde this ſerpent in her tombe. But it was reported onely, that there were ſeene certaine freſh ſteppes or trackes where it had gone, on the tombe ſide toward the ſea, and ſpecially by the doore ſide. Some ſay alſo, that they found two litle pretie bytings in her arme, ſcant to be diſcerned: the which it ſeemeth *Cæſar* himſelfe gaue credit vnto, becauſe in his triumphe he caried *Cleopatraes* image, with an Aſpicke byting of her arme.

*The image of Cleopatra, caried in triũphe at Rome, with an Aſpicke biting of her arme.*

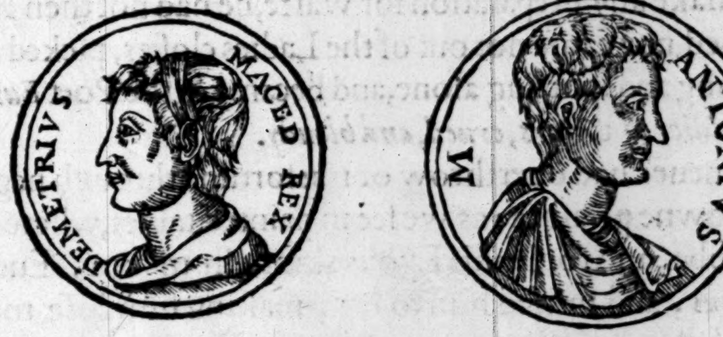
*The age of Cleopatra and Antonius.*

And thus goeth the report of her death. Now *Cæſar*, though he was maruellous ſory for the death of *Cleopatra*, yet he wondred at her noble minde and courage, and therfore commaunded ſhe ſhould be nobly buried, and layed by *Antonius*: and willed alſo that her two women ſhould haue honorable buriall. Cleopatra dyed being eight and thirtie yeare old, after ſhe had raigned two and twenty yeares, and gouerned aboue foureteen of them with *Antonius*. And for *Antonius*, ſome ſay that he liued three and fiftie yeares: and others ſay, ſix and fiftie. All his ſtatues, images, and mettals, were plucked downe and ouerthrowen, ſauing thoſe of Cleopatra which ſtood ſtill in their places, by meanes of *Archibius* one of her friendes, who gaue Cæſar a thouſand talentes that they ſhould not be handled, as thoſe of *Antonius* were. *Antonius* left ſeuen children by three wiues, of the which, *Cæſar* did put *Antyllus*, the eldeſt ſonne he had by *Fuluia*, to death.

*Of Antonius iſſue came Emperours.*

*Octauia* his wife tooke all the reſt, and brought them vp with hers, and maried Cleopatra, *Antonius* daughter, vnto king *Iuba*, a maruellous curteous & goodly Prince. And *Antonius*, the ſonne of *Fuluia* came to be ſo great, that next vnto *Agrippa*, who was in greateſt eſtimation about *Cæſar*, and next vnto the children of *Liuia*, which were the ſecond in eſtimation: he had the third place. Furthermore, *Octauia* hauing had two daughters by her firſt husband *Marcellus*, and a ſonne alſo called *Marcellus*: *Cæſar* maried his daughter vnto that *Marcellus*, and ſo did adopt him for his ſonne. And *Octauia* alſo maried one of her daughters vnto *Agrippa*. But when *Marcellus* was dead, after he had bene maried a while, *Octauia* perceiuing that her brother *Cæſar* was very buſie to chooſe ſome one amõg his friends, whom he truſted beſt to make his ſonne in law: ſhe perſwaded him, that *Agrippa* ſhould mary his daughter, (*Marcelius* widow) and leaue her owne daughter. *Cæſar* firſt was contented withall, and then *Agrippa*: and ſo ſhe afterwardes tooke away her daughter and maried her vnto *Antonius*, & *Agrippa* maried *Iulia*, *Cæſars* daughter. Now there remained two daughters more of *Octauia* & *Antonius*. *Domitius Ænobarbus* maried the one: and the other, which was *Antonia*, ſo faire and vertuous a young Lady, was maried vnto *Druſus* the ſonne of *Liuia*, and ſonne in law of *Cæſar*. Of this mariage, came *Germanicus* and *Clodius*: of the which, *Clodius* afterwardes came to be Emperour. And of the ſonnes of *Germanicus*, the one whoſe name was *Caius*, came alſo to be Emperour: who, after he had licētiouſly raigned a time, was ſlaine, with his wife and daughter. *Agrippina* alſo, hauing a ſonne by her firſt husband *Ænobarbus* called *Lucius Domitius*: was afterwardes maried vnto *Clodius*, who adopted her ſonne, and called him *Nerò Germanicus*. This *Nerò* was Emperour in our time, & ſlue his own mother, had almoſt deſtroyed the Empire of ROME, through his madneſſe and wicked life, being the fift Emperour of ROME after *Antonius*.

# THE COMPARISON OF *Demetrius with Antonius.*



The power of Demetrius, & Antonius.

NOw, ſithence it falleth out, that *Demetrius* and *Antonius* were one of them much like to the other, hauing fortune a like diuers & variable vnto them: let vs therefore come to conſider their power and authoritie, and how they came to be ſo great. Firſt of all, it is certaine that *Demetrius* power and greatnes fell vnto him by inheritance from his father *Antigonus*: who became the greateſt & mightieſt Prince of all the ſucceſſours of *Alexander*, and had won the moſt part of ASIA, before *Demetrius* came of full age. *Antonius* in contrary manner, borne of an honeſt man, who otherwiſe was no mā of warre, & had not left him any meane to ariſe to ſuch greatnes: durſt take vpon him to contend for the Empire with *Cæſar*, that had no right vnto it by inheritance, but yet made himſelfe ſucceſſour of the power, the which the other by great paine and trauell had obteined, and by his owne induſtrie became ſo great, without the helpe of any other: that the Empire of the whole world being deuided into two partes, he had the one halfe, and tooke that of the greateſt countenaunce and power. *Antonius* being abſent, oftentimes ouercame the PARTHIANS in battell by his Lieutenaunts, and chaſed away the barbarous people dwelling about mount Caucaſus, vnto the ſea Hyrcanium, in ſomuch as the thing they moſt reproue him for, did moſt witneſſe his greatnes. For, *Demetrius* father made him gladly marrie *Phila*, *Antipaters* daughter, although ſhe was too old for him: becauſe ſhe was of a nobler houſe then himſelfe. *Antonius* on the other ſide was blamed for marying of *Cleopatra*, a Queene that for power and nobilitie of bloud, excelled all other kings in her time, but *Arſaces*: and moreouer made himſelfe ſo great, that others thought him worthy of greater things, then he himſelfe required. Now for the deſire

*Demetrius and Antonius ambition to gouerne.*

*The liberalitie and bountie of Demetrius and Antonius.*

*Demetrius and Antonius riots.*

that moued the one & the other to conquer realmes: the deſire of *Demetrius* was vnblameable and iuſt, deſiring to raigne ouer people, which had bene gouerned at all times, and deſired to be gouerned by kings. But *Antonius* deſire was altogether wicked & tyrannicall: who ſought to keepe the people of ROME in bondage and ſubiection, but lately before rid of *Caeſars* raigne & gouernement. For the greateſt & moſt famous exploit *Antonius* euer did in warres (to wit, the warre in the which he ouerthrew *Caſsius* and *Brutus*) was begun to no other end, but to depriue his countrymen of their libertie and freedome. *Demetrius* in contrary maner, before fortune had ouerthrowen him, neuer left to ſet GRECE at libertie, & to driue the garriſons away, which kept the cities in bõdage: & not like *Antonius*, that boaſted he had ſlaine them that had ſet ROME at libertie. The chiefeſt thing they commended in *Antonius*, was his liberalitie and bountie: in the which *Demetrius* excelled him ſo farre, that he gaue more to his enemies, then *Antonius* did to his friends: although he was maruellouſly well thought of, for the honorable & ſumptuous funerall he gaue vnto *Brutus* body. Howbeit *Demetrius* cauſed all his enemies be buried that were ſlaine in battell, & returned vnto *Ptolomy* all the priſoners he had taken, with great gifts & preſents he gaue them. They were both in their proſperitie, very riotouſly & licentiouſly giuen: but yet no man can euer ſay, that *Demetrius* did at any time let ſlip any oportunity or occaſion to follow great matters, but onely gaue himſelſe indeed to pleaſure, when he had nothing elſe to do. And further, to ſay truly, he tooke pleaſure of *Lamia*, as a mã would haue a delight to heare one tell tales, when he hath nothing elſe to do, or is deſirous to ſleepe: but in deede whẽ he was to make any preparation for warre, he had not then Iuy at his darts end, nor had his helmet perfumed, nor came not out of the Ladies cloſets, picked & princt to go to battell: but he let all dauncing and ſporting alone, and became as the Poet *Euripides* ſaith.

*The ſouldier of Mars, cruell, and bloudy.*

*Canobus, and Taphoſiris ſl.*

*Demetrius and Antonius wiues.*

*Antonius the firſt Romaine that euer maried two wiues together.*

*Demetrius laſciuiouſneſſe. Dogges not ſuffred in Athens caſtle, becauſe of bitcherie.*

*The loue and impietie: the faith & falſehood of Demetrius and Antonius.*

But to conclude, he neuer had ouerthrow or misfortune through negligence, nor by delaying time to follow his owne pleaſure: as we ſee in painted tables, where *Omphale* ſecretly ſtealeth away *Hercules* clubbe, and tooke his Lyons skinne from him. Euen ſo Cleopatra oftentimes vnarmed *Antonius*, and intiſed him to her, making him loſe matters of great importaunce, and very needefull iourneys, to come and be dandled with her, about the riuers of Canobus, and Taphoſitis. In the end, as *Paris* fled from the battell, and went to hide himſelfe in *Helens* armes: euen ſo did he in *Cleopatraes* armes, or to ſpeake more properly, *Paris* hid himſelfe in *Helens* cloſet, but *Antonius* to follow *Cleopatra*, fled and loſt the victory. Furthermore, *Demetrius* had many wiues that he had maried, and all at one time: the which was not diſſalowable or not forbidden by the kings of MACEDON, but had bene vſed from *Philip* and *Alexanders* time, as alſo king *Lyſimachus* and *Ptolomie* had, and did honour all them that he maried. But *Antonius* firſt of all maried two wiues together, the which neuer ROMAINE durſt do before, but himſelſe. Secondly, he put away his firſt ROMAINE wife, which he had lawfully maried, for the loue of a ſtraunge woman, he fondly fell in fancie withall, and contrary to the lawes and ordinaunces of ROME. And therefore *Demetrius* mariages neuer hurt him, for any wrong he had done to his wiues: but *Antonius* contrarily was vndone by his wiues. Of all the laſciuious parts *Antonius* played, none were ſo abhominable, as this onely fact of *Demetrius*. For the hiſtoriographers write, that they would not ſuffer dogs to come into the caſtle of ATHENS, becauſe of all beaſts he is too buſie with bitcherie: and *Demetrius*, in *Mineruaes* temple it ſelſe lay with Curtiſans, and there defiled many citizens wiues. And beſides all this, the horrible vice of crueltie, which a man would thinke were leaſt mingled with theſe wanton delightes, is ioyned with *Demetrius* cõcupiſcence: who ſuffered, (or more properly cõpelled) the goodlieſt young boy of ATHENS, to dye a moſt pitifull death, to ſaue himſelfe from violence, being taken. And to conclude, *Antonius* by his incontinencie, did no hurt but to himſelfe: and *Demetrius* did hurt vnto all others. *Demetrius* neuer hurt any of his friends: and *Antonius* ſuffered his Vncle by his mothers ſide to be ſlaine, that he might haue his will of *Cicero* to kill him: a thing ſo damnable, wicked, and cruell of it ſelfe, that he hardly deſerued to haue bene pardoned, though he had killed Cicero, tõ haue ſaued his Vncles life. Now where they falſified & brake their othes, the one making *Artabazus* priſoner, & the other killing of *Alexander*: *Antonius* out of doubt had beſt cauſe, & iuſteſt colour. For *Artabazus* had betrayed him, and forſaken him in MEDIA. But *Demetrius* (as diuers do report) deuiſed a falſe matter to accuſe *Alexander*, to cloke the murther he had committed: and ſome thinke he did accuſe him, to whom he himſelfe had done iniurie vnto: and was not reuenged of him, that would do him iniurie. Furthermore, *Demetrius* himſelfe did noble feates of warre, as we haue recited of him before: and contrarily *Antonius*, when he was not there in perſon, wanne many famous and great victories by his Lieutenaunts: and were both ouerthrowen being perſonally in battell, but yet not both after one ſort. For the one was forſaken of his men being MACEDONIANS, and the other contrarily forſooke his that were ROMAINES: for he fled, and left them that ventured their liues for his honour. So that the fault the one did was, that he made them his enemies that fought for him: & the fault in the other, that he ſo beaſtly left them that loued him beſt, and were moſt faithfull to him. And for their deathes, a man can not prayſe the one nor the other, but yet *Demetrius* death the more reprochfull. For he ſuffered himſelfe to be taken priſoner, and when he was ſent away to be kept in a ſtraunge place, he had the hart to liue yet three yeare longer, to ſerue his mouth and belly, as brute beaſtes do. *Antonius* on the other ſide ſlue himſelfe, (to confeſſe a troth) cowardly, and miſerably, to his great payne and griefe: and yet was it before his body came into his enemies hands.

*Demetrius & Antonius acts in warres.*

# THE LIFE OF
## *Artaxerxes.*

ARTHAXERCES LONGIM. PERS. R.

ARtaxerxes, the firſt of this name of all the kings of PERSIA, a noble and curteous Prince as any of all his houſe: was ſurnamed long hand, becauſe his right hand was longer then his left, and he was the ſonne of king *Xerxes*. But the ſecond, whoſe life we preſently intend to write, was ſurnamed *Mnemon*, as much to ſay, great memorie: and he was the ſonne of the daughter of the firſt *Artaxerxes*. For king *Darius*, and his wife *Paryſatis*, had foure ſonnes of the which, the eldeſt was this *Artaxerxes*, the ſecond *Cyrus*, and two other younger, *Oſtanes* and *Oxathres*. *Cyrus* from the beginning bare the name of the former auncient *Cyrus*, which in the PERSIAN tongue ſignifieth the ſunne. But *Artaxerxes*

*The parentage of Artaxerxes Mnemon.*

*The diuerſitie of natures betwixt Cyrus and Artaxerxes.*

*Arſicas, ſurnamed Artaxerxes, aſſigned to be king of Perſia.*

*The manner of the conſecrating of the kings of Perſia, at Paſargades.*

*Cyrus accuſed vnto his brother Artaxerxes.*

*Cyrus lay in waite to kill Artaxerxes.*

*Note the flatterie and diſſimulation of a woman.*

was called before *Arſicas*, although *Dinon* writeth, that he was called *Oarſes*. Howbeit it is vnlikely that *Cteſias* (although his bookes otherwiſe be full of fables, and as vntrue as they are founde) ſhould forget the name of the Prince with whom he dwelt, whom he ſerued, and continually followed, both him, his wife, and children. *Cyrus* from his cradle was of a hot ſturring minde, and *Artaxerxes* in contrary manner, more milde and gentle in all his actions and doings. He was maried to a very fayre Lady, by his father and mothers commaundement: & afterwardes kept her againſt their wils, being forbidden by them. For king *Darius* his father, hauing put his ſonnes wiues brother to death, he would alſo haue put her to death: but her husband with teares made ſuch humble ſute to his mother for her, that with much a do, he did not onely get pardon for her life, but graunt alſo that ſhe ſhould not be put from him. This notwithſtanding, his mother alwayes loued *Cyrus* better then him, and prayed that he might be king after his fathers death. Wherfore *Cyrus* being in his prouinces of ASIA by the ſea ſide, when he was ſent for to come to the Court, at what time his father lay ſicke of the diſeaſe he dyed: he went thither in good hope his mother had preuailed with his father, that in his will he would make him his heire of the realme of PERSIA. For his mother *Paryſatis* alledged a matter very probable, and the which in old time did helpe king *Xerxes* in the like caſe, through *Demaratus* coũſell. She ſaid that *Arſicas* was borne before her husbãd *Darius* was king, & *Cyrus* after he was crowned king. All this could not preuaile. For her eldeſt ſonne *Arſicas*, ſurnamed *Artaxerxes*, was aſsigned king of PERSIA, & *Cyrus* gouernour of LYDIA, & the kings Lieutenant generall of all the low countryes of ASIA toward the ſea ſide. Shortly after king *Darius* death, the new king *Artaxerxes* went vnto *Paſargades*, there to be conſecrated & annoynted king, by the Prieſts of the country of PERSIA. The place of this *Paſargades*, is a temple dedicated vnto *Minerua* the goddeſſe of battels, as I take it: where the new king muſt be conſecrated, and when he commeth into the temple, he putteth off his gowne, and putteth on that which the old auncient *Cyrus* ware before he was king. Furthermore, he muſt eate of a certaine tart or fricacie made of figges with turpentine: and then he muſt drinke a drinke made with vineger and milke. There are alſo certaine other ſecret ceremonies which they muſt keepe, and none do know, but the very Prieſts themſelues. Now *Artaxerxes* being ready to enter into all theſe ceremonies, *Tiſaphernes* came vnto him, & brought him one of the Prieſts that had bene *Cyrus* ſchoolemaiſter in his youth, and had taught him magicke, who by reaſon ſhould haue bene more offended then any man elſe, for that he was not appointed king. And this was the cauſe why they beleeued him the better, when he accuſed *Cyrus*. For he ſayd that *Cyrus* had conſpired treaſon againſt the king his brothers owne perſon, & that he meant traiterouſly to kill him in the temple, when he ſhould put off his gown. Some do report, that *Cyrus* was apprehended vpon this ſimple accuſation by word of mouth. Others write alſo, that *Cyrus* came into the temple, and hiding himſelfe, he was taken with the maner, and bewrayed by the Prieſt. So as he was going to ſuffer death, his mother tooke *Cyrus* in her armes, and wounde the haire of her head about his necke, and tyed him ſtraightly to her: and withall ſhe wept ſo bitterly, and made ſuch pitifull mone vnto the king her ſonne, that through her interceſsion, the king graunted him his life, & ſent him againe into his country and gouernement. But this ſatisfied not *Cyrus*, neither did he ſo much remember the king his brothers fauour vnto him, in granting him his life, as he did the deſpight he had offred him, to be made priſoner. In ſomuch that for this grudge and euill will, he euer after had a greater deſire then before to be king. Some writers alledge, that he entred into actuall rebellion againſt his brother by force of armes, becauſe he had not ſufficient reuenue to defray the ordinary expence of his houſe: howbeit it is a meere folly to ſay ſo. For though he had had no other helpe but his mother, he might haue had of her what he would haue taken, and deſired. Againe, to ſhew that of himſelfe he had abilitie enough: we neede but alledge the ſouldiers and ſtraungers he gaue pay vnto, in diuers places, as *Xenophon* writeth. For he brought them not all together into one army, becauſe he deſired to keepe his enterpriſe as ſecret as he could: but he had friends and ſeruaunts that leauied them in diuers places, and vnder diuers colours. And furthermore, he had his mother alway about the king, that cleared all ſuſpitions conceiued againſt him. He himſelfe alſo on the other ſide, whileſt he made theſe preparations, wrote very humbly vnto his brother,ſomtime asking ſomwhat of him, and another time accuſing *Tiſaphernes*: all to blind the king, to make him thinke that he bent all his malice and ſpight againſt him: beſides that, the king of his own nature was ſomwhat dull, & ſlow, which the common people thought to proceede of his curteſie and good nature. At his firſt comming to the crowne, he followed the firſt *Artaxerxes* goodneſſe and curteſie, by whom he had his name. For he gaue more eaſie audience vnto ſuters, he did alſo more honorably reward & recompence thoſe that had deſerued well: and he vſed ſuch moderation in puniſhing of offendours, that it appeared he did it not of any malitious minde and deſire of reuenge, nor yet of will to hurt any man. When he had any thing giuen him, he tooke it as thankefully, as they offered it him, and did as willingly and frankely alſo giue againe. For, how litle a thing ſoeuer was offered him, he tooke it well. And it is reported that one *Romiſes* on a time preſented him a maruellous fayre pomegarnet. By the ſunne ſayd he, this man in a ſhort time of a litle towne would make a great citie, he that would make him gouernour of it. Another time there was a poore labourer ſeeing euery man giue the king a preſent, ſome one thing, ſome an other as he paſſed by them: he hauing nothing at hand to giue him, ranne to the riuers ſide, & tooke both his hands full of water, and came and offred it him. King *Artaxerxes* was ſo glad of it, that he ſent him in a cup of maſſy gold, a thouſand Dareckes, which were peeces of gold ſo named, becauſe the image of *Darius* was ſtamped vpon them. And vnto one *Euclidas* a LACEDÆMONIAN, that preſumed to giue him bold wordes, it pleaſed him to aunſwer him by one of his Captaines: thou mayſt ſay what thou lyſt, and I as king, may ſay and do what I lyſt. An other time as he was a hunting, *Tiribazus* ſhewed the king his gowne that was all to tattered: well, ſayd the king, and what wouldeſt thou haue me to do? *Tiribazus* aunſwered him, I pray your grace take an other, and giue me that you haue on. The king did ſo, and told him: *Tiribazus*, I giue thee my gowne, but I commaund thee not to weare it. *Tiribazus* tooke it, and cared not for the kings commaundement that he ſhould not weare it, not that he was any euill diſpoſed man, but becauſe he was a fond light headed fellow that cared for nothing: thereupon he ſtraight put the kings gowne on his backe, and not contented therewith, he did beſides ſet on many iewels of gold which kings onely are wont to weare, and womens trinckets and ornaments. Therewithall euery man in the Court murmured at him, becauſe it was a preſumptiõ, directly againſt the lawes & ordinances of PERSIA. Howbeit the king but laughed at it, and told him: I giue thee leaue *Tiribazus* to weare thoſe womens gawdes as a woman, and the kings robe as a foole. Furthermore, where the manner was in PERSIA that no perſon ſate at the kings bord, but his mother and wife, of the which, his mother ſate vppermoſt, and his wife lowermoſt: *Artaxerxes* made his two brethren *Oſtanes* and *Oxathres* ſit at his owne bord. But yet he pleaſed the PERSIANS beſt of all, becauſe he was content his wife *Statyra* ſhould ſit openly in her charret, and that ſhe might be ſeene and reuerenced by the other Ladyes of the country. And this made him ſingularly beloued of the people. Now, ſuch as deſired innouation and chaunge, and that could not away with quiet life: they gaue out that the Realme of PERSIA required ſuch a Prince as *Cyrus*, that was liberall of nature, giuen to armes, & greatly rewarded his ſeruaunts, and that the greatneſſe of the Empire of PERSIA ſtood in neede of a king, whoſe minde was bent to high attemptes and noble enterpriſes. So *Cyrus* thereupon began to make warre vpon his brother, not onely truſting vnto them that were of the low countreys about him, but hoping of thoſe alſo in the high prouinces neare vnto the king. Furthermore he wrote alſo vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, to pray them to ſend him men of warre, promiſing to giue the footemen they ſent, horſes: & the horſemen, coches: landed men, whole villages: and to thoſe that had villages, to giue them cities. Beſides all this, that for the ordinary wages of them that ſhould ſerue him in this warre, he would not pay them by account, but by full meaſure: and boaſting largely of himſelfe, he ſayd he had a greater minde then his brother, that he could better away with hardneſſe then he, that he vnderſtood magicke better then he, and that he could drinke more wine then he, and carie it better. And that the king his brother in contrary manner was ſo womaniſh and fearefull, that when he went a hunting, he durſt ſcarce get vp vpon his horſe backe: and when he went to the warres, he would hardly take his charriot. When the LACEDÆMONIANS had read his letters, they ſent a litle ſcrowle

*Artaxerxes curteous, and eaſie to haue acceſſe vnto.*

*Artaxerxes liberalitie to a poore man that gaue him a litle water.*

*Tiribazus lightneſſe, and Artaxerxes liberalitie.*

*Statira, king Artaxerxes wife.*

*Cyrus maketh warre againſt his brother Artaxerxes.*

*Cyrus wonderfull promiſes.*

vnto *Clearchus*, commaunding him to obey *Cyrus* in any thing he would commaund him. So *Cyrus* did ſet forward to make warre againſt his brother, hauing leauied a great number of fighting men of barbarous nations, and of GRECIANS, litle leſſe then thirteen thouſand men: ſometime aduertiſing one cauſe, ſometime an other, why he leauied ſuch a multitude of men. But his purpoſe could not be long diſſembled: for *Tiſaphernes* went himſelfe vnto the Court, to bring newes of his attempt. Then all the Court was ſtraight in an vprore withall. Many men alſo did accuſe the Queene mother, for the practiſe of this warre, & all her friends & ſeruants were vehemently ſuſpected to be conſpiratours with *Cyrus*: but the greateſt thing that troubled *Paryſatis* moſt, was Queene *Statyra* her daughter in law, who ſtormed maruellouſly to ſee this warre begun againſt king *Artaxerxes* her husband, and inceſſantly cryed out on her: O, where is the faith thou vowedſt by othe? whereto are thy interceſsions come thou madeſt, for the pardon of his life: who now conſpireth his brothers death? By ſauing of his life, art not thou now the cauſe of this warre and troubles we ſee at hand? After this reproch and ſhame receiued by *Statira*, *Paryſatis*, being a cruell and malitious woman of nature, ſo hated her, that from thenceforth ſhe ſought all the wayes ſhe could to put her to death. And *Dinon* the Hiſtoriographer ſayth, that during this warre, ſhe did execute her wicked purpoſe vpon her: but *Cteſias* writeth, that it was after the warre. And therfore it is liker, that he being daily in the king of PERSIAES Court, ſhould certainly know the time when ſhe did execute her treaſon againſt her, and alſo there is no cauſe why he ſhould rather write it in any other time, then in that in the which the fact was done: although in many other places he commonly vſeth to fitten, and to write deuiſes of his owne head. Therefore let vs leaue the report of this fact to the ſelfe ſame time and place as he hath written it. Now when *Cyrus* drew neare vnto his brothers country, he had newes, and a rumor ranne through his campe, that the king was not determined to come and fight with him ſo ſoone: and that he meant firſt to go further into PERSIA, and to tary there till he had gathered his army together out of all parts. And for proofe hereof, the king hauing caſt a great trench of ten yardes broad, and as many high, the ſpace of foure hundred furlong in length: he left it without gard, and let *Cyrus* winne it, who came on further without any reſiſtance, euen to the very citie ſelfe of BABYLON. Howbeit in the end, *Tiribazus* (as it is reported) was the firſt man that durſt tell the king, that he ſhould not flie fight in that ſort, nor hide himſelfe in the fartheſt part of PERSIA, leauing his enemy the Realmes of MEDIA, BABYLON, and SVSA: conſidering alſo that he had many mo ſouldiers in readineſſe then his enemy, and an infinite number of Captaines more skilfull, and abler to giue counſell, and to fight, then he was. Theſe words of *Tiribazus* made the king alter his minde, and to determine to giue battell as ſoone as he could. Thereupon he marched forward againſt his enemy, with nine hundred thouſand fighting men, excellently well armed, and marching in very good order. That maruellouſly aſtonied *Cyrus* men, and made them afrayed at the firſt, when they ſaw them in ſo excellent good order before them: for that they were diſperſed ſtraggling here and there without any order, and men vnarmed, truſting too much in themſelues, in deſpiſing of their enemy: ſo that *Cyrus* had much a do to ſet his men it battell ray, and yet was it with great noyſe and tumult. But the GRECIANS wondred moſt of all other, when they ſaw the kings army march in ſo good order of battell without any noyſe. For they thought to haue ſeene a wonderfull great diſorder and confuſion, in ſuch an infinite multitude of people: and ſuppoſed they would haue made ſuch a noyſe, that one of them ſhould not haue heard an other. Where in deede to the contrary, all was ſo well marſhalled, ſpecially becauſe he had placed before his battell the beſt carts he had armed with ſiethes, and drawen with the ſtrongeſt and biggeſt great horſe he had in all his armie: hoping by the fierceneſſe and furie of their careere, to breake into theranckes of the enemies, before they could come to ioyne with theirs. But ſith this battell is deſcribed by diuers Hiſtoriographers, but ſpecially by *Xenophon*, who hath (as a man would ſay) liuely ſet it out to the eye, and ſetteth it forth to the Reader, not as a battell already fought, but preſently a fighting, ſtirring vp their mindes as if themſelues were in the action and inſtant daunger, he hath ſo paſsingly ſet it downe: it were but a follie therfore of me to take vpon me to make any further deſcription of it, ſauing to touch ſome ſpeciall points worthy of note, which he peraduenture hath

*Artaxerxes armie, of nine hundred thouſand fighting men, againſt his brother Cyrus.*

*Xenophon the Hiſtoriographer excellently deſcribeth this battell betwixt Artaxerxes and his brother Cyrus.*

left out. As,the place where the battell was fought,is called COUNAXA,fiue hundred furlongs from BABYLON: and how that before the battell, *Clearchus* gaue *Cyrus* counſell to keepe behind the ſquadron of the GRECIANS, and not to hazard his perſon among the firſt: and that *Cyrus* aunſwered him, what ſayeſt thou *Clearchus*? wouldeſt thou haue me that ſtriues to be king, to ſhew my ſelfe vnworthy to be a king? But *Cyrus* hauing made this fault, not ſtanding vpon his ſafetie and guard, but ouer raſhly thruſting himſelfe into great daunger: *Clearchus* ſelfe alſo committed as great a fault (if it were not worſe) when he would not ſet his men in order directly againſt the battell of the enemies, where the kings perſon ſtoode, but went and pent them vp by the riuers ſide, being affraide leaſt they ſhould haue beene compaſſed in behind. For if he would haue looked ſo ſtraightly to himſelfe, and haue prouided euery way for his ſafetie, that no man might come to hurt him: he ſhould haue kept himſelfe at home, and not haue ſturred one foote out of the dores. But ſith he had come ſo farre, as from the lowe countries of ASIA, vnto the place where the field was fought, and vncompelled, onely to put *Cyrus* in his fathers ſeate & imperiall crowne, to goe chooſe a place in the battell, not where he might doe his Lorde beſt ſeruice that had hyred him, but rather where he might fight more at his eaſe, and at leſſe daunger: it was euen as much, as if through cowardlineſſe his wits had bene taken from him when he ſhould haue fought, or that through treaſon he had forſaken his enterpriſe. For, to proue that the troupes which were about the kings perſon, had neuer beene able to haue receiued the charge of the GRECIANS, and that thoſe being ouerthrowen, the king had bene ſlaine in the fielde, or elſe forced to flie, and that *Cyrus* had wonne the field, and by this victorie had bene king: the ſucceſſe of this battell doth plainely ſhewe it. And therefore *Clearchus* ouer curious reſpect, deſerued more blame for the loſſe of this battell: then *Cyrus* ouerhardines. For if king *Artaxerxes* would haue choſen or wiſhed a place where the GRECIANS might haue done him leſſe hurt: he could not haue deuiſed a fitter place that was ſo farre from him, and from whence the GRECIANS could neither ſee nor heare what was done where he was, as it fell out in ſequell. For *Cyrus* was ſlaine before he could preuaile by *Clearchus* victorie, he was ſo farre from him: and furthermore, *Cyrus* therein knew before what was meeteſt to be done. For he commaunded *Clearchus* to place himſelfe with his company in the middeſt of the battell: who aunſwered him, he ſhould take no thought for nothing, for he would ſee all things well ordered. And when he had ſaide ſo, he marred all afterwards: For where the GRECIANS were, they ouerthrew the barbarous people that made head againſt them, and had them in chace while they were wearie of following of them. *Cyrus* being mounted vpon a hotte ſtirring horſe, that had a hard head, and was verie fierce and dogged, called Paſacas, as *Cteſias* writeth: *Artagerſes*, the gouernor of the prouince of the CADUSIANS, ſpyed him a farre off, and when he had found him, clapped ſpurres to his horſe, and came with full cariere vnto him, and cryed out: O traytor, and moſt vnfaithfull and deſperate man, thou now diſhonoreſt the name of *Cyrus* (which is the goodlieſt and moſt honorableſt name of all the PERSIANS) for that thou haſt brought ſo valiant GRECIANS hither to ſo wicked an enterpriſe, to ſpoyle the PERSIANS goods, in hope to deſtroy thy ſoueraigne Lorde and onely brother, who hath an infinite number of ſlaues and ſeruants farre honeſter men then thou wilt be while thou liueſt, and that thou ſhalt preſently knowe by proofe, for thou ſhalt die before thou ſee the king thy brothers face: and therewithall he threw his dart at him with all the force he had. But Cyrus armor was ſo good, that it pearſed him not: yet the blow came with ſuch good will, that it made him ſtagger on his horſe backe. When *Artagerſes* had giuen him that blow, he preſently turned his horſe. But Cyrus therewithall threw a dart at him ſo happily, that he ſlew him right in the place aboue the bone that ioyneth the two ſhoulders together: ſo that the head of his dart, ranne quite through his necke. Now, that Cyrus ſlew *Artagerſes* with his owne hands in the field, all the Hiſtoriographers doe agree vpon it: but for the death of Cyrus, becauſe *Xenophon* toucheth it but a litle by the way, for that he was not preſent in the very place where he was ſlaine: it ſhall not be hurtfull particularly to ſet downe the manner thereof, both according to the report of *Dinon*, and alſo of C*teſias*. Firſt, *Dinon* writeth, that after Cyrus had ſlaine *Artagerſes*, he went with great furie, and flue in amongſt the troupe of them which were neareſt vnto the kings perſon, and

*Safetie in a generall, requiſite in battell.*

*Clearchus cowardlines reproued.*

*Paſacas: Cyrus horſe.*

*Artagerſes the gouernor of the prouince of Caduſia, giueth charge vpon Cyrus.*

*Cyrus ſlew Artagerſes.*

*Dinons report of Cyrus death.*

that he came ſo neare the king, that he ſlew his horſe ſtarke dead vnder him, and the king fell to the ground withall. But *Tiribazus* that was hard by him, ſtraight mounted the king againe vpon an other horſe, and ſaid vnto him: your grace will remember this battell an other day, for it is not to be forgotten. And *Cyrus* clapping ſpurres againe to his horſe, threwe an other dart at *Artaxerxes*, and hit him. But at the third charge, the king tolde them that were about him, he could not abide this, and that he had rather die then ſuffer it: ſo therewithall he ſpurring his horſe to charge *Cyrus* (who came fiercely and deſperately, hauing an infinite number of blowes with darts throwen at him on euery ſide) threw his dart at him alſo. So did all thoſe that were about his perſon: and ſo was *Cyrus* ſlaine in this conflict. Some ſay, that he was ſlaine with the wound the king his brother gaue him. Others ſay, that it was a man at armes of the countrie of CARIA, vnto whom the king for reward of his good ſeruice, gaue him the honor in all battels to carie before the firſt ranke, a cocke of gold on the toppe of a ſpeare: for the PERSIANS doe call the CARIANS cockes, becauſe in the warres they vſe to weare creaſts in the toppe of their headpeeces. And this is *Dinons* report. But *Cteſias*, to couch in fewe wordes that which *Dinon* reporteth at large, ſaith: that *Cyrus* after he had ſlaine *Artagerſes*, he gallopped on the ſpurre againſt the king himſelfe, and the king againſt him, and not a worde betwene them both. *Ariaus* one of *Cyrus* flatterers, threwe the firſt dart at the king, but killed him not: and the king with all his force againe threwe his dart, thinking to haue hit *Cyrus*, but he miſſed him, and ſlew *Tiſaphernes*, one of the valianteſt and ſtouteſt men *Cyrus* had about him, and ſo fell downe dead. Then *Cyrus* hit *Artaxerxes* ſo ſore a blow on his breaſt, that he pearced his armor, and entred into his fleſh two fingers deepe. The king with this blowe fell downe to the ground: wherewithall the moſt part of his men about him were ſo affraid, that they forſooke him and fled. Howbeit he got vp againe, with the helpe of others that were about him, amongſt whom *Cteſias* ſaide he was one: and ſo recouered a litle hill not farre off, to take a litle breath. In the meane time, *Cyrus* horſe that was hotte in the mouth, and hard headed as we haue tolde you: caried his maſter ſpight of his heart farre from his men, among his enemies, and no man knew him, becauſe it was night, and his men were very buſie in ſeeking for him. But *Cyrus* hoping he had wonne the victorie, being of a hotte ſtirring nature, and valiant: he went vppe and downe in the thickeſt of his enemies, crying out in the PERSIAN tongue, ſaue your ſelues poore men, ſaue your ſelues. When they heard him ſay ſo, ſome made a lane for him to paſſe by them, and did him reuerence: But by euill fortune his Tiara (which is the high royall hat after the PERSIAN maner) fell off from his head. Then a young PERSIAN called *Mithridates*, paſſing by him, hit him a blow with his dart vpon one of his temples, hard by his eye, not knowing what he was. His wound ſtraight fell on a maruellous bleeding. Whereupon, *Cyrus* ſtaggering at it, fell to the ground in a ſownd, and his horſe ranne away from him: but the capparison he had vppon him fell to the ground all bloudied, and his page that had hurt him, tooke it vp. Shortly after *Cyrus* being come to himſelfe againe, ſome of his Eunuches (which were men gelt, and groomes of his chamber) that were about him, did lift him vp, thinking to ſet him vpon an other horſe, and to get him out of the preaſe: but he was not able to ſit on his horſe. Thereupon he proued if he could better goe a foote, & the Eunuchs held him vp by the armes, & led him amaſed as he was, not able to ſtand on his feete, although he thought he had won the battell: becauſe he heard his enemies flying about him cry, the gods ſaue king *Cyrus*, and they prayed him to pardon them, and to receiue them to mercy. But in the meane time, there came certaine poore men of the citie of CAVNVS, who followed the kings campe, getting their liuing as drudges and ſlaues, to doe moſt vile ſeruice. They ioyned with the troupe where *Cyrus* was, ſuppoſing they had bene the kings men: but when they perceiued in the end by the red coates they ware vppon their armours, that they were enemies, for that the kings men ware white coates: there was one among the reſt that valiantly ſtrake at *Cyrus* behind with his pertiſan, not knowing in deede that it was *Cyrus*. The blow lighted full on the hamme of his legge and cut his ſinewes ſo, that *Cyrus* fell withall, and falling, by misfortune fell vpon a great ſtone with his browe, where he had bene hurt before, that he died forthwith. Thus doth *Cteſias* report it, where me thinketh he cutteth his throate with a dull edged knife, he hath ſuch a doe to bring *Cyrus* to his ende. Now after

*The Carians be called cocks, becauſe they weare creſts on their headpeeces.*

*Cteſias report of Cyrus death.*

*Artaxerxes hurt by Cyrus.*

*Cyrus hurt.*

*Cyrus miſerable deſtinie.*

*Cyrus* was dead, *Artaſyras*, one of king *Artaxerxes* Eunuches, whom they called the kings eye in the Court: paſſing by a horſebacke, knew *Cyrus* Eunuches that mourned very pitifully, lamenting the death of their maſter. So he asked the Eunuch whom *Cyrus* loued beſt: who is that that is dead, O *Pariſcas*, that thou weepeſt ſo bitterly? *Pariſcas* anſwered him againe, ſeeſt thou not *Artaſyras*, that it is *Cyrus* but newly dead? *Artaſyras* wondred much when he ſaw him. So he comforted the Eunuch, and willed him in no caſe to goe from the bodie: and in the meane time he gallopped a pace to the king, who thought he had loſt all, and was very ill beſides, both for the great thirſt he ſuffred, as alſo for his wound he had on his breaſt. Now when the Eunuch came vnto the king, and told him with a ſmiling countenance the newes, how he had ſeene *Cyrus* dead: The king was ſo ioyfull at the newes, that he was deſirous him ſelfe forthwith to goe vnto the place where he lay to ſee him, and commaunded *Artaſyras* to bring him thither. But after he had conſidered better of it, he was counſelled not to goe thither himſelfe for feare of the GRECIANS, who they ſaid wonne all, and were yet chaſing and killing them in the field, that fled: But rather that he ſhould ſend a good company of men thither, to bring him iuſt report, whether the newes were true of his death or not. Vpon this aduiſe he ſtaied, and ſent thither thirtie men, euery man with torches in their handes. In the meane time, one of his Eunuches called *Satibarzanes*, ranne vp and downe to ſee if he could get any water for the king, that was almoſt dead for thirſt: for there was no water neare vnto him where he was, and beſides, his campe was farre from him. His Eunuch hauing runne vp and downe a great way to ſeeke it, met by chaunce with theſe poore ſlaues and porters the CAVNIANS, among the which one of them caried in an olde ragged goates ſkinne, about eight glaſſefuls of naughtie ſtincking water. So he preſently caried the ſame to the king, who dranke it vp euery whit. When the king had drunke it, the Eunuch asked him, if that naughtie water did him no hurt. The king ſware by the goddes vnto him, that he neuer dranke better wine, nor ſweeter water then that was, nor that pleaſed him better then that did: and therefore, ſaide he, I beſeech the goddes if it be not my happe to finde him that gaue thee this water to reward him, yet that it will pleaſe them to ſend him good fortune. As the king was talking thus with his Eunuch, the thirty men with their torches returned vnto him, who altogether with ioyfull countenance, confirmed the good newes he looked not for: and then there were come together againe a great number of ſouldiers about him, and ſtill came moe one after another, that he beganne againe to be couragious. Then he came downe into the plaine, with a world of lights and torches about him, and went ſtraight to the place where his brother *Cyrus* body lay. There, following the ancient manner of the PERSIANS againſt traytors to the king: he cauſed his head and right hand to be ſtriken off, and then made his head be brought vnto him, the which he tooke by the haires of his head (for *Cyrus* ware them long and thicke) and did himſelfe ſhew it vnto them that fled ſtill, and were affraide, to encourage them againe. They wondering to ſee it, did him humble reuerence, and ſo gathered by companies about the king, that in a ſmall time there were gathered together about him, three ſcore and tenne thouſand fighting men, with the which he tooke his way againe towards the campe. In deede *Cteſias* ſaith, that he had but foure hundred thouſand fighting men in all: but *Dinon* and *Xenophon* ſay more. And for the number of them that were ſlaine, *Cteſias* ſaith, that word was brought to the king, that there were not aboue nyne thouſand ſlaine, howbeit that to ſight they ſeemed to be no leſſe then twentie thouſand. But for that point, he might be talked withall, in either of both. But furthermore, where he ſaith that the king did ſend him with *Phayllus* ZACYNTHIAN vnto the GRECIANS, and others with him: that is a flat lie. For *Xenophon* knew right well, that this *Cteſias* waited vpon the king, becauſe he ſpeaketh of him in diuers places of his hiſtorie: and if he had bene appointed by the king to carie report vnto the GRECIANS of ſo waightie a matter, it is like enough *Xenophon* would not haue concealed it, when he nameth *Phayllus* ZACYNTHIAN. But *Cteſias* (as it appeareth by his writings) was a very ambitious man, and partial vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, but ſpecially vnto *Clearchus*: & is glad when he can get any occaſion to ſpeake of himſelfe for his glorie, of LACEDÆMON, and of *Clearchus*. Now after this battell, king *Artaxerxes* ſent goodly rich giftes vnto *Artagerſes* ſonne, whoſe father *Cyrus* had ſlaine with his owne hands, and as it is reported, did alſo

*King Artaxerxes being a thirſt, drank a ſtincking puddle water, and ſaid he neuer taſted ſweeter.*

*The manner of the Perſians in warre, againſt a traitor to the king.*

*Plutarcke reproueth Cteſias for a lyer.*

*How Artaxerxes rewarded the good, and alſo puniſhed the euill* greatly honor *Cteſias* and many others: and did not forget alſo to cauſe the poore CAVNIAN ſlaue to be ſought out, that had giuen him the water to be caried to him which ſaued his life: & when he had found him out, of a poore wretch vnknowen before, he made him a rich noble man. He ſeuerely puniſhed thoſe alſo that had offended the martiall law, as amongſt others, *Arbaces*, one of the MEDES: who when the battell was ioyned, he fled firſt on *Cyrus* ſide, and then when he vnderſtoode he was ſlaine, he returned againe to the kings ſide. For, ſuppoſing that it was rather timerouſnes and cowardly nature, then for treaſon or euill wil he bare him: he compelled him to carie a whore on his backe ſtarke naked, all day long about the market place. And to an other, who beſides he had yeelded himſelfe to his enemies, falſely boaſted that he had ſlaine two: he made his tongue to be boared thorough in three ſeuerall places with a cordiners alle. Now the king being of opinion that it was himſelfe that had ſlaine his brother *Cyrus* with his owne hand, and being deſirous that euery man ſhould ſo thinke & ſay: he ſent preſents vnto *Mithridates*, that had hurt him firſt in the forehead, and commaunded him that caried the gifts vnto him, to tell him from the king: the king doth ſend thee theſe preſents, becauſe thou finding firſt the cappariſon of *Cyrus* horſe, diddeſt bring it vnto the king. The CARIAN alſo that had cut the hamme of his legge wherwith *Cyrus* fell downe, asked his gift likewiſe: the which the king gaue him, and bad the meſſenger tell him, the king doth giue thee this, becauſe thou waſt the ſecond perſon that broughteſt him the good newes. For *Artaſyras* was the firſt, and thou the ſecond, that brought him newes of the death of *Cyrus*. Now *Mithridates*, albeit he was not well pleaſed in his mind with thoſe wordes, he went his way, and ſaid nothing then, nor made any thing a doe: but the vnfortunate CARIAN fondly fell into a fooliſh vaine, common vnto men. For, the ſodaine ioy he felt (as it ſeemeth) to ſee ſuch a goodly rich preſent before him, as the king ſent him: made him ſo forget himſelfe, that he began to aſpire, and to pretend greater things, then became his ſtate and calling. And therefore he would not take the kings gift, as in reſpect that he had brought him worde of Cyrus death: but began to ſtorme, and to rage, calling the gods to witneſſe, that it was he onely, and none other, that ſlew *Cyrus*, and that they did him great wrong, to take this honor from him. The king being told of it, tooke it ſo angrily: that he preſently commaunded them to ſtrike off his head. But *Paryſatis* (the Queene mother) being preſent with the king gaue this commaundement, ſhe prayed him not to put him to death in that ſort: for the villaine, ſaid ſhe, let me alone, I will chaſtiſe him well enough for his preſumption and raſh ſpeech. The king was contented ſhe ſhould haue him. Thereuppon ſhe ſent the Sergeants to take this curſed CARIAN, and made him be hanged vpon a gybbet ten daies together, and at the tenne dayes end, cauſed his eyes to be pulled out of his head, and laſt of all, poured molten mettall into his eares, and ſo killed the villaine with this kind of torment. *Mithridates* alſo ſhortly after, died miſerably by a like follie. He was bidden to ſupper at a feaſt, whither came alſo the king and Queene mothers Eunuches: and when they came, *Mithridates* ſate downe at the bord in the kings golden gowne he gaue him. When they had ſupped, and that they beganne to drinke one to another, one of *Paryſatis* Eunuches ſaid vnto *Mithridates*: the king hath in deede giuen thee a goodly gowne *Mithridates*, and goodly chaines and carcanets of gold, and ſo is the ſworde very rich and good he gaue thee, ſo that when thou haſt that by thy ſide, there is no man I warrant thee but will thinke thee a happy man. *Mithridates* then, the wine fuming into his braine, anſwered ſtraight: what meaneſt thou by that, *Sparamixes*? I deſerued a better than this, when the battell was fought. Then *Sparamixes* laughing on him, anſwered, I do not ſpeake it for any hurt or euill will I beare thee, *Mithridates*: but to ſpeake frankly among our ſelues, becauſe the GRECIANS haue a cõmon prouerbe, that wine telleth true, I pray thee tell me, what valiant act was it to take vp a cappariſon of a horſe that fell on the ground, and to carie it to the king? which the Eunuch ſpitefully put forth vnto him, not that he was ignorant who did it, but to prouoke him to ſpeake, and to put him in a rage, knowing that he was a haſtie man of nature, & could not kepe his tongue, & leaſt of all when he had drunke ſo well as he had done, and ſo it fell out in deede. For *Mithridates* could not bite it in, but replyed ſtraight: you may take as long as you liſt of the cappariſon of a horſe, & ſuch traſh, but I tell you plainly, that *Cyrus* was ſlaine with mine owne hands, and with no mans els. For I hit him

not

*The puniſhment of them that ſlew Cyrus.*

*Paryſatis ſtrange cruelty putting the Carian to death.*

*See the perill of haſtines and raſh anſwere.*

not in vaine as *Artagerſes* did, but full in the forehead hard by his eye, and ſtrake him through and through his head againe, and ſo ouerthrew him, of which blow he died. He had no ſooner ſpoken thoſe words, but the reſt that were at the bord, caſt downe their eies, foreſeeing the death of this poore & vnfortunate *Mithridates*. But then the maſter of the feaſt began to ſpeak, and ſaid vnto him: friend *Mithridates*, I pray thee let vs drinke and be merie, and reuerence and thanke the good fortune of our king, and for the reſt, let this talke goe, it is too high for vs. When the Eunuch went from thence, he tolde *Paryſatis* the Queene mother what *Mithridates* had ſaide before them all: and ſhe went and told the king of it. Who was maruellouſly offended withall to be ſo belyed, and to loſe the thing that was moſt honorable, and beſt pleaſed him in his victorie. For it was his mind, that all the world (both GRECIANS and barbarous people) ſhould certainely beleue, that in the battell betwixt him and his brother he was hurt, but yet that he ſlew *Cyrus* with his owne hand. So the king cōmanded that *Mithridates* ſhould ſuffer the paines of death in botes, the which is after this manner. They take two botes made of purpoſe ſo euen, that the one is neither broader nor longer then the other, & then lay the offender in one of them vpon his backe, and ſo couer him with the other, & do ſow both botes together: So that the parties feete, hands, and head do come out at holes made of purpoſe for him, the reſt of his bodie is all hidden within. Nowe they giue him meate as much as he will eate, and if he will not eate, they force him to it, by thruſting alles in his eyes: then when he hath eaten, they giue him honey to drinke mingled with milke, and they do not only poure it into his mouth, but alſo all his face ouer, turning him full into the ſunne, ſo that his face is all couered ouer with flies: and furthermore, being driuen to do his needes in that trough, of his excrements there ingender wormes that eate his bodie euen to the very priuities. Then, when they ſee the man is dead, they take off the vppermoſt bote, and find all his fleſh deuoured with vermine ingendring of him, euen to his very intrals. So, when *Mithridates* had miſerably languiſhed in this manner, ſeuenteene daies together: at length he died in extreame torments. Now *Paryſatis* (the Queene mother) lacked no more to accompliſh her wicked deſire, but *Meſabates*, one of the kings Eunuchs that had cut off *Cyrus* head and hand: and ſeeing that he was very warie & circumſpect in his behauior, that ſhe could not take him at any aduantage: in the ende ſhe deuiſed a fine way to intrap him. She had a maruellous wit, and among other things could play paſſingly well at all games at dice, & did many times play with the king her ſonne before the wars: and after the warres alſo, when he had made peace, ſhe did play at dice with him as ſhe had done before, in ſo much as ſhe knew all his ſecret loue, and furthered him to enioy it. To be ſhort, ſhe would neuer be out of his ſight but as litle as ſhe could, and would let his wife *Statira* haue as litle time with him as might be, that ſhe might gouerne and rule him as ſhe would: both becauſe ſhe hated her of all creatures liuing, and alſo for that ſhee would beare the greateſt ſway and credite about him. When ſhe ſaw the king one day at leaſure, not knowing how to paſſe the time away: ſhe inticed him to play a thouſand Dareckes at dice, and was contented to loſe them willingly, and paied the thouſand Darecks downe, ſeeming notwithſtanding to be angry with her loſſe. So ſhe prayed him alſo to play one of his Eunuches with her: & the king was well contented with it. But before they would play, they agreed betweene them that they ſhould both name and except fiue of the truſtieſt and chiefeſt Eunuches they had: & then, which of them loſt, ſhould preſently deliuer vnto the winner his choice of all the other Eunuches he would demaund. Thus they fell to play, and ſhe imploying all the cunning ſhe had, and playing as warily as ſhe could poſſible, beſides that the dice ranne on her ſide, her lucke ſerued her ſo, that ſhe wanne: and then ſhe required *Meſabates* for her winnings, being none of thoſe the king had excepted. When ſhe had him deliuered her, ſhe gaue him to the hangmen, and willed them to flea him aliue, & then that they ſhould crucifie him, & naile him to a croſſe, & hang his skin vpon an other peece of timber by him: the which was done accordingly. The king was maruellous angry withall when he knew it, and greeuouſly offended with his mother. Howbeit ſhe ſported it out, and laughing told him: indeede it becomes thee wel to be angry for loſing an old gelded villaine, where I loſt a 1000 Darecks quietly, & ſaid neuer a word. So there came no other thing of it, ſauing that the king was a litle angry, & repented him that he had plaied ſo fondly and was ſo finely mocked. But Queene

*The terrible death of offenders, in boates or troughes among the Perſians.*

*The miſerable death of Mithridates.*

*The diueliſh craft of Pariſatis, and her great skill and cunning at dice.*

*Paryſatis craft and crueltie.*

*Tiſaphernes betrayeth the Captaines of Greece.*

*Clearchus and other captaines of Greece put to death by king Artaxerxes.*

*Cteſias vanity.*

*The cauſe of Paryſatis hate vnto her daughter in law, Statira.*

*Paryſatis practiſeth to poyſon Queene Statira.*

*Ryntaces a bird of Perſia that hath no excrements.*

*How Statira was poyſoned.*

*Statira* on the other ſide, beſides that ſhe was againſt her in all other things: ſhe ſpared not to tel Queene mother plainly, that it was wickedly done of her, to put the kings good & faithful ſeruants ſo cruelly to death, for *Cyrus* ſake. But now, after that *Tiſaphernes* (king *Artaxerxes* Lieutenant) had deceiued *Clearchus*, & other captaines of GRECE, deteſtably falſifying his word he had giuen them, & that he had ſent thē bound vnto the king: *Cteſias* ſaith, that *Clearchus* praied him to helpe him to a combe, & that hauing had one by his meanes, & alſo comed his head, it pleaſed him ſo well, that to requite his good will, he gaue him his ſeale of armes from his finger wherewith he ſealed his letters, for a witnes of the great friendſhip that was betwene them two. He ſaith alſo that in the ſtone of this ring there was grauen the dance of the CARYATIDES. And furthermore, that the other ſouldiers which were priſoners with *Clearchus*, did take away the moſt part of the victuals that were ſent to him, & left him litle or nothing: and that he did remedie all this, procuring a greater quantitie to be ſent vnto them, & that they ſhould put *Clearchus* portion a part, and all the other ſouldiers part alſo by themſelues. This he did, as he ſaith, by *Paryſatis* conſent and commaundement, who knowing that amongſt other victuals they daily ſent *Clearchus* a gammon of bacon: ſhe tolde him one day he ſhould doe well to hide a litle knife in this gammon of bacon, and to ſend it him, to the end that the life of ſo noble and valiant a man as he was, ſhould not fall to the crueltie of the king. Howbeit, that he was affraid to meddle withall, and durſt not doe it: and that the king ſware, and promiſed his mother (who was an earneſt ſuter to him for *Clearchus*) that he would not put him to death. This notwithſtanding, the king being afterwards procured, and perſwaded to the contrarie, by Queene *Statira* his wife: he put them all to death, but *Menon*. Therefore *Paryſatis*, Queene mother, after that time (ſaith *Cteſias*) deuiſed all the waies ſhe could to poyſon Queene *Statira*, and to make her out of the way. But me thinketh this ſmelleth like a lie, that *Paryſatis* ſhould entend ſo wicked and daungerous an act, as to put the kings lawfull wife to death, by whom he had ſonnes that were to inherite the crowne, only for the loue and reſpect of *Clearchus*: and it is too plaine that he coyned that, to honour and magnifie *Clearchus* memorie the more. But to proue it, a man may eaſily find it by the lies he addeth afterwardes vnto it: ſaying, that after the Captaines were ſlaine, all the bodies of the reſt were torne a peeces by dogs and fowles: and alſo that there came a boyſterous winde, and couered all *Clearchus* bodie with a great hill of duſt, and that out of this hill of duſt ſhortly after there ſprung vppe many palme trees, which made a pretie thicke groue, that it ſhadowed all that place. Inſomuch that the king himſelfe did afterwardes marueilouſly repent him for putting of him to death, for that he was an honeſt man, and beloued of the gods. This was not for *Clearchus* ſake, but for an olde canckered malice *Paryſatis* had long time borne in her heart againſt Queene *Statira*: becauſe ſhe ſaw well enough, that the credite and authoritie her ſelfe had with the king, was in reſpect of a ſonnes dutie and obedience to his mother, and in contrary maner, *Statiraes* credit and authoritie had a better ground and foundation, becauſe it came of the loue and good will the king did beare her. And this is the only cauſe that made her to practiſe the death of Queene *Statira*, hauing determined that her ſelfe, or daughter in law, muſt needes die. Now Queene mother had one of the women of her chamber called *Gigis*, that was of great credite about her, and whom ſhe onely truſted. *Dinon* writeth, that this *Gigis* did helpe *Paryſatis* to make the poyſon. But *Cteſias* writeth contrarily, and ſaith that ſhe onely knew it, but otherwiſe that it was againſt her will: and that he that made the poyſon, was one *Belitaras*, but *Dinon* calleth him *Melantas*. Now, though in outwarde ſemblance and ſhew Queene mother and *Statira* ſeemed to haue forgotten all malice betwene them, and that they began againe one of them to keepe company with the other, and did eate and drinke together: yet one of them miſtruſted the other, and tooke great heede to themſelues, both of them eating one ſelfe meate, and in one diſh together, and were both ſerued with one ſelfe officers and men. In PERSIA there is a litle bird, of the which all the partes of it is excellent good to eate, and is full of fatte within: ſo that it is thought it liueth by ayre and dewe, and in the PERSIAN tongue they call it Ryntaces. *Paryſatis*, as *Cteſias* ſaieth, tooke one of theſe birdes, and cut it in the middeſt with a litle knife, the which was poyſoned onely on one of the ſides, and gaue that halfe which was poyſoned vnto *Statira*. Yet *Dinon* writeth, that it was not *Paryſatis* her ſelfe that gaue it her, but her caruer *Melantas* that carued her meate, and ſtill gaue Queene *Statyra* of that meate which the ſide of his poyſoned knife had touched. So Queen *Statyra* preſently fell ſicke of the diſeaſe whereof ſhe died, with grieuous pangs and gripings in her bowels, and found plainely that ſhe was poyſoned by *Paryſatis* meanes: whereuppon ſhee told the king as much, who was of the ſame opinion, and thought it was his mother, becauſe he knew her cruell reuenging minde, that neuer pardoned any, againſt whom ſhe conceiued any grudge. The king therfore to know the troth, when his wife *Statira* was dead, apprehended all his mothers houſhold ſeruants and officers, and did put them to torments, to make them confeſſe the troth, ſauing *Gigis*, whom Queen mother kept cloſe in her chamber a long time, and would neuer ſuffer the king to haue her: who earneſtly requeſted her to deliuer her vnto him. Notwithſtanding, *Gigis* her ſelfe at length prayed Queene mother to giue her leaue one night to goe home to her houſe. The king vnderſtanding it, layed waite for her, and intercepted her by the way: and when ſhe was taken, he condemned her to ſuffer the paines of death ordayned for poyſoners, the which in PERSIA is executed in this maner. They make them put their head vpon a great plaine ſtone, and with an other ſtone they preſſe and ſtrike it ſo long, till they haue daſhed the brains of the malefactor out of their head. After this ſort was *Gigis* put to death. Now for *Paryſatis* his mother, the king did her no other hurt, nor ſayed no more vnto her, but confined her vnto BABYLON according to her deſire, and ſware, that whileſt ſhe liued, he would neuer ſee BABYLON. In this ſtate ſtoode the affaires of the king. But now, *Artaxerxes* hauing done the vtmoſt he could to haue ouercome the GRECIANS which came to make war with him in the heart of his Realme, and would haue bene as glad of that, as he was to haue ouercome *Cyrus*, and to keepe his crowne and Realme: he could neuer preuaile againſt them. For though they had loſt *Cyrus* that gaue them entertainement, and all their priuate Captaines that led them: they ſaued them ſelues notwithſtanding, being in the heart of his Realme, and ſhewed the PERSIANS by experience, that all their doings was nothing but gold and ſiluer, curioſity, and faire women, and otherwiſe, nothing but pompe and vanity. Hereuppon all the GRECIANS became couragious, and deſpiſed the barbarous people: inſomuch that the LACEDÆMONIANS thought it a great ſhame and diſhonor vnto them, if they did not deliuer the GRECIANS that dwelt in ASIA, from the ſlauery and bondage of the PERSIANS, and kept them from the open violence and cruelty of the barbarous people. For they hauing at other times attempted to doe it by their Captaine *Thimbron*, and afterwards alſo by *Dercillidas*, whom they ſent thither with an army, and hauing done nothing worthy memory: at length they determined to ſend their king *Ageſilaus* thither in perſon, who paſſing through ASIA with his ſhips, began preſently to make hot warre againſt the PERSIANS as ſoone as euer he had landed his army. For, at the firſt conflict he ouerthrew *Tiſaphernes* (the king of PERSIAES Lieutenant) in battell, and made the moſt part of the cities of GREECE that are in ASIA, to rebell againſt him. *Artaxerxes* looking into this warre, and wiſely conſidering what way and meanes he was to take, to make warre with the GRECIANS: he ſent into GREECE one *Hermocrates* a RHODIAN, (of great credit about him) with a maruellous ſumme of gold and ſiluer, bountifully to beſtow in gifts among the nobility and chiefe rulers of the cities of GREECE, to make all the other GRECIANS to riſe againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS. *Hermocrates* wiſely executed his cōmiſſion, for he made the chiefeſt cities of GREECE to rebell againſt LACEDÆMON: ſo that all PELOPONNESVS being vp in arms, and in great garboile, the Ephori at LACEDÆMON were inforced to ſend for *Ageſilaus* home againe. *Ageſilaus* being ſory to depart out of ASIA, ſaied vnto his friends: that the king of PERSIA had driuen him out of his Realme with thirty thouſand archers: becauſe that the PERSIAN coine is ſtamped with an archer, hauing a bow in his hand. *Artaxerxes* alſo draue the LACEDÆMONIANS out of al their iuriſdiction by ſea, by the meanes of *Conon*, generall of the ATHENIANS, whom *Pharnabazus* (one of his Lieutenants) had wonne to take his part. For *Conon*, after he was ouerthrowen in battell at a place called the goates riuer, kept euer after in the Ile of CYPRVS, not ſo much for the ſafety of his perſon, as alſo for that it was a meet place to ſtay in, vntil the wars of GREECE were appeaſed. He knowing that the deuiſe he had in his head, lacked power to put it in execution, and on the contrary ſide, that the power of the king lacked a man of deepe iudgement to be employed: he wrote

*The puniſhment for poyſoners in Perſia.*

*Ageſilaus king of Lacedæmon, maketh warre with the Perſians.*

*The Perſian coyne, how it is ſtamped.*

*Artaxerxes draue the Lacedæmonians from all their dominion by ſea.*

letters vnto him of his deuiſe what he thought to doe, ſtraightly charging him whom he deliuered his letters vnto, that if he could poſſibly, he ſhould cauſe the ſame to be deliuered vnto the king by *Zenon* the CRETAN, one of the kings dancers, or by one *Polycritus* his Phiſition, borne in the city of MENDE: and in both their abſences, then to giue it vnto *Cteſias*, to deliuer vnto the king. It chanced ſo that this letter came to the hands of *Cteſias*: who (as it is reported) added moreouer vnto the contents of the letter, that the king ſhould ſend him vnto *Conon*, becauſe he was a neceſſary mã to be employed in his ſeruice, but ſpecially by ſea. *Cteſias* ſaith not ſo, but writeth that the king of his owne voluntary motion gaue him this charge. Now, after *Artaxerxes* had through the leading of *Conon* and *Pharnabazus*, won the battel by ſea neare to the Ile of GNIDVS, and that thereby he had driuen al the LACEDÆMONIANS from their iuriſdiction by ſea, al GREECE had him in maruellous great eſtimation: ſo that he gaue vnto the GRECIANS with ſuch conditions as he would, that ſo famous peace, called *Antalcidas* peace. This *Antalcidas* was a citizen of SPARTA, the ſon of one *Leon*, who fauoring king *Artaxerxes* affairs, procured by the treaty of this peace, that the LACEDÆMONIANS left vnto *Artaxerxes* all the cities of GREECE in ASIA, and all the Iles contained in the ſame, to enioy quietly making them pay tribute at his pleaſure. This peace being concluded with the GRECIANS (if ſo ſhamefull a treaſon, reproch, and common infamy to all GREECE may be called a peace, as neuer warre fell out more diſhonorable and infamous for the vanquiſhed) king *Artaxerxes* that otherwiſe hated the LACEDÆMONIANS to the death, and that eſteemed them (as *Dinon* writeth) the impudenteſt men liuing: did notwithſtanding loue *Antalcidas* paſſingly well, and entertained him very honorably, when he came into PERSIA vnto him. It is reported that the king one day tooke a garland of flowers, and did wet it with the moſt precious and ſweeteſt oile of perfume that was prepared for the feaſt, and ſent the ſame vnto *Antalcidas*: inſomuch as euery man maruelled to ſee the king ſet ſo much by him. In deed he was a meet man to follow the vanity and curioſity of the PERSIANS, and had wel deſerued ſuch a garland to be ſent him: who was ſo bold to daunce a daunce before the PERSIANS, mocking and counterfeyting *Leonidas* and *Callicratidas*, two of the valianteſt men that euer were in GREECE. Therefore one ſaid at that time in the preſence of king *Ageſilaus*: O how vnhappy is poore GREECE at this day, when the LACEDÆMONIANS come to follow the PERSIANS? But *Ageſilaus* preſently aunſwered him againe, not ſo, ſaid he: but rather the PERSIANS follow the LACEDÆMONIANS. Notwithſtanding, this wiſe aunſwere *Ageſilaus* made, did not take away the ſhame of the fact: and ſhortly after, the LACEDÆMONIANS loſt the battell of LEVCTRES, and therwith alſo the ſigniory and principality they had kept of long time ouer all GREECE, although they had loſt their eſtimation before, for conſenting to ſo ſhameful and diſhonorable a peace. When SPARTA floriſhed moſt, and was chiefe of all the other cities of GREECE: ſo long did *Artaxerxes* ſtill continue to make much of *Antalcidas*, and called him his friend. But after that the LACEDÆMONIANS had loſt the battel of LEVCTRES, hauing receiued ſo gret an ouerthrow and wanting money: they ſent *Ageſilaus* into ÆGYPT, and *Antalcidas* into PERSIA, vnto king *Artaxerxes*, to pray him to aide and helpe the LACEDÆMONIANS. Howbeit the king made ſo ſmall accompt of him, and diſdained him ſo much, denying him, and his requeſts: that he returned backe to SPARTA, as a man knocked on the head, without any thing done with the king. And there alſo ſeeing that his enemies mocked him: & fearing that the Ephori would commit him to priſon: he killed himſelf with famine. About that time alſo, the THEBANS after they had won the battell of LEVCTRES, ſent *Iſmenias* and *Pelopidas* into PERSIA, vnto king *Artaxerxes*: where *Pelopidas* did nothing vnworthy of him ſelfe. Howbeit *Iſmenias* being commanded to kneele to the king, he let fall his ring at his feete, & ſtouped to take it vp: whereby it was thought of ſome that he did it to kneele to the king. Another time *Artaxerxes* liking a ſecret aduertiſment very well ſent him from *Timagoras* the ATHENIAN: he gaue him tenne thouſand daricks by his Secretary called *Belluris*. And becauſe he had a ſickly body, & was driuen to drinke cowes milke to reſtore him: the king therefore ſent foure ſcore milch kine with him to giue milke to the paile, to haue freſh milke euery day. Furthermore, he ſent him a bed throughly furniſhed with all things neceſſary, & groomes of the chamber to make his bed, ſaying, that the GRECIANS could not tell how to make it: and did alſo let him haue men to carie

him

*Gnidus Inſ.*

*Antalcidas peace.*

*Antalcidas Lacedæmonian greatly eſteemed of Artaxerxes.*

*The Perſians full of vanity and curioſity.*

*The death of Antalcidas Lacedæmonian*

*Timagoras Athenian, bribed by king Artaxerxes.*

him vpon their armes to the ſea ſide, becauſe he was ſicke, and whileſt he was at the Court, he entertained him very honorably and bountifully. So *Oſtanes*, the kings brother, ſayd one daie vnto him: *Timagoras*, remember how honorably thou art ſerued at thy borde, for it is not for no ſmall matter thou art thus made of. This word was rather to cut him for his treaſon, then for any remembrance of the benefit receiued. So the ATHENIANS afterwards condemned the ſame *Timagoras* to die, becauſe he had taken bribes and money of the king of PERSIA. But *Artaxerxes* in recompence of ſo many other things that he had done, to deſpite the GRECIANS with, he did one thing that pleaſed them maruellouſly: when he did put *Tiſaphernes* to death, who was the dreadfulleſt enemy the GRECIANS had. *Paryſatis* the Queen mother did help to bring this to paſſe, aggrauating the accuſations brought in againſt him. For the king kept not his anger long againſt his mother, but fell in againe with her, and ſent for her, knowing that ſhe had an excellent witte and noble courage to gouerne a great kingdome: and beſides, that there was nothing now to let them to come together as much as they would, to giue any occaſion of iealouſie or malice to any perſon. So euer after, his mother *Paryſatis* endeuored her ſelfe to feede the king her ſonnes humor euery maner of way, ſeeming to miſlike nothing that he did: Whereby ſhe grew in great credit with him, that he denied her nothing whatſoeuer ſhee asked him. So ſhee perceiued that the king was extreamely in loue with one of his owne Daughters, that was called *Atoſſa*: howbeit that he diſſembled his loue the beſt he could, and kept it ſecret, chiefely for feare of her, although ſome write, that in deede he had already had her maydenhead. Now *Paryſatis* hauing found his loue, ſhee beganne to make more of his Daughter then ſhe did before, and talking with her father, ſometime ſhee praiſed her beauty, another time her grace and good countenaunce, ſaying that ſhee was like a Queene and noble Princeſſe. So that at length by litle and litle ſhee perſwaded him to marry her openly, not paſſing for the lawes and opinions of the GRECIANS, conſidering that God had giuen him vnto the PERSIANS, to ſtabliſhe lawes vnto them, to decyde right from wrong, and the good from the bad. Some Hiſtoriographers doe write, and amongeſt them *Heraclides* of CVMES: that *Artaxerxes* did not onely mary the eldeſt of his daughters, but the ſecond alſo called *Ameſtris*, of whom we will ſpeake hereafter. Now when he had maried the eldeſt, *Atoſſa*, he loued her ſo entirely well, that though ſhe fell ſicke of the diſeaſe commonly called Vitiligo, that ranne ouer all her body: he loued her not the worſe for it, but prayed continually for her vnto the goddeſſe *Iuno*, honoring no other goddeſſe but her onely, and fell downe on his knees before her image, and ſent by his friendes and Lieutenaunts ſo many offerings, that all the way from his Court gates vnto the temple of *Iuno*, (which was ſixteene furlong off) was full of gold, ſiluer, rich purple ſilkes, and horſe that were ſent thither. He beganne to make warre alſo with the ÆGYPTIANS, and made *Pharnabazus* and *Iphicrates* ATHENIAN, his Lieutenaunts, who did no good, becauſe they fell at variance the one with the other. But afterwards, *Artaxerxes* him ſelfe went in perſon to conquer the CADVSIANS with three hundred thouſand footemen, and tenne thouſand horſemen. So he inuaded their countrey, which was a very rude countrey, alway darke and cloudy. The earth bringeth forth nothing that man ſoweth, but doth onely feede the inhabitants with peares, aples, and ſuch like fruite, and yet the men be very ſtrong and valiant notwithſtanding. So when he was entred farre into the countrey before he was ware, he fell into great want of victuals, and was alſo in great danger. For his ſouldiers found nothing in all the countrey that was good to eate, and worſt of all, no victuals could come vnto them from any place, becauſe of the hardnes and naughty wayes of the countrey: So that his campe liued onely with the fleſh of their beaſtes of cariage, and yet they ſold it dearely: for, an aſſes head was ſold for three ſcore ſiluer Drachmas. To conclude, the famine was ſo great, that prouiſion failed for the kings owne mouth, and there were but few horſe left, for all the reſt were eaten. Then *Tiribazus*, that had oftentimes bene chiefe about the king, becauſe he was a valiant man, and that through his folly was many times alſo out of fauor, as at that preſent time, when he had no authority nor eſtimation: he deuiſed a ſtratageme, whereby he ſaued the king and all his campe. In this country of the CADVSIANS, there were two kings in the field with their armies, both of them camped a ſunder one from the other. *Tiribazus*, after he had ſpoken with king *Artaxerxes*, and had told him what he

*Timagoras was put to death, for taking bribes and gifts of the king of Perſia.*

*King Artaxerxes killeth Tiſaphernes.*

*Artaxerxes fell in againe with his mother Paryſatis, and ſent for her to come to the Court.*

*Artaxerxes maried his eldeſt daughter Atoſſa.*

*King Artaxerxes iourney againſt the Caduſians.*

*The country of the Caduſians very barren.*

*Great famine in Artaxerxes army.*

*Tiribazus ſtratageame ſaued Artaxerxes, and all his army.*

ment to doe: he went vnto one of the kings, and at the ſelfe ſame time alſo ſecretly ſent his ſonne vnto the other king, and told either of them, that the other king had ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Artaxerxes* to make peace with him, vnwitting to his companion, and therefore hee counſelled them if they were wiſe, one of them to ſeeke to preuent another with all the poſſible ſpeede he could, and promiſed them both, one after another, to helpe them the beſt he could. Both the one and the other of the kings gaue credit to his wordes, either of them both miſtruſting one another: ſo that the one ſpeedily ſent his Ambaſſadors vnto king *Artaxerxes*, with *Tiribazus*, and the other alſo his Ambaſſadors with his ſon. But *Tiribazus* tarying long in his iorney, king *Artaxerxes* beganne ſomewhat to ſuſpect him, his enemies alſo did accuſe him in his abſence, and the king grew very chollericke, and repented him that he had truſted him ſo farre, and was willing to heare euery man that ſpake againſt him. Howbeit *Tiribazus* at length returned, and his ſonne alſo, and either of them brought with them the Ambaſſadors of the CADVSIANS, and ſo peace was taken with them both. Then was *Tiribazus* aloft againe, and in greater credit then euer he was, and ſo departed with the king. The king then ſhewed plainely, that cowardlines proceedeth not of pompe and curioſity, as ſome take it, beleeuing that it doth effeminate mens hearts, but rather of a vile baſe mind, that commonly followeth euill, and the worſt counſell. For neither the iewels of gold, the kingly robe, nor other ſumptuous ornaments which the king euer ware about him, worth twelue thouſand talentes as it is reported, did not hinder him at that time to trauaile, and to take as much paine as any man in all his army. For he him ſelfe marched a foote the foremoſt man, carying his owne truſſe in a ſcarfe vppon his ſhoulders, and his target on his arme, and trauelled through high ſtony mountaines. So that his ſouldiers ſeeing the courage and paine the king him ſelfe tooke, they marched ſo nimbly, that it ſeemed they had wings: for he dayly marched aboue two hundred furlongs. Now the king at length by ſore trauell, came to one of his owne houſes, where there were goodly arbors and parkes, with goodly trees paſſingly ſette forth: but all the countrey beſides was naked and barren, ſo that there was not a tree a great way from thence, and it was maruellous cold. The king ſuffered his ſouldiers to hew downe the goodly pines and cypres trees in his parkes: and becauſe they durſt not preſume to touch them, he him ſelfe as he was tooke an axe in his hand and beganne to hew downe the goodlieſt tree there. The ſouldiers ſeeing that, fell euery man of them alſo to hewing: ſo that in a very ſhort time they had prouided them ſelues well with wodde, and made them great fires in euery place, and ſo paſt ouer the night quietly by the fires ſide. This notwithſtanding, he loſt a great number of valiant men in this voyage, and almoſt all his horſes. Therefore thinking his men would mocke him, becauſe hee did fayle of his purpoſe: he beganne to grow miſtruſtfull, and to ſuſpect the chiefeſt noble men he had about him: ſo that in a rage he put many of them to death, but much more of them remained, whom he miſtruſted. For there is nothing more cruell, nor a greater bloud ſucker, then a cowardly tyrant: as in contrary manner nothing is more curteous, and leſſe ſuſpicious, then a valiant and hardy man. And therefore brute beaſtes that be neuer made tame nor maſtered, are commonly cowardly, and timerous: and the other to the contrary, that are noble and coragious, are bold ſtraight, and doe come to know a man, becauſe they haue no feare, neither doe they flie from their clapping and making much of them as they doe. Afterwards king *Artaxerxes* being growen very olde, heard that there was great ſturre and contention betweene his ſonnes, which of them ſhould be heire after his death, and that this contention fell out alſo among his friendes and men of great calling. The wiſeſt of them wiſhed, that as he him ſelfe came vnto the crowne, as his fathers eldeſt ſonne: ſo that hee likewiſe ſhould after his death leaue it vnto his eldeſt ſonne, called *Darius*. But the younger, which was called *Ochus*, being a valiant man, and of a whot ſtirring nature, had ſome in the Court alſo that tooke his part, and hoped to attaine to his purpoſe, by the meanes of his ſiſter *Atoſſa*, whom he loued and honored, promiſing to mary her, and to make her Queene, if he might come to be king after his fathers deceaſe. And beſides, there went a report abroad, that in their fathers life time he ſecretly kept her: howbeit *Artaxerxes* neuer vnderſtood it. Now, becauſe he would betimes put his ſonne *Ochus* out of all hope to ſucceede him in the kingdome, leaſt this expectation might make him to goe

about

*Note, that ſoft apparell and riches, maketh not a man cowardly and effeminate: but a vile baſe mind, that followeth euill aduiſe and counſell.*

*The corage of king Artaxerxes, and his great paines in marching.*

*King Artaxerxes curteſie to his ſouldiers.*

*Darius and Ochus, king Artaxerxes ſons.*

about to practiſe that which *Cyrus* did, and that by this meanes his Realme ſhould grow into faction and ciuill warres: he proclaimed his eldeſt ſonne *Darius* ( being fiftie yeare olde) king after his death, and furthermore gaue him leaue from thenceforth to weare the poynt of his hat right vp. In PERSIA the cuſtome is, that when any commeth to be proclaymed ſucceſſor and heire apparaunt to the crowne, hee ſhould require a gift of him that proclaymeth him ſucceſſor. The which the other doth graunt him, whatſoeuer it be that hee asketh, ſo it be not impoſſible. *Darius* then asked his father a concubine called *Aſpaſia*, who was firſt with *Cyrus*, and in greateſt fauour with him aboue all the reſt, but then was for the kings owne body. Shee was borne in the countrey of IONIA, of free parents: and being vertuouſly brought vp, ſhee was brought one night vnto *Cyrus* as he was at ſupper with other women, who ſate them downe, without too curious bidding, hard by him, and were very glad when *Cyrus* offered to play and be merry with them, giuing euery one of them ſome pleaſant word, and they made it not coy. But *Aſpaſia* ſtoode on her feete by the table, and ſayed neuer a word: and notwithſtanding that *Cyrus* called her, ſhe would not come at him. Moreouer, when one of the groomes of his chamber would haue taken her to haue brought her to him: the firſt ſaith ſhe, that layeth hands on me ſhall repent it. Thereuppon all thoſe that were preſent, ſaied ſhe was a fooliſh thing, and ſimply brought vp, and could not tell what was comely for her. Howbeit *Cyrus* being glad of it, paſſed it ouer with laughing, and told him that had brought them vnto him: doeſt thou not ſee, that of all theſe thou haſt brought me, there is not an honeſt woman but ſhe? After that, *Cyrus* began to make much of her, and loued her better continually then all the reſt, and called her *Aſpaſia* the wiſe. This *Aſpaſia* was taken among the ſpoiles of *Cyrus* campe after he was ouerthrowen, and *Darius* as we haue told yee, did beg her of his father, who was very angry with it in his minde. For the barbarous people of all other things are maruellous iealous of their women, ſo that not onely he ſhould be put to death, that durſt but ſpeake to, or touch any concubine of the kings but in ſport: but alſo whoſoeuer came neare them, or neare their coches as they trauelled. The kings daughter *Atoſſa*, whom he had maried againſt all law, was yet liuing, and beſides her he had alſo three hundred and three ſcore paſſing faire concubines: and yet when his ſonne *Darius* asked *Aſpaſia* of him, the king aunſwered, ſhe was a free woman borne, and therefore if ſhee would, he was content he ſhould haue her: but if ſhe were vnwilling to goe to him, then he would not haue him force her by no meanes. So *Aſpaſia* was ſent for, and ſhe was asked with whom ſhe had rather be. She anſwered, with *Darius*: contrary to king *Artaxerxes* expectation, who both by the cuſtome, and alſo the law, was compelled to let him haue her. But ſhortly after he tooke her from him againe, ſaying that he would place her in a Nunrie of *Diana*, in the countrey of ECBATANE, where they call her *Anitis*, there to ſerue the goddeſſe, and to liue chaſt all the dayes of her life: ſuppoſing by this meanes to puniſh his ſonne, not rigorouſly, but moderatly, with griefe mixt with ſport and earneſt. Howbeit his ſonne tooke it not ſo patiently, either becauſe hee was deepely in loue with *Aſpaſia*, or elſe for that he ſaw his father mocked him in that point. *Tiribazus* finding this, and perceiuing that *Darius* tooke it very grieuouſly: he aggrauated his anger againſt his father, knowing the paſſion of loue in *Darius*, by his owne, vpon the like occaſion. King *Artaxerxes* had many daughters, and had promiſed *Pharnabazus* one of them, called *Apama*: vnto *Orontes*, *Rodogoune*: and to *Tiribazus*, *Ameſtris*. The king performed the other two mariages, and did put *Tiribazus* by his wife. For the king him ſelfe maried his own daughter *Ameſtris*, and for her, he promiſed *Tiribazus* the younger, *Atoſſa*: with whom alſo he him ſelfe fell in loue, and maried her. *Tiribazus* hereupon was in ſuch a rage with the king, that he hated him to the death: not becauſe he was any traytor or ſeditious man in nature, but a madde harebrained fellow. For ſometime he was aloft, and in as good credite and authority as the beſt: ſodainely againe hee would play ſome madde part to anger the king, and then he was in as much diſgrace, and out of countenaunce: and could not away with neither fortune. For when he was in authority, he made euery man hate him for his pride: and being in diſgrace, he could not humble him ſelfe, but looke bigger then before. Now there was fire and brimſtone met, when *Tiribazus* tooke part with *Darius*. For he dayly blew into his eares, that it was to no purpoſe for him to weare his hat right vp, if his affaires alſo went not rightly

*Artaxerxes proclaimeth his ſonne Darius king.*

*Aſpaſia Ioniã, one of Artaxerxes concubines.*

*The barbarous people can not away with riuality in loue.*

*Tiribazus incenſeth Darius againſt his father Artaxerxes.*

*Tiribazus manners, and conditions.*

forward: and that he deceiued him ſelfe much, if he did not know that his brother (by meanes of the women he kept) ſecretly aſpired to the crowne: and that his father being ſo vnconſtant as he was, he muſt not truſt in any ſort to ſuccede his father in the kingdome, what proclamation ſoeuer he hath made in his behalfe to the contrary. For, ſayed he, he that for a GRECIAN woman hath broken and violated the holieſt lawe that was in PERSIA: thou muſt not looke that he will performe that he hath promiſed thee. And furthermore, he perſwaded him, that it was not a like repulſe vnto *Ochus*, to be denied that which he looked for: as it was for him to be turned out of all that euer he had gotten. For ſaied he, if it pleaſe *Ochus* to liue like a priuate man, he may ſafely doe it, and no man will trouble him: but for him ſelfe that was already proclaimed king, he muſt of neceſſity make him ſelfe king, or elſe he muſt not liue. So the Poet *Sophocles* his ſaying moſt commonly proueth true:

*Ill counſell eaſily takes place.*

For the way is large and plaine for a man to beleeue as he liſt, and men commonly are giuen rather to beleeue the euil then the good, becauſe moſt men know not what goodnes meaneth. But now beſide theſe perſwaſions, the greatnes of the kingdome, and the feare *Darius* ſtoode in of his brother *Ochus*, tooke great force and effect with him: and it may be alſo, that *Venus* her ſelfe did ſomwhat in the matter, for the malice and ſpite that *Aſpaſia* was taken from him. But whatſoeuer the cauſe was, thus was it handled: that *Darius* flatly conſpired againſt his father *Artaxerxes*, together with *Tiribazus*. Now, they hauing gotten many conſpirators to ioyne with them, one of the kings Eunuches perceiuing it, ranne and told the king of it, and how they had ſodainely determined to aſſaile him, knowing certainely that it was agreed among them ſelues, that they ſhould kill him in his bedde in the night. *Artaxerxes* receiuing this aduertiſement, thought it was not good to be careleſſe of a matter of ſo great importance as his life: and alſo that it were too great lightneſſe in him ſo ſodainly to beleeue his Eunuch, without better proofe or knowledge. So he tooke this way with him ſelfe. He commaunded the Eunuch that had giuen him this information, to keepe company ſtill with the conſpirators, and to follow them whereſoeuer they went, to ſee their doings: and in the meane time he beat downe his wall behinde his bed, and made a dore through, and ſet vp a hanging of tapeſtry before it. When the time was come, as the Eunuch had aduertiſed the king, that the traitors ment to doe their feate: *Artaxerxes* being layed on his bed, roſe not vp till hee had ſeene euery traitor of them in the face that came to kill him. Then when he ſaw them comming towards him with their ſwords drawen, he ſodainly lift vp the hanging, and got in to his inner chamber, and ſhut the dore after him, making an outcry, murder, murder. So the traitors being plainely ſeene and knowen by the king, fled the ſame way they came, and failed of their purpoſe, and bad *Tiribazus* ſaue him ſelfe, becauſe he was knowen. So they diſperſed them ſelues, and ſcaped by flying. But *Tiribazus* was taken tardy, although he had ſlaine diuerſe of the kings gard, valiantly defending him ſelfe: yet they tooke him not, till he was ſtriken with a dart a good way off, which ſlue him. *Darius* was alſo taken and apprehended, and brought priſoner with his ſonnes: and the king referred him to be iudged by his peeres. For the king him ſelfe would not be preſent to giue iudgement of him, but deputed others in his place to accuſe him: howbeit he commaunded his ſecretaries to ſet downe in writing the opinion and ſentence of euery one of the Iudges and to bring it him. In fine, they all caſt him, and condemned him to die. Then the officers layed hold on him, and brought him into a chamber of the priſon, where the hangman came with a raſer in his hand with the which he vſed to cut mens throates ſo condemned to die. So the hangman comming into the chamber, when he ſaw it was *Darius*, he was affrayed, and came out of the chamber againe, his heart failing him, and durſt not lay handes vpon the perſon of the king. But the Iudges that ſtoode without the chamber, bad him goe and doe it, vnleſſe he would haue his owne throate cut. So the hangman then came in, and tooke *Darius* by the haire of the head, and made him hold downe his head, and ſo cut his necke with his raſer he had in his other hand. Others doe write, that this ſentence was giuen in the preſence of king *Artaxerxes* ſelfe, and that *Darius* ſeeing himſelfe conuicted by manifeſt proofes brought in againſt him, he fell downe at his fathers feete, and beſought him to pardon him: and then that his father being angry, roſe vp, and drew out

*Darius conſpireth againſt Artaxerxes his father.*

*A deuiſe of Artaxerxes how to preuent the conſpirators and to ſaue him ſelfe.*

*Tiribazus the traitor ſlaine.*

*Darius condemned to dye, and executed.*

his curtelax and wounded him in ſo many places withall, that at length he ſlew him. Then returning into the Court, he worſhipped the ſunne, and turning him to his Lords that were about him, he ſaide vnto them. My Lordes, God be with you, and be merie at home in your houſes, and tell them that were not here, how the great *Oromazes* hath taken reuenge of them that practiſed treaſon againſt me. This was the end of *Darius* treaſon. Now *Darius* being dead *Ochus* his brother ſtood in good hope to be next heire to the crowne, and the rather through the meanes and friendſhippe of his ſiſter *Atoſſa*: but yet of his legitimate brethren, he feared him called *Ariaſpes*, who was only left of all the reſt that were legitimate: and of his baſtard brethren, *Arſames*: not becauſe *Ariaſpes* was elder than he, but for that he was of a ſoft & plain nature, the Persians deſired he might be their king. On the other ſide, *Arſames* was wiſe, and valiant: and *Ochus* ſaw that his father loued him dearely. So he determined to intrappe them both. Now *Ochus* being a ſubtle and malicious natured man, he firſt ſhewed his cruelty vpon *Arſames*, and his malice vpon *Ariaſpes* his legitimate brother. For, becauſe he knew he was but ſimple and plaine, he ſent daily ſome of the kings Eunuches vnto him, who brought him threatning words and meſſages, as from the king: telling him that he had determined to put him to a ſhamefull and cruell death. So, forging theſe newes continually as things verie ſecret, they did ſo terrifie poore *Ariaſpes*, telling him that the king was fully bent to put ſome of his threates in execution out of hand: that he was put in ſuch feare and diſpaire of his life, that he prepared himſelfe a poyſon, and dranke it, to rid himſelfe of his life. King *Artaxerxes* vnderſtanding of his death, tooke it very heauily, and beganne to miſtruſt the cauſe that made him to make himſelfe away: howbeit he could not ſeeke the proofe of it, for his extreame age. But this chaunce made him loue *Arſames* better than before, ſhewing plainely that he truſted him better than *Ochus*, and did make him priuie to all things. *Ochus* could no longer abide to deferre his intent, and therefore entiſed *Harpaces*, *Tiribazus* ſonne, to kill his baſtard brother *Arſames*: the which he did. Now *Artaxerxes* was ſo extreame old, that he was as good as done with age: but after he heard his ſonne *Arſames* was murthered, he could beare it no longer, but tooke it ſo to his heart for ſorrow, that when he had liued foure ſcore and fourteene yeares, and raigned threeſcore and two, he died. When he was dead, they then found that he had bene a gratious and courteous Prince, and one that loued his people and ſubiects: when they ſawe the proofe of his ſucceſſor *Ochus*, that paſſed all men liuing, in crueltie and ſeueritie.

*King Artaxerxes ſonnes.*

*The death of king Artaxerxes.*

*Artaxerxes was 94. yeares old at his death*

# THE LIFE OF
## Dion.

LIke as *Simonides*, ô *Soſsius Senecio*, ſaith that the city of ILIVM was not offended with the CORINTHIANS, for that they came to make war with them with other GRECIANS, becauſe *Glaucus* (whoſe firſt anceſters came from CORINTH) had taken armes, and louingly fought for the ſame; euen ſo me thinkes, that neither the GRECIANS, nor ROMAINES haue cauſe to complaine of the Academy, ſith they be both alike praiſed of the ſame in this preſent booke, in the which are conteined the liues of *Dion* & *Brutus*. Of the which, the one of them hauing bene verie familiar with *Plato* himſelfe, and the other from his childhoode brought vp in *Platoes* doctrine: they both (as it were) came out of one ſelfe ſchoolehouſe, to attempt the greateſt enterpriſes amongſt men. And it is no maruell if they two were much like in many of their doings, prouing that true which their ſchoolemaiſter *Plato* wrote of vertue: that to do any noble act in the gouernment of a cōmon wealth, which ſhould be famous, and of credit, authoritie, and good fortune, muſt both meete in one ſelfe perſon, ioined with iuſtice and wiſedom. For, as a certaine fencer called *Hippomachus* ſaid, that he knew his ſchollers farre off, if he did but ſee them comming from the market with meate in their hands: ſo it muſt needes follow, that men hauing bene vertuouſly brought vp, muſt needes be wiſe in all their doings, and beſide that it bringeth them to ciuility and honeſty, euen ſo it frameth their conditions much like one vnto an other. Furthermore, their fortunes hauing alſo fallen out both a like, more by chaunce then by any reaſon, do make their liues very like to each other. For, they were both of them ſlaine, before they could bring their enterpriſes to paſſe which they had determined. But the greateſt wonder of all is this: that their deathes were foreſhewed vnto them both, by a wicked ſpirit that viſibly appeared vnto either of them: albeit there be ſome that can not abide thoſe opinions, and doe maintaine that theſe ſights and euill ſpirits do neuer appeare to any man that hath his right wits, but that they are fancies of litle children, or old women, or of ſome men that their wits are weakened by ſickeneſſe, and ſo haue a certaine imagination of ſuch ſtraunge ſightes, being of this ſuperſtitious minde, that they haue a wicked ſpirit, and an euill angell in them. But if *Dion* and *Brutus*, both of them graue and learned Philoſophers, and very conſtant men, not ouercome by any ſodaine paſſion or imagination of minde, haue bene moued by ſuch ſights and ſpirites, and haue alſo

*Dion and Brutus both Platonians.*

*Plato de virtute.*
*How mens acts ſhould be famous in the cōmon wealth.*

*A wicked ſpirit appeared vnto Dion and Brutus.*

told it vnto their friends: I cannot tell whether we ſhall be inforced, to grant the moſt ſtrangeſt and oldeſt opinion of this, which ſaith : that there be euill ſpirits which enuying the vertue of good men, to withdraw them from their godly minds, do make them affraid with theſe fearefull ſights, intiſing them to forſake their godlines , leaſt that perſiſting therein, they ſhould be rewarded with better life in the world to come, then theirs is. But let vs referre this diſputation to ſome other booke , and now in this twelfth couple of theſe famous mens liues compared, let vs firſt begin to write the life of him that is the elder of theſe two men we ſpeake of.

*Dionyſius* the elder, after he had the gouernment of SICILIA in his handes, he maried the daughter of *Hermocrates*, a citizen of SYRACVSA. But yet not being throughly ſettled in his tyranny, the SYRACVSANS did rebell againſt him, & did ſo cruelly and abhominablie handle the bodie of his wife, that ſhe willingly poyſoned her ſelfe. So after he had eſtabliſhed him ſelfe in his gouernment with more ſuretie then before, he maried againe two other wiues together, the one a ſtraunger of the citie of LOCRES, called *Doride* : and the other of the country it ſelfe, called *Ariſtomaché*, the daughter of *Hipparinus* the chiefeſt man of all SYRACVSA, and that had bene companion with *Dionyſius*, the firſt time he was choſen Generall. It was ſaide that *Dionyſius* maried them both in one day, and that they could neuer tell which of them he knewe firſt : but otherwiſe, that he made as much of the one, as he did of the other. For they commonly ſate together with him at his table, and did either of them lie with him by turnes: though the SYRACVSANS would haue their owne countriwoman preferred before the ſtranger. Howbeit the ſtraunge woman had this good happe, to bring foorth *Dionyſius* his eldeſt ſonne, which was a good countenance to defend her, being a forreiner. *Ariſtomaché* in contrarie maner, continued a long time with *Dionyſius* without frute of her wombe, although he was very deſirous to haue children by her: ſo that he put the LOCRIAN womans mother to death, accuſing her that ſhe had with ſorceries and witchcraft, kept *Ariſtomaché* from being with child. *Dion* being the brother of *Ariſtomaché*, was had in great eſtimation at the firſt, for his ſiſters ſake: but afterwards the tyrant finding him to be a wiſe man, he loued him then for his owne ſake. Inſomuch, that among many ſundry things & pleaſures he did for him: he cõmaunded his Treaſurers to let him haue what money he asked of them, ſo they made him acquainted withall the ſelfe ſame day they gaue him any. Nowe though *Dion* had euer before a noble minde in him by nature, yet much more did that magnanimitie increaſe, when *Plato* by good fortune arriued in SICILE. For his comming thither ſurely was no mans deuiſe, as I take it, but the very prouidence of ſome god: who (bringing farre off the firſt beginning and foundation of the libertie of the SYRACVSANS, and to ouerthrow the tyrannicall ſtate) ſent *Plato* out of ITALY vnto the citie of SYRACVSA, & brought him acquainted with *Dion*, who was but a young man at that time, but yet had an apter wit to learne, & readier good wil to follow vertue, then any young man elſe that followed *Plato*: as *Plato* himſelfe writeth, & his own doings alſo do witneſſe. For *Dion* hauing from a child bene brought vp with humble conditions vnder a tyrant, and acquainted with a ſeruile timerous life, with a proud & inſolent reigne, with all vanitie and curioſitie, as placing chiefe felicitie in couetouſnes: neuertheleſſe, after he had felt the ſweete reaſons of Philoſophie, teaching the broad way to vertue, his hart was enflamed ſtraight with earneſt deſire to follow the ſame. And becauſe he found that he was ſo eaſily perſwaded to loue vertue and honeſtie, he ſimply thinking (being of an honeſt plaine nature) that the ſelfe ſame perſwaſions would moue a like affection in *Dionyſius*: obteined of *Dionyſius*, that being at leaſure, he was contented to ſee *Plato*, and to ſpeake with him. When *Plato* came to *Dionyſius*, all their talke in maner was of vertue, and they chiefely reaſoned what was fortitude: where *Plato* proued that tyrants were no valiant men. From thence paſſing farther into iuſtice, he tolde him that the life of iuſt men was happie, and contrarily the life of vniuſt men vnfortunate. Thus the tyrant *Dionyſius* perceiuing he was ouercome, durſt no more abide him, and was angry to ſee the ſtanders by to make ſuch eſtimation of *Plato*, and that they had ſuch delight to heare him ſpeake. At length he angrily asked him, what buſineſſe he had to do there? *Plato* aunſwered him, he came to ſeeke a good man. *Dionyſius* then replyed againe: what, in Gods name, by thy ſpeech then it ſeemeth thou haſt found none yet. Nowe *Dion* thought that *Dionyſius* anger would proceede no further, and therefore as *Platoes* earneſt re-

*Dionyſius maried Hermocrates daughter.*

*Dionyſius wiues, Doride, of Locres: Ariſtomaché, of Syracuſa, Hipparinus daughter & Dions ſiſter.*

*Dions kindred with Dionyſius*

*Plato came out of Italy vnto Syracuſa. Dion, Platoes ſcholer.*

*Plato and Dionyſius the elder talke together.*

queſt, he ſent him away in a galley with three bankes of owers, the which *Pollis* a LACEDÆMONIAN Captaine caried backe againe into GRECE. Howbeit *Dionyſius* ſecretly requeſted *Pollis* to kill *Plato* by the way, as euer he would do him pleaſure: if not, yet that he would ſell him for a ſlaue, howſoeuer he did. For ſaid he, he ſhall be nothing the worſe for that: becauſe if he be a iuſt man, he ſhall be as happie to be a ſlaue, as a freeman. Thus, as it is reported, this *Pollis* caried *Plato* into the Ile of ÆGINA, and there ſold him. For the ÆGINETES hauing warre at that time with the ATHENIANS, made a decree, that all the ATHENIANS that were taken in their Ile, ſhould be ſold. This notwithſtanding, *Dionyſius* refuſed not to honor & truſt *Dion*, as much as euer he did before, and did alſo ſende him Ambaſſadour in matters of great weight. As whē he ſent him vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, where he behaued himſelf ſo well, that he wan great reputation by his iorney: and the tyrant could well away with his plaine ſpeech. For no man but he, durſt ſay their minds ſo boldly vnto him, to ſpeak what he thought good: as on a time he reproued him for *Gelon*. One day when they mocked *Gelons* gouernement before the tyrants face, and that *Dionyſius* himſelfe ſaid (finely deſcanting on his name, which ſignifieth laughter) that he was euen the very laughing ſtocke himſelf of SICILE: the Courtiers made as though they liked this encounter and interpretation of laughter paſſingly well. But *Dion* not being well pleaſed withall, ſaide vnto him: for his ſake men truſted thee, whereby thou cameſt to be tyrant: but for thine owne ſake they will neuer truſt any man. For to ſay truely, *Gelon* ſhewed by his gouernment, that it was as goodly a thing as could be, to ſee a citie gouerned by an abſolute Prince: but *Dionyſius* by his gouernmēt on the other ſide, made it appeare as deteſtable a thing. This *Dionyſius* had by his LOCRIAN wife three children, and by *Ariſtomaché* foure: of the which, two were daughters, the one called *Sophroſynè*, and the other *Areté*. Of them, *Dionyſius* eldeſt ſonne maried *Sophroſynè*, and *Areté* was maried vnto his brother *Thearides*, after whoſe death *Dion* maried her, being his Nece. Now when *Dionyſius* her father fell ſicke, not likely to eſcape: *Dion* would haue ſpoken with him for his children he had by his ſiſter *Ariſtomaché*. Howbeit the Phiſitians about him, to currie fauour with the next heire and ſucceſſor of the tyranny, would neuer let him haue any time or oportunitie to ſpeake with him. For, as *Timæus* writeth, they gaue *Dionyſius* the elder (as he had commanded them) a ſtrong opiat drinke to caſt him in a ſleepe, and ſo thereby they tooke from him all his ſenſes and ioyned death with his ſleepe. Notwithſtanding, in the firſt councell and aſſemblie holden by his friends, to couſult about the ſtate and affaires of the younger *Dionyſius*: *Dion* moued matter ſo neceſſary & profitable for that preſent time, that by his wiſedom he ſhewed they were all but children, and by his bold and franke ſpeech, made them know that they were but ſlaues of the tyrannie: becauſe they beaſtly and cowardly gaue ſuch counſell and aduiſe, as might beſt pleaſe and feede the young tyrants humor. But he made them moſt to wonder at him, when they fearing aboue all other things, the daunger *Dionyſius* ſtate was in, by reaſon of CARTHAGE, he did promiſe them, that if *Dionyſius* would haue peace, he would then goe forthwith into AFRICKE, and find the meanes honorably to quench the warres: or if otherwiſe he better liked of warre, that he would furniſh him at his owne proper coſts and charges, fiftie gallies readie to row. *Dionyſius* wondered greatly at the noble minde of *Dion*, and thanked him much for the good will he bare vnto him, touching his eſtate. But all men elſe taking *Dions* noble offer to be a reproach of their auarice, and his credite and authoritie, an impaire vnto theirs: they preſently vpon this liberall offer tooke occaſion to accuſe him, not ſparing any reproachfull wordes againſt him, to moue *Dionyſius* to be offended with him. For they complained of him, and ſaid that he cunningly practiſed to poſſeſſe the tyranny, making himſelfe ſtrong by ſea, going about by his gallies to make the tyrannie fall into the handes of the children of *Ariſtomaché* his ſiſter. But the chiefeſt cauſe of all why they did malice and hate him, was his ſtrange maner of life: that he neither would keepe company with them, nor liue after their maner. For they that from the beginning were crept in fauour and friendſhip with this young euill brought vp tyrant, by flattering of him, and feeding him with vaine pleaſures: ſtudied for no other thing, but to entertaine him in loue matters, and other vaine exerciſes, as to riot & banquet, to keepe light women company, and all ſuch other vile vitious paſtimes and recreations, by the which the tyrannie became like iron ſoftened by fire, and ſeemed to

be

*Dionyſius malice vnto Plato.*

*Plato ſold in the Ile of ÆGINA.*

*Dions boldneſſe in ſpeaking plainely to the tyrant.*

*Gelon ſignifieth laughter.*

*Sophroſynè, & Areté: the daughters of Dionyſius by Ariſtomaché.*

*Dion marieth his Nece Areté the daughter of Dionyſius and of his ſiſter Ariſtomaché.*

*The death of Dionyſius the elder.*

*Flattering Courtiers doe incenſe Dionyſius the younger to hate Dion.*

be very pleaſant vnto the ſubiectes, becauſe the ouergreat Maieſtie and ſeueritie thereof was ſomewhat milder,not ſo much by the bountie and goodnes, as by the follie and retchleſneſſe of the Lord. Thus,this litle care and regard increaſing more and more,ſtill winning way with the young tyrant: did at length melt and breake a ſunder thoſe ſtrong diamond chaines, with the which *Dionyſius* the elder made his boaſt that he left his Monarchie and tyrannie chained to his ſonne. For ſometime he would be three daies together without intermiſſion, ſtill banqueting and being drunke: and all that time his Court gates were kept ſhut vnto graue & wiſe men, and for all honeſt matters, and was then full of drunkards, of common playes,dancings, maskes, and mummeries, and full of all ſuch trumperie and diſſolute paſtimes. And therefore *Dion* vndoubtedly was much enuied of them, becauſe he gaue himſelfe to no ſport nor pleaſure: whereupon they accuſed him, and miſnamed his vertues, vices, being ſomewhat to be reſembled vnto them. As in calling his grauitie, pride: his plainneſſe and boldneſſe in his oration, obſtinacie: if he did perſwade them, that he accuſed them: and becauſe he would not make one in their fond paſtimes,that therefore he deſpiſed them. For to ſay truely,his maners by nature had a certaine haughtineſſe of mind and ſeueritie,and he was a ſower man to be acquainted with: whereby his company was not onely troubleſome, but alſo vnpleaſant to this yonger *Dionyſius*,whoſe eares were ſo fine,that they could not away to heare any other thing but flatterie. And furthermore, diuers of his very friends and familiars, that did like and commend his plaine manner of ſpeech and noble minde: they did yet reproue his ſternneſſe,and auſtere conuerſation with men. For it ſeemed vnto them, that he ſpake too roughly, and delt ouerhardly with them that had to doe with him, and more then became a ciuill or curteous man. And for proofe hereof, *Plato* himſelfe ſometime wrote vnto him (as if he had prophecied what ſhould happen) that he ſhould beware of obſtinacie,the companion of ſolitarineſſe, that bringeth a man in the end to be forſaken of euerie one. This notwithſtanding, they did more reuerence him at that time, then any man elſe: becauſe of the ſtate and gouernment,and for that they thought him the onely man that could beſt prouide for the ſafetie and quietneſſe of the tyrannie, the which ſtood then in tickle ſtate. Now *Dion* knewe well enough, that he was not ſo well taken and eſteemed through the good wil of the tyrant,as againſt his will,and for the neceſſitie of the ſtate and time. So *Dion* ſuppoſing that ignorance, and want of knowledge in *Dionyſius* was the cauſe: he deuiſed to put him into ſome honeſt trade or exerciſe,and to teach him the liberall ſciences, to frame him to a ciuill life, that thenceforth he ſhould no more be affraid of vertue,and ſhould alſo take pleaſure and delight in honeſt things. For *Dionyſius* of his owne nature, was none of the worſt ſort of tyrants, but his father fearing that if he came once to haue a feeling and conceite of himſelfe, or that he companied with wiſe and learned men, he would goe neere to enter into practiſe, and put him out of his ſeate: he euer kept him locked vp in a chamber,& would ſuffer no man to ſpeake with him. Then the younger *Dionyſius* hauing nothing elſe to doe, gaue himſelfe to make litle chariots, candleſtickes, chaires,ſtooles,and tables of wood. For his father *Dionyſius* was ſo fearefull and miſtruſtfull of euerie bodie, that he would ſuffer no man with a paire of barbers ſiſſers to poule the haires of his head,but cauſed an image maker of earth to come vnto him, and with a hotte burning cole to burne his goodly buſh of haire round about. No man came into his chamber where he was with a gowne on his backe, no not his owne brother nor ſonne, but he was driuen before he could come in,to put off his gowne, and the guard of his chamber to ſtrippe him naked whatſoeuer he was: and then they gaue him an other gowne to caſt vpon him, but not his owne. One day his brother *Leptines*, going about to deſcribe vnto him the ſituation of ſome place, he tooke a halberd from one of the guard, and with the point thereof beganne to drawe out a plot of the ſame vpon the ground. *Dionyſius* was terribly offended with him, and did put the ſouldier to death that gaue him his halberd. He ſaid he was affraid of his friends,yea and of the wiſeſt of them: becauſe he knew that they deſired rather to rule, then to be ruled, and to commaund, then to obey. He ſlew one of his Captaines called *Marſyas*, whom he had preferred and had giuen him charge of men: becauſe he dreamed that he killed him: ſaying that he dreamed of this in the night, becauſe that waking in the day he had determined to kill him. Now *Dionyſius* that was ſo timerous, and whoſe mind through fearefulnes was ſtill miſerably

*The vices of Dionyſius the younger.*

*Dions maners, too graue and ſeuere.*

*Obſtinacie, fellow and companion of ſolitarineſſe.*

*Dionyſius the elder, a maruellous timerous and ſuſpitious man.*

*Dionyſius dreame.*

occupied he was notwithſtanding maruellouſly offended with *Plato*, becauſe he did not iudge him to be the nobleſt and valianteſt man aliue. *Dion* therfore ſeeing (as we haue ſaid) the younger *Dionyſius* cleane marred, and in manner caſt away for lacke of good education: perſwaded him the beſt he could to giue himſelfe vnto ſtudie, and by the greateſt intreatie he could poſſibly make, to pray the Prince of al Philoſophers to come into SICILE. And then whẽ through his intreatie he were come, that he would referre himſelfe wholly vnto him, to the ende that reforming his life by vertue and learning, and knowing God thereby: (the beſt example that can be poſſible, and by whom all the whole worlde is ruled and gouerned, which otherwiſe were out of all order and confuſed) he ſhould firſt obtaine great happines to himſelfe, and conſequently vnto all his citizens alſo, who euer after through the temperance and iuſtice of a father, would with good will doe thoſe things, which they preſently vnwillingly did for the feare of a Lord, & in doing this, from a tyrant he ſhould come to be a king. For, the chaines of a diamant to keepe a realme in ſafetie, were not force, and feare, as his father *Dionyſius* held opinion: neither the great multitude of young ſouldiers, nor the guard of ten thouſand barbarous people: but in contrarie maner, that they were the loue & good will of their ſubiectes, which the Prince obteineth through vertue and iuſtice: the which chaines though they be ſlacker then the other that are ſo hard and ſtiffe, yet are they ſtronger, and will laſt longer time, to keepe a realme and kingdom in ſafetie. And furthermore, the Prince (ſaid he) is not deſirous of honor, neither is a man that deſerueth greatly to be praiſed and commended, that only ſtudieth to weare ſumptuous apparell, and that glorieth to ſee his Court richly furniſhed, and himſelfe curiouſly ſerued: and in the meane time doth not frame himſelfe to ſpeake better, to be wiſer, and to carie a greater maieſtie then any other meane or common perſon, not eſteeming to adorne and beautifie the Princely pallace of his minde, as becommeth the royall maieſtie of a king. *Dion* oftentimes rehearſing theſe exhortations vnto *Dionyſius*, and other while enterlacing betwene, ſome reaſons he had learned of *Plato*: he graffed in him a wonderfull, and as it were a vehement deſire to haue *Plato* in his company, and to learne of him. So ſundry letters came from *Dionyſius* vnto ATHENS, diuers requeſts from *Dion*, & great intreatie made by certaine Pythagorian Philoſophers, that prayed & perſwaded *Plato* to come into SICILE, to bridle the light diſpoſition of this young man, by his graue & wiſe inſtructions: who without regard of reaſon, led a diſſolute & licentious life. Therefore *Plato*, as himſelfe reporteth, bluſhing to himſelfe, & fearing leaſt he ſhould giue men cauſe to thinke that it was but the opinion men had of him, and that of himſelfe he was vnwilling to do any worthy act: and further, hoping that doing good but vnto one man alone, who was the onely guide of all the reſt, he ſhould as it were recouer all SICILIA from her corruption and ſickneſſe: he performed their requeſtes that ſent vnto him. But *Dions* enemies fearing the chaunge & alteration of *Dionyſius*, they perſwaded him to call *Philiſtus* the Hiſtoriographer home againe from baniſhment, who was a learned man, and had bene brought vp and acquainted with the tyrants faſhions: to the end he ſhould ſerue as a counterpeace, to withſtand *Plato* and his Philoſophie. For this *Philiſtus*, from the firſt time that the tyrannie began to be eſtabliſhed, did ſhew himſelfe very willing & conformable to the ſtabliſhment thereof, and had of long time kept the caſtle: and the voice went, that he kept the mother of *Dionyſius* the elder, and as it was ſuppoſed, not altogether without the tyrants knowledge. But afterwardes, *Leptines* hauing had two daughters by one woman, whom he intiſed to folly being an other mans wife: he maried one of theſe his daughters vnto *Philiſtus*, and made not *Dionyſius* priuie to it before. The tyrant therewith was ſo offended, that he put *Leptines* woman in priſon faſt locked vp, and draue *Philiſtus* out of SICILIA. He being baniſhed thus, repayred vnto ſome of his friendes that dwelt about the Adriaticke ſea, where it ſeemeth he wrote the moſt part of all his hiſtorie, being then at good leaſure. For he was not called home againe during the life of *Dionyſius* the elder: but after his death, the malice the Courtiers bare vnto *Dion*, cauſed thẽ to procure *Philiſtus* calling home againe, as we haue told you, as the man they thought would ſticke ſtoutly in defence of the tyrannie. So *Philiſtus* no ſooner returned, but he ſtoutly began to defend the tyranny: and others in contrary maner, deuiſed accuſations to the tyrant againſt *Dion*, accuſing him that he had practiſed with *Theodotes* and *Heraclides*, to ouerthrow the tyrannie of *Dionyſius*. For *Dion*, in my opinion, hoped

by

*Dion perſwadeth the younger Dionyſius to fall to ſtudy.*

*The aſſured guard of Princes, is the loue of their ſubiects.*

*Plato goeth into Sicilia, to teach Dionyſius the younger.*

*Philiſtus the Hiſtoriographer.*

*Philiſtus the Hiſtoriographer baniſhed out of Sicilia by Dionyſius the elder.*

by *Platoes* comming to bridle and leſſen a litle the ouer-licentious and imperious tyranny of *Dionyſius*, and thereby to frame *Dionyſius* a wiſe and righteous gouernor. But on the other ſide, if he ſaw he would not follow his counſel, and that he yeelded not to his wiſe inſtructions: he then determined to put him downe, and to bring the gouernment of the common wealth into the hãds of the SYRACVSANS: not that he allowed of *Democratia* (to wit, where the people gouern) but yet certainly thinking that *Democratia* was much better then the tyranny, when they could not come vnto *Ariſtocratia*, to wit, the gouernment of a few of the nobility. Now things being in this ſtate, *Plato* arriued in SICILE, where he was maruellouſly receiued and honored by *Dionyſius*. For when he landed on the ſhoare, leauing his gally that brought him: there was ready for him one of the kings rich and ſumptuous chariots to conuey him to the caſtell: & the tyrant made ſacrifice to giue the goddes thanks for his comming, as for ſome wonderfull great good hap chanced vnto his ſeigniory. Furthermore, the wonderfull modeſty and temperance that was begun to be obſerued in feaſts and bankets, the Court cleane changed, and the great goodnes and clemency of the tyrant in al things, in miniſtring iuſtice to euery man: did put the SYRACVSANS in great good hope of change, and euery man in the Court was very deſirous to giue him ſelfe to learning and Philoſophy. So that, as men reported, the tyrants pallace was full of ſand and duſt, with the numbers of ſtudents that drew plattes and figures of Geometry. Shortly after *Plato* was arriued, by chaunce the time was come about to doe a ſolemne ſacrifice within the caſtell, at which ſacrifice the Heraulde (as the manner was) proclaimed aloude the ſolemne prayer accuſtomed to be done, that it would pleaſe the gods long to preſerue the ſtate of the tyranny: and that *Dionyſius* being hard by him, ſayed vnto him, what, wilt thou not leaue to curſe me? This word grieued *Philiſtus* and his companions to the heart, thinking that with time, by litle and litle, *Plato* would winne ſuch eſtimation and great authority with *Dionyſius*, that afterwardes they ſhould not be able to reſiſt him: conſidering that in ſo ſhort a time as he had bene with *Dionyſius*, he had ſo altered his minde and courage. And therefore they now beganne, not one by one, nor in hugger mugger, but all of them with open mouth together to accuſe *Dion*: and ſayed, that it was eaſie to be ſeene, how he charmed and inchanted *Dionyſius* through *Platoes* eloquence, to make him willing to reſigne his gouernment becauſe he would transferre it to the handes of the children of his ſiſter *Ariſtomaché*. Others ſeemed to be offended, for that the ATHENIANS hauing come before into SICILIA with a great army, both by ſea and land, they were all loſt and caſt away, and could not win the city of SYRACVSA: and that now by one onely Sophiſter, they vtterly deſtroyed and ouerthrew the Empire of *Dionyſius*, perſwading him to diſcharge the tenne thouſand ſouldiers he had about him for his guard, to forſake the foure hundred gallies, the ten thouſand horſemen, and as many moe footemen, to goe to the Academy to ſeeke an vnknowen happines neuer heard of before, and to make him happy by Geometry, reſigning his preſent happines and felicity to be a great Lord, to haue money at will, and to liue pleaſantly, vnto *Dion* and his Nephewes. By ſuch like accuſations and wicked tongues, *Dionyſius* beganne firſt to miſtruſt *Dion*, and afterwards to be openly offended with him, and to frowne vppon him. In the meane time they brought letters *Dion* wrote ſecretly vnto the Gouernours of the city of CARTHAGE, willing them that when they would make peace with *Dionyſius*, they ſhould not talke with him vnles he ſtood by: aſſuring them that he would help them to ſet things in quietnes, and that al ſhould be well againe. When *Dionyſius* had read theſe letters with *Philiſtus*, and had taken his aduiſe and counſell what he ſhould doe, as *Timæus* ſayd: he deceiued *Dion* vnder pretence of reconciliation, making as though he ment him no hurt, & ſaying that he would become frends again with him. So he brought *Dion* one day to the ſea ſide vnder his caſtell, and ſhewed him theſe letters, burdning him to haue practiſed with the CARTHAGINIANS againſt him. And as *Dion* went about to make him anſwere to clear himſelfe: *Dionyſius* would not heare him, but cauſed him to be taken vp as he was, and put into a pinnaſe, and commaunded the mariners to ſet him a land vppon the coaſt of ITALIE. After this was done, and that it was knowen abroad in the city, euery man thought it a cruell part of *Dionyſius*: inſomuch that the tyraunts pallace was in a maruellous pecke of troubles, for the great ſorrow the women made for the departure of *Dion*. Moreouer, the city ſelfe of SYRACVSA began to looke about them, looking for ſome

*Democratia: the gouernment of the people.*

*Dion allowed not popular ſtate.*

*Ariſtocratia: the gouernment of a few of the nobility.*

*Plato came into Sicilia, vnto Dionyſius the younger.*

*The chaunge of Dionyſius, vpon Platoes comming.*

*Philiſtus accuſations againſt Dion.*

*Dions letters vnto Carthage.*

*Dion ſent away by Dionyſius into Italy.*

ſodaine great change and innouation,for the tumult and vprore that would happen by means of *Dions* baniſhment, and for the miſtruſt alſo that all men would haue of *Dionyſius*. *Dionyſius* conſidering this, and being affrayed of ſome misfortune, he gaue his friendes and the women of his pallace comfortable words,telling them that he had not baniſhed him , but was contented that he ſhould abſent him ſelfe for a time : being afrayed, that in his ſodaine angry moode he might peraduenture be compelled to do him ſome worſe turne if he remained , becauſe of his obſtinacy and ſelfewill. Furthermore, he gaue vnto *Dions* friendes two ſhippes, to cary as much goods,money,and as many of *Dions* ſeruants as they would , and to conuey them vnto him vnto PELOPONNESVS. *Dion* was a maruellous rich man,& for the pompe of his ſeruice, and ſumptuous moueables of his houſe,they were like vnto the perſon of a tyrant. All theſe riches *Dions* friends brought abord vpon thoſe ſhips,and caried them vnto him:beſides many other rich gifts,which the women and his friends ſent vnto him. So that by meanes of his great riches,*Dion* was maruellouſly eſteemed among the GRECIANS: who by the riches of a baniſhed citizen, coniectured what the power of a tyranny might be. But now concerning *Plato*: when *Dion* was exiled, *Dionyſius* cauſed him to be lodged in his caſtell,and by this means craftily placed,vnder cloke of friendſhip, an honorable guard about him,becauſe he ſhould not returne into GREECE to ſeeke *Dion*, to tell him of the iniury he had done vnto him. Howbeit *Dionyſius* often frequenting his company, (as a wilde beaſt is made tame by company of man) he liked his talke ſo well, that he became in loue with him, but it was a tyrannicall loue. For he would haue *Plato* to loue none but him, and that hee ſhould eſteeme him aboue all men liuing, being ready to put the whole realme into his hands, and all his forces: ſo that hee would thinke better of him, then of *Dion*. Thus was this paſſionat affection of *Dionyſius* grieuous vnto *Plato*. For he was ſo drowned with the loue of him , as men extreamely iealous of the women they loue; that in a moment he would ſodainly fall out with him, and ſtraight againe become friends , and pray him to pardon him. And to ſay truely, he had a maruellous deſire to heare *Platoes* Philoſophy : but on the other ſide , he reuerenced them that did diſſwade him from it, and told him that he would ſpoile himſelf,if he entred ouerdeeply into it. In the meane time fell out warre, and thereuppon he ſent P*lato* againe away , promiſing him that the next ſpring he would ſend for *Dion* home. But he brake promiſe therein , and yet ſent him his reuenues: and praied P*lato* to pardon him, though he had not kept promiſe at his time appointed. For he alleadged the warre was the cauſe, and that ſo ſoone as he had ended his war, he would ſend for *Dion*: whom in the meane time he praied to haue patience and not to attempt any ſtir or alteration againſt him,nor to ſpeake euill of him among the GRECIANS. This P*lato* ſought to bring to paſſe, and brought *Dion* to ſtudy Philoſophy, and kept him in the Academy at ATHENS. *Dion* lay in the city of ATHENS with one *Calippus* , whom hee had knowen of long time, howbeit he bought him a houſe in the country, to lie there ſometime for his pleaſure,the which he gaue afterwards(at his returne into SICILIA)vnto *Speuſippus* that kept him cōpany, and was continually with him, more then with any other friend he had in ATHENS, through P*latoes* counſell : who to ſoften and recreate *Dions* manners, gaue him the company of ſome pleaſant conceited man,knowing that this *Speuſippus* could modeſtly obſerue time and place to be pleaſant and mery:for which reſpect, *Timon* in his Satyricall ieaſts, calleth *Speuſippus* a good ieaſter. Now P*lato* him ſelfe hauing vndertaken to defray the charges of common playes in the dauncings of young children: *Dion* tooke the paines to teach and exerciſe them, and moreouer was him ſelfe at the whole charge of theſe playes, P*lato* ſuffering him to beſtow that liberality and curteſie vpon the ATHENIANS: the which wan *Dion* a great deale more good will, then P*lato* honor. *Dion* kept not ſtill at ATHENS, but went alſo to ſee the other good cities of GREECE, paſſing his time away. He being at common feaſtes and aſſemblies with the chiefeſt men,and beſt learned in matters of ſtate and gouernment,and neuer ſhewing any light partes, nor ſigne of tyrannicall pride in his manner of life, nor of a man that had bene brought vp with al pompe and pleaſure,but like a graue vertuous man,and well ſtudied in Philoſophy, whereby he grewe to be generally beloued and eſteemed of all men : the citie graunted him publicke honors, and ſent him decrees of his glory,made in their councels and aſſemblies. Furthermore, the LACEDÆMONIANS made him a SPARTAN and burges of the city, not paſſing

for

*Dions wealth.*

*Dionyſius tyrannicall loue to Plato.*

*Dionyſius ſent Plato from him.*

*Dions life in Greece.*

for *Dionyſius* diſpleaſure, though at that time he had giuen them great aide, in the warre they made againſt the THEBANS. Some report, that *Dion* on a time was intreated by *Ptœodorus* MEGARIAN, to come and ſee him at his houſe: and *Dion* went thither. This *Ptœodorus* was a maruellous great rich man, & therefore *Dion* ſeeing a great number of people ſtanding at his gates, and that it was a hard thing to come and ſpeake with him he had ſuch great buſines: he turned vnto his friends that did accompany him, who were angry they made him tary ſo long at the gate, and ſayd vnto them: what cauſe haue we to thinke euill of him, ſith we did the like when we were at SYRACVSA? But *Dionyſius* being incenſed with enuy againſt him, and fearing the good will the GRECIANS bare him: he kept backe his reuenue, and would no more ſend it him, and ſeazed all the goods, the which he gaue to his receiuers to keepe. Furthermore, becauſe he would cleare him ſelfe of the infamy he had gotten amongeſt the Philoſophers for *Platoes* ſake, he went for diuers wiſe and learned men, and vainly coueting to excell them all in wiſedome, he was driuen improperly, and out of time, to alleadge many wiſe ſayings he had learned of *Plato*. Thereupon he began againe to wiſh for him, and to condemne him ſelfe, for that he had no wit to vſe him well when hee had him at his commaundement, and that he had not heard ſo much as he ſhould haue done him: and like a tyrant as he was, madly caried away with light deſires, and eaſely changing minde from time to time, a ſodaine vehement deſire tooke him in the head, to haue *Plato* againe. So he ſought all the means and waies he could deuiſe, to pray *Architas* the Pythagorian Philoſopher to tell him, that he might boldly come, and to be his ſurety vnto him for that he would promiſe him: for firſt of al, they were acquainted together by his means. Therefore *Archytas* ſent thither *Archidamus* the Philoſopher. *Dionyſius* alſo ſent certaine gallies, & ſome of his friends thither, to pray *Plato* to come to him: and he him ſelfe wrote ſpecially, and plainely, that it ſhould not goe well with *Dion*, if *Plato* came not into SICILIA: but if he would be perſwaded to come, that then he would doe what hee would haue him. Many letters and requeſts came vnto *Dion* from his wife and ſiſter, inſomuch as *Dion* ſo vſed the matter, that *Plato* obeied *Dionyſius*, without making any excuſe at al. So *Plato* writeth himſelfe, that he was driuen to come again the 3. time into the ſtraight of SICILIA.

*Dions vertues and honors done vnto him by the Grecians.*

*Archytas a Pythagorian Philoſopher.*

*Dionyſius ſendeth againe for Plato to come into Sicilia.*

*Platoes third iorney into Sicilia.*

*To trie if once againe he could Charibdis dangers paſſe.*

Now *Plato* being arriued in SICILIA, he made *Dionyſius* a great ioyfull man, and filled all SICILIA againe with great good hope: for they were all very deſirous, and did what they could, to make *Plato* ouercome *Philiſtus* and the tyranny, with his Philoſophy. The women of *Dionyſius* Court did entertaine *Plato* the beſt they could: but aboue all, *Dionyſius* ſeemed to haue a maruellous truſt and affiance in him, and more then in any other of all his friends. For he ſuffred *Plato* to come to him without ſearching of him, and oftentimes offred to giue him a great ſumme of money: but *Plato* would take none of it. Therefore *Ariſtippus* CYRENIAN being at that time in the tyrantes Court in SICILIA, ſayed that *Dionyſius* beſtowed his liberality ſurely. For, to vs that aske much he giueth litle, and much vnto *Plato* that requireth nothing. After *Dionyſius* had giuen *Plato* his welcome, he beganne to moue him againe of *Dion*. *Dionyſius* on the other ſide, at the firſt did vſe him with fine delayes, but afterwards he ſhewed him ſelfe angry in deede: and at length fell out with *Plato*, but yet ſo couertly, that others ſaw it not. For *Dionyſius* diſſembled that, and otherwiſe in all other things he did him as much honor as he could deuiſe, practiſing thereby to make him to forſake *Dions* friendſhippe. Now *Plato* found him at the firſt, that there was no truſt to be giuen to his wordes, and that all were but lies and deuiſes he either ſayed or did: howbeit he kept it to him ſelfe, and euer patiently bare all things, hoping for the beſt, and made as though he beleeued him. They two thus finely diſſembling with each other, thinking to deceiue all men, and that none ſhould vnderſtand their ſecrets: *Helycon* CYZICENIAN, one of *Platoes* friendes, did prognoſticate the eclipſe of the ſunne. The ſame falling out as he had prognoſticated, the tyrant eſteemed maruellouſly of him, & gaue him a ſiluer talent for his labor. Then *Ariſtippus* ſporting with other Philoſophers, ſayd he could tell them of a ſtraunger thing to happen then that. So when they prayed him to tell them what it was: I do prognoſticate, ſayd he, that *Plato* and *Dionyſius* will be enemies ere it be long. In the end it came to paſſe, that *Dionyſius* made port ſale of all *Dions* goods, and kept the money to him ſelfe, and lodged *Plato* that before lay the next Court to

*Ariſtippus ſaying of Dionyſius.*

*Helycon a Mathematician.*

*Ariſtippus diuination.*

his pallace, among the ſouldiers of his guard, whom hee knew maliced him of long time, and ſought to kill him: becauſe he did perſwade *Dionyſius* to leaue his tyranny and to liue without his guard. *Plato* being in this inſtant danger, *Archytas* ſent Ambaſſadors forthwith vnto *Dionyſius*, in a galley of thirty owers, to demaund *Plato* againe: declaring that *Plato* came againe to SYRACVSA, vppon his word and caution. *Dionyſius* to excuſe him ſelfe, and to ſhew that he was not angry with him at his departure from him: hee made him all the great cheare and feaſtes he could, and ſo ſent him home with great ſhewes of good will. One day among the reſt, he ſayd vnto *Plato*: I am afrayd *Plato*, ſayd he, that thou wilt ſpeake euill of me, when thou art among thy friendes and companions in the Academy. Then *Plato* ſmiling, anſwered him againe: the goddes forbidde that they ſhould haue ſuch ſcarcety of matter in the Academy, as that they muſt needes talke of thee. Thus was *Platoes* returne, as it is reported, although that which he him ſelfe writeth agreeth not much with this report. Theſe things went to *Dions* heart, ſo that ſhortly after he ſhewed him ſelfe an open enemy vnto *Dionyſius*, but ſpecially when he heard how he had handled his wife. *Plato* vnder couert words, ſent *Dionyſius* word of it by his letters. And thus it was. After *Dion* was exiled, *Dionyſius* returning *Plato* backe againe, he willed him ſecretely to feele *Dions* minde, whether he would not be angry that his wife ſhould be maried to an other man: becauſe there ranne a rumor abroade (whether it were true, or inuented by *Dions* enemies) that he liked not his mariage, and could not liue quietly with his wife. Therefore when *Plato* was at ATHENS, and had told *Dion* of all things, he wrote a letter vnto *Dionyſius* the tyraunt, and did ſette all other things downe ſo plainely, that euery man might vnderſtand him, but this one thing onely ſo darkely, that he alone, and none other could vnderſtand him, but him to whom he had written: declaring vnto him, that he had ſpoken with *Dion* about the matter he wote of, and that he did let him vnderſtand he would be maruellous angry, if *Dionyſius* did it. So at that time, becauſe there was great hope of reconciliation betweene them, the tyraunt did nothing lately touching his ſiſter, but ſuffered her ſtill to remaine with *Dions* ſonne. But when they were ſo farre out, that there was no more hope to returne in fauour againe, and that he had alſo ſent home *Plato* in diſgrace and diſpleaſure: then he maried his ſiſter *Aretè* (*Dions* wife) againſt her will, vnto one of his friends called *Timocrates*, not following therein his fathers iuſtice and lenity. For *Polyxenus* that had maried his fathers ſiſter *Theſta*, being alſo become his enemy: he fled out of SICILIA. *Dionyſius* the elder ſent for his ſiſter *Theſta*, and tooke her vp very ſharpely, for that ſhe knowing her husband would flie, ſhe did not come and tell him of it. *Theſta* nobly anſwered him againe, and neuer was afraied nor abaſhed: why, *Dionyſius*, doeſt thou thinke mee a woman ſo faint hearted and beaſtly, that if I had knowen my husband would haue gone his way, and left me: that I would not haue taken the ſea with him, and both haue run one fortune together? Truely I knew not of his departure till he was gone: for it had bene more for mine honour to haue bene called the wife of the baniſhed *Polyxenus*, then the ſiſter of thee a tyraunt. *Dionyſius* maruelled to heare his ſiſter ſpeake thus boldly, and the SYRACVSANS wondred at her noble corage: inſomuch that when the tyranny was vtterly deſtroyed, they did not refuſe to doe her all the honor they could deuiſe, as vnto a Queene. And when ſhe was dead alſo, all the citizens of SYRACVSA by a common decree, did accompany her body at her buriall. This litle digreſſion from our hiſtory, is not altogether vnprofitable. But now again to our matter. *Dion* from thenceforth diſpoſed him ſelfe altogether vnto warre, againſt *Platoes* counſell and aduiſe: who did his beſt endeuour to diſſwade him from it, both for the reſpect of *Dionyſius* good entertainment he had giuen him, as alſo for that *Dion* was of great yeares. Howbeit on the other ſide, *Speuſippus*, and his other friends did prouoke him vnto it, and did perſwade him to deliuer SICILIA from the ſlauery and bondage of the tyrant, the which held vp her hands vnto him, and would receiue him with great loue and good will. For whileſt *Plato* lay at SYRACVSA, *Speuſippus* keeping the citizens company more then *Plato* did, he knew their minds better then he. For at the firſt they were afraied to open them ſelues vnto him, and franckly to ſpeake what they thought, miſtruſting he was a ſpy vnto the tyrant, ſent amongſt them to feele their minds: but within a ſhort time they beganne to truſt him, and were all of one mind, for they praid and perſwaded *Dion* to come, and not to care otherwiſe for bringing of ſhippes, ſouldiers, nor horſes

*Architas requireth Plato of Dionyſius.*

*Dionyſius maried Dions wife to an other man.*

*Polyxenus maried Theſta his father Dionyſius ſiſter. The noble aunſwere of Theſta, vnto her brother Dionyſius the elder*

*Dion beginneth to make warre againſt Dionyſius.*

horſes with him, but onely to hire a ſhippe, and to lend the SICILIANS his body and name againſt *Dionyſius*. *Speuſippus* reporting theſe newes vnto *Dion*, did put him in good heart again: whereupon he began ſecretly to leauy men by other mens meanes, to hide his purpoſe and intent. The Philoſophers doe ſet forward *Dions* warres. Many citizens dealing in the affaires of the common wealth did aide him, and diuers of them alſo that onely gaue their mindes to the ſtudy of Philoſophy: and among them, *Eudemus* CYPRIAN (on whoſe death *Ariſtotle* wrote his dialogue of the ſoule) and *Timonides* LEVCADIAN, went with him. Furthermore, there ioyned alſo with him *Miltas* THESSALIAN, a Soothſayer, and that had bene his companion in ſtudy in the Academy. Now of all them whom the tyraunt had baniſhed, (which were no leſſe then a thouſand perſons) there were but onely fiue and twenty that durſt accompany him in this war. For all the other were ſuch daſtards, that they forſooke him, and durſt not go with him. The place where they appointed to meete, was the Ile of ZACINTHE, where they leauied all their ſouldiers, that were not aboue eight hundred in all, but all of them braue ſouldiers, and valiant men, and excellently well trained in wars: & to conclude, ſuch luſty men, as would incorage all the army *Dion* hoped of at his arriuall in SICILE, to fight like valiant men with them. Theſe hiered ſouldiers, the firſt time that they vnderſtoode it was to go into SICILIA, to make warre with *Dionyſius*: they were amazed at the firſt, and miſliked the iorney, becauſe it was vndertaken rather of malice and ſpite that *Dion* had to be reuenged, then otherwiſe of any good cauſe or quarrell, who hauing no better hope, tooke vpon him deſperate and impoſſible enterpriſes. Therefore the ſouldiers were offended with their Captaines that had preſſed them, becauſe they had not told them of this warre before But after that *Dion* by a notable Oration had told them, how tirannies haue euill foundations, and are ſubiect vnto ruine, and that he led them not into SICILIA ſo much for ſouldiers, as he did to make them Captaines of the SYRACVSANS, and the other SICILIANS, who of long time deſired nothing more then occaſion to riſe. And, when after him alſo *Alcimenes*, (a companion with him in this warre, and the chiefeſt man of all the ACHAIANS, both for nobility and eſtimation) did ſpeake vnto them in like maner, then they were all contented to go whither they would lead them. It was then in the heart of ſommer, and the wind blew called the GRECIAN wind, the moone being at the full, and *Dion* hauing prepared to make a ſumptuous ſacrifice vnto the god *Apollo*, he led all his men armed with white corſelets in proceſſion into the temple: and after the ſacrifice done, he made them a feaſt in the parke or ſhew place of the ZACINTHIANS. There the tables were laied, and the ſouldiers wondred to ſee the great ſtate and magnificence of the great number of pots of gold and ſiluer, and ſuch other furniture & preparation, as paſſed a priuat mans wealth: then they thought with them ſelues, that a man being ſo old, & Lord of ſo great a good, would not attempt things of ſuch daunger, without good ground, and great aſſurance of his frends aid and helpe. But after his oblations of wine, and common praiers made to the gods at feaſtes: ſodainly the Moone eclipſed. *Dion* thought it not ſtrange to ſee an eclipſe, conſidering the reuolutions of the eclipſes, and knowing very well it is a ſhadow that falleth vpon the body of the Moone, becauſe of the direct interpoſition of the earth betwixt her and the Sun. But becauſe the ſouldiers that were afraid and aſtonied withal, ſtood in need of ſome comfort & encoragement: *Miltas* the Soothſayer ſtanding vp in the middeſt amongſt them, ſayed vnto them. My fellow ſouldiers, be of good cheare, and aſſure your ſelues that we ſhall proſper: for God doth foreſhew vs by this ſight we ſee, that ſome one of the chiefeſt things now in higheſt place and dignity ſhall be eclipſed. And at this preſent time what thing carieth greater glory and fame, then the tyranny of *Dionyſius*? Therefore you muſt thinke, that ſo ſoone as you arriue in SICILIA, your ſelues ſhal put out his light & glory. This interpretation of the eclipſe of the Moone, did *Miltas* the Soothſayer make, before all the whole company. But touching the ſwarme of Bees that lighted on the poope of *Dions* ſhippe, he told him, and his friends priuately: that he was afraied his acts which ſhould fall out famous and glorious, ſhould laſt but a while, and floriſhing a few daies, would ſtraight conſume away. It is reported alſo, that *Dionyſius* in like maner had many ſtraunge ſignes and wonderfull tokens from aboue. Among others, there came an Eagle that ſnatched the partiſan out of the ſouldiers handes, and caried it quite away with her, and then let it fall into the ſea. The ſea alſo beating againſt the walles of the caſtell, was as

*The Philoſophers aduanced Dions warre.*

*Ariſtotles dialogue de anima*

*Dions army.*

*Dions ſumptuous fare in feaſting.*

*The eclipſe of the moone, and cauſe of the eclipſe.*

*wonders ſhewed vnto Dion.*

*wonders appearing vnto Dionyſius.*

ſweete to drinke a whole day together, as any conduit or running water : as thoſe that taſted of it found it true. Furthermore, a ſow farrowed pigges that lacked no partes of the body, but onely their eares. This the Soothſayers ſayed did ſignifie rebellion, and diſobedience of his ſubiects:and that the Citizens would no more heare him, nor obey his tyranny. Furthermore, they told alſo, that the ſweetenes of the ſalt water prognoſticated to the SYRACVSANS, change of cruell and euill time, vnto good and ciuill gouernment: and that the Eagle, *Iupiters* miniſter, and the partiſan, the marke and token of the kingdome and Empire, did betoken that *Iupiter* the chiefe of all gods had determined to deſtroy and put downe the tyranny. *Theopompus* reporteth this matter thus. So *Dions* ſouldiers were imbarked into two great ſhippes of burden, and an other third ſhippe that was not very great, and two pinnaſes with thirty owers followed them. For their armour and weapon, beſide thoſe the ſouldiers had: he caried two thouſand targets, a great number of bowes and arrowes, of darts, of pikes, and plenty of victuals: that they ſhould lacke nothing all the time they were vpon the ſea, conſidering that their iourney ſtoode altogether at the curteſie of the windes and ſea, and for that they were affrayed to land, vnderſtanding that *Philiſtus* road at anker in the coaſt of APVLGLIA, with a fleete of ſhippes that lay in waite for their comming. So hauing a pleaſant gale of winde, they ſayled the ſpace of twelue dayes together, and the thirteenth day they came to the foreland of SICILIA called Pachynus. There the Pilot thought it beſt they ſhould land preſently: for if they willingly looſed into the ſea, and loſt that point, they were ſure they ſhould loſe alſo many nights and dayes in vaine in the middeſt of the ſea, being then ſommer time, and the winde at the South. But *Dion* being afrayed to land ſo neare his enemies, he was deſirous to goe farther, and ſo paſt by the foreland of Pachynus. Then the North winde roſe ſo bigge and great, that with great violence it draue backe their ſhips from the coaſt of SICILIA. Furthermore, lightning and thunder mingled withall (becauſe it was at that time when the ſtarre Arcturus beginneth to ſhew) it made ſo terrible a tempeſt, and powred downe ſuch a ſore ſhower of raine vpon them, that all the Mariners were amazed withall, and knew not whither the wind would driue them: till that ſodainly they ſaw the ſtorme had caſt them vpon the Ile of CERCINA, (which is on the coaſt of LIBYA) and ſpecially where it is moſt dangerous to arriue for the rocks, for their ſhippes were like to haue runne vppon them, and to haue made ſhippewracke. But with much a doe they bare off the ſhippes with their great long poles, and wandred vp and downe the ſea, not knowing whither they went, vntill the ſtorme ceaſed. Then they met a ſhippe, whereby they knew that they were in the flat, which the Mariners call the heads of the great Syrte. Thus they wandring vp and downe, being maruellous angry that the ſea was calme, there roſe a litle South wind from the land, although they leaſt looked for any ſuch wind at that time, and litle thinking it would ſo haue chaunged: but ſeeing the wind riſe bigger and bigger, they packed on all the ſayles they had, and making their prayers vnto the gods they croſſed the ſea, and ſailed from the coaſt of LIBYA, directly vnto SICILE, and had the winde ſo lucky, that at the fift day they were neare vnto a litle village of SICILIA, called MINOA, the which was ſubiect to the CARTHAGINIANS. *Synalus* CARTHAGINIAN, being at that time Captaine and gouernor of the towne of MINOA, and *Dions* friend, was there by chance at that preſent, who being ignorant of his enterpriſe and comming, did what he could to keepe *Dions* ſouldiers from landing. But they notwithſtanding ſodainly leapt a land armed, but ſlue no man. For *Dion* had commaunded them the contrary, for the friendſhip he bare the Captaine: and they following the townes men hard that fled before them, entred the towne, hand ouer head amongeſt them, and ſo wanne the market place. When both the Captaines met, and that they had ſpoken together, *Dion* redeliuered the towne into *Synalus* hands againe, without any hurt or violence offred him. *Synalus* on the other ſide did endeuor him ſelfe all he could to make much of the ſouldiers, and holpe *Dion* to prouide him of all things neceſſary. But this did moſt of all encorage the ſouldiers, becauſe *Dionyſius* at their arriuall, was not then in SICILIA: for it chaunced ſo, that not many dayes before he went into ITALY, with foure ſcore ſaile. Therefore when *Dion* willed them to remaine there a few dayes to refreſhe themſelues, becauſe they had bene ſo ſore ſea beaten a long time together: they them ſelues would not, they were ſo glad to imbrace the occaſion offered them, and prayed *Dion* to leade them

*Dions preparation.*

*Pachynus, the foreland of Sicilia.*

*A tempeſt on the ſea againſt Dion.*

*Synalus, Captaine of Minoa for the Carthaginians.*

*Dion wanne Minoa.*

forthwith to SYRACVSA *Dion* leauing all his ſuperfluous armor and prouiſion in the hands of *Synalus*, and praying him to ſend them to him when time ſerued: he tooke his way towardes SYRACVSA. So by the way, two hundred horſemen of the ARGENTINES, which dwell in that part called ECNOMVS, came firſt to ioyne with him, and after them, the GELOIANS. The rumor of their comming ranne ſtraight to SYRACVSA. Thereupon *Timocrates* that had maried *Aretè*, *Dions* wife, and *Dionyſius* the fathers ſiſter, and to whom *Dionyſius* the younger had left the charge and gouernment of all his men and friends in the citie: he preſently diſpatched a poaſt with letters, to aduertiſe *Dionyſius* of *Dions* comming. He himſelfe alſo in the meane time had taken ſuch order, that there roſe no tumult nor mutinie in the citie, though they all of them lacked no good will to rebell: but becauſe they were vncertaine whether this rumor was true or falſe, being affraid, euery man was quiet. Now there chaunced a ſtraunge misfortune vnto the meſſengers, which caryed the letters vnto *Dionyſius*. For after he had paſſed the ſtraight, and that he was arriued in the citie of RHEGGIO of ITALYES ſide, making haſte to come to the citie of CAVLONIA, where *Dionyſius* was: he met by the way one of his acquaintance that caried a mutton but newly ſacrificed. This good fellow gaue him a peece of it, and the meſſenger ſpurred away with all the ſpeede he could poſſible. But when he had ridden the moſt part of the night, he was ſo wearie and drowſie for lacke of ſleepe, that he was driuen to lye downe. So he lay downe vpon the ground in a wood hard by the high way. The ſauor of this fleſh brought a Wolfe to him that caried away the fleſh and the portmantew it was wrapt in, and in the which alſo were his letters of aduertiſement, which he caried vnto *Dionyſius*. When he awoke out of his ſleepe, and ſaw that his portmantew was gone: he enquired for it, and went wandring vp and downe a long time to ſeeke it: howbeit all in vaine, for he could neuer find it. Therefore he thought it was not good for him to goe to the tyrant without his letters, but rather to flie into ſome vnknowen place where no bodie knew him. Thus ouerlate receiued *Dionyſius* aduertiſement by others of this warre, which *Dion* made in SICILIA. In the meane time, the CAMARINIANS came & ioyned with *Dions* army, in the high way towards SYRACVSA: and ſtill there came vnto him alſo a great number of the SYRACVSANS that were vppe in armes, which were gotten into the field. On the other ſide, certaine CAMPANIANS and LEONTINES, which were gotten into the caſtle of EPIPOLES with *Timocrates* of purpoſe to keepe it: Vpon a falſe rumor *Dion* gaue out (& which came vnto them) that he would firſt go againſt their townes: they forſooke *Timocrates*, and went to take order to defend their owne goods. *Dion* vnderſtanding that, being lodged with his army in a place called MACRÆ: he preſently remoued his campe being darke night, and marched forwarde till he came vnto the riuer of Anapus, which is not from the citie aboue tenne furlongs off: and there ſtaying a while, he ſacrificed vnto the riuer, and made his prayer, and worſhipped the riſing of the Sunne. At the ſelfe ſame inſtant alſo, the Soothſayers came and told him, that the gods did promiſe him aſſured victory. And the ſouldiers alſo ſeeing *Dion* weare a garland of flowers on his head, which he had taken for the ceremony of the ſacrifice: all of them with one ſelfe good will, tooke euery man one of them, (being no leſſe then fiue thouſand men that were gathered together by the way, and but ſlenderly armed with ſuch things as came firſt to hand, howbeit ſupplying with good will their want of better furniture and armor) and when *Dion* commaunded them to march, for ioy they ranne, and incouraged one an other with great cries, to ſhew them ſelues valiant for recouery of their liberty. Now for them that were within the city ſelfe of SYRACVSA, the noble men and chiefe Citizens went to receiue them at the gates in their beſt gownes. The common people on the other ſide ranne and ſette vppon them that tooke part with the tyraunt, and ſpoyled them that were called the PROSAGOGIDES (as much to ſay, the common Promoters of men) the deteſtableſt villaines, hatefull to the gods and men. For they like Sicophants and buſie tale bearers, would iet vp and downe the city, and mingle among the Citizens, hauing an oer in euery mans matter, being full of prittle prattle, and buſie headed, to know what euery man ſayed and did, and then to goe carie it to the tyraunt. Theſe men were they that had their payment firſt of all, for they killed them with dry blowes, beating them to death with ſtaues. When *Timocrates* could not enter into the caſtell with them that kept it, he tooke his horſe backe, and fled out of the city, and flying

*Dion went to Syracuſa.*

*A ſtrange chaunce happened vnto the meſſenger, ſent to Dionyſius*

*A wolfe caried away the Meſſengers portmantew.*

*Dionyſius picke thankes ſlaine.*

made all men afrayed and amazed where he came, enlarging *Dions* power by his report, becauſe it ſhould not ſeeme that for feare of a trifle, he had forſaken the citie. In the meane time, *Dion* came on towards the citie with his men, and was come ſo neare, that they might ſee him plainely from the citie, marching foremoſt of all, armed with a fayer bright white corſelet, hauing his brother *Megacles* on his right hand of him, & *Calippus* ATHENIAN on the left hand, crowned with garlands of flowers: and after him alſo there followed an hundreth ſouldiers that were ſtrangers, choſen for his gard about him, and the reſt came marching after in good order of battell, being led by their Captaines.

*Dion receiued into Syracuſa.*

The SYRACVSANS ſaw him comming, & went out and receiued him as a holy and bleſſed proceſſion, that brought them their liberty and popular ſtate againe, the which they had loſt the ſpace of eight and fortie yeares. When *Dion* was come into the citie by the gate called Menitide, he cauſed his trumpeter to ſound to appeaſe the rumor and tumult of the people. Then he commaunded an Herauld to proclaime aloud, that *Dion* and *Megacles*, who were come to put downe the tirannie, did ſet all the SYRACVSANS at libertie, and all the other SICILIANS alſo from the bondage & ſubiection of the tirant: and becauſe *Dion* himſelfe was deſirous to ſpeake vnto the people, he went to the vpper parte of the towne called ACRADINA.

*Dion reſtoreth the Syracuſans to libertie.*

The SYRACVSANS all the ſtreetes through as he paſſed by, had on either hand of him prepared ſacrifices, and ſet vp tables and cuppes vppon them: and as he paſſed by their houſes, they caſt flowers and frutes on him, and made prayers vnto him, as if he had bene a god.

*Dionyſius clocke.*

Now vnder the caſtle there was a place called Pentapyla, a clocke to know by the Sunne how the day went, the which *Dionyſius* had cauſed to be made, and it was of a good pretie height. *Dion* got vp vpon it, and from thence made his oration to the people that were gathered round about him, exhorting and perſwading his countrimen to doe their endeuour to recouer their libertie againe, and to maintaine it. They being in a maruellous ioy withall, and deſirous to pleaſe *Dion*: did chooſe him and his brother *Megacles* their Lieutenants generall, with abſolute power and authoritie. Afterwards alſo, by the conſent of *Dion* himſelfe and his brother, and at their requeſts in like manner, they choſe twentie other Captaines, of the which the moſt part of them had bene baniſhed by the tyrant, and were returned againe with *Dion*.

*The predictions of the ſoothſayers.*

The Soothſayers and Prognoſticators liked it well, and ſaid it was a good ſigne for *Dion*, that he trode that ſumptuous building and workemanſhippe of the tyrant vnder his feete, when he made his oration: but becauſe the hande of the dyall did ſhew the courſe of the Sunne, which neuer leaueth going, vpon the which he got vppe when he was choſen Lieutenant generall with abſolute power and authoritie: they were affraide againe, that it was a ſigne *Dions* affayres ſhould haue a ſodaine chaunge of fortune. After this, *Dion* hauing taken the caſtle of EPIPOLES, he ſet all the Citizens at libertie which were kept there as priſoners in captiuitie by the tyrant, and enuironed the caſtle round about with a wall. Within ſeuen dayes after, *Dionyſius* returned by ſea to the caſtle of SYRACVSA, and therewithall alſo came the carts loden with armor and weapon to SYRACVSA, the which *Dion* had left with *Synalus*: the which *Dion* cauſed to be diſtributed among the Citizens of SYRACVSA that had none. Others did furniſh them ſelues as well as they could, and ſhewed that they had corage and good will to fight for the maintenaunce and defence of their liberty.

*Dionyſius ſent Ambaſſadors vnto Dion.*

In the meane time, *Dionyſius* ſent Ambaſſadours, firſt vnto *Dion* priuately, to ſee if he would yeelde to any compoſition. But *Dion* would not heare them, but bad them tell the SYRACVSANS openly what they had to ſay, being men that were free, and enioyed liberty. Then the Ambaſſadors ſpake in the behalfe of the tyraunt, vnto the people of SYRACVSA, promiſing them with milde and gentle wordes, that they ſhould paie no more ſubſedies and taxes, but very litle, and ſhould be no more troubled with warres, other then ſuch as they themſelues ſhould like of. The SYRACVSANS made a mockery at thoſe offers, and *Dion* alſo aunſwered the Ambaſſadors, and willed *Dionyſius* to ſend no more to the SYRACVSANS, before he had dipoſſeſt him ſelfe of his tyranny: and ſo that he would leaue it, he would be his meane to obtaine all things iuſt and reaſonable of the people. *Dionyſius* liked very well of this good offer, and therefore ſent his Ambaſſadors againe to pray the SYRACVSANS that they would appoint ſome amongeſt them to come to the caſtell, to talke with him for the benefite and commodity of the common wealth, that he might heare what they would alleadge, and they alſo what aunſwere he would make. *Dion* choſe certaine whom he ſent vnto him. Now there ranne a rumor in the citie among the SYRACVSANS, which came from the caſtle: that *Dionyſius* would willingly of himſelfe, rather then by reaſon of *Dions* comming, depoſe himſelfe of the tirannie. But this was but a falſe allarme, and craftie fetch of *Dionyſius*, to intrappe the SYRACVSANS by. For thoſe that were ſent him from the citie, he kept them priſoners euery man of them, and one morning hauing made his ſouldiers drinke wine luſtely, which he kept in pay to gard his perſon, he ſent them with great furie to aſſault the wall the SYRACVSANS had built againſt the caſtle. Now, becauſe the SYRACVSANS looked for nothing leſſe then for the ſodaine aſſault, and for that theſe barbarous people with a wonderfull courage & great tumult ouerthrew the wal, and others of them alſo did ſet vpon the SYRACVSANS: there was not a man of them that durſt make head to fight with them, ſauing the ſouldiers that were ſtraungers whom *Dion* had brought with him. Who when they heard the noyſe ranne ſtraight to repulſe them, and yet they themſelues could not well tell what they ſhould doe vpon that ſodaine. For they could heare nothing, for the great noyſe and hurley burley of the SYRACVSANS which fled with great diſorder, and came and mingled themſelues amongeſt them. Till at length, *Dion* perceiuing he could not be heard, to ſhew them by deede what they ſhould doe: he went firſt himſelfe againſt theſe barbarous people, and about him there was a cruell and bloody fight. For his enemies knewe him as well as his owne men, and they all ranne vpon him with great cryes. Now for *Dion* himſelfe, indeede becauſe of his age, he was heauier then was requiſite for one that ſhould away with the paines of ſuch battels: but he had ſuch a valiant courage in him, that he went thorough withall luſtily, and ſlew them that did aſſaile him. Yet he had his hand alſo thruſt thorough with a pyke, and very hardly did his curaces holde out the blowes of the dartes and thruſts by hande which he receiued on them, they were ſo mangled and hacked with ſuch a number of dartes and pykes paſſed thorough his ſhield and broken on him, that in the end he was beaten downe: howbeit his ſouldiers reſcued him ſtraight. Then he made *Timonides* their Captaine, and he himſelfe tooke his horſe backe, and went vp and downe the citie, ſtaying and quieting the flying of the SYRACVSANS. Then he ſent for his ſouldiers the ſtraungers, which he had put in garriſon in that part of the citie called the ACRADINE to keepe it, and brought them being freſh, againſt the barbarous people of the caſtle that were wearied, and almoſt all of them diſcouraged to attempt any further enterpriſe. For they had made this ſalie out, in hope to haue taken all the citie at the firſt onſet, onely running vp and downe: but when contrary to their expectation, they met theſe valiant ſouldiers and freſh ſupply, they then beganne to retyre againe vnto the caſtle. And the GRECIAN ſouldiers on the other ſide, perceiuing they gaue backe, they came the faſter vpon them, ſo that they were compelled to turne their backes, and were driuen within their wals, after they had ſlaine three ſcore and foureteene of *Dions* men, and loſt a great number of their owne. This was a noble victory, and therefore the SYRACVSANS gaue the ſouldiers that were ſtraungers, an hundred ſiluer Minas, in reward for their good ſeruice: and they gaue *Dion* their generall, a crowne of gold. After this, there came letters to *Dion* by a trumpet from the caſtell, written from the women of his houſe: and among the packet of letters, there was one of them directed: to my father: the which *Hipparinus* wrote vnto him. For that was *Dions* ſonnes name, though *Timæus* writeth he was called *Areteus*, after his mothers name *Aretè*. But in ſuch matters, me thinkes *Timonides* is better to be credited, becauſe he was his friend and companion in armes. All the other letters that were ſent, were openly read before the aſſembly of the SYRACVSANS, and did onely concerne requeſts of theſe women vnto *Dion*. The SYRACVSANS would not haue the ſuppoſed letter of his ſonne to be openly read: but *Dion* againſt their mindes opened it, and found that it was *Dionyſius* letter, who by wordes, made the direction of it vnto *Dion*, but in effect, he ſpake vnto the SYRACVSANS. For in ſight, it ſeemed a manner of requeſt and iuſtification of him ſelfe: but in truth, it was written of purpoſe to accuſe *Dion*. Firſt of all he remembred him of the things he had done before, for the eſtabliſhing and preſeruation of the tyranny: and afterwards of cruell threats againſt thoſe whom he ſhould loue beſt, as his wife, his ſonne and ſiſter: and laſt of all, full of moſt humble requeſtes and intreatkes with ſorrow and lamentation. But that which moſt moued *Dion* of all other

*Dion fighteth with Dionyſius.*

*Dion hurt.*

*Dions victory of Dionyſius.*

*Hipparinus, Dions ſonne.*

*Dionyſius craft vnto Dion.*

was that he required him not to deſtroye the tyrannie, but rather to take it for himſelfe and not to ſet them at libertie that hated him, and would alwayes remember the miſchiefe he had done vnto them: & that he would himſelfe take vpon him to be Lord, ſauing by that meanes the liues of their parents & friends. When theſe letters had bene read before the whole aſſembly of the people, the SYRACVSANS thought not how to reuerence (as they ought) with admiration, the inflexible conſtancie and magnanimitie of *Dion*, that ſtood firme and faſt for iuſtice and vertue, againſt ſuch vehement intreatie and perſwaſion of his kinsfolke and friends: but they contrarily began to be afraied, and to miſtruſt him, as he that of neceſſitie ſhould be forced to pardon the tirant, for the great pledges and hoſtages he had of him. Wherefore, they began to chooſe them new gouernors, and the rather, becauſe they heard that *Heraclides* was comming vnto them, whom they loued ſingularly well.

*Heraclides what he was.*

This *Heraclides* was one of them that had beene baniſhed, a good ſouldier and Captaine, and well eſteemed of for the charge and office he bare vnder the tirants: howbeit a very vnconſtant man in euery thing, and would not continue long in a minde, and leaſt conſtant in warres where he had great charge of honor in hand. He had fallen out with *Dion* in PELOPONNESVS, wherefore he determined to come with a power by himſelfe and with his owne fleete againſt the tirant.

*Heraclides returneth to Syracuſa.*

So he arriued at length in SYRACVSA, with ſeuen gallies, and three other ſhips, where he found *Dionyſius* againe ſhut vp into his caſtle with a wall, and the SYRACVSANS alſo to haue the better hand of him. Then he began to currie fauor with the common people all the wayes he could poſſibly deuiſe, hauing by nature a certaine pleaſing manner to winne the common people, which ſeeke nothing elſe but to be flattered. Furthermore, he found it the eaſier for him to winne them, becauſe the people did alreadie miſlike *Dions* ſeueritie, as a man too ſeuere and cruell to gouerne a common wealth. For they had now their will ſo much, and were growen ſo ſtrong headed, becauſe they ſawe themſelues the ſtronger: that they would be flattered (as commonly the people be in free cities, where they onely be Lordes, and doe rule) before they were fully ſet at libertie. Therefore firſt of all, not being called together by the authoritie of the gouernours: they ranne in a furie, of their owne light heads, vnto the place of common aſſemblies, and there choſe *Heraclides* Admirall.

*The Syracuſans do chooſe Heraclides Admirall, to ſpight Dion.*

Then *Dion* vnderſtanding this, came to complaine of the iniurie they had done him, declaring vnto them, that to giue this power now vnto *Heraclides*, was to take that away which they had firſt giuen vnto him: becauſe he ſhould no more be generall, if they choſe any other Admirall by ſea then himſelfe. The SYRACVSANS then, as it were againſt their wils, did reuoke the power they had giuen vnto *Heraclides*: but afterwards *Dion* ſent for *Heraclides*, to pray him to come home to him. When he came, he rebuked him a litle, and tolde him that it was not honeſtly, nor profitably done of him, to ſue to the people, & to contend for honor againſt him in ſo daungerous a time, when the leaſt occaſion in the world was enough to haue marred all. Afterwards *Dion* himſelfe called an aſſembly againe of the city, and eſtabliſhed *Heraclides* Admirall: and perſwaded the Citizens to giue him ſouldiers, as he had in deede. *Heraclides* outwardly ſeemed to honour *Dion*, and confeſſed openly that he was greatly bound vnto him, and was alwayes at his heeles very lowly, being ready at his commaundement: but in the meane time, ſecretly he inticed the common people to rebell, and to ſtirre vppe thoſe whom he knew meete men to like of chaunge.

*Heraclides, a diſſembler, practiſing to make the people to rebel againſt Dion.*

Whereby he procured *Dion* ſuch trouble, and brought him into ſuch perplexity, that hee knew not well what way to take. For if he gaue them aduiſe to let *Dionyſius* quietlie come out of the caſtell: then they accuſed him, and ſayed he did it to ſaue his life. If on the other ſide, becauſe he would not trouble them, he continued ſiege ſtill, and did eſtabliſhe nothing: then they thought he did it of purpoſe to draw out the warres in length, becauſe hee might the longer time remaine their Chiefetaine generall, and ſo to keepe the Citizens longer in feare.

*Soſis a wicked man, moueth ſedition againſt Dion.*

At that time there was one *Soſis* in SYRACVSA, a man of no name, but noted among the SYRACVSANS for his villany and wickednes, eſteeming that full and ample liberty, when he might vnchecked licentiouſly ſpeake what he would, as in deede he did. For he ſeeking to doe *Dion* a diſpleaſure: firſt of all one day at a common counſell he ſtoode vp on his feete, and called the SYRACVSANS beaſtes, (amongeſt many other vile wordes he gaue them) if they did not perceiue, that being come from a fond and druncken tyranny, they had now receiued a ſober maiſter, maſter, and a wiſe and warie tirant. So when he had thus openly ſhewed himſelfe an enemie vnto *Dion*, he came no more that daye into the market place: but the next morning he was ſeene running vp and downe the citie naked, his head and face all of a gore blood, as if he had bene followed of men to haue ſlaine him. Thus *Soſis* comming in this manner into the middeſt of the market place, cryed out that *Dions* ſtrangers had lyen in wayte for him, and had handled him in this ſort, ſhewing his wound on his head. Many of the people tooke this matter very grieuouſly, and cryed out vpon *Dion*, and ſayed it was vilely and tirrannically done of him: by feare of murther and danger, to take away the libertie from the Citizens to ſpeake. Nowe though the whole aſſembly hereuppon fell into an vprore withall, *Dion* notwithſtanding came thither to cleare himſelfe of theſe accuſations, and made them preſently ſee, that this *Soſis* was brother to one of *Dionyſius* gard: who had put into his head, in this ſort to put the citie of SYRACVSA in an vprore, becauſe *Dionyſius* had no other hope nor meanes to eſcape, but by ſtirring vp faction and ſedition among them, to make one of them fall out with another. The Surgeons were ſent for forthwith to ſearch the wound of this *Soſis*: who found that it was rather a litle ſcratch, then any violent wound giuen him. For the woundes or cuts of a ſword, are euer deepeſt in the middeſt: and *Soſis* cut was but very litle, and not deepe, hauing had many beginnings, and giuen him (as it ſeemed) at ſundry times, that for very paine, the party that cutte him was driuen to leaue off, and came to cutte him at diuerſe times. Furthermore, there came certaine of his friendes in the meane time, that brought a raſor before the aſſembly, and reported that as they came, they met *Soſis* by the way all bloudied: who ſaide, that he fled from *Dions* ſouldiers, which had but newly hurt him. Whereupon they preſently followed them, but found no man, and onely they ſawe a raſor, which ſome bodie had caſt vpon a hollow ſtone thereabout, where they firſt ſawe him comming vnto them. Thus *Soſis* deuiſe had but euill ſucceſſe. For beſide all theſe proofes and tokens, *Dions* houſhold ſeruantes came to be a witneſſe againſt him: that very earely in the morning he went abroad alone with a raſor in his hand. Then they that before did burden and accuſe *Dion*, knew not what to ſay to the matter, but ſhrunke away: whereupon the people condemning *Soſis* to death, they were quiet againe with *Dion*. Yet were they alwaies affraid of theſe ſouldiers that were ſtraungers, ſpecially when they ſaw the greateſt conflicts they had with the tyrant, was by ſea, after that *Philiſtus* was come from the coaſt of APVGLIA with a great number of gallies to aide the tyrant. For then they thought, that theſe ſouldiers the ſtraungers being armed at all partes to fight by lande, they would do them no more ſeruice by ſea: becauſe the Citizens themſelues were they that kept them in ſafetie, for that they were men practiſed to fight by ſea, and were alſo the ſtronger by meanes of their ſhips. But beſide all this, the onely thing that made them to be couragious again, was the good fortune they had at the battell by ſea, in the which when they had ouercome *Philiſtus*, they cruelly and barbarouſly vſed him. Truely *Ephorus* ſaith, that P*hiliſtus* ſlue him ſelfe, when he ſaw his galley taken. Howbeit *Timonides* (who was alway with *Dion* from the firſt beginning of this war) writing vnto *Speuſippus* the Philoſopher, ſaith that P*hiliſtus* was taken aliue, becauſe his galley ranne a land: and that the SYRACVSANS firſt tooke off his curaces, and ſtripped him naked, and after they had done him all the villany and ſpite they could, they cut off his head, and gaue his body vnto boyes, commaunding them to dragge it into that part of the city called ACRADINE, and then to caſt it into the common priuy. *Timæus* alſo to ſpite him the more, ſayeth that the boyes tyed the dead body by his lame legge, and ſo dragged him vp and downe the city, where all the SYRACVSANS did what villany to it they could, being glad to ſee him dragged by the legge, that had ſayed *Dionyſius* ſhould not flie from the tyranny vppon a light horſe, but that they ſhould pull him out by the legge againſt his will. Now P*hiliſtus* reporteth this matter thus, not as ſpoken to *Dionyſius* by him ſelfe, but by ſome other. But *Timæus* taking a iuſt occaſion & colour to ſpeake euill of the good will, fidelity, and care that P*hiliſtus* had alwaies ſeemed to ſhew in the confirmation and defence of the tyranny: doth liberally beſtow iniurious wordes on him in this place. Now for them whom he had in deede offended, if they of malice and ſpite to be reuenged, did offer him cruelty, peraduenture they were not much to be blamed: but for them that ſince his death haue written the ieaſts, who were neuer offended by him in his life time, and who

*Dion cleareth Soſis accuſatiō againſt him.*

*Soſis condemned to death.*

*Philiſtus ſlain*

*Timæus, and Ephorus the Hiſtoriographers reproued.*

ought to ſhewe themſelues diſcreete in their writing, me thinkes that if they had regarded their owne credit and eſtimation, they ſhould not ſo fondly and outragiouſly haue reproued the aduerſities and meſſortunes, which by fortune may as well chaunce to the honeſteſt man, as vnto him. Thus fondely did *Ephorus* praiſe *Philiſtus*, who although he haue an excellent fine wit to counterfeate goodly excuſes, and cunningly to hide wicked and diſhoneſt partes, and eloquently to deuiſe by honeſt wordes to defend an euill cauſe: yet can not he with all the fiue wits he hath, excuſe himſelfe, that he hath not bene the onely man of the world that hath moſt fauored tirantes, and that hath euer loued, and ſpecially deſired power, wealth and alliance with tirantes. But he in my opinion taketh the right courſe of an Hiſtoriographer, that neither doth commend *Philiſtus* doings, nor yet caſteth his aduerſities in his teeth to his reproach. After *Philiſtus* death, *Dionyſius* ſent vnto *Dion*, to make him an offer to deliuer him the caſtle, armor, munition, and ſouliers that were in it, with money alſo to paye them for fiue monethes ſpace. For himſelfe, he prayed that he might be ſuffered to goe ſafely into ITALY, and to ly there, to take the pleaſure of the frutes of the coũtrie called GYARTA, which was within the territorie of SYRACVSA, and lyeth out from the ſea towards the maine land. *Dion* refuſed this offer, and anſwered the Ambaſſadors that they muſt moue the SYRACVSANS in it. They ſuppoſing they ſhould eaſily take *Dionyſius* aliue,, would not heare the Ambaſſadors ſpeake, but turned them away. *Dionyſius* ſeing no other remedie, left the caſtle in the handes of his eldeſt ſonne *Apollocrates*, and hauing a luſtie gale of winde, he ſecretly imbarked certaine of his men he loued beſt, with the richeſt things he had, and ſo hoyſed ſaile, vnwares to *Heraclides*, the Admirall of SYRACVSA. The people were maruellouſly offended with *Heraclides* for it, and beganne to mutine againſt him. But *Heraclides*, to pacifie this tumult of the people, ſuborned one *Hippon* an Orator, who preferred the law Agraria vnto the people, for the diuiſion of all the Iland amongſt them: and that the beginning of libertie was equalitie, and of bondage pouertie, vnto them that had no landes. *Heraclides* giuing his conſent to this decree, and ſtirring the common people to ſedition againſt *Dion*, that withſtood it: perſwaded the SYRACVSANS not onely to confirme the law *Hippon* had propounded, but alſo to diſcharge the hyred ſtraungers, to chooſe other Captaines and gouernors, and to rid them ſelues of *Dions* ſeuere gouernment. But they ſuppoſing ſtraight to haue bene rid from the tyrannie, as from a long and grieuous ſickneſſe, ouerraſhly taking vpon them like people that of long time had bene at libertie, they vtterly vndid themſelues, and ouerthrew *Dions* purpoſe: who like a good Phiſitian was carefull to ſee the citie well ordered and gouerned. So when they were aſſembled to chooſe new officers in the middeſt of ſommer, there fell ſuch horrible thunders, and other terrible ſtormes, and vnfortunate ſignes in the element, that for the ſpace of fifteene daies together, the people were ſtill ſcattered and diſperſed when they were aſſembled: inſomuch, that being affraide of theſe ſignes aboue, they durſt not at that time create any new Captaines. Certaine daies after, as the Orators had choſen a faire time to proceede to the election of officers: an oxe drawing in a cart (being daily acquainted with euery ſight and noiſe) ſodainely without any occaſion offered, fell into a madneſſe againſt the carter that draue him, and breaking his yoke a ſunder, ranne ſtraight to the Theater, and there made the people runne into euery corner, to flye and ſaue them ſelues: and then flinging, and bearing all downe before him that ſtoode in his way, he ranne through as much of the city, as the enemies afterwards wanne of them. This notwithſtanding, the SYRACVSANS making light acompt of all theſe ſignes, they choſe fiue and twenty Captaines, of the which *Heraclides* was one: and ſecretely they ſent to feele the hiered ſouldiers, to ſee if they could entice them from *Dion*, to cauſe them to take their part, and made them large promiſes to make them free men, as them ſelues of SYRACVSA. The ſouldiers would not be enticed from him, but faithfully and louingly tooke *Dion* amongeſt them with their armour and weapon, and putting him in the middeſt of them, led him in this manner out of the city, and did no man hurt, but reprouing their vnthankefulnes and villany vnto all thoſe they met by the way. Then the SYRACVSANS deſpiſing them for their ſmall number, & becauſe they did not firſt ſet vpon them, but truſting on the other ſide to them ſelues for that they were the greater number: they came to aſſayle them, ſuppoſing they ſhould eaſily ouercome them in the city, & kill euery man of them. *Dion*

*Dionyſius flyeth from Syracuſa.*

*Apollocrates the eldeſt ſonne of Dionyſius the younger.*

*Signes appearing to the Syracuſans.*

*Dion departeth out of Syracuſa.*

being thus in a ſtraight,that of neceſſitie he muſt fight againſt his owne countrymen,or els be ſlaine himſelf with his ſouldiers: he held vp his hands to the SYRACVSANS & very earneſtly prayed them to be content, pointing them with his finger to the caſtle that was full of their enemies,which ſhewed themſelues vpon the walles,& ſaw what they did. In the end when he ſaw that he could not pacifie their furie and tumult,and that all the citie was in an vprore with the prittle prattle of theſe ſeditious people,who like the ſea were caried with the wind: he did yet forbid his ſouldiers to giue any charge vpon them, who notwithſtanding made a countenance with great cries, and ratling of their harneſſe, as if they had ment to runne on them. Then the SYRACVSANS durſt not abide by it,but ran away like ſheepe through the ſtreets & no man chaſed them. So *Dion* called backe againe his men,& led them directly into the country of the LEONTINES. Thē the new officers & gouernors of SYRACVSA,perceiuing that the women laughed them to ſcorne: becauſe they would recouer the ſhame they had loſt, they armed their men a new againe,and did march after *Dion* to fight with him, whom they ouertooke at a riuer, as he was ready to paſſe ouer. Then began their horſemen a litle to skirmiſh with *Dions* company. But when they ſaw he did no more beare with their faults for countries ſake,but frowned indeed vpon them,and did ſet his men in battell ray againſt them: then they turned their backes againe, with more ſhame and reproache then before, and ſo fled vnto the citie of SYRACVSA,& had not many of their men ſlain. The LEONTINES receiued *Dion* very honorably,tooke the ſtrangers his ſouldiers,and gaue them pay, and made them free Citizens with them:& ſent ambaſſadors alſo vnto the SYRACVSANS,to will them to let the ſtrangers haue their pay. The SYRACVSAS on their ſide alſo, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the LEONTINES to accuſe *Dion*. So all their confederats were aſſembled in the citie of the LONTINES, & in that aſſembly,after both parties had bin heard,to heare what they would ſay:it was iudged that the SYRACVSANS were to blame. Howbeit they would not ſtand to the iudgment of their confederats,for they were now grown proud & careles, becauſe they were gouerned by no man,but had Captaines that ſtudied to pleaſe them,and were affraid alſo to diſpleaſe them. After that,there arriued certen gallies of *Dionyſius* at SYRACVSA,of the which *Nypſius* NEAPOLITAN was captaine: which brought victuals & money,to helpe them that were beſeged within the caſtle. Theſe gallies were fought with,& the SYRACVSANS obtained victory,and tooke foure of the tirants gallies with three banks of owers a peece:howbeit they fondly abuſed their victorie. For they hauing no bodie to command nor rule them, imployed all their ioy, in ryoting and banquetting, and in fond and diſſolute meetings,taking ſo litle care & regard to their buſines,that now when they thought the caſtle was ſure their own, they almoſt loſt their citie. For *Nypſius* perceiuing that euery part of the citie was out of order, and that the common people did nothing all day long vnto darke night, but bib and drinke drunke, dauncing after their pypes and howboyes, and that the gouernours them ſelues were verie glad alſo to ſee ſuch feaſting, or elſe for that they diſſembled it, and durſt not commaund and compell them that were druncke: he wiſely tooke the occaſion offered him, and ſcaled the wall which had ſhut vp the caſtle, and wanne it, and ouerthrewe it. Then he ſent the barbarous ſouldiers into the citie, and commaunded them to doe with them they met, what they would or could. The SYRACVSANS then too late found their fault, and hardly gaue preſent remedie, they were ſo amazed and ſodainely ſet on: for indeed they made a right ſacke of the citie. Here men were killed, there they ouerthrewe the wall, in another place they caried away women and litle children priſoners into the caſtle, weeping and crying out: and laſtly, they made the Captaines at their wits end, who could giue no preſent order, nor haue their men to ſerue them againſt their enemies, that came hand ouer head on euery ſide amongeſt them. The city being thus miſerably in garboile, and the ACRADINE alſo in great hazard of taking, in the which they put all their hope and confidence to riſe againe: euery man thought then with himſelfe that *Dion* muſt be ſent for, but yet no man moued it notwithſtanding, being aſhamed of their vnthankfulnes and ouer great follie that they had committed, in driuing him away. Yet neceſſitie enforcing them vnto it, there were certaine of the horſemen and of their confederates that cryed, that they muſt ſend for *Dion*, and the PELOPONNESIANS his ſouldiers, which were with him in the territorie of the LEONTINES. Aſſoone as the firſt

*The cowardlines of the Syracuſans.*

*The Leontines doe receiue Dion.*

*The negligence and troubles of the Syracuſans* word was heard, and that one had the heart to tell it to the people, all the SYRACVSANS cryed out, there was the poynt: and they were ſo glad of it, that the water ſtoode in their eyes for ioy, and beſought the gods it would pleaſe them to bring him vnto them, they were ſo deſirous to haue him againe. For they called to mind how valiant and reſolute he was in danger, and how that he was neuer affrayed, but did encourage them with his manhood in ſuch ſorte, that being ledde by him, they were not affrayed to ſet vppon their enemies. So the confederates for them, ſent preſently *Archonides* and *Teleſides* vnto him: and the noblemen that ſerued on horſebacke, they ſent him alſo fiue amongſt them, beſide *Hellanicus*. Who tooke their horſes, and poaſted for life, ſo that they came vnto the citie of the LEONTINES about Sunne ſet, and lighting off from their horſes, they went firſt of all and kneeled downe at *Dions* feete, and weeping, tolde him the miſerable eſtate of the SYRACVSANS. Straight there came diuerſe of the LEONTINES, and many of the PELOPONNESIAN ſouldiers vnto *Dion*, miſtruſting then that there was ſome newes in hand, to ſee the earneſt and humble ſute the Ambaſſadors of SYRACVSA made vnto him. Wherefore *Dion* tooke them preſently with him, and brought them himſelfe vnto the Theater, where the common councels and aſſemblies of the citie were holden. Thither ran euery man to heare what the matter was. Then *Archonides* and *Hellanicus* brought in by *Dion*, tolde openly before the whole aſſembly the greatneſſe of their miſerie, and requeſted the hiered ſouldiers to come and aide the SYRACVSANS, forgetting the iniurie they had receiued: conſidering that they had more derely payed for their folly, then they themſelues whom they had ſo iniuried, would haue made them to haue ſuffered. When they had ſayd their minds, there was a great ſilence through all the Theater: and then *Dion* roſe vp, and began to ſpeake. But the great teares that fell from his eyes would not ſuffer him to ſpeake: wherefore the hyred ſouldiers being ſorie to ſee him weepe, prayed him not to trouble himſelfe, but to be of good courage. Then *Dion* letting goe the ſorrow and griefe he had conceiued, he began to ſpeake vnto them in this manner. My Lords of PELOPONNESVS, and you alſo the confederats: I haue called you together to conſult with you, what you ſhould doe. For my ſelfe, it were no honeſtie for me to conſult what I ſhould doe now, when the citie of SYRACVSA ſtandeth in perill of deſtruction: and therfore if I cannot ſaue it from deſtruction, yet at the leaſt I will bury my ſelfe in the fire and ruine of my countrie. But for you, if it pleaſe you once more to helpe vs anaduiſed and more vnfortunate people: you ſhall by your meanes ſet the poore diſtreſſed city of SYRACVSA again a foot, which is your deed. Or if it be ſo, that remembring the iniuries the SYRACVSANS haue offred you, you will ſuffer it to be deſtroyed: yet I beſeech the gods that at the leaſt they will requite your valiantnes, fidelitie and good loue you haue borne me vntill this preſent, beſeeching you to remember *Dion*, who neither forſooke you at any time when you haue bene iniuried, nor his countriemen, when they were in trouble. So going on ſtill with his tale, the mercenary ſtraungers ſtepped forth with great noiſe, and prayed him to leade them to ayd SYRACVSA. Then the Ambaſſadors alſo that were ſent from the SYRACVSANS ſaluted and embraced them, and prayed the gods to bleſſe *Dion*, and them, with all the good hap that might be. So when all was whiſht and quiet, *Dion* willed them forthwith to go & prepare themſelues, and that they ſhould be there ready armed after ſupper, determining the very ſame night to go to aide SYRACVSA. But now at SYRACVSA, while day light laſted, *Dionyſius* ſouldiers and captaines did all the miſchiefe & villany, they could in the city, & when night came, they retired again into their caſtle, hauing loſt very few of their men. Then the ſeditious gouernors of the SYRACVSANS took hart againe vnto them, hoping that the enemies would be contented with that they had done: and therefore began a newe to perſwade the citizens to let *Dion* alone, and not to receiue him with his mercenary ſouldiers if they came to ayde him, ſaying that they themſelues were honeſter men then the ſtrangers to ſaue their citie, and to defend their libertie without helpe of any other. So other Ambaſſadors were ſent again vnto *Dion*, ſome from the captaines & gouernors of the citie, to ſtay them that they ſhould not come, and other alſo from the horſmen, and noble citizens his frends to haſten his iorney: whereupon by reaſon of this variance, *Dion* marched very ſoftly at his eaſe. Now by night, *Dions* enemies within the citie got to the gates, and kept them that *Dion* ſhould not come in. *Nypſius* on the other ſide made a ſaly out of the caſtle, with his mercenary

*The Syracuſans doe ſend for Dion againe.*

*Dions oration vnto his ſouldiers perſwading them to aide the Syracuſans*

*The inconſtācy of the Syracuſans.*

ſouldiers, being better appointed, & a greater number of them then before: and with them he ſtraight plucked down all the wal which they had built before the caſtle, & ran & ſacked the city. At this ſaly out of the caſtle, they did not onely kill the men they met, but women & litle children alſo, & ſtayed no more to ſpoile but to deſtroy & put al to hauock. For, becauſe *Dionyſius* ſaw that he was brought to a ſtraight and deſperat caſe, he bare ſuch mortall malice againſt the SYRACVSANS, that ſith there was no remedy but that he muſt needs forgo his tirannie: he determined to bury it, with the vtter deſtruction and deſolation of their citie. And therfore, to preuent *Dions* aide, and to make a quicke diſpatch to deſtroy all: they came with burning torches in their hands, & did ſet fire on all things they could come to: & farther off, they fired their darts and arrowes, and beſtowed them in euery place of the citie. So, they that fled for the fire, were met withall, and ſlaine in the ſtreets by the ſouldiers, and others alſo that ran into their houſes, were driuen out again by force of fire. For there were a number of houſes that were on fire, and fell downe vpon them that went and came. This miſery was the chiefeſt cauſe why al the SYRACVSANS agreed together to ſet open the gates vnto *Dion*. For when *Dion* heard by the way, that *Dionyſius* ſouldiers were gone againe into the caſtle, he made no great haſt to march forward: but when day was broken, there came certen horſmen from SYRACVSA, vnto *Dion*, who brought him newes that the enemies had once againe taken the citie. Then alſo came other of his enemies vnto him and prayed him to make haſt. Now their miſerie increaſing ſtill, and they being brought into hard ſtate: *Heraclides* firſt ſent his brother vnto *Dion*, and then *Theodotes* his Vncle, to pray him to come quickely, and helpe them. For now there was no man left to reſiſt the enemies, becauſe he himſelfe was hurt, and the citie alſo was in manner cleane burnt and deſtroyed. When theſe men came to *Dion*, he was yet about three ſcore furlong from the towne. So he tolde his mercenary ſouldiers the danger that the towne was in, and hauing encoraged them, he led them no more fayer and ſoftly, but running toward the citie, & meeting Meſſengers one of anothers necke as he went, that prayed him to make all the poſſible ſpeed he could. By this meanes, the ſouldiers marching with wonderfull ſpeed & good will together, he entred the gates of the city at a place called HECATOMPEDON. Firſt of all, he ſent the lighteſt armed he had, againſt the enemeis, to the end that the SYRACVSANS ſeing them, they might take a good hart againe to them, whilſt he himſelf in the meane time did ſet all the other heauy armed ſouldiers and cityzens that came to ioyne with him, in battel ray, and did caſt them into diuerſe ſquadrons, of greater length and bredth, and appointed them that ſhould haue the leading of them, to the end that ſetting vpon the enemies in diuerſe places together, they ſhould put them in greater feare and terror. When he had ſet all things in this order, and had made his prayer vnto the gods, and that they ſaw him marching through the citie againſt their enemies: then there roſe ſuch a common noiſe and reioycing, and great ſhout of the ſouldiers, mingled with vowes, prayers, and perſwaſions of all the SYRACVSANS: that they called *Dion* their god and ſauior and the mercenary ſouldiers their bretheren, & fellowe citizens. Furthermore, there was not a SYRACVSAN that ſo much regarded his owne life and perſon, but he ſeemed to be more afrayed of the loſſe of *Dion* onely, then of all the reſt. For they ſaw him the foremoſt man running through the danger of the fire, treading in bloud, and vpon dead bodies that lay ſlaine in the middeſt of the ſtreets. Now indeed to charge the enemies, it was a maruellous dangerous enterpriſe: for they were like mad beaſtes, and ſtood beſide in battell ray alongſt the wall which they had ouerthrown, in a very dangerous place, and hard to win. Howbeit the danger of the fire, did moſt of all trouble and amaze the ſtrangers, and did ſtop their way. For on which ſide ſoeuer they turned them, the houſes round about them, were all on a fire, and they were driuen to march ouer the burnt timber of the houſes, & to runne in great danger of the walls of the houſe ſides that fell on them, and to paſſe through the thicke ſmoke mingled with duſt, & beſide to keepe their rancks with great difficulty. And when they came to aſſaile the enemies, they could not come to fight hand to hand, but a few of them in number, becauſe of the ſtraightnes of the place: howbeit the SYRACVSANS with force of cries & ſhouts did ſo animat, and encourage their men, that at length they draue *Nypſius* and his men to forſake the place. The moſt part of them got into the caſtle, being very nere vnto them: the other that could not get in in time, fledde ſtraglingly vp and downe, whom

*Syracuſa ſet on fire by Dionyſius ſouldiers*

*Dions fight in the citie of Syracuſa.*

*Nypſius compelled by Dion to flie into the caſtell.*

the Grecian ſouldiers ſlue, chaſing of them. The extremitie of the time did not preſently ſuffer the Conquerors to reape the frute of their victory, neither the ioyes & imbracings meet for ſo great an exployte. For the Syracvsans went euery man home to his owne houſe, to quench the fire, the which could ſcarcely be put out all the night. When day brake, there was none of theſe ſeditious flatterers of the people that durſt tary in the city, but condemning themſelues, they fled to take their fortune. *Heraclides* and *Theodotes* came together of their owne good willes to yeeld themſelues vnto *Dion*, confeſſing that they had done him wrong, and humbly praying him to ſhew himſelfe better vnto them, then they had ſhewed themſelues vnto him: and that it was more honorable for him, being euery way vnmatchable for his vertues, to ſhew himſelf more noble to conquer his anger, thẽ his vnthankfull enemies had done: who contending with him before in vertue, did now confeſſe themſelues to be farre inferior vnto him. This was the ſumme and effect of *Heraclides* & *Theodotes* ſubmiſſion vnto *Dion*. But his friends did perſwade him not to pardon two ſuch wicked men, who did malice and enuie his honor: and as he would doe the ſtrangers his ſouldiers any pleaſure, that he ſhould put *Heraclides* into their hands, to root out of the cõmon wealth of Syracvsa, his vile maner to flatter and curry fauor with the people, the which was as dangerous & great a plague to a citie, as the tyrannie. *Dion* pacifying them, anſwered. Other generals of armies ſaid he, do imploy all their wits in martiall exerciſe & warres: but for himſelfe, that he had of long time ſtudied and learned in the ſchoole of the Academy, to ouercome anger, enuy, & all malice & contention. The noble proofe whereof is moſt ſeene, not in vſing honeſt men and his friendes moderately, but ſhewing mercy alſo vnto his enemies, & forgetting his anger againſt them that haue offended him: and that for his part, he had rather ouercome *Heraclides*, not in riches and wiſdom, but in clemency & iuſtice, for therein chiefly conſiſted excellency, ſith no man elſe in warres can chalenge power and gouernment, but fortune, that ruleth moſt. And though *Heraclides*, ſaid he, through enuy hath done like a wicked man: muſt *Dion* therefore through anger bleamiſh his vertue? Indeed by mans law it is thought meeter to reuenge an iniurie offred, then to doe an iniurie: but nature ſheweth, that they both proceed of one ſelfe imperfection. Now though it be a hard thing to chaunge, and alter the euill diſpoſition of a man, after he is once nuſled in villany: yet is not man of ſo wilde and brutiſh a nature, that his wickedneſſe may not be ouercome with often pleaſures, when he ſeeth that they are continually ſhewed him. *Dion* anſwering his friends thus, he forgaue *Heraclides*, and beginning againe to ſhut vp the caſtle with a wal round about, he commanded the Syracvsans euery man of them to cut downe a ſtake, and to bring it thither. So when night was come, ſetting his ſouldiers the ſtrangers in hand withall whilſt the Syracvsans ſlept & tooke their eaſe: by morning he had compaſſed the caſtle round about with a pale. The next day, they that ſaw the greatnes and ſodaine expedition of this work, wondred much at it, as well the enemies, as alſo the Citizens & when he had buried the dead bodies, & redeemed them that were taken priſoners, (which were not much leſſe then two thouſand perſons) he called a common councell of the citie, in the which *Heraclides* made a motion, that *Dion* ſhould be choſen generall of Syracvsa, with abſolute power & authoritie, both by ſea and land. The chiefeſt men of the city liked yery well of it, & would haue had the people to haue paſſed it. But the rabble of theſe mariners, and other mechanicall people liuing by their labor, would not ſuffer *Heraclides* to be put from his Admiralſhip, but fell to mutinie, thinking that though *Heraclides* did them no pleaſure els, yet he would euer be a more popular man then *Dion*, and pleaſe the common people better. *Dion* granted their deſire, & made *Heraclides* Admirall againe of the ſea: howbeit he did anger them as much another way, whẽ he did not only reiect the earneſt ſute they made to haue the law Agraria paſſe for diuiſion of lands in equalitie amongſt them, but did alſo cancell & reuoke all that had bene done before. Wherfore *Heraclides* remaining at Messina, began thenceforth to enter into new practiſes againe, & to flatter the ſouldiers & ſea-faring men he had brought thither with him & to ſtirre them vp to rebel againſt *Dion*, ſaying that he would make himſelfe tirant: and himſelfe in the meane time ſecretly practiſed with *Dionyſius*, by meanes of a Spartan called *Pharax*. The nobleſt man of the Syracvsans miſtruſted it, & thereupon there fell out great mutiny in their campe, whereby alſo followed great famine in Syracvsa: ſo that *Dion* was

*Dions mercy to his enemies & the great profit he tooke by ſtudy, in the Academy at Athẽs*

*No mã ſhould be worſe by anothers wickedneſſe.*

*The forwardnes of the Syracuſans againſt Dion.*

*Heraclides againe ſtirreth vp the Syracuſans, to rebell againſt Dion.*

at ſuch a ſtraight, that he could not tell what to ſay to it, and was reproued of all his friends for that he had againe preferred to great authoritie againſt himſelfe, ſo vntractable a man and ſo malicious & wicked a perſon as *Heraclides* was. Now when *Pharax* lay in campe with an army neare vnto the citie of NAPLES, in the marches of the AGRIGENTINES: *Dion* did bring the army of the SYRACVSANS into the field, being yet determined not to fight with him til an other time But through *Heraclides*, & the ſea-mens crying out, that ſaid he would not try this war by battell, but would draw it out in length becauſe he would be ſtill generall: he was forced to giue battell, and loſt it. Howbeit the ouerthrow was not great, and hapned rather becauſe his men were at a iarre among themſelues, by reaſon of their faction and diuiſion, then otherwiſe. *Dion* therfore prepared to fight another battell, & gathered his men together againe encouraging them, when euen at twy-light word was brought him that *Heraclides* with all his fleet was vnder ſaile towards SYRACVSA meaning to take the citie, and to ſhut *Dion* & his army out of it. Wherefore he preſently tooke with him the chiefeſt men of authoritie in the citie, and the moſt willingeſt men, and rode all night with them in ſuch haſt, that they were at the gates of SYRACVSA the next morning by nine of the clocke, hauing ridden ſeuen hundreth furlong. *Heraclides* that had ſailed with all the poſſible ſpeede he could to preuent him with his ſhippes, perceiuing that he came ſhort, he turned ſayle, and taking ſeaes at all aduenture by chance he met with *Gæſylus* LACEDÆMONIAN, who told him he was ſent from LACEDÆMON, to be generall to the SICILIANS in this warre, as *Gylippus* was ſent at other times before. He was glad he had met with him to haue ſuch a remedie and defence againſt *Dion*, & boaſted of it vnto the friends & confederats of SYRACVSA, & ſent an Herauld before vnto the SYRACVSANS, ſũmoning them to receiue *Gæſylus* LACEDÆMONIAN, who was ſent to be their generall. *Dion* made anſwer: that the SYRACVSANS had gouerners enough, and though that their affaires did of neceſſitie require a LACEDÆMONIAN captaine, yet that himſelfe was he, for that he was made free in SPARTA. Then *Gæſylus* perceiuing he could not obtaine to be generall, he went vnto SYRACVSA, & came to *Dion*, & there made *Heraclides*, and him frends againe, by the great and ſolemne othes he made: & becauſe *Gæſylus* alſo ſware, that he himſelfe would be reuenged of him for *Dions* ſake, & puniſh *Heraclides*, if euer after he did once more conſpire againſt him. After that the SYRACVSNAS brake vp their armie by ſea, becauſe it did them then no ſeruice, and was beſide chargeable keeping of it, & further did alſo breed ſedition and trouble amongſt their gouernors: and ſo went to lay ſtraighter ſiege to the caſtle then euer they did, and built vp the wall againe, which the enemies had ouerthrowen. Then *Dionyſius* ſonne ſeeing no aide to come to him from any parte, and that victuals failed them, and further, that the ſouldiers began to mutine, being vnable to keepe them: he fell to a compoſition with *Dion*, and deliuered vp the caſtle into his hands, with all the armor and munition in it: and ſo tooke his mother and his ſiſters of *Dion*, and put them abord vpon fiue gallies, with the which he went vnto his father, through the ſafe conduct of *Dion*. There was not a man at that time in all SYRACVSA, but was there to ſee this ſight, or if by chaunce there were any abſent, the other that were there called them thither as loud as they could crie, ſaying, that they did not ſee the goodlieſt daye and ſunneſhine, which the citie of SYRACVSA might ſee then at her riſing, the ſame being now reſtored againe to her former libertie. If vntill this preſent day they doe reckon the flying of *Dionyſius*, for one of the rareſt examples of fortunes chaunge, as one of the greateſt and notableſt things that euer was: what ioy thinke we had they that draue him out, and what pleaſure had they with themſelues, that with the leaſt meane that could be poſſible, did deſtroy the greateſt tirannie in the world? So when *Apollocrates Dionyſius* ſonne was imbarked, and that *Dion* was entred into the caſtle: the women within the caſtle would not tarie till he came into the houſe, but went to meete him at the gates, *Ariſtomachè* leading *Dions* ſon in her hand, and *Aretè* following her weeping, being very fearefull how ſhe ſhould call and ſalute her huſband, hauing lyen with another man. *Dion* firſt ſpake to his ſiſter, and afterwardes to his ſonne: and then *Ariſtomachè* offering him *Aretè*, ſaid vnto him. Since thy baniſhment ô *Dion*, we haue led a miſerable & captiue life: but now that thou art returned home with victorie, thou haſt rid vs out of care and thraldome, and haſt alſo made vs againe bolde to lift vp our heads, ſauing her here, whom I wretched creature haue by force (thy ſelfe aliue) »

*Gæſylus Lacedæmonian cometh to Syracuſa, to be generall of the Syracuſans.*

*Gæſylus maketh Dion and Heraclides friends againe.*

*The caſtle of Syracuſa ſurrendred vnto Dion.*

*The words of Ariſtomachè vnto Dion, at his entrie into the caſtle of Syracuſa.*

ſeene maried vnto another man. Now then, ſith fortune hath made thee Lord of vs all, what iudgement giueſt thou of this compulſion? Howe wilt thou haue her to ſalute thee, as her Vncle, or husband? As *Ariſtomache* ſpake theſe wordes, the water ſtoode in *Dions* eyes: ſo, he gently & louingly taking his wife *Aretè* by the hand, he gaue her his ſonne, and willed her to goe home to his houſe where he then remained, and ſo deliuered the caſtle vnto the SYRACUSANS.

*Dion taketh his wife Aretè againe, which had forcibly bene maried to another man.*

He hauing this proſperous ſucceſſe and victorie, would not reape any preſent benefite or pleaſure thereby, before he had ſhewed himſelfe thankefull to his friendes, giuen great giftes alſo vnto the confederates of SYRACUSA, and ſpecially, before he had giuen euerie one of his friends in the citie, and his mercenarie ſouldiers the ſtrangers, ſome honorable reward according to their deſerts, exceeding his habilitie with magnanimitie of minde: when he him ſelfe liued ſoberly, and kept a moderate dyet, contenting him with any thing that came firſt to hand.

*Dions temperance and thriftines.*

Euery man that heard of it, wondred at him, conſidering that not onely all SICILIA and CARTHAGE, but generally all GRECE looked vpon his great proſperitie and good fortune, thinking no man liuing greater then himſeſe, nor that any Captaine euer attained vnto ſuch fame and wonderfull fortune, as he was come vnto. This notwithſtanding *Dion* liued as temperately and modeſtly in his apparell, and alſo in his number of ſeruantes, and ſeruice at his bord, as if he had liued with *Plato* in the Academy at ATHENS, and had not bene conuerſant amongeſt ſouldiers and Captaines, which haue no other comfort nor pleaſure for all the paines and daungers they ſuffer continually, but to eate and drinke their fill, and to take their pleaſure all day long. *Plato* wrote vnto him, that all the world had him in admiration. But *Diō*, in my opinion, had no reſpect but to one place, and to one citie (to wit, the Academy) and would haue no other Iudges nor lookers into his doings, but the ſchollers of the ſame: who neither wondred at his great exploites, valiantneſſe, nor victorie, but onely conſidered if he did wiſely and modeſtly vſe the fortune he had, and could ſo keepe himſelfe within modeſt boundes, hauing done ſo great things. Furthermore, touching the grauetie he had when he ſpake to any bodie, and his inflexible ſeueritie which he vſed towards the people, he determined neuer to alter or chaunge it: notwithſtanding that his affaires required him to ſhew courteſie and lenitie, and that *Plato* alſo reproued him for it, and wrote, that ſeueritie and obſtinacie (as we ſayed before) was the companion of ſolitarineſſe. But it ſeemeth to me that *Dion* did vſe it for two reſpectes. The firſt, becauſe nature had not framed him, curteous and affable to winne men: ſecondly he did what he could to drawe the SYRACUSANS to the contrarie, who were ouer licencious, & ſpoiled with too much flattery: for *Heraclides* began againe to be buſie with him.

*Heraclides conſpireth againe againſt Dion.*

Firſt of all, *Dion* ſending for him to come to counſel, he ſent him word he would not come: and that being a priuate citizen, he would be at the common councell amongeſt others when any was kept. Afterwardes he accuſed him, for that he had not ouerthrowen & raſed the caſtle: and alſo becauſe he would not ſuffer the people to breake open the tombe of *Dionyſius* the elder, to caſt out his bodie: & becauſe he ſent for counſellers to CORINTH, and diſdained to make the citizens his companions in the gouernment of the cōmon wealth. In deede to confeſſe a troth, *Dion* had ſent for certen CORINTHIANS, hoping the better to ſtabliſh the forme of a common wealth, which he had in his minde, when they were come. For his minde was vtterly to breake the gouernment of *Democratia*, (to wit, the abſolute gouernment and authoritie of the people in a citie, not being as it were a common wealth, but rather a fayer and market where things are ſolde, as *Plato* ſaieth) and to eſtabliſh the LACONIAN or CRETAN common wealth, mingled with a princely, & popular gouernment: and that ſhould be, *Ariſtocratia*, to wit, the number of a fewe noble men that ſhould gouerne and direct the chiefeſt and waightieſt matters of ſtate. And for that purpoſe, he thought the CORINTHIANS the meeteſt men to help him to frame this cōmon wealth, cōſidering that they gouerned their affaires more by chooſing a few number of the nobilitie, then otherwiſe, and that they did not referre many things to the voice of the people.

*Dion ſent to the Corinthiās to ſtabliſh a cōmon wealth to the Syracuſās.*
*Dion ment to aboliſh Democratia, and to aduance Ariſtocratia.*
*The authoritie of the people, reſembled by Plato to a faire or market.*
*The common wealth of the Corinthians.*
*The murther of Heraclides*

And becauſe he was aſſured that *Heraclides* would be againſt him in it all that he could, and that otherwiſe he knew he was a ſeditious, a troubleſome, and light headed fellow: he then ſuffered them to kill him who had long before done it, if he had not kept them from it, & ſo they went home to his houſe, and ſlue him there. The murther of *Heraclides* was much miſliked of the SYRACUSANS: howbeit *Dion* cauſed him to be honorably buried, and brought his bodie to the ground, followed with all his armie.

Then he made an oration himſelfe to the people, and told them, that it was impoſsible to auoyde ſedition and trouble in the citie, ſo long as *Dion* & *Heraclides* did both gouerne together. At that time there was one *Callippus* an Athenian, a familiar of *Dions*, who (as *Plato* ſayth) came not acquainted with *Dion* through the occaſion of his ſtudy in Philoſophie: but becauſe he had bene his guide to bring him to ſee the ſecret miſteries and ceremonies of the ſacrifices, and for ſuch other like common talke and companie. This notwithſtanding, *Callippus* did accompany him in all this warre, and was very much honoured of him, and was one of the firſt of all his friendes that entred into Syracusa with him, and did valiantly behaue himſelfe in all the battels and conflicts that were fought. This *Callippus* ſeeing that *Dions* beſt & chiefeſt friends were all ſlaine in this warre, & that *Heraclides* alſo was dead, that the people of Syracusa had no more any head, and beſides, that the ſouldiers which were with *Dion* did loue him better then any other man: he became the vnfaithfulleſt man and the verieſt villain of all other, hoping that for reward to kill his friend *Dion*, he ſhould vndoubtedly come to haue the whole gouernement of all Sicilia, and as ſome do report, for that he had taken a bribe of his enemies of twentie talents for his labour to commit this murther. So he began to practiſe, to bribe, and to ſubborne certaine of the mercenarie ſouldiers againſt *Dion*, and that by a maruellous craftie and ſuttle fetch. For, vſing commonly to report vnto *Dion* certaine ſeditious wordes, ſpoken peraduenture by the ſouldiers indeede, or elſe deuiſed of his owne head: he wan ſuch a libertie & boldneſſe by the truſt *Dion* had in him, that he might ſafely ſay what he would to any of the ſouldiers, and boldly ſpeake euill of *Dion* by his owne commaundement: to the end he might thereby vnderſtand the better whether any of the ſouldiers were angry with him, or wiſhed his death. By this pollicy, *Callippus* ſtraight foūd out thoſe that bare *Dion* grudge, & that were already corrupted, whom he drew to his conſpiracy. And if any mā vnwilling to geue eare vnto him, went and told *Dion*, that *Callippus* would haue intiſed him to conſpire againſt him: *Dion* was not angry with him for it, thinking that he did, but as he had commaunded him to do. Now as this treaſon was practiſing againſt *Dion*, there appeared a great and monſtruous ghoſt or ſpirit vnto him. By chaunce ſitting late one euening all alone, in a gallerie he had, and being in a deepe thought with himſelfe, ſodainly he heard a noyſe: and therwith caſting his eye to the end of his gallery, (being yet day light) he ſaw a monſtrous great woman, like vnto one of the furies ſhewed in playes, and ſaw her ſweeping of the houſe with a broome. This viſion ſo amazed and affrighted him, that he ſent for his friends, and told them what a ſight he had ſeene: and prayed them to tarie with him all night, being as it were a man beſide himſelfe, fearing leaſt the ſpirite would come to him againe if they left him alone, of the which notwithſtanding he neuer heard more afterwardes. Howbeit ſhortly after, his ſonne being growen to mans ſtate, for a certaine light anger he had taken when he was but a boy, he caſt himſelfe headlong downe from the toppe of the houſe, and ſo was ſlayne. *Dion* being in this ſtate, *Callippus* went on ſtill with his treaſon, and ſpread a rumour abroad among the Syracusans, that *Dion* ſeeing himſelfe now deſtitute of children, was determined to ſend for *Apollocrates*, *Dionyſius* ſonne, to make him his heire and ſucceſſour, being coſin germaine to his wife, and his ſiſters daughters ſonne. Then began *Dion*, his wife, and ſiſter to miſtruſt *Callippus* practiſes, and they were told of it by diuers ſundry and manifeſt proofes. But *Dion* being ſory (as I ſuppoſe) for *Heraclides* death, and inwardly taking that murther in very euill part, as a fowle blot to his life and doings: he ſayd he had rather dye a thouſand deathes, and to offer his throate to be cut to any that would, rather then he would liue in that miſerie, to be compelled to take heede as well of his friends, as of his enemies. *Callippus* then ſeeing the women ſo buſie and inquiſitiue of his doings, and fearing leaſt he ſhould be bewrayed: he came weeping vnto them, and told them it was nothing, and that he was ready to aſſure them of it by any manner of way they would deuiſe. The women then willed him to ſweare by the great othe, which was in this manner. He that muſt take this othe, commeth into the temple of the goddeſſes *Theſmophores*, which are, *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*. And after certaine ſacrifices done, he putteth on the purple chaplet of the goddeſſe *Proſerpina*, holding a burning torch in his hand and ſweareth in this manner. *Callippus* hauing done all theſe ceremonies, and made the oth in forme as I haue told you: he made ſo light account of the goddeſſes, that he taried no longer

*Callippus Athenian, conſpireth againſt Dion.*

*Note the ſuttletie of tale bearers.*

*A ſpirite appeared vnto Dion.*

*The lamentable death of Dions ſonne.*

*Apollocrates Dionyſius ſonne.*

*The great othe of the Syracuſans.*

to do the murther he had determined, but till the very feaſt day of the goddeſſe ſhould come, by whom he had ſworne: and ſlue him on the day of the feaſt of *Proſerpina*. Now, I do not thinke that he choſe that day of ſet purpoſe, knowing right well that he did alwayes ſinne againſt her, what time ſoeuer he had killed his brother, being by his meanes ſpecially admitted to the ſocietie and brotherhood with him, of the fraternitie and miſteries of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*. Of this conſpiracie there were diuers. For, as *Dion* was ſet in his chamber talking with his friends where there were many beds to ſit on: ſome compaſſed the houſe round about, others came to the doores and windowes of his chamber, and they that ſhould do the deede to diſpatch him, which were the ZACYNTHIAN ſouldiers, came into his chamber in their coates without any ſword. But when they were come in, they that were without did ſhut the doores after them, and locked them in, leaſt any man ſhould come out: and they that were within, fell vpon *Dion*, and thought to haue ſtrangled him. But when they ſaw they could not, they called for a ſword. Neuer a man that was within, durſt open the doores, though there were many with *Dion*. For they thought euery man to ſaue their owne liues, by ſuffering him to be killed, and therefore durſt not come to helpe him. So the murtherers taried a long time within, & did nothing. At length there was one *Lycon* a SYRACVSAN, that gaue one of the ZACYNTHIAN ſouldiers a dagger in at the window, with the which they cut *Dions* throate, as a weather they had holden a long time in their hands, euen dead for feare. The murther being executed, they caſt his ſiſter, and wife, great with child, into priſon, and there the poore Lady was pitifully brought to bed of a goodly boy: the which they rather determined to bring vp, then otherwiſe to do any thing with the child. Their keepers that had the charge of them, were contented to let them do it, becauſe *Callippus* began then a litle to grow to ſome trouble. For at the firſt, after he had ſlaine *Dion*, he bare all the whole ſway for a time, and kept the citie of SYRACVSA in his hands: and wrote vnto ATHENS, the which next vnto the immortall gods he was moſt affrayed of, hauing defiled his hands in ſo damnable a treaſon. And therfore, in my opinion, it was not euill ſpoken, that ATHENS is a citie of all other that bringeth forth the beſt whẽ they giue themſelues to goodneſſe, and the wickedeſt people alſo, when they diſpoſe themſelues to euill: as their country alſo bringeth forth the beſt honny that is, & hemlocke in like maner that quickely diſpatcheth a man of his life. Howbeit the gods, and fortune, did not ſuffer this treaſon and wicked man to raigne long, hauing come to the gouernement of a realme by ſo damnable a murther: but ſhortly after they gaue him his payment he had deſerued. For *Callippus* going to take a litle town called CATANA, he loſt the citie of SYRACVSA: whereupon he ſayd that he had loſt a citie, and got a * cheeſeknife. Afterwardes he went to aſſaile the MESSENIANS, and there he loſt a great number of his men, and amongſt them were ſlaine thoſe that killed *Dion*. Now *Callippus* finding no citie in all SICILIA, that would receiue him, but that they all did hate and abhorre him: he went to take the citie of RHEGIO in ITALIE. There being in great diſtreſſe and neede of all things, and not able to maintaine his ſouldiers: he was ſlaine by *Leptines*, and *Polyperchon*, with the ſelfe ſame dagger wherewith *Dion* before was ſlayne: the which was knowen by the faſhion, being ſhort after the LACONIAN daggers, and alſo by the workemanſhip vpon it, that was very excellently wrought. And thus was the end and death of *Callippus*. Now for *Ariſtomaché* and *Aretè*, they were taken out of priſon: and *Icetes* SYRACVSAN, that ſometimes had bene one of *Dions* friends, tooke them home to his owne houſe, & vſed them very well and faithfully for a certaine time, but afterwardes was wonne and corrupted by *Dions* enemies. So he cauſed a ſhip to be prouided for them, and bare them in hand that he would ſend them into PELOPONNESVS: but he gaue them charge that caried them away, to kill them as they went, and to throw them ouer bord into the ſea. Some ſay, that the two women, and the litle young boy, were caſt aliue into the ſea. But this reward of the ſinfull act that he committed, returned againe vpon himſelfe, as it had done before vnto others. For he was taken by *Timoleon* that put him to death: and beſides, the SYRACVSANS did alſo kill two of his daughters in reuenge of the vnfaithfulneſſe he had ſhewed vnto *Dion*.

*Dion ſlayne by Callippus Athenian.*

*Dions wife brought to bed of a ſonne in priſon.*

*The puniſhment of Callippus.*

** Καρτάνη in corrupt ſpeach ſignifieth a knife to ſcrape or cut cheeſe, which is truelier called πατάνη. Iulius* Pollux. *lib.* 10. *cap.* 24.

*Callippus ſlaine with the ſame dagger that ſlue Dion.*

*The crueltie of the Syracuſans vnto Dion and his poſteritie.*

THE

# THE LIFE OF
## *Marcus Brutus.*

MArcus Brutus* came of that *Iunius Brutus*, for whom the auncient ROMAINES made his ſtatue of braſſe to be ſet vp in the Capitol, with the images of the kings, holding a naked ſword in his hãd: becauſe he had valiantly put down the TARQVINES frõ their kingdome of ROME. But that *Iunius Brutus* being of a ſower ſtearne nature, not ſoftned by reaſon, being like vnto ſword blades of too hard a tẽper: was ſo ſubiect to his choller and malice he bare vnto the tyrants, that for their ſakes he cauſed his owne ſonnes to be executed. But this *Marcus Brutus* in contrary maner, whoſe life we preſently write, hauing framed his manners of life by the rules of vertue and ſtudy of Philoſophy, and hauing imployed his wit, which was gentle and conſtant, in attempting of great things: me thinkes he was rightly made and framed vnto vertue. So that his very enemies which wiſh him moſt hurt, becauſe of his conſpiracie againſt *Iulius Cæſar*: if there were any noble attempt done in all this conſpiracie, they referre it wholly vnto *Brutus*, and all the cruell and violent actes vnto *Caſsius*, who was *Brutus* familiar friend, but not ſo well giuen, and conditioned as he. His mother *Seruilia*, it is thought came of the bloud of *Seruilius Hala*, who, when *Spurius Melius* went about to make himſelfe king, and to bring it to paſſe had entiſed the common people to rebell: tooke a dagger and hid it cloſe vnder his arme, and went into the market place. When he was come thither, he made as though he had ſomewhat to ſay vnto him, and preſſed as neare him as he could: wherefore *Melius* ſtooping downe with his head, to heare what he would ſay, *Brutus* ſtabbed him in with his dagger, and ſlue him. Thus much all writers agree for his mother. Now touching his father, ſome for the euil wil & malice they bare vnto *Brutus*, becauſe of the death of *Iulius Cæſar*, do maintaine that he came not of *Iunius Brutus* that draue out the TARQVINES: for there were none left of his race, conſidering that his two ſonnes were executed for conſpiracie with the TARQVINES: and that *Marcus Brutus* came of a meane houſe, the which was raiſed to honour and office in the common wealth, but of late time. *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher writeth the contrarie, that *Iunius Brutus* indeede ſlue two of his ſonnes which

*The parentage of Brutus.*

*Brutus manners.*

*Seruilia M. Brutus mother.*

*Brutus parentage by his father.*

were men growen, as the hiſtories do declare: howbeit that there was a third ſonne, being but a litle child at that time, from whom the houſe and familie afterwardes was deriued: and furthermore, that there were in his time certaine famous men of that familie, whoſe ſtature and countenaunce reſembled much the image of *Iunius Brutus*. And thus much for this matter. *Marcus Cato* the Philoſopher was brother vnto *Seruilia M. Brutus* mother: whom *Brutus* ſtudied moſt to follow of all the other ROMAINES, becauſe he was his vncle, and afterwardes he maried his daughter. Now touching the GRECIAN Philoſophers, there was no ſect nor Philoſopher of them, but he heard and liked it: but aboue all the reſt, he loued *Platoes* ſect beſt, and did not much giue himſelfe to the new nor meane Academie as they call it, but altogether to the old Academie. Therefore he did euer greatly eſteeme the Philoſopher *Antiochus*, of the citie of ASCALON: but he was more familiar with his brother *Ariſton*, who for learning and knowledge was inferior to many other Philoſophers, but for wiſedom & curteſie, equall with the beſt and chiefeſt. Touching *Empylus*, whom *Marcus Brutus* himſelfe doth mention in his Epiſtles, and his friends alſo in many places: he was an Orator, and left an excellent booke he wrote of the death of *Iulius Cæſar*, and tituled it *Brutus*. He was properly learned in the Latin tongue, and was able to make long diſcourſe in it, beſide that he could alſo plead very well in Latin. But for the Greeke tongue, they do note in ſome of his Epiſtles, that he counterfeited that briefe compendious manner of ſpeach of the LACEDÆMONIANS. As when the warre was begun, he wrote vnto the PARGAMENIANS in this ſort. I vnderſtand you haue giuen *Dolabella* money: if you haue done it willingly, you confeſſe you haue offended me: if againſt your wils, ſhew it then by giuing me willingly. An other time againe vnto the SAMIANS: Your councels be long, your doings be ſlow, conſider the end. And in an other Epiſtle he wrote vnto the PATAREINS: The XANTHIANS deſpiſing my good will, haue made their country a graue of diſpaire: & the PATAREIANS that put themſelues into my protection, haue loſt no iot of their libertie. And therefore whileſt you haue libertie, either chooſe the iudgement of the PATAREIANS, or the fortune of the XANTHIANS. Theſe were *Brutus* maner of letters which were honored for their briefeneſſe. So *Brutus* being but a young ſtripling went into CYPRVS with his vncle *Cato*, who was ſent againſt *Ptolomy* king of ÆGYPT, who hauing ſlaine himſelf, *Cato* ſtaying for certaine neceſſary buſines he had in the Ile of RHODES, had already ſent * *Caninius*, one of his friendes before to keepe his treaſure and goods. But *Cato* fearing he would be light fingered, wrote vnto *Brutus* forthwith to come out of PAMPHYLIA, (where he was but newly recouered of a ſickeneſſe) into CYPRVS, the which he did. The which iourney he was ſory to take vpon him, both for reſpect of *Caninius* ſhame, whom Cato as he thought wrongfully ſlaundered: as alſo becauſe he thought this office too meane and vnmeete for him, being a young man, and giuen to his booke. This notwithſtanding, he behaued himſelfe ſo honeſtly and carefully, that *Cato* did greatly commende him: and after all the goodes were ſold and conuerted into ready money, he tooke the moſt part of it, and returned withall to ROME. Afterwardes when the Empire of ROME was deuided into factions, and that *Cæſar* and P*ompey* both were in armes one againſt the other, and that all the Empire of ROME was in garboyle and vprore: it was thought then that *Brutus* would take part with *Cæſar*, becauſe P*ompey* not long before had put his father to death. But *Brutus* preferring the reſpect of his country and common wealth, before priuate affection, and perſwading himſelfe that P*ompey* had iuſter cauſe to enter into armes then *Cæſar*: he then tooke part with P*ompey*, though oftetimes meeting him before, he thought ſcorne to ſpeake to him, thinking it a great ſinne and offence in him, to ſpeake to the murtherer of his father. But then ſubmitting himſelfe vnto P*ompey*, as vnto the head of the common wealth: he ſailed into SICILIA, Lieutenant vnder *Seſtius* that was gouernour of that prouince. But when he ſaw that there was no way to riſe, nor to do any noble exployts, and that *Cæſar* & P*ompey* were both camped together, and fought for victory: he went of himſelfe vnſent for into MACEDON, to be partaker of the daunger. It is reported that P*ompey* being glad, and wondering at his comming when he ſaw him come to him: he roſe out of his chaire, and went and imbraced him before them all, and vſed him as honourably, as he could haue done the nobleſt man that tooke his part. *Brutus* being in P*ompeys* campe, did nothing but ſtudie all day long, except he were with P*ompey*, & not onely

*Seruilia Catoes ſiſter.*

*Brutus ſtudies.*

*Brutus followed the old Academikes.*

*Empylus an Orator, wrote a booke of Cæſars death, and intituled it, Brutus.*

*Brutus maner of writing his Epiſtles in Greeke.*

*A briefe letter to the Samians.*

*Brutus followed Cato into Cyprus.*

** Or Canidius.*

*Brutus taketh part with Pompey.*

the dayes before, but the ſelfe ſame day alſo before the great battell was fought in the fieldes of PHARSALIA, where *Pompey* was ouerthrowen. It was in the middeſt of ſommer, and the ſunne was very hot, beſides that the campe was lodged neare vnto mariſhes, and they that caried his tent, taried long before they came, whereupon, beyng very wearie with trauell, ſcant any meate came into his mouth at dinner time. Furthermore, when others ſlept, or thought what would happen the morrow after: he fell to his booke, and wrote all day long till night, writing a breuiarie of P*olybius*. It is reported that *Cæſar* did not forget him, and that he gaue his Captaines charge before the battell, that they ſhould beware they killed not *Brutus* in fight, and if he yeelded willingly vnto them, that then they ſhould bring him vnto him: but if he reſiſted, and would not be taken, then that they ſhould let him goe, and do him no hurt. Some ſay he did this for *Seruiliaes* ſake, *Brutus* mother. For when he was a young man, he had bene acquainted with *Seruilia*, who was extremelie in loue with him. And becauſe *Brutus* was borne in that time when their loue was hotteſt, he perſwaded himſelfe that he begat him. For proofe hereof the report goeth, that when the waightieſt matters were in hand in the Senate, about the conſpiracie of C*atiline*, which was likely to haue vndone the citie of ROME, *Cæſar* and C*ato* ſate neare together, and were both of contrarie mindes to each other: and then, that in the meane time one deliuered *Cæſar* a letter. C*æſar* tooke it, and read it ſoftly to himſelfe; but C*ato* cried out vpon C*æſar*, and ſayd he did not well to receiue aduertiſementes from enemies. Whereupon the whole Senate began to murmure at it. Then *Cæſar* gaue C*ato* the letter as it was ſent him, who read it, and founde that it was a loue letter ſent from his ſiſter *Seruilia*: thereupon he caſt it againe to C*æſar*, and ſayd vnto him, hold, dronken ſoppe. When he had done ſo, he went on with his tale, and maintayned his opinion as he did before: ſo commonly was the loue of *Seruilia* knowen which ſhe bare vnto C*æſar*. So, after P*ompeys* ouerthrow at the battell of PHARSALIA, and that he fled to the ſea: when C*æſar* came to beſiege his campe, *Brutus* went out of the campe gates vnſeene of any man, and lept into a mariſh full of water and reedes. Then when night was come, he crept out, and went vnto the citie of LARISSA: from whence he wrote vnto C*æſar*, who was very glad that he had ſcaped, and ſent for him to come vnto him. When *Brutus* was come, he did not onely pardon him, but alſo kept him alwayes about him, and did as much honour and eſteeme him, as any man he had in his companie. Now no man could tell whither P*ompey* was fled, and all were maruellous deſirous to know it: wherefore C*æſar* walking a good way alone with B*rutus*, he did aske him which way he thought P*ompey* tooke. C*æſar* perceiuing by his talke that B*rutus* geſſed certainly whither P*ompey* ſhould be fled: he left all other wayes, and tooke his iourney directly towardes ÆGYPT. P*ompey*, as *Brutus* had coniectured, was indeede fled into ÆGYPT, but there he was villanouſly ſlayne. Furthermore, B*rutus* obtained pardon of C*æſar* for C*aſsius*: and defending alſo the king* of LYBIAES cauſe, he was ouerlayed with a world of accuſations againſt him, howbeit intreating for him, he ſaued him the beſt part of his realme and kingdome. They ſay alſo that C*æſar* ſayd, when he heard B*rutus* plead: I know not, ſayd he, what this young man would, but what he would, he willeth it vehemently. For as B*rutus* grauitie and conſtant minde would not graunt all men their requeſtes that ſued vnto him, but being moued with reaſon and diſcretion, did alwayes encline to that which was good and honeſt: euen ſo when it was moued to follow any matter, he vſed a kinde of forcible and vehement perſwaſion that calmed not, till he had obtained his deſire. For by flattering of him, a man could neuer obtaine any thing at his handes, nor make him to do that which was vniuſt. Further he thought it not meete for a man of calling and eſtimation, to yeeld vnto the requeſtes and intreaties of a ſhameleſſe and importunate ſuter, requeſting things vnmeete: the which notwithſtanding, ſome men do for ſhame, becauſe they dare deny nothing, and therefore he was wont to ſay, that he thought them euill brought vp in their youth, that could deny nothing. Now when C*æſar* tooke ſea to go into AFRICKE, againſt *Cato* and *Scipio*, he left B*rutus* gouernour of GAVLE in ITALIE, on this ſide of the Alpes, which was a great good hap for that prouince. For where others were ſpoyled and polled by the inſolencie and couetouſneſſe of the gouernours, as if it had

*Brutus ſtudied in Pompeys campe.*

*Iulius Cæſar carefull of Brutus ſafetie.*

*Iulius Cæſar loued Seruilia, Brutus mother.*

*Brutus ſaued by Iulius Cæſar, after the battell of* Pharſalia.

* *This king was Iuba: howbeit it is true alſo, that Brutus made interceſsion for Deiotarius king of Galatia: who was depriued notwithſtāding of the moſt part of his country, by Cæſar and therefore this place were beſt to be vnderſtāded, by Deiotarus.*

*Cæſar made Brutus gouernour of Gaule on this ſide the mountaines.*

bene a country conquered: *Brutus* was a comfort and reſt vnto their former troubles and miſeries they ſuſtained. But he referred it wholly vnto *Cæſars* grace and goodneſſe. For, when *Cæſar* returned out of AFRICKE, and progreſſed vp and downe ITALIE: the things that pleaſed him beſt to ſee, were the cities vnder *Brutus* charge and gouernement, and *Brutus* him ſelfe: who honoured *Cæſar* in perſon, and whoſe companie alſo *Cæſar* greatly eſteemed. Now there were diuers ſortes of Prætorſhippes at ROME, and it was looked for, that *Brutus* or *Caſsius* would make ſute for the chiefeſt Prætorſhip, which the called the Prætorſhip of the citie: becauſe he that had that office, was as a Iudge to miniſter iuſtice vnto the citizens. Therfore they ſtroue one againſt the other, though ſome ſay that there was ſome litle grudge betwixt them for other matters before, and that this contention did ſet them further out, though they were allyed together. For *Caſsius* had maried *Iunia*, *Brutus* ſiſter. Others ſay, that this contention betwixt them came by *Cæſar* himſelfe, who ſecretly gaue either of them both hope of his fauour. So their ſute for the Prætorſhip was ſo followed and laboured of either partie, that one of them put an other in ſute of law. *Brutus* with his vertue and good name contended againſt many noble exploits in armes, which *Caſsius* had done againſt the PARTHIANS. So *Cæſar* after he had heard both their obiections, he told his friends with whom he conſulted about this matter: *Caſsius* cauſe is the iuſter, ſayd he, but *Brutus* muſt be firſt preferred. Thus *Brutus* had the firſt Prætorſhip, and *Caſsius* the ſecond: who thanked not *Cæſar* ſo much for the Prætorſhip he had, as he was angry with him for that he had loſt. But *Brutus* in many other things taſted of the benefite of *Cæſars* fauour in any thing he requeſted. For if he had liſted, he might haue bene one of *Cæſars* chiefeſt friendes, and of greateſt authoritie and credit about him. Howbeit *Caſsius* friendes did diſſwade him from it (for *Caſsius* and he were not yet reconciled together ſithence their firſt contention and ſtrife for the Prætorſhip) and prayed him to beware of *Cæſars* ſweet intiſements, and to flie his tyrannicall fauours: the which they ſayd *Cæſar* gaue him, not to honour his vertue, but to weaken his conſtant minde, framing it to the bent of his bow. Now *Cæſar* on the other ſide did not truſt him ouermuch, nor was not without tales brought vnto him againſt him: howbeit he feared his great minde, authority, & friends. Yet on the other ſide alſo, he truſted his good nature, & fayre conditions. For, intelligence being brought him one day, that *Antonius* and *Dolabella* did conſpire againſt him: he aunſwered, that theſe fat long haired men made ~~him not~~ affrayed, but the leane and whitely faced fellowes, meaning that, by *Brutus* and *Caſsius*. At an other time alſo when one accuſed *Brutus* vnto him, and bad him beware of him: What, ſayd he againe, clapping his hand on his breſt: thinke ye that *Brutus* will not tarie till this body dye? Meaning that none but *Brutus* after him was meete to haue ſuch power as he had. And ſurely, in my opinion, I am perſwaded that *Brutus* might indeed haue come to haue bene the chiefeſt man of ROME, if he could haue contented himſelfe for a time to haue bene next vnto *Cæſar*, and to haue ſuffred his glory and authoritie, which he had gotten by his great victories, to conſume with time. But *Caſsius* being a chollericke man, and hating *Cæſar* priuatly, more then he did the tyranny openly: he incenſed *Brutus* againſt him. It is alſo reported, that *Brutus* could euill away with the tyranny, and that *Caſsius* hated the tyrant: making many complaintes for the iniuries he had done him, and amongeſt others, for that he had taken away his Lyons from him. *Caſsius* had prouided them for his ſports, when he ſhould be Ædilis, and they were found in the citie of MEGARA, when it was wonne by *Calenus*, & *Cæſar* kept them. The rumor went, that theſe Lyons did maruellous great hurt to the MEGARIANS. For when the citie was takē, they brake their cages where they were tied vp, and turned them looſe, thinking they would haue done great miſchiefe to the enemies, & haue kept them from ſetting vpō them: but the Lyons contrary to expectation, turned vpon themſelues that fled vnarmed, and did ſo cruelly teare ſome in peeces, that it pitied their enemies to ſee them. And this was the cauſe, as ſome do report, that made *Caſsius* conſpire againſt *Cæſar*. But this holdeth no water. For *Caſsius* euen frō his cradle could not abide any maner of tyrants, as it appeared whē he was but a boy, and went vnto the ſame ſchoole that *Fauſtus*, the ſonne of *Sylla* did. And *Fauſtus* bragging among other boyes, highly boaſted of his fathers kingdome: *Caſsius* roſe vp on his feete, and gaue him two good whirts on the eare. *Fauſtus* gouernors would haue put this matter in ſute againſt *Caſsius*:

But

*Brutus and Caſsius contend for the Prætorſhip of the citie.*

*Caſsius maried Iunia, Brutus ſiſter.*

*The firſt cauſe of Caſsius malice againſt Cæſar.*

*Cæſar ſuſpected Brutus.*

*Cæſars ſaying of Brutus.*

*Caſsius incenſeth Brutus againſt Cæſar.*

*Caſsius Lyons at Megara.*

*Caſsius an enemy of tyrants.*

But P*ompey* would not ſuffer them, but cauſed the two boyes to be brought before him, and asked them how the matter came to paſſe. Then *Caſsius*, as it is written of him, ſayd vnto the other: goe to *Fauſtus*, ſpeake againe and thou dareſt, before this noble man here, the ſame wordes that made me angry with thee, that my fiſtes may walke once againe about thine eares. Such was *Caſsius* hot ſtirring nature. But for B*rutus*, his friendes and countrey men, both by diuers procurements, and ſundry rumours of the citie, and by many bils alſo, did openly call and procure him to do that he did. For, vnder the image of his aunceſter *Iunius* B*rutus*, that draue the kings out of ROME, they wrote: O, that it pleaſed the goddes thou wert now aliue, B*rutus*: and againe, that thou wert here among vs now. His tribunall (or chaire) where he gaue audience during the time he was Prætor, was full of ſuch billes: B*rutus*, thou art a ſleepe, and art not B*rutus* indeede. And of all this, C*æſars* flatterers were the cauſe: who beſide many other exceeding and vnſpeakeable honours they dayly deuiſed for him, in the night time they did put Diademes vpon the heades of his images, ſuppoſing thereby to allure the common people to call him king, in ſtead of Dictator. Howbeit it turned to the contrary, as we haue written more at large in *Iulius* C*æſars* life. Now when *Caſsius* felt his friendes, and did ſtirre them vp againſt C*æſar*: they all agreed and promiſed to take part with him, ſo B*rutus* were the chiefe of their conſpiracie. For they told him, that ſo high an enterpriſe and attempt as that, did not ſo much require men of manhood, and courage to draw their ſwordes: as it ſtood them vpon to haue a man of ſuch eſtimation as B*rutus*, to make euery man boldly thinke, that by his onely preſence the fact were holy, and iuſt. If he tooke not this courſe, then that they ſhould goe to it with fainter hartes, and when they had done it, they ſhould be more fearefull: becauſe euery man would thinke that B*rutus* would not haue refuſed to haue made one with them, if the cauſe had bene good and honeſt. Therefore C*aſsius* conſidering this matter with himſelfe, did firſt of all ſpeake to B*rutus*, ſince they grew ſtraunge together for the ſute they had for the Prætorſhippe. So when he was reconciled to him againe, and that they had imbraced one an other: C*aſsius* asked him if he were determined to be in the Senate houſe, the firſt day of the moneth of Marche, becauſe he heard ſay that C*æſars* friendes ſhould moue the councell that day, that C*æſar* ſhould be called king by the Senate. *Brutus* aunſwered him, he would not be there. But if we be ſent for ſayd C*aſsius*: how then? For my ſelfe then ſayd B*rutus*, I meane not to hold my peace, but to withſtand it, and rather dye then loſe my libertie. C*aſsius* being bold, and taking hold of this word: why, quoth he, what ROMAINE is he aliue that will ſuffer thee to dye for the libertie? What, knoweſt thou not that thou art *Brutus*? Thinkeſt thou that they be cobblers, tapſters, or ſuch like baſe mechanicall people, that write theſe billes and ſcrowles which are found dayly in thy Prætors chaire, and not the nobleſt men and beſt citizens that do it? No, be thou well aſſured, that of other Prætors they looke for giftes, common diſtributions amongeſt the people, and for common playes, and to ſee fenſers fight at the ſharpe, to ſhew the people paſtime: but at thy handes, they ſpecially require (as a due debt vnto them) the taking away of the tyrannie, being fully bent to ſuffer any extremitie for thy ſake, ſo that thou wilt ſhew thy ſelfe to be the man thou art taken for, and that they hope thou art. Thereupon he kiſſed *Brutus*, and imbraced him: and ſo each taking leaue of other, they went both to ſpeake with their friendes about it. Now amongeſt P*ompeys* friendes, there was one called * C*aius Ligarius*, who had bene accuſed vnto *Cæſar* for taking part with *Pompey*, and C*æſar* diſcharged him. But *Ligarius* thanked not *Cæſar* ſo much for his diſcharge, as he was offended with him for that he was brought in daunger by his tyrannicall power. And therefore in his hart he was alway his mortall enemie, and was beſides verie familiar with *Brutus*, who went to ſee him being ſicke in his bed, and ſayd vnto him: O *Ligarius*, in what a time art thou ſicke? *Ligarius* riſing vp in his bed, and taking him by the right hand, ſayd vnto him: *Brutus*, ſayd he, if thou haſt any great enterpriſe in hand worthy of thy ſelfe, I am whole. After that time they began to feele all their acquitaunce whom they truſted, and layed their heades together conſulting vpon it, and did not onelie picke out their friendes, but all thoſe alſo whom they thought ſtout enough to attempt any deſperate matter, and that were not affrayed to loſe their liues.

*How Brutus was incenſed againſt Cæſar.*

*Caſſius prayeth Brutus firſt, to helpe him to put downe the tyrant.*

** In an other place they call him Quintus.*

*Brutus maketh Ligarius one of the conſpiracie.*

*They do hide the conſpiracie againſt Cæſar from Cicero.*

*Ciuill warre worſe then tyrannicall gouernement.*

*The wonderfull faith and ſecrecie of the conſpirators of Cæſars death.*

*Porcia, Catoes daughter, wife vnto Brutus. Bibulus booke of Brutus actes. Porcia ſtudied in Philoſophie. The courage of Porcia.*

*Great difference betwixt a wife and a harlot. Porcias words vnto her huſband Brutus.*

For this cauſe they durſt not acquaint *Cicero* with their conſpiracie, although he was a man whom they loued dearely, and truſted beſt: for they were affrayed that he being a coward by nature, and age alſo hauing increaſed his feare, he would quite turne and alter all their purpoſe, and quench the heate of their enterpriſe, the which ſpecially required hot and earneſt execution, ſeeking by perſwaſion to bring all things to ſuch ſafetie, as there ſhould be no perill. *Brutus* alſo did let other of his friendes alone, as *Statilius* EPICVRIAN, and *Faonius*, that made profeſſion to follow *Marcus* Cato. Becauſe that hauing caſt out wordes a farre off, diſputing together in Philoſophie to feele their mindes: *Faonius* aunſwered, that ciuill warre was worſe then tyrannicall gouernement vſurped againſt the law. And *Statilius* told him alſo, that it were an vnwiſe part of him, to put his life in daunger, for a ſight of ignoraunt fooles and aſſes. *Labeo* was preſent at this talke, and maintained the contrary againſt them both. But *Brutus* held his peace, as though it had bene a doubtfull matter, and a hard thing to haue decided. But afterwardes, being out of their companie, he made *Labeo* priuie to his intent: who very readily offered himſelfe to make one. And they thought good alſo to bring in an other *Brutus* to ioyne with him, ſurnamed *Albinus*: who was no man of his handes himſelfe, but becauſe he was able to bring good force of a great number of ſlaues, and fenſers at the ſharpe, whom he kept to ſhew the people paſtime with their fighting, beſides alſo that *Cæſar* had ſome truſt in him. *Caſsius* and *Labeo* told *Brutus Albinus* of it at the firſt, but he made them no aunſwere. But when he had ſpoken with *Brutus* himſelfe alone, and that *Brutus* had told him he was the chiefe ringleader of all this conſpiracie; then he willingly promiſed him the beſt aide he could. Furthermore, the onely name and great calling of *Brutus*, did bring on the moſt of them to giue conſent to this conſpiracie. Who hauing neuer taken othes together, nor taken or giuen any caution or aſſuraunce, nor binding themſelues one to an other by any religious othes: they all kept the matter ſo ſecret to themſelues, and could ſo cunningly handle it, that notwithſtanding the goddes did reueale it by manifeſt ſignes and tokens from aboue, and by predictions of ſacrifices: yet all this would not be beleeued. Now *Brutus*, who knew very well that for his ſake all the nobleſt, valianteſt, and moſt couragious men of ROME did venture their liues, waighing with himſelfe the greatneſſe of the daunger: when he was out of his houſe, he did ſo frame and faſhion his countenaunce and lookes, that no man could diſcerne he had any thing to trouble his minde. But when night came that he was in his owne houſe, then he was cleane chaunged. For, either care did wake him againſt his will when he would haue ſlept, or elſe oftentimes of himſelfe he fell into ſuch deepe thoughtes of this enterpriſe, caſting in his minde all the daungers that might happen: that his wife lying by him, founde that there was ſome maruellous great matter that troubled his minde, not being wont to be in that taking, and that he could not well determine with himſelfe. His wife *Porcia* (as we haue told you before) was the daughter of *Cato*, whom *Brutus* maried being his coſin, not a mayden, but a young widow after the death of her firſt huſband *Bibulus*, by whom ſhe had alſo a young ſonne called *Bibulus*, who afterwardes wrote a booke of the actes and geſtes of *Brutus*, extant at this preſent day. This young Lady being excellently well ſeene in Philoſophie, louing her huſband well, and being of a noble courage, as ſhe was alſo wiſe: becauſe ſhe would not aske her huſband what he ayled before ſhe had made ſome proofe by her ſelfe, ſhe tooke a litle raſour ſuch as barbers occupie to pare mens nayles, and cauſing her maydes and women to go out of her chamber, gaue her ſelfe a great gaſh withall in her thigh, that ſhe was ſtraight all of a goare bloud, and incontinently after, a vehement feuer tooke her, by reaſon of the payne of her wounde. Then perceiuing her huſband was maruellouſly out of quiet, and that he could take no reſt: euen in her greateſt payne of all, ſhe ſpake in this ſort vnto him. I being, O *Brutus*, (ſayd ſhe) the daughter of *Cato*, was maried vnto thee, not to be thy bedfellow and companion in bed and at borde onelie, like a harlot, but to be partaker alſo with thee, of thy good and euill fortune. Now for thy ſelfe, I can finde no cauſe of fault in thee touching our matche: but for my part, how may I ſhewe my duetie towardes thee, and how much I would do for thy ſake, if I can not conſtantlie beare a ſecret miſchaunce

or grieſe with thee, which requireth ſecrecie and fidelity? I confeſſe, that a womans wit commonly ,,
is too weake to keepe a ſecret ſafely: but yet, *Brutus*, good education, and the companie ,,
of vertuous men, haue ſome power to reforme the defect of nature. And for my ſelfe, I ,,
haue this benefit moreouer: that I am the daughter of *Cato*, & wife of *Brutus*. This notwithſtãding, ,,
I did not truſt to any of theſe things before: vntill that now I haue found by experience, ,,
that no paine nor grieſe whatſoeuer can ouercome me. With thoſe wordes ſhe ſhewed him ,,
her wounde on her thigh, and told him what ſhe had done to proue her ſelfe. *Brutus* was amazed ,,
to heare what ſhe ſayd vnto him, and lifting vp his handes to heauen, he beſought the ,,
goddes to giue him the grace he might bring his enterpriſe to ſo good paſſe, that he might be founde a husband, worthie of ſo noble a wife as *Porcia*: ſo he then did comfort her the beſt he could. Now a day being appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at what time they hoped *Cæſar* would not fayle to come: the conſpiratours determined then to put their enterpriſe in execution, becauſe they might meete ſafelie at that time without ſuſpition, and the rather, for that all the nobleſt and chiefeſt men of the citie would be there. Who when they ſhould ſee ſuch a great matter executed, would euery man then ſet to their handes, for the defence of their libertie. Furthermore, they thought alſo that the appointment of the place where the councell ſhould be kept, was choſen of purpoſe by diuine prouidence, and made all for them. For it was one of the porches about the Theater, in the which there was a certaine place full of ſeates for men to ſit in, where alſo was ſet vp the image of *Pompey*, which the citie had made and conſecrated in honour of him: when he did beautifie that part of the citie with the Theater he built, with diuers porches about it. In this place was the aſſembly of the Senate appointed to be, iuſt on the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, which the ROMAINES call, Idus Martias: ſo that it ſeemed ſome god of purpoſe had brought *Cæſar* thither to be ſlaine, for reuenge of *Pompeys* death. So when the day was come, *Brutus* went out of his houſe with a dagger by his ſide vnder his long gowne, that no body ſaw nor knew, but his wife onely. The other conſpiratours were all aſſembled at *Caſſius* houſe, to bring his ſonne into the market place, who on that day did put on the mans gowne, called Toga Virilis, and from thence they came all in a troupe together vnto *Pompeys* porche, looking that *Cæſar* would ſtraight come thither. But here is to be noted, the wonderfull aſſured conſtancie of theſe conſpiratours, in ſo daungerous and waightie an enterpriſe as they had vndertaken. For many of them being Prætors, by reaſon of their office, whoſe duetie is to miniſter iuſtice to euery body: they did not onely with great quietneſſe and curteſie heare them that ſpake vnto them, or that pleaded matters before them, and gaue them attentiue eare, as if they had had no other matter in their heades: but moreouer, they gaue iuſt ſentence, and carefully diſpatched the cauſes before them. So there was one among them, who being condemned in a certaine ſumme of money, refuſed to pay it, and cried out that he did appeale vnto *Cæſar*. Then *Brutus* caſting his eyes vpon the conſpiratours, ſayd, *Cæſar* ſhall not let me to ſee the law executed. Notwithſtanding this, by chaunce there fell out many miſfortunes vnto them, which was enough to haue marred the enterpriſe. The firſt and chiefeſt was, *Cæſars* long tarying, who came very late to the Senate: for becauſe the ſignes of the ſacrifices appeared vnluckie, his wife *Calpurnia* kept him at home, and the Soothſayers bad him beware he went not abroad. The ſecond cauſe was, when one came vnto *Caſca* being a conſpiratour, and taking him by the hand, ſayd vnto him: O *Caſca*, thou kepteſt it cloſe from me, but *Brutus* hath told me all. *Caſca* being amazed at it, the other went on with his tale, and ſayd: why, how now, how commeth it to paſſe thou art thus rich, that thou doeſt ſue to be Ædilis? Thus *Caſca* being deceiued by the others doubtfull wordes, he told them it was a thouſand to one, he blabbed not out all the conſpiracie. An other Senator called *Popilius Læna*, after he had ſaluted *Brutus* and *Caſſius* more friendly then he was wont to do: he rounded ſoftly in their eares, and told them, I pray the goddes you may go through with that you haue taken in hand, but withall, diſpatch I read you, for your enterpriſe is bewrayed. When he had ſayd, he preſently departed from them, and left them both affrayed that their conſpiracie would out. Now in the meane time, there came one of *Brutus* men poſt haſt vnto him, and told him his wife was a dying. For *Porcia* being verie carefull and penſiue for that which

*The wonderfull conſtancie of the conſpiratours in killing of Cæſar.*

*Sundry miſfortunes to haue broken off the enterpriſe.*

*The weakneſſe of Porcia, notwithſtanding her former courage.*

was to come, and being too weake to away with ſo great and inward griefe of minde: ſhe could hardly keepe within, but was frighted with euery litle noyſe and crie ſhe heard, as thoſe that are taken and poſſeſt with the furie of the Bacchantes, asking euery man that came from the market place, what *Brutus* did, and ſtill ſent meſſenger after meſſenger, to know what newes. At length, *Cæſars* comming being prolonged as you haue heard, *Porciaes* weakeneſſe was not able to hold out any longer, and thereupon ſhe ſodainly ſwounded, that ſhe had no leaſure to go to her chamber, but was taken in the middeſt of her houſe, where her ſpeach and ſenſes failed her. Howbeit ſhe ſoone came to her ſelfe againe, and ſo was layed in her bed, and tended by her women. When *Brutus* heard theſe newes, it grieued him, as it is to be preſuppoſed: yet he left not off the care of his country and common wealth, neither went home to his houſe for any newes he heard. Now, it was reported that *Cæſar* was comming in his litter: for he determined not to ſtay in the Senate all that day (becauſe he was affrayed of the vnlucky ſignes of the ſacrifices) but to adiorne matters of importaunce vnto the next ſeſsion and councell holden, fayning himſelfe not to be well at eaſe. When *Cæſar* came out of his litter: *Popilius Læna*, that had talked before with *Brutus* and *Caſsius*, and had prayed the goddes they might bring this enterpriſe to paſſe: went vnto *Cæſar*, and kept him a long time with a talke. *Cæſar* gaue good eare vnto him. Wherefore the conſpiratours (if ſo they ſhould be called) not hearing what he ſayd to *Cæſar*, but coniecturing by that he had told them a litle before, that his talke was none other but the verie diſcouerie of their conſpiracie: they were affrayed euerie man of them, and one looking in an others face, it was eaſie to ſee that they all were of a minde, that it was no tarying for them till they were apprehended, but rather that they ſhould kill themſelues with their owne hands. And when *Caſsius* and certaine other clapped their handes on their ſwordes vnder their gownes to draw them: *Brutus* marking the countenaunce and geſture of *Læna*, and conſidering that he did vſe himſelfe rather like an humble and earneſt ſuter, then like an accuſer: he ſayd nothing to his companion (becauſe there were many amongeſt them that were not of the conſpiracie) but with a pleaſaunt countenaunce encouraged *Caſsius*. And immediatly after, *Læna* went from *Cæſar*, and kiſſed his hand: which ſhewed plainly that it was for ſome matter concerning himſelfe, that he had held him ſo long in talke. Now all the Senators being entred firſt into this place or chapter houſe where the councell ſhould be kept, all the other conſpiratours ſtraight ſtood about *Cæſars* chaire, as if they had had ſome thing to haue ſayd vnto him. And ſome ſay, that *Caſsius* caſting his eyes vpon *Pompeys* image, made his prayer vnto it, as if it had bene aliue. * *Trebonius* on the other ſide, drew *Antonius* aſide, as he came into the houſe where the Senate ſate, and held him with a long talke without. When *Cæſar* was come into the houſe, all the Senate roſe to honour him at his comming in. So when he was ſet, the conſpirators flocked about him, & amongſt them they preſented one * *Tullius Cimber*, who made humble ſute for the calling home againe of his brother that was baniſhed. They all made as though they were interceſſours for him, and tooke him by the handes, and kiſſed his head and breſt. *Cæſar* at the firſt, ſimply refuſed their kindneſſe and intreaties: but afterwardes, perceiuing they ſtill preſſed on him, he violently thruſt them from him. Then *Cimber* with both his hands plucked *Cæſars* gowne ouer his ſhoulders, and *Caſca* that ſtood behind him, drew his dagger firſt, and ſtrake *Cæſar* vpon the ſhoulder, but gaue him no great wound. *Cæſar* feeling himſelfe hurt, tooke him ſtraight by the hand he held his dagger in, and cried out in Latin: O traitour, *Caſca*, what doeſt thou? *Caſca* on the other ſide cried in Greeke, and called his brother to helpe him. So diuers running on a heape together to flie vpon *Cæſar*, he looking about him to haue fled, ſaw *Brutus* with a ſword drawen in his hand ready to ſtrike at him: then he let *Caſcaes* hand go, and caſting his gowne ouer his face, ſuffered euery man to ſtrike at him that would. Then the conſpiratours thronging one vpon an other becauſe euery man was deſirous to haue a cut at him, ſo many ſwordes and daggers lighting vpon one body, one of them hurt an other, and among them *Brutus* caught a blow on his hand, becauſe he would make one in murdering of him, and all the reſt alſo were euery man of them bloudied. *Cæſar* being ſlaine in this maner, *Brutus* ſtanding in the middeſt of the houſe, would haue ſpoken, and ſtayed the other Senatours that were not of the conſpiracie, to haue told them

*Brutus with his countenaunce encouraged his fearefull conſortes.*

** In Cæſars life it is ſayd, it was Decius Brutus Albinus, that kept Antonius with a talke without.*

** In Cæſars life he is called Metellus Cimber.*

*The murther of Cæſar.*

*Caſca, the firſt that wounded him.*

them the reaſon why they had done this fact. But they as men both affrayed and amazed, fled one vpon an others necke in haſt to get out at the doore, and no man followed them. For it was ſet downe, and agreed betweene them, that they ſhould kill no man but *Cæſar* only, and ſhould intreate all the reſt to looke to defend their libertie. All the conſpiratours, but *Brutus*, determining vpon this matter, thought it good alſo to kill *Antonius*, becauſe he was a wicked man, and that in nature fauoured tyranny: beſides alſo, for that he was in great eſtimation with ſouldiers, hauing bene conuerſant of long time amongeſt them: and ſpecially hauing a minde bent to great enterpriſes, he was alſo of great authoritie at that time, being Conſull with *Cæſar*. But *Brutus* would not agree to it. Firſt, for that he ſayd it was not honeſt: ſecondly, becauſe he told them there was hope of chaunge in him. For he did not miſtruſt, but that *Antonius* being a noble minded and couragious man (when he ſhould know that *Cæſar* was dead) would willingly helpe his countrey to recouer her libertie, hauing them an example vnto him, to follow their courage & vertue. So *Brutus* by this meanes ſaued *Antonius* life, who at that preſent time diſguiſed himſelfe, and ſtale away. But *Brutus* & his conſorts, hauing their ſwordes bloudy in their handes, went ſtraight to the Capitoll, perſwading the ROMAINES as they went, to take their libertie again. Now, at the firſt time when the murther was newly done, there were ſodaine outcryes of people that ranne vp and downe the citie, the which indeede did the more increaſe the feare and tumult. But when they ſaw they ſlue no man, neither did ſpoyle or make hauock of any thing: then certaine of the Senators, and many of the people imboldening them ſelues, went to the Capitoll vnto them. There a great number of men being aſſembled together one after an other: *Brutus* made an oration vnto them to winne the fauour of the people, and to iuſtifie that they had done. All thoſe that were by, ſayd they had done well, and cryed vnto them that they ſhould boldly come downe from the Capitoll. Whereupon, *Brutus* and his companions came boldly downe into the market place. The reſt followed in troupe, but *Brutus* went formoſt, very honourably compaſſed in round about with the nobleſt men of the citie, which brought him from the Capitoll, through the market place, to the pulpit for orations. When the people ſaw him in the pulpit, although they were a multitude of rakehels of all ſortes, and had a good will to make ſome ſturre: yet being aſhamed to do it for the reuerence they bare vnto *Brutus*, they kept ſilence, to heare what he would ſay. When *Brutus* began to ſpeake, they gaue him quiet audience: howbeit immediatly after, they ſhewed that they were not all contented with the murther. For when an other called *Cinna* would haue ſpoken, and began to accuſe *Cæſar*: they fell into a great vprore among them, and maruellouſly reuiled him. In ſomuch that the conſpiratours returned againe into the Capitoll. There *Brutus* being affrayed to be beſieged, ſent backe againe the noble men that came thither with him, thinking it no reaſon, that they which were no partakers of the murther, ſhould be partakers of the daunger. Then the next morning the Senate being aſſembled, and holden within the temple of the goddeſſe *Tellus*, to wit the earth: and *Antonius*, *Plancus*, and *Cicero*, hauing made a motion to the Senate in that aſſembly, that they ſhould take an order to pardon and forget all that was paſt, and to ſtabliſh friendſhip and peace againe: it was decreed, that they ſhould not onely be pardoned, but alſo that the Conſuls ſhould referre it to the Senate what honours ſhould be appointed vnto them. This being agreed vpon, the Senate brake vp, and *Antonius* the Conſull, to put them in hart that were in the Capitoll, ſent them his ſonne for a pledge. Vpon this aſſurance, *Brutus* and his companions came downe from the Capitoll, where euery man ſaluted and imbraced eche other, among the which, *Antonius* himſelfe did bid *Caſsius* to ſupper to him: and *Lepidus* alſo bad *Brutus*, and ſo one bad an other, as they had friendſhip and acquaintance together. The next day following, the Senate being called againe to councell, did firſt of all commend *Antonius*, for that he had wiſely ſtayed and quenched the beginning of a ciuill warre: then they alſo gaue *Brutus* and his conſorts great prayſes, and laſtly they appointed them ſeuerall gouernements of prouinces. For vnto *Brutus*, they appointed CRETA: AFRICK, vnto *Caſsius*: ASIA, vnto *Trebonius*: BITHYNIA, vnto *Cimber*: and vnto the other *Decius Brutus Albinus*, GAVLE on this ſide the Alpes. When this was done, they came to talke of *Cæſars* will and teſtament, and of his funerals and tombe. Then *Antonius* thinking good his teſtament ſhould be read openly, and alſo that his body ſhould be honorably buried,

*Why Antonius was not ſlayne with Cæſar.*

*Brutus with his conſorts went vnto the Capitoll.*

*Honours decreed for the murtherers of Cæſar.*

*Cæſars will, & funerals.*

and not in hugger mugger, leaſt the people might thereby take occaſion to be worſe offended if they did otherwiſe: *Caſsius* ſtoutly ſpake againſt it. But *Brutus* went with the motion, & agreed vnto it: wherein it ſeemeth he committed a ſecond fault. For the firſt fault he did was, when he would not conſent to his fellow conſpiratours, that *Antonius* ſhould be ſlayne: And therefore he was iuſtly accuſed, that thereby he had ſaued and ſtrengthened a ſtrong and grieuous enemy of their conſpiracy. The ſecond fault was, when he agreed that *Cæſars* funerals ſhould be as *Antonius* would haue them: the which indeede marred all. For firſt of all, when *Cæſars* teſtament was openly read among them, whereby it appeared that he bequeathed vnto euery Citizen of ROME, 75. Drachmas a man, and that he left his gardens and arbors vnto the people, which he had on this ſide of the riuer of Tyber, in the place where now the temple of Fortune is built: the people then loued him, and were maruellous ſory for him. Afterwards when *Cæſars* body was brought into the market place, *Antonius* making his funerall oration in prayſe of the dead, according to the auncient cuſtome of ROME, and perceiuing that his wordes moued the common people to compaſsion: he framed his eloquence to make their harts yerne the more, and taking *Cæſars* gowne all bloudy in his hand, he layed it open to the ſight of them all, ſhewing what a number of cuts and holes it had vpon it. Therewithall the people fell preſently into ſuch a rage and mutinie, that there was no more order kept amongeſt the common people. For ſome of them cryed out, kill the murtherers: others plucked vp formes, tables, and ſtalles about the market place, as they had done before at the funerals of *Clodius*, and hauing layed them all on a heape together, they ſet them on fire, and thereupon did put the body of *Cæſar*, and burt it in the middeſt of the moſt holy places. And furthermore, when the fire was throughly kindled, ſome here, ſome there, tooke burning fire brands, and ranne with them to the murtherers houſes that had killed him, to ſet them a fire. Howbeit the conſpiratours foreſeeing the daunger before, had wiſely prouided for themſelues, and fled. But there was a Poet called *Cinna*, who had bene no partaker of the conſpiracy, but was alway one of *Cæſars* chiefeſt friends: he dreamed the night before, that *Cæſar* bad him to ſupper with him, and that he refuſing to go, *Cæſar* was very importunate with him, and compelled him, ſo that at length he led him by the hand into a great darke place, where being maruellouſly affrayd, he was driuē to follow him in ſpight of his hart. This dreame put him all night into a feuer, and yet notwithſtanding, the next morning when he heard that they caried *Cæſars* body to buriall, being aſhamed not to accompany his funerals: he went out of his houſe, and thruſt himſelfe into the preaſe of the common people that were in a great vprore. And becauſe ſome one called him by his name, *Cinna*: the people thinking he had bene that *Cinna*, who in an oration he made had ſpoken very euill of *Cæſar*, they falling vpon him in their rage, ſlue him outright in the market place. This made *Brutus* and his companions more affrayd, then any other thing, next vnto the chaunge of *Antonius*. Wherefore they got them out of ROME, and kept at the firſt in the citie of ANTIVM, hoping to returne againe to ROME, when the furie of the people were a litle aſswaged. The which they hoped would be quickly, conſidering that they had to deale with a fickle and vnconſtant multitude, eaſie to be caried, and that the Senate ſtood for them: who notwithſtanding made no enquiery of them that had torne poore *Cinna* the Poet in peeces, but cauſed them to be ſought for and apprehended, that went with fire brands to ſet fire of the conſpiratours houſes. The people growing weary now of *Antonius* pride and inſolency, who ruled all things in manner with abſolute power: they deſired that *Brutus* might returne againe, and it was alſo looked for, that *Brutus* would come himſelfe in perſon to play the playes which were due to the people, by reaſon of his office of Prætorſhip. But *Brutus* vnderſtanding that many of *Cæſars* ſouldiers which ſerued vnder him in the warres, and that alſo had lands and houſes giuen them in the cities where they lay, did lye in wait for him to kill him, and that they dayly by ſmall companies came by one and by one into ROME: he durſt no more returne thither, but yet the people had the pleaſure and paſtyme in his abſence, to ſee the games and ſportes he made them, which were ſumptuouſly ſet forth and furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, ſparing for no coſt. For he had bought a great number of ſtraunge beaſtes, of the which he would not giue one of them to any friend he had, but that they ſhould all be employed in

*Brutus committed two great faults after Cæſars death.*

*Antonius funerall oration for Cæſar.*

*The ſtraunge dreame of Cinna the Poet.*

*The murther of Cinna the Poet, being miſtaken for an other of that name.*

*Brutus and his conſorts do flye from Rome.*

*Brutus playes and ſportes at Rome in his abſence.*

his games: and went himſelfe as farre as BYZANTIVM, to ſpeake to ſome plaiers of comedies and Muſitions that were there. And further he wrote vnto his friends for one *Canutius* an excellent player, that whatſoeuer they did, they ſhould intreate him to play in theſe playes: For, ſaid he, it is no reaſon to compell any GRECIAN, vnleſſe he will come of his owne good will. Moreouer, he wrote alſo vnto *Cicero*, and earneſtly prayed him in any caſe to be at theſe playes. Now the ſtate of ROME ſtanding in theſe termes, there fell out an other chaunge and alteration, when the young man *Octauius Cæſar* came to ROME. He was the ſonne of *Iulius Cæſars* Nece, whom he had adopted for his ſonne, and made his heire, by his laſt will and teſtament. But when *Iulius Cæſar* his adopted father was ſlaine, he was in the citie of APOLLONIA, where he ſtudied tarying for him, becauſe he was determined to make warre with the PARTHIANS: but when he heard the newes of his death, he returned againe to ROME, where to begin to currie fauour with the common people, he firſt of all tooke vpon him his adopted fathers name, and made diſtribution among them of the money which his father had bequeathed vnto them. By this meanes he troubled *Antonius* ſorely, and by force of money, got a great number of his fathers ſouldiers together, that had ſerued in the warres with him. And *Cicero* himſelfe, for the great malice he bare *Antonius*, did fauour his proceedings. But **Brutus** maruellouſly reproued him for it, and wrote vnto him, that he ſeemed by his doings not to be ſorie to haue a Maiſter, but onely to be affraide to haue one that ſhould hate him: and that all his doings in the common wealth did witneſſe, that he choſe to be ſubiect to a milde and curteous bondage, ſith by his words and writings he did commend this young man *Octauius Cæſar*, to be a good and gentle Lorde. For our predeceſſors ſaide he, would neuer abide to be ſubiect to any Maiſters, how gentle or milde ſoeuer they were: and for his owne part that he had neuer reſolutely determined with himſelfe to make warre, or peace, but otherwiſe, that he was certainely minded neuer to be ſlaue nor ſubiect. And therefore he wondred much at him, how *Cicero* could be affraide of the daunger of ciuill warres, and would not be affraide of a ſhamefull peace: and that to thruſt *Antonius* out of the vſurped tyrannie, in recompence he went about to ſtabliſh young *Octauius Cæſar* tyrant. Theſe were the contentes of *Brutus* firſt letters he wrote vnto *Cicero*. Now, the citie of ROME being deuided in two factions, ſome taking part with *Antonius*, other alſo leaning vnto *Octauius Cæſar*, and the ſouldiers making port ſale of their ſeruice to him that would giue moſt: *Brutus* ſeeing the ſtate of ROME would be vtterly ouerthrowen, he determined to goe out of ITALY, and went a foote through the countrie of LVKE, vnto the citie of ELEA, ſtanding by the ſea. There *Porcia* being ready to depart from her husband *Brutus*, and to returne to ROME, did what ſhe could to diſſemble the griefe and ſorrow ſhe felt at her heart: But a certaine painted table bewrayed her in the end, although vntill that time ſhe alwaies ſhewed a conſtant and patient minde. The deuiſe of the table was taken out of the Greeke ſtories, how *Andromachè* accompanied her husband *Hector*, when he went out of the citie of TROY to goe to the warres, and how *Hector* deliuered her his litle ſonne, and how her eyes were neuer off him. *Porcia* ſeeing this picture, and likening her ſelfe to be in the ſame caſe, ſhe fell a weeping: and comming thither oftentimes in a day to ſee it, ſhe wept ſtill. *Acilius* one of *Brutus* friendes perceiuing that, rehearſed the verſes *Andromachè* ſpeaketh to this purpoſe in *Homer*:

*Octauius Cæſars comming to Rome.*

*Brutus reproued Cicero, for taking part with Octauius Cæſar.*

*Porciaes ſorowfull returne to Rome for the abſence of her husband Brutus.*

*The ſtorie of Hector and Andromachè ſet forth in painted tables.*

*Thou Hector art my father, and my mother, and my brother,*
*And husband eke, and all in all: I mind not any other.*

Then *Brutus* ſmyling, aunſwered againe: but yet (ſaide he) I can not for my part ſay vnto *Porcia*, as *Hector* aunſwered *Andromachè* in the ſame place of the Poet:

*Tuſh, meddle thou with weying dewly out*
*Thy maydes their taske, and pricking on a clout.*

For in deede the weake conſtitution of her bodie, doth not ſuffer her to performe in ſhewe, the valiant acts that we are able to do: but for courage and conſtant mind, ſhe ſhewed her ſelfe as ſtout in the defence of her country, as any of vs. *Bibulus*, the ſonne of *Porcia*, reporteth this ſtorie thus. Now *Brutus* imbarking at ELEA in LVKE, he ſayled directly towardes ATHENS. When he arriued there, the people of ATHENS receiued him with common ioyes of reioycing, and honorable decrees made for him. He lay with a friend of his, with whom he went

*How Brutus beſtowed his time at Athens*

*Brutus commendeth Ciceroes ſonne.*

*Brutus prepareth himſelfe to warre.*

daily to heare the lectures of *Theomneſtus* ACADEMICK Philoſopher, & of *Cratippus* the PERIPATETICKE, and ſo would talke with them in Philoſophie, that it ſeemed he left all other matters, & gaue himſelfe only vnto ſtudie: howbeit ſecretly notwithſtanding, he made preparation for warre. For he ſent *Heroſtratus* into MACEDON, to win the Captaines and ſouldiers that were vpon thoſe marches, and he did alſo entertaine all the young gentlemen of the ROMAINES, whom he found in ATHENS ſtudying Philoſophie: amongſt them he found *Ciceroes* ſonne, whom he highly prayſed and commended, ſaying: that whether he waked or ſlept, he found him of a noble mind and diſpoſition, he did in nature ſo much hate tyrants. Shortly after, he began to enter openly into armes: and being aduertiſed that there came out of ASIA a certaine fleete of ROMAINE ſhips that had good ſtore of money in them, and that the Captaine of thoſe ſhips (who was an honeſt man, and his familiar friend) came towards ATHENS: he went to meete him as farre as the Ile of CARYSTOS, and hauing ſpoken with him there, he handled him ſo, that he was contented to leaue his ſhips in his hands. Whereupon he made him a notable banquet at his houſe, becauſe is was on his birth day. When the feaſt day came, and that they began to drinke luſtily one to another: the gueſts dranke to the victorie of *Brutus*, and the libertie of the ROMAINES. *Brutus* therefore to encourage them farther, called for a bigger cup, and holding it in his hand, before he dranke ſpake this aloud:

*My deſtinie and Phœbus are agreede,*
*To bring me to my finall end with ſpeede.*

*A ſtrange diſeaſe tooke Brutus at Dyrrachium.*
*why by ſnow this hungry diſeaſe taketh men that are wearied with trauell.*

*Brutus thankfulneſſe and clemencie.*

And for proofe hereof, it is reported, that the ſame day he fought his laſt battell by the citie of PHILIPPES, as he came out of his tent, he gaue his men for the word and ſignall of battell, *Phœbus*: ſo that it was thought euer ſince, that this his ſodaine crying out at the feaſt, was a prognoſtication of his misfortune that ſhould happen. After this, *Antiſtius* gaue him of the money he caried into ITALY, 50. Myriades. Furthermore, all *Pompeys* ſouldiers that ſtraggled vp and downe THESSALY, came with very good will vnto him. He tooke from *Cinna* alſo, fiue hundred horſemen, which he caried into ASIA, vnto *Dolabella*. After that, he went by ſea vnto the citie of DEMETRIADE, and there tooke a great deale of armor and munition which was going to *Antonius*: and the which had bene made and forced there by *Iulius Cæſars* commaundement, for the warres againſt the PARTHIANS. Furthermore, *Hortenſius* gouernour of MACEDON, did reſigne the gouernement thereof vnto him. Beſides, all the princes, kings and noble men thereabouts, came and ioyned with him, when it was told him that *Caius* (*Antonius* brother) comming out of ITALIE, had paſſed the ſea, & came with great ſpeede towards the citie of DYRRACHIVM, and APOLLONIA, to get the ſouldiers into his hands, which *Gabinius* had there. *Brutus* therefore to preuent him, went preſently with a fewe of his men in the middeſt of winter when it ſnewe hard, and tooke his way thorough hard and foule countries, and made ſuch ſpeede in deede, that he was there long before *Antonius* ſumpters, that caried the victuals. So that when he came neere vnto DYRRACHIVM, a diſeaſe tooke him which the Phiſitians call Βȣλιμία, to ſay, a cormorant and vnſatiable appetite to eate: by reaſon of the cold and paines he had taken. This ſickneſſe chanceth often, both to men and beaſts, that trauell when it hath ſnowen: Either becauſe the naturall heate being retyred into the inward parts of the bodie, by the coldnes of the aire hardening the ſkinne, doth ſtraight digeſt and conſume the meate: or elſe becauſe a ſharpe ſubtle winde comming by reaſon of the ſnow when it is molten, doth pearce into the bodie, and driueth out the naturall heate which was caſt outward. For it ſeemeth, that the heate being quenched with the cold, which it meeteth withall comming out of the ſkinne of the bodie: cauſeth the ſweates that followe the diſeaſe. But hereof we haue ſpoken at large in other places. *Brutus* being verie faint, and hauing nothing in his campe to eate: his ſouldiers were compelled to go to their enemies, and comming to the gates of the citie, they prayed the warders to helpe them to bread. When they heard in what caſe *Brutus* was, they brought him both meate and drinke: in requitall whereof, afterwardes when he wanne the citie, he did not onely intreate and vſe the Citizens thereof curteouſly, but all the inhabitants of the citie alſo for their ſakes. Now, when *Caius Antonius* was arriued in the citie of APOLLONIA, he ſent vnto the ſouldiers thereabouts to come vnto him. But when he vnderſtoode that they went all to *Brutus*, and furthermore, that the

Citizens of APOLLONIA did fauor him much: he then forſooke that citie, and went vnto the citie of BVTHROTVS, but yet he loſt three of his enſignes by the way, that were ſlaine euerie man of them. Then he ſought by force to winne certaine places of ſtrength about BYLLIS, & to driue *Brutus* men from thence, that had taken it before: and therefore to obtaine his purpoſe, he fought a battell with *Cicero*, the ſonne of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, by whom he was ouercome. For *Brutus* made the younger *Cicero* a Captaine, and did many notable exploites by his ſeruice. Shortly after, hauing ſtolen vpon *Caius Antonius* in certaine mariſhes farro from the place from whence he fled: he would not ſet on him with furie, but onely rode round about him, commaunding his ſouldiers to ſpare him & his men, as reckoning them all his own without ſtroke ſtriking: and ſo indeed it hapned. For they yeelded themſelues, and their Captaine *Antonius*, vnto B*rutus*: ſo that B*rutus* had now a great army about him. Now *Brutus* kept this *Caius Antonius* long time in his office, and neuer tooke from him the markes and ſignes of his Conſulſhip, although many of his friendes, & *Cicero* among others, wrote vnto him to put him to death. But when he ſaw *Antonius* ſecretly practiſed with his Captaines to make ſome alteration: then he ſent him into a ſhippe, and made him to be kept there. When the ſouldiers whom *C. Antonius* had corrupted, were gotten into the citie of APOLLONIA, and ſent from thence vnto B*rutus* to come vnto them: he made them anſwere, that it was not the maner of ROMAINE Captaines to come to the ſouldiers, but the ſouldiers to come to the Captaine, and to craue pardon for their offences committed. Thereupon they came to him, and he pardoned them. So B*rutus* preparing to goe into ASIA, newes came vnto him of the great chaunge at ROME. For *Octauius Cæſar* was in armes, by commandement and authoritie from the Senate, againſt *Marcus Antonius*. But after that he had driuen *Antonius* out of ITALY, the Senate then began to be affraid of him: becauſe he ſued to be Conſull, which was contrary to the law, and kept a great army about him, when the Empire of ROME had no neede of them. On the other ſide, *Octauius Cæſar* perceiuing the Senate ſtayed not there, but turned vnto *Brutus* that was out of ITALIE, and that they appointed him the gouernment of certaine prouinces: then he began to be affraid for his part, and ſent vnto *Antonius* to offer him his friendſhip. Then comming on with his armie neere to ROME, he made himſelfe to be choſen Conſull, whether the Senate would or not, when he was yet but a ſtrippling or ſpringal of twenty yere old, as himſelfe reporteth in his owne commentaries. So when he was Conſull, he preſently appointed Iudges to accuſe B*rutus* and his companions, for killing of the nobleſt perſon in ROME, & chiefeſt Magiſtrate, without law or iudgement: and made *L. Cornificus* accuſe B*rutus*, and *M. Agrippa*, *Caſſius*. So, the parties accuſed were condemned, becauſe the Iudges were compelled to giue ſuch ſentence. The voice went, that when the Herauld (according to the cuſtome after ſentence giuen) went vp to the chaire or pulpit for orations, & proclaimed *Brutus* with a loude voice, ſummoning him to appeare in perſon before the Iudges: the people that ſtoode by ſighed openly, and the noble men that were preſent hong downe their heades, & durſt not ſpeake a word. Among them, the teares fell from *Publius Silicius* eyes: who ſhortly after, was one of the proſcripts or outlawes appointed to be ſlaine. After that, theſe three *Octauius Cæſar*, *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, made an agreement betwene themſelues, and by thoſe articles deuided the prouinces belonging to the Empire of ROME among themſelues, and did ſet vp bils of proſcription & outlawry, cõdemning two hundred of the nobleſt men of ROME to ſuffer death, and among that number, C*icero* was one. Newes being brought thereof into MACEDON, B*rutus* being then inforced to it, wrote vnto *Hortenſius*, that he ſhould put Caius *Antonius* to death, to be reuenged of the death of C*icero*, and of the other B*rutus*, of the which the one was his friend, and the other his kinſman. For this cauſe therfore, *Antonius* afterwards taking *Hortenſius* at the battell of PHILIPPES, he made him to be ſlaine vpon his brothers tombe. But then B*rutus* ſaid, that he was more aſhamed of the cauſe for the which C*icero* was ſlaine, then he was otherwiſe ſorie for his death: and that he could not but greatly reproue his friends he had at ROME, who were ſlaues more through their own fault, then through their valiantnes or manhood which vſurped the tyrannie: conſidering that they were ſo cowardly and faint harted, as to ſuffer the ſight of thoſe things before their eies, the report wherof ſhould onely haue grieued them to the heart. Now when B*rutus* had paſſed ouer his armie (that was

*C. Antonius yeelded vnto Brutus.*

*Octauius Cæſar ioyneth with Antonius*

*Brutus accuſed & condemned, by Octauius Cæſars meanes, for the death of Iulius Cæſar.*

*The Triumuirate.*

*C. Antonius murdered.*

very great) into Asia, he gaue order for the gathering of a great number of ſhips together, as well in the coaſt of Bithynia, as alſo in the citie of Cyzicum, becauſe he would haue an army by ſea: and himſelfe in the meane time went vnto the cities, taking order for all things, and giuing audience to Princes & noble men of the country that had to do with him. Afterwards he ſent vnto *Caſſius* in Syria, to turne him from his iorney into Ægypt, telling him that it was not for the conqueſt of any kingdome for themſelues, that they wandred vp and down in that ſort, but contrarily, that it was to reſtore their country againe to their libertie: and that the multitude of ſouldiers they gathered together, was to ſubdue the tyrants that would keep them in ſlauerie and ſubiection. Wherefore regarding their chiefe purpoſe and intent, they ſhould not be farre from Italy, as neere as they could poſſible, but ſhould rather make all the haſte they could, to helpe their countrymen. *Caſſius* beleeued him, & returned. *Brutus* went to meete him, & they both met at the citie of Smyrna, which was the firſt time that they ſaw together ſince they tooke leaue each of other, at the hauen of Piræa, in Athens: the one going into Syria, and the other into Macedon. So they were maruellous ioyfull, and no leſſe coragious, when they ſaw the great armies together which they had both leauied: conſidering that they departed out of Italy, like naked and poore baniſhed men, without armor & mony, nor hauing any ſhip readie, nor ſouldier about them, nor any one towne at their commandement: yet notwithſtanding, in a ſhort time after they were now met together, hauing ſhips, money and ſouldiers enow, both footemen and horſemen, to fight for the Empire of Rome. Now *Caſſius* would haue done *Brutus* as much honor, as *Brutus* did vnto him: but *Brutus* moſt cōmonly preuented him, and went firſt vnto him, both becauſe he was the elder man, as alſo for that he was ſickly of body. And men reputed him commonly to be very skilfull in warres, but otherwiſe maruellous chollericke & cruell, who ſought to rule men by feare, rather then with lenitie: and on the other ſide he was too familiar with his friends, and would ieſt too broadly with them. But *Brutus* in contrary manner, for his vertue and valiantneſſe, was welbeloued of the people and his owne, eſteemed of noble men, and hated of no man, not ſo much as of his enemies: becauſe he was a maruellous lowly and gentle perſon, noble minded, and would neuer be in any rage, nor caried away with pleaſure and couetouſneſſe, but had euer an vpright mind with him, and would neuer yeeld to any wrong or iniuſtice, the which was the chiefeſt cauſe of his fame, of his riſing, and of the good will that euery man bare him: for they were all perſwaded that his intent was good. For they did not certainly beleeue, that if *Pompey* himſelf had ouercome *Cæſar*, he would haue reſigned his authoritie to the law: but rather they were of opinion, that he would ſtill keepe the ſoueraigntie and abſolute gouernment in his hands, taking onely, to pleaſe the people, the title of Conſull or Dictator, or of ſome other more ciuill office. And as for *Caſſius*, a hot, chollericke, & cruell man, that would oftentimes be caried away from iuſtice for gaine: it was certainly thought that he made warre, and put himſelfe into ſundry dangers, more to haue abſolute power and authoritie, then to defend the libertie of his country. For, they that will alſo conſider others, that were elder men then they, as *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Carbo*: it is out of doubt that the end & hope of their victorie, was to be Lords of their country: and in manner they did all confeſſe that they fought for the tyranny, and to be Lords of the Empire of Rome. And in contrary manner, his enemies themſelues did neuer reproue *Brutus*, for any ſuch change or deſire. For, it was ſaid that *Antonius* ſpake it openly diuers times that he thought, that of all them that had ſlaine *Cæſar*, there was none but *Brutus* only that was moued to do it, as thinking the act commendable of it ſelfe: but that all the other conſpirators did conſpire his death, for ſome priuate malice or enuie, that they otherwiſe did beare vnto him. Hereby it appeareth, that *Brutus* did not truſt ſo much to the power of his army, as he did to his owne vertue: as is to be ſeene by his writings. For approching neere to the inſtant danger, he wrote vnto *Pomponius Atticus*, that his affayres had the beſt happe that could be. For, ſaid he, either I will ſet my country at libertie by battell, or by honorable death rid me of this bondage. And furthermore, that they being certaine & aſſured of all things elſe, this one thing only was doubtfull to them: whether they ſhould liue or die with liberty. He wrote alſo that *Antonius* had his due paimēt for his folly. For where he might haue bin a partner equally of the glory of *Brutus*, *Caſſius*, & *Cato*, and haue made one with them: he liked better to chooſe to be

ioyned

*Brutus and Caſſius do ioine armies together.*

*The ſharpe and cruel conditions of Caſſius. Brutus gentle and faire conditions.*

*Brutus intent good, if he had ouercome.*

*Antonius teſtimonie of Brutus.*

*Brutus noble mind to his countrie.*

ioyned with *Octauius Cæſar* alone: with whom, though now he be not ouercome by vs, yet ſhall he ſhortly after alſo haue warre with him. And truely he proued a true Prophet, for ſo came it in deede to paſſe. Now whileſt B*rutus* and C*aſſius* were together in the city of SMYRNA: B*rutus* prayed C*aſſius* to let him haue ſome part of his money whereof he had great ſtore, becauſe all that he could rappe and rend of his ſide he had beſtowed it in making ſo great a number of ſhippes, that by meanes of them they ſhould keepe all the ſea at their commaundement. C*aſſius* friends hindered this requeſt, and earneſtly diſſwaded him from it: perſwading him, that it was no reaſon that *Brutus* ſhould haue the money which C*aſſius* hath gotten together by ſparing, and leauied with great euill will of the people their ſubiectes, for him to beſtow liberally vpon his ſouldiers, and by this meanes to winne their good willes, by C*aſſius* charge. This notwithſtanding, C*aſſius* gaue him the thirde part of his totall ſumme. So C*aſsius* and *Brutus* then departing from ech other, *Caſsius* tooke the city of RHODES, where he too diſhoneſtly & cruelly vſed himſelfe: although when he came into the citie, he anſwered ſome of the inhabitants, who called him Lord and King, that he was neither Lord nor King, but he only that had ſlaine him, that would haue bene Lord and King. *Brutus* departing from thence, ſent vnto the LYCIANS to require money, and men of warre. But there was a certaine Orator called *Naucrates*, that made the cities to rebell againſt him, inſomuch that the countrimen of that country kept the ſtraights and litle mountaines, thinking by that meanes to ſtoppe *Brutus* paſſage. Wherefore B*rutus* ſent his horſemen againſt them, who ſtale vppon them as they were at dinner, and ſlew ſixe hundred of them: and taking all the ſmall townes and villages, he did let all the priſoners he tooke, goe without payment of ranſome, hoping by this his great courteſie to winne them, to draw all the reſt of the country vnto him. But they were ſo fierce and obſtinate, that they would mutine for euery ſmall hurt they receiued as they paſſed by their countrie, and did deſpiſe his curteſie and good nature: vntill that at length he went to beſiege the citie of the XANTHIANS, within the which were ſhut vp the cruelleſt and moſt warlikeſt men of LYCIA. There was a riuer that ranne by the wals of the citie, in the which many men ſaued themſelues, ſwimming betwene two waters, and fled: howbeit they laide nets ouerthwart the riuer, and tyed litle belles on the toppe of them, to ſound when any man was taken in the nets. The XANTHIANS made a ſalie out by night, and came to fire certaine engines of batterie that beate downe their walles: but they were preſently driuen in againe by the ROMAINES, ſo ſoone as they were diſcouered. The winde by chaunce was maruellous bigge, and increaſed the flame ſo ſore, that it violently caried it into the cranewes of the wall of the citie, that the next houſes vnto them were ſtraight ſet a fire thereby. Wherefore B*rutus* being affraide that all the citie would take on fire, he preſently commaunded his men to quench the fire, and to ſaue the towne if it might be. But the LYCIANS at that inſtant fell into ſuch a frenſie, and ſtraunge and horrible deſpaire, that no man can well expreſſe it: and a man can not more rightly compare or liken it, then to a franticke and moſt deſperate deſire to die. For all of them together, with their wiues and children, Maiſters and ſeruantes, and of all ſortes of age whatſoeuer, fought vppon the ramper of their walles, and did caſt downe ſtones and fireworkes on the ROMAINES, which were verie buſie in quenching the flame of the fire, to ſaue the citie. And in contrarie manner alſo, they brought faggots, drie wood, and reedes, to bring the fire further into the citie aſmuch as might be, increaſing it by ſuch thinges as they brought. Nowe when the fire had gotten into all the partes of the citie, and that the flame burnt bright in euerie place: B*rutus* being ſorie to ſee it, got vppon his horſe, and rode rounde about the walles of the citie, to ſee if it were poſſible to ſaue it, and helde vppe his handes to the inhabitantes, praying them to pardon their citie, and to ſaue themſelues. Howbeit they would not be perſwaded, but did all that they could poſſible to caſt themſelues away, not onely men and women, but alſo litle children. For ſome of them weeping and crying out, did caſt them ſelues into the fire: others headlong throwing themſelues downe from the walles, brake their neckes: others alſo made their neckes bare, to the naked ſwordes of their fathers, and vndid their clothes, praying them to kill them with their owne handes. After the citie was burnt, they found a woman hanged vp by the necke, holding one of her children in her hande dead by her, hanged vp alſo: and in

*Brutus, a true Prophet of Antonius.*

*Caſsius wanne the citie of Rhodes.*

*Brutus geſts in Lycia.*

*The citie of Xanthus ſet a fire.*

*The deſperate ende of the Xanthians.*

the other hande a burning torch ſetting fire on her houſe. Some would haue had *Brutus* to haue ſeene her, but he would not ſee ſo horrible and tragicall a ſight: but when he heard it, he fell a weeping, and cauſed a Herauld to make proclamation by ſound of trumpet, that he would giue a certaine ſumme of money, to euery ſouldier that could ſaue a XANTHIAN. So there were not (as it is reported) aboue fiftie of them ſaued, and yet they were ſaued againſt their willes. Thus the XANTHIANS hauing ended the reuolution of their fatall deſtinie, after a long continuance of time: they did through their deſperation, renew the memorie of the lamentable calamities of their Aunceſtors. Who in like manner, in the warres of the PERSIANS, did burne their citie, and deſtroyed themſelues. Therefore *Brutus* likewiſe beſieging the citie of the PATAREIANS, perceiuing that they ſtoutly reſiſted him: hee was alſo affraide of that, and could not well tell whether he ſhould giue aſſault to it, or not, leaſt they would fall into the deſpaire and deſperation of the XANTHIANS. Howbeit hauing taken certaine of their women priſoners, he ſent them backe againe, without payment of ranſome. Nowe they that were the wiues and daughters of the nobleſt men of the citie, reporting vnto their parents, that they had found *Brutus* a mercifull, iuſt, and courteous man: they perſwaded them to yeelde themſelues and their citie vnto him, the which they did. So after they had thus yeelded themſelues, diuers other cities alſo followed them, and did the like: and founde **Brutus** more mercifull and courteous, then they thought they ſhould haue done, but ſpecially farre aboue *Caſſius*. For *Caſſius*, about the ſelfe ſame time, after he had compelled the RRODIANS euery man to deliuer all the readie money they had in gold and ſiluer in their houſes, the which being brought together, amounted to the ſumme of eight thouſand talents: yet he condemned the citie beſides, to pay the ſumme of fiue hundred talents more. Where *Brutus* in contrarie manner, after he had leauied of all the countrie of LYCIA but a hundred and fiftie talentes onely: he departed thence into the countrie of IONIA, and did them no more hurt. Now *Brutus* in all this iourney, did many notable acts and worthy of memorie, both for rewarding, as alſo in puniſhing thoſe that had deſerued it: Wherefore among the reſt, I will tell you of one thing, of the which he himſelfe, and all the noble men of the ROMAINES were maruellous glad. When *Pompey* the great (hauing loſt the battell againſt *Iulius Cæſar*, in the fields of PHARSALIA) came and fell vpon the coaſt of ÆGYPT, hard by the citie of PELVSIVM: thoſe that were protectors to the young king *Ptolomy*, being then but a childe, ſate in councell with his ſeruantes and friendes, what they ſhould determine in that caſe. They were not all of one minde in this conſultation: for ſome thought it good to receiue *Pompey*, others alſo, that they ſhould driue him out of ÆGYPT. But there was a certaine Rethoritian called *Theodotus*, that was borne in the Ile of CHIO, who was the kings ſchoolemaiſter to teach him Rethoricke. He being called to this councell for lacke of ſufficient men, ſaide, that both the one and the other ſide went awry, aſwell thoſe that were of opinion to receiue *Pompey*, as the other that would haue had him driuen away: and that the beſt way was (conſidering the preſent time) that they ſhould lay holde on him, and kill him, adding withall, this ſentence, that a dead man biteth not. The whole councell ſtucke to this opinion. So, for a notable example of incredible misfortune, and vnlooked for vnto *Pompey*: *Pompey* the great was ſlaine, by the motion and counſell of this wicked Rethoritian *Theodotus*, as *Theodotus* afterwardes did him ſelfe boaſt of it. But when *Iulius Cæſar* came afterwardes into ÆGYPT, the wicked men that conſented to this counſell, had their payment according to their deſerts: for they died euery man of them a wicked death, ſauing this *Theodotus*, whom fortune reſpighted a litle while longer, and yet in that time he liued a poore and miſerable life, neuer tarying long in anie one place. So *Brutus* going vppe and downe ASIA, *Theodotus* could hide himſelfe no longer, but was brought vnto *Brutus*, where he ſuffered paines of death: ſo that he wanne more fame by his death, then euer he did in his life. About that time, *Brutus* ſent to pray *Caſſius* to come to the citie of SARDIS, and ſo he did. *Brutus* vnderſtanding of his comming, went to meete him with all his friendes. There, both their armies being armed, they called them both Emperors. Now, as it commonly hapneth in great affaires betweene two perſons, both of them hauing many friends, and ſo many Captaines vnder them: there ranne tales and complaints betwixt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand with

*The Patareians doe yeelde themſelues vnto Brutus.*

*The extreame couetouſneſſe and crueltie of Caſſius to the Rhodians.*

*Brutus clemencie vnto the Lycians.*

*Theodotus borne in Chio a Rethoritian Scholemaiſter to Ptolomy the young king of Ægypt.*

*Theodotus ſaying: a dead man biteth not.*

*Theodotus Chian, the Rethoritian that gaue counſell to kill Pompey: was put to death by Brutus.*

*Brutus & Caſſius doe meete at the citie of Sardis.*

with any other matter, they went into a litle chamber together, and bad euery man auoide and did ſhut the dores to them. Then they began to powre out their complaintes one to the other, and grew hot and loude, earneſtly accuſing one another, and at length fell both a weeping. Their friends that were without the chamber hearing them loud within, and angry betweene them ſelues, they were both amaſed, and afraied alſo leaſt it would grow to further matter: but yet they were commaunded, that no man ſhould come to them. Notwithſtanding, one *Marcus Phaonius*, that had bene a frend and follower of *Cato* while he liued, and tooke vpon him to counterfeate a Philoſopher, not with wiſedome & diſcretion, but with a certaine bedlem and franticke motion: he would needes come into the chamber, though the men offered to keepe him out. But it was no boot to let *Phaonius*, when a mad moode or toy tooke him in the head: for he was a hot haſty man, and ſodaine in all his doings, and cared for neuer a Senator of them all. Now, though he vſed this bold manner of ſpeach after the profeſſion of the Cynicke Philoſophers, (as who would ſay, dogs) yet this boldnes did no hurt many times, becauſe they did but laugh at him to ſee him ſo mad. This *Phaonius* at that time, in deſpite of the doorekeepers, came into the chamber, and with a certaine ſcoffing and mocking geſture which hee counterfeated of purpoſe, he rehearſed the verſes which old *Neſtor* ſayd in *Homer*:

*Brutus and Caſsius complaints one vnto the other.*

*M. Phaonius a follower of Cato.*

*Cynicke Philoſophers, counted dogs.*

*My Lords, I pray you hearken both to me,*
*For I haue ſeene moe yeares than ſuchie three.*

*Caſsius* fell a laghing at him: but *Brutus* thruſt him out of the chamber, and called him dog, and counterfeate Cynicke. Howbeit his comming in brake their ſtrife at that time, and ſo they left each other. The ſelfe ſame night *Caſsius* prepared his ſupper in his chamber, and *Brutus* brought his frends with him. So when they were ſet at ſupper, *Phaonius* came to ſit downe after he had waſhed. *Brutus* told him aloude, no man ſent for him, and bad them ſet him at the vpper end: meaning in deede at the lower end of the bed. *Phaonius* made no ceremony, but thruſt in amongeſt the middeſt of them, and made all the company laugh at him: So they were merry all ſupper time, and full of their Philoſophy. The next day after, *Brutus*, vppon complaint of the SARDIANS, did condemne and noted *Lucius Pella* for a defamed perſon, that had beene a Prætor of the ROMAINES, and whom *Brutus* had giuen charge vnto: for that he was accuſed and conuicted of robbery, and pilferie in his office. This iudgement much miſliked *Caſsius*: becauſe he him ſelfe had ſecretely (not many daies before) warned two of his friends, attainted and conuicted of the like offences, and openly had cleared them: but yet he did not therefore leaue to employ them in any manner of ſeruice as he did before. And therefore he greatly reproued *Brutus*, for that he would ſhew him ſelfe ſo ſtraight and ſeuere in ſuch a time, as was meeter to beare a litle, then to take things at the worſt. *Brutus* in contrary manner aunſwered, that he ſhould remember the Ides of Marche, at which time they ſlue *Iulius Cæſar*: who neither piled nor polled the country, but onely was a fauorer and ſuborner of all them that did robbe and ſpoile, by his countenaunce and authority. And if there were any occaſion whereby they might honeſtly ſette aſide iuſtice and equity: they ſhould haue had more reaſon to haue ſuffered *Cæſars* friendes, to haue robbed and done what wrong and iniury they had would, then to beare with their owne men. For then ſayed he, they could but haue ſayed they had bene cowardes: and now they may accuſe vs of iniuſtice, beſide the paines we take, and the daunger we put our ſelues into. And thus may we ſee what *Brutus* intent and purpoſe was. But as they both prepared to paſſe ouer againe, out of ASIA into EVROPE: there went a rumor that there appeared a wonderfull ſigne vnto him. *Brutus* was a carefull man, and ſlept very litle, both for that his diet was moderate, as alſo becauſe he was continually occupied. He neuer ſlept in the day time, and in the night no longer, then the time he was driuen to be alone, and when euery body elſe tooke their reſt. But now whileſt he was in warre, and his head euer buſily occupied to thinke of his affaires, and what would happen: after he had ſlumbered a litle after ſupper, he ſpent all the reſt of the night in diſpatching of his waighteſt cauſes, and after he had taken order for them, if hee had any leyſure left him, he would reade ſome booke till the third watch of the night, at what time the Captaines, petty Captaines and Colonels, did vſe to come to him. So, being ready to goe into EVROPE, one night very late (when all the campe tooke quiet reſt) as hee was in his

*Iulius Cæſar ſlaine at the Ides of March*

*The wonderful conſtancy of Brutus, in matters of iuſtice & equity.*

*Brutus care and watching.*

tent with a litle light, thinking of waighty matters: he thought he heard one come in to him, and caſting his eye towards the dore of his tent, that he ſaw a wonderfull ſtraunge and monſtruous ſhape of a body comming towards him, and ſayd neuer a word. So *Brutus* boldly asked what he was, a god or a man, and what cauſe brought him thither. The ſpirit aunſwered him, I am thy euill ſpirit, *Brutus*: and thou ſhalt ſee me by the city of PHILIPPES. *Brutus* being no otherwiſe afraied, replied againe vnto it: well, then I ſhall ſee thee againe. The ſpirite preſently vaniſhed away: and *Brutus* called his men vnto him, who tolde him that they heard no noiſe, nor ſaw any thing at all. Thereupon *Brutus* returned againe to thinke on his matters as he did before: and when the day brake, he went vnto *Caſſius*, to tell him what viſion had appeared vnto him in the night. *Caſſius* being in opinion an EPICVRIAN, and reaſoning thereon with *Brutus*, ſpake to him touching the viſion thus. In our ſect, *Brutus*, we haue an opinion, that we doe not alwayes feele, or ſee, that which we ſuppoſe we doe both ſee and feele: but that our ſenſes being credulous, and therefore eaſily abuſed (when they are idle and vnoccupied in their owne obiects) are induced to imagine they ſee and coniecture that, which they in truth doe not. For, our minde is quicke and cunning to worke (without either cauſe or matter) any thing in the imagination whatſoeuer. And therefore the imagination is reſembled to clay, and the minde to the potter: who without any other cauſe then his fancy and pleaſure, chaungeth it into what faſhion and forme he will. And this doth the diuerſity of our dreames ſhew vnto vs. For our imagination doth vppon a ſmall fancy grow from conceite to conceite, altering both in paſſions and formes of things imagined. For the minde of man is euer occupied, and that continual mouing is nothing but an imagination. But yet there is a further cauſe of this in you. For you being by nature giuen to melancholicke diſcourſing, and of late continually occupied: your wittes and ſences hauing bene ouerlabored, doe eaſilier yeelde to ſuch imaginations. For, to ſay that there are ſpirits or angels, and if there were, that they had the ſhape of men, or ſuch voyces, or any power at all to come vnto vs: it is a mockery. And for mine owne part, I would there were ſuch, becauſe that we ſhould not onely haue ſouldiers, horſes, and ſhippes, but alſo the aide of the goddes, to guide and further our honeſt and honorable attempts. With theſe words *Caſſius* did ſomwhat comfort and quiet *Brutus*. When they raiſed their campe, there came two Eagles that flying with a maruellous force, lighted vppon two of the foremoſt enſignes, and alwaies followed the ſouldiers, which gaue them meat, and fed them, vntill they came neare to the city of PHILIPPES: and there one day onely before the battell, they both flew away. Now *Brutus* had conquered the moſt part of all the people, and nations of that countrey: but if there were any other city or Captaine to ouercome, then they made all cleare before them, and ſo drew towardes the coaſtes of THASSOS. There *Norbanus* lying in campe in a certaine place called the ſtraights, by another place called SYMBOLON: (which is a port of the ſea) *Caſſius* & *Brutus* compaſſed him in in ſuch ſort, that he was driuen to forſake the place which was of great ſtrength for him, and he was alſo in danger beſide to haue loſt all his army. For, *Octauius Cæſar* could not follow him becauſe of his ſicknes, and therefore ſtayed behinde: whereuppon they had taken his army, had not *Antonius* aide bene, which made ſuch wonderfull ſpeed, that *Brutus* could ſcant beleeue it. So *Cæſar* came not thither of ten daies after: and *Antonius* camped againſt *Caſſius*, and Brutus on the other ſide againſt *Cæſar*. The ROMAINS called the valley betweene both camps, the PHILIPPIAN fields: and there were neuer ſeene two ſo great armies of the ROMAINS, one before the other, ready to fight. In truth, *Brutus* army was inferior to *Octauius Cæſars*, in number of men: but for brauery and rich furniture, *Brutus* army far excelled *Cæſars*. For the moſt part of their armors were ſiluer & gilt, which *Brutus* had bountifully giuen them: although in all other things he taught his Captaines to liue in order without exceſſe. But for the brauery of armour, and weapon, which ſouldiers ſhould cary in their hands, or otherwiſe weare vpon their backes: he thought that it was an encoragement vnto them that by nature are greedy of honor, and that it maketh them alſo fight like deuils that loue to get, and to be afraied to loſe: becauſe they fight to keepe their armor and weapon, as alſo their goods and lands. Now when they came to muſter their armies, *Octauius Cæſar* tooke the muſter of his army within the trenches of his campe, & gaue his men onely a litle corne, and fiue ſiluer Drachmas to euery man to ſacrifice to the gods, and to

*A ſpirit appeared vnto Brutus in the city of Sardis.*

*Caſſius opinion of ſpirits, after the Epicurian ſect.*

*The cauſe of dreames.*

*A wonderfull ſigne by two Eagles.*

*Brutus and Caſſius camps before the city of Philippes: againſt Octauius Cæſar and Antonius.*

*Brutus ſouldiers brauely armed.*

*Brutus opinion for the brauery of ſouldiers, in their armor and weapon.*

to pray for victory. But *Brutus* ſkorning this miſery and nigardlines, firſt of all muſtered his army, and did purifie it in the fields, according to the maner of the ROMAINS: and then he gaue vnto euery band a number of weathers to ſacrifice, and fifty ſiluer Drachmas to euery ſouldier. So that *Brutus* and *Caſsius* ſouldiers were better pleaſed, and more coragiouſly bent to fight at the day of battell, then their enemies ſouldiers were. Notwithſtanding, being buſily occupied about the ceremonies of this purification, it is reported that there chanced certaine vnlucky ſignes vnto *Caſsius*. For one of his Sergeaunts that caried the roddes before him, brought him the garland of flowers turned backwards, the which he ſhould haue worne on his head in the time of ſacrificing. Moreouer it is reported alſo, that an other time before, in certaine ſportes and triumphe where they caried an image of *Caſsius* victory of cleane golde, it fell by chaunce, the man ſtumbling that caried it. And yet further, there were ſeene a maruellous number of fowles of prey, that feed vpon dead carkaſſes: and bee-hiues alſo were found, where Bees were gathered together in a certaine place within the trenches of the campe: the which place the Soothſayers thought good to ſhut out of the precinct of the campe, for to take away the ſuperſtitious feare and miſtruſt men would haue of it. The which began ſomewhat to alter *Caſsius* minde from *Epicurus* opinions, and had put the ſouldiers alſo in a maruellous feare. Thereuppon *Caſsius* was of opinion not to try this warre at one battell, but rather to delay time, and to draw it out in length, conſidering that they were the ſtronger in money, and the weaker in men and armors. But *Brutus* in contrary manner, did alway before and at that time alſo, deſire nothing more, then to put all to the hazard of battell, as ſoone as might be poſſible: to the end he might either quickly reſtore his countrey to her former liberty, or rid him forthwith of this miſerable world, being ſtill troubled in following and maintaining of ſuch great armies together. But perceiuing that in the daily ſkirmiſhes and bickerings they made, his men were alway the ſtronger, and euer had the better: that yet quickened his ſpirits againe, and did put him in better heart. And furthermore, becauſe that ſome of their owne men had already yeelded them ſelues to their enemies, and that it was ſuſpected moreouer diuerſe others would doe the like: that made many of *Caſsius* friendes, which were of his minde before, (when it came to be debated in councel whether the battel ſhould be fought or not) that they were then of *Brutus* minde. But yet was there one of *Brutus* friends called *Atellius*, that was againſt it, and was of opinion that they ſhould tary the next winter. *Brutus* asked him what he ſhould get by tarying a yeare longer? If I get nothing els, ꝗ *Atellius* againe, yet haue I liued ſo much longer. *Caſsius* was very angry with this aunſwer: and *Atellius* was maliced and eſteemed the worſe for it of all men. Thereupon it was preſently determined they ſhould fight battell the next day. So *Brutus* all ſupper time looked with a chearefull countenaunce, like a man that had good hope, and talked very wiſely of Philoſophy, and after ſuper went to bed. But touching *Caſsius*, *Meſſala* reporteth that he ſupped by him ſelfe in his tent with a few of his frindes, and that all ſupper time he looked very ſadly, and was full of thoughts, although it was againſt his nature: and that after ſupper he tooke him by the hand, and holding him faſt (in token of kindneſſe as his manner was) told him in Greeke: *Meſſala*, I proteſt vnto thee, and make thee my witnes, that I am compelled againſt my minde and will (as *Pompey* the great was) to ieopard the liberty of our countrey, to the hazard of a battell. And yet we muſt be liuely, and of good corage, conſidering our good fortune, whom we ſhould wrong too much to miſtruſt her, although wee follow euill counſell. *Meſſala* writeth, that *Caſsius* hauing ſpoken theſe laſt wordes vnto him, he bad him farewell, and willed him to come to ſupper to him the next night following, becauſe it was his birth day. The next morning by breake of day, the ſignall of battell was ſet out in *Brutus* and *Caſsius* campe, which was an arming ſcarlet coat: and both the Chieftaines ſpake together in the middeſt of their armies. There *Caſsius* began to ſpeake firſt, and ſayd: the gods grant vs, O *Brutus*, that this day we may win the field, and euer after to liue all the reſt of our life quietly, one with another. But ſith the gods haue ſo ordayned it, that the greateſt & chiefeſt things amongeſt men are moſt vncertaine, and that if the batell fall out otherwiſe to day then we wiſh or looke for, we ſhall hardly meete againe: what art thou then determined to doe, to flie, or die? *Brutus* auſwered him, being yet but a young man, and not ouer greatly experienced in the world: I truſt, (I know not how) a certaine rule of Philoſophy, by the which I did

*Vnluckie ſignes vnto Caſsius.*

*Caſsius and Brutus opinions about battell.*

*Atellius opinion for the battell.*

*Caſsius wordes vnto Meſſala, the night before the battell.*

*Brutus and Caſsius talke before the battell.*

*Brutus anſwer to Caſsius.*

*The battell at Philippes, againſt Octauius Cæſar, and Antonius.*

greatly blame and reproue *Cato* for killing of himſelfe, as being no lawfull nor godly acte, touching the gods, nor concerning men, valiant, not to giue place and yeeld to diuine prouidence, and not conſtantly & patiently to take whatſoeuer it pleaſeth him to ſend vs, but to draw back and flie: but being now in the middeſt of the danger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it be not the will of God, that this battell fall out fortunate for vs: I will looke no more for hope, neither ſeeke to make any new ſupply for war again, but wil rid me of this miſerable world, and content me with my fortune. For, I gaue vp my life for my countrey in the Ides of March, for the which I ſhall liue in an other more glorious world. *Caſsius* fell a laughing to heare what he ſaied, and imbracing him, come on then ſaied he, let vs goe and charge our enemies with this minde. For either we ſhall conquer, or we ſhall not neede to feare the Conquerors. After this talke, they fell to conſultation among their friends for the ordering of the battell. Then *Brutus* praied *Caſsius* he might haue the leading of the right wing, the which men thought was farre meeter for *Caſsius*: both becauſe he was the elder man, and alſo for that he had the better experience. But yet *Caſsius* gaue it him, and willed that *Meſſala* (who had charge of one of the warrelikeſt legions they had) ſhould be alſo in that wing with *Brutus*. So *Brutus* preſently ſent out his horſemen, who were excellently well appointed, and his footmen alſo were as willing and ready to giue charge. Now *Antonius* men did caſt a trench from the mariſhe by the which they lay, to cutte off *Caſsius* way to come to the ſea: and *Cæſar*, at the leaſt his army ſtirred not. As for *Octauius Cæſar* him ſelfe, he was not in his campe, becauſe he was ſicke. And for his people, they litle thought the enemies would haue giuen them battell, but onely haue made ſome light skirmiſhes to hinder them that wrought in the trench, and with their darts and ſlings to haue kept them from finiſhing of their worke: but they taking no heede to them that came full vpon them to giue them battell, maruelled much at the great noiſe they heard, that came from the place where they were caſting their trench. In the meane time *Brutus* that ledde the right wing, ſent litle bils to the Colonels and Captaines of priuate bandes, in the which hee wrote the word of the battell: and he him ſelfe riding a horſe backe by all the troupes, did ſpeake to them, and incoraged them to ſticke to it like men. So by this meanes very few of them vnderſtoode what was the word of the battell, and beſides, the moſt part of them neuer taryed to haue it told them, but ranne with great furie to aſſaile the enemies: whereby through this diſorder, the legions were maruellouſly ſcattered and diſperſed one from the other. For firſt of all, *Meſſalaes* legion, and then the next vnto them, went beyond the left wing of the enemies, and did nothing, but glauncing by them, ouerthrew ſome as they went, and ſo going on further, fell right vpon *Cæſars* campe, out of the which (as him ſelfe writeth in his commentaries) he had bene conueyed away a litle before, through the counſell and aduiſe of one of his friendes called *Marcus Artorius*: Who dreaming in the night, had a viſion appeared vnto him, that commaunded *Octauius Cæſar* ſhould be caried out of his campe. Inſomuch as it was thought he was ſlaine, becauſe his litter (which had nothing in it) was thruſt through and through with pikes and darts. There was great ſlaughter in this campe. For amongeſt others, there were ſlaine two thouſand LACEDÆMONIANS, who were arriued but euen a litle before, comming to aid *Cæſar*. The other alſo that had not glanced by, but had giuen a charge full vpon *Cæſars* battell: they eaſily made them flie, becauſe they were greatly troubled for the loſſe of their campe, and of them there were ſlaine by hand, three legions. Then being very earneſt to follow the chaſe of them that fled, they ranne in amongeſt them hand ouer head into their campe, and *Brutus* among them. But that which the conquerours thought not of, occaſion ſhewed it vnto them that were ouercome: and that was, the left wing of their enemies left naked, and vnguarded of them of the right wing, who were ſtrayed too farre off, in following of them that were ouerthrowen. So they gaue a hot charge vpon them. But notwithſtanding all the force they made, they could not breake into the middeſt of their battell, where they found men that receiued them, and valiantly made head againſt them. Howbeit they brake and ouerthrew the left wing where *Caſsius* was, by reaſon of the great diſorder among them, and alſo becauſe they had no intelligence how the right wing had ſped. So they chaſed them beating them into their campe, the which they ſpoyled, none of both the Chieftaines being preſent there. For *Antonius*, as it is reported, to flie the furie of the firſt charge, was gotten into the next mariſh:and no man could tel what became of *Octauius Caſar*, after he was caried out of his campe. Inſomuch that there were certaine ſouldiers that ſhewed their ſwords bloodied, and ſayd that they had ſlaine him, and did deſcribe his face, and ſhewed what age he was of. Furthermore the voward, and the middeſt of *Brutus* battell, had already put all their enemies to flight that withſtoode them, with great ſlaughter: ſo that *Brutus* had conquered all on his ſide, and *Caſsius* had loſt all on the other ſide. For nothing vndid them, but that *Brutus* went not to helpe *Caſsius*, thinking he had ouercome them, as him ſelfe had done: and *Caſsius* on the other ſide taried not for *Brutus*, thinking he had bene ouerthrowen, as him ſelfe was. And to proue that the victory fell on *Brutus* ſide, *Meſſala* confirmeth it: that they wan three Eagles, and diuers other enſignes of their enemies, and their enemies wan neuer a one of theirs. Now *Brutus* returning from the chaſe, after he had ſlaine and ſacked *Caſars* men: he wondred much that he could not ſee *Caſsius* tent ſtanding vp high as it was wont, neither the other tents of his campe ſtanding as they were before, becauſe all the whole campe had bene ſpoiled, & the tents throwen downe, at the firſt cōming in of the enemies. But they that were about *Brutus*, whoſe ſight ſerued them better, told him that they ſaw a great gliſtering of harneſſe, and a number of ſiluered targets, that went and came into *Caſsius* campe, and were not (as they tooke it) the armors, nor the number of men that they had left there to guard the camp: and yet that they ſaw not ſuch a number of dead bodies, and great ouerthrow, as there ſhould haue bene, if ſo many legions had bene ſlaine. This made *Brutus* at the firſt miſtruſt that which had hapned. So he appointed a number of men to keepe the campe of his enemy which he had taken, and cauſed his men to be ſent for that yet followed the chaſe, and gathered them together, thinking to lead them to aide *Caſsius*, who was in this ſtate as you ſhall heare. Firſt of all he was maruellous angry, to ſee how *Brutus* men ran to giue charge vpon their enemies, and taried not for the word of the battell, nor commandement to giue charge: and it grieued him beſide, that after he had ouercome them, his men fell ſtraight to ſpoile, and were not carefull to compaſſe in the reſt of the enemies behinde. But with tarying two long alſo, more then through the valiantneſſe or foreſight of the Captaines his enemies: *Caſsius* found him ſelfe compaſſed in with the right wing of his enemies army. Whereuppon his horſemen brake immediatly, and fled for life towardes the ſea. Furthermore, perceiuing his footemen to giue ground, hee did what he could to keepe them from flying, and tooke an enſigne from one of the enſigne bearers that fled, and ſtucke it faſt at his feete: although with much a do he could ſcant keepe his owne guard together. So *Caſsius* himſelfe was at length compelled to flie, with a few about him, vnto a litle hill, from whence they might eaſily ſee what was done in all the plaine: howbeit *Caſsius* him ſelfe ſaw nothing, for his ſight was very bad, ſauing that he ſaw (and yet with much a do) how the enemies ſpoiled his campe before his eyes. He ſaw alſo a great troupe of horſmen, whom *Brutus* ſent to aide him, and thought that they were his enemies that followed him: but yet he ſent *Titinnius*, one of them that was with him, to go and know what they were. *Brutus* horſemen ſaw him comming a far off, whom when they knew that he was one of *Caſsius* chiefeſt frends, they ſhouted out for ioy: and they that were familiarly acquainted with him, lighted from their horſes, and went and embraced him. The reſt compaſſed him in round about a horſebacke, with ſongs of victory and great ruſhing of their harneſſe, ſo that they made all the field ring againe for ioy. But this marred all. For *Caſsius* thinking in deede that *Titinnius* was taken of the enemies, he then ſpake theſe words: deſiring too much to liue, I haue liued to ſee one of my beſt friendes taken, for my ſake, before my face. After that, he got into a tent where no body was, and tooke *Pyndarus* with him, one of his freede bondmen, whom he reſerued euer for ſuch a pinch, ſince the curſed battel of the PARTHIANS, where *Craſsus* was ſlain, though he notwithſtanding ſcaped from that ouerthrow: but then caſting his cloke ouer his head, and holding out his bare necke vnto *Pindarus*, he gaue him his head to be ſtriken off. So the head was found ſeuered from the body: but after that time *Pindarus* was neuer ſeene more. Whereuppon, ſome tooke occaſion to ſay, that he had ſlaine his maiſter without his commandement. By and by they knew the horſemen that came towardes them, and might ſee *Titinnius* crowned with a garland of triumphe, who came before with great ſpeed vnto *Caſsius*. But when he perceiued by the cries and teares of his friendes which tormented them ſelues, the miſfortune

*Octauius Caſar falſely reported to be ſlaine at the battell of Philippes.*

*Caſsius miſfortune.*

*Caſsius offended with the ſundry errors Brutus and his men committed in battell.*

*Caſsius valiantnes in warre*

*The importance of error and miſtaking in warres.*

*Caſsius ſlaine by his man Pindarus.*

*The death of Titinnius.*

that had chaunced to his Captaine *Caſsius*, by miſtaking: he drew out his ſword, curſing him ſelfe a thouſand times that he had taried ſo long, and ſo ſlue him ſelfe preſently in the fielde. *Brutus* in the meane time came forward ſtill, and vnderſtoode alſo that *Caſsius* had bene ouerthrowen: but he knew nothing of his death, till he came very neare to his campe. So when he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of *Caſsius*, calling him the laſt of all the ROMAINES, being vnpoſſible that ROME ſhould euer breede againe ſo noble and valiant a man as he: he cauſed his body to be buried, and ſent it to the city of THASSOS, fearing leaſt his funerals within the campe ſhould cauſe great diſorder. Then he called his ſouldiers together, & did encorage them againe. And when he ſaw that they had loſt all their cariage, which they could not brooke well: he promiſed euery man of them two thouſand Drachmas in recompence. After his ſouldiers had heard his Oration, they were all of them pretily cheared againe, wondering much at his great liberality, and waited vpon him with great cries when he went his way, praiſing him, for that he onely of the foure Chieftaines, was not ouercome in battell. And to ſpeake the trueth, his deedes ſhewed that he hoped not in vaine to be conquerour. For with few legions, he had ſlaine and driuen all them away, that made head againſt him: and yet if all his people had fought, and that the moſt of them had not out gone their enemies to runne to ſpoile their goods: ſurely it was like enough he had ſlaine them all, and had left neuer a man of them aliue.

*The number of men ſlaine, at the battell of Philippes.*

There were ſlaine of *Brutus* ſide, about eight thouſand men, counting the ſouldiers ſlaues, whom *Brutus* called Brigas: and of the enemies ſide, as *Meſſala* writeth, there were ſlaine as he ſuppoſeth, more then twiſe as many moe. Wherefore they were more diſcoraged then *Brutus*, vntill that very late at night, there was one of *Caſsius* men called *Demetrius*, who went vnto *Antonius*, and caried his maiſters clothes, whereof he was ſtripped not long before, and his ſword alſo. This encoraged *Brutus* enemies, and made them ſo braue, that the next morning betimes they ſtoode in battell ray againe before *Brutus*. But on *Brutus* ſide, both his campes ſtoode wauering, and that in great daunger. For his owne campe being full of priſoners, required a good guard to looke vnto them: and *Caſsius* campe on the other ſide tooke the death of their Captaine very heauily, and beſide, there was ſome vile grudge betweene them that were ouercome, and thoſe that did ouercome. For this cauſe therefore *Brutus* did ſet them in battell ray, but yet kept him ſelfe from giuing battell. Now for the ſlaues that were priſoners, which were a great number of them, and went and came to and fro amongſt the armed men, not without ſuſpition: he commanded they ſhould kill them. But for the freemen, he ſent them freely home, and ſaid, that they were better priſoners with his enemies, then with him. For with them, they were ſlaues and ſeruaunts: and with him, they were free men, and citizens.

*Brutus clemency and curteſie.*

So when he ſaw that diuers Captaines and his friends did ſo cruelly hate ſome, that they would by no meanes ſaue their liues: *Brutus* him ſelfe hid them, and ſecretly ſent them away. Among theſe priſoners, there was one *Volumnius* a ieſter, and *Sacculio* a common player, of whom *Brutus* made no accompt at all. Howbeit his friends brought them vnto him, and did accuſe them, that though they were priſoners, they did not let to laugh them to ſcorne, and to ieaſt broadly with them. *Brutus* made no anſwere to it, becauſe his head was occupied otherwaies. Whereupon, *Meſſala Coruinus* ſayd: that it were good to whippe them on a ſkaffold, and then to ſend them naked, well whipped, vnto the Captaines of their enemies, to ſhewe them their ſhame, to keepe ſuch mates as thoſe in their campe, to play the fooles, to make them ſport. Some that ſtoode by, laughed at his deuiſe. But *Publius Caſca*, that gaue *Iulius Cæſar* the firſt wound when he was ſlaine, ſayd then: It doth not become vs to be thus merry at *Caſsius* funerals: and for thee, *Brutus*, thou ſhalt ſhew what eſtimation thou madeſt of ſuch a Captaine thy compeere, by putting to death, or ſauing the liues of theſe bloods, who heareafter will mocke him, and defame his memory. *Brutus* aunſwered againe in choller: why then doe you come to tell me of it, *Caſca*, and doe not your ſelues what you thinke good? When they heard him ſay ſo, they tooke his aunſwere for a conſent againſt theſe poore vnfortunate men, to ſuffer them to doe what they thought good: and therefore they caried them away, & ſlue them. Afterwardes *Brutus* performed the promiſe he had made to the ſouldiers, and gaue them the two thouſand Drachmas a peece, but yet he firſt reproued them, becauſe they went and gaue charge vpon the enemies at the firſt battell, before they had the worde of battell giuen them: and made them a new promiſe alſo, that if in the ſecond battell they fought like men, he would giue them the ſacke and ſpoyle of two cities, to wit, THESSALONICA, & LACEDÆMON. In all *Brutus* life there is but this only fault to be found, and that is not to be gainſaid: though *Antonius* and *Octauius Cæſar* did reward their ſouldiers farre worſe for their victory. For when they had driuen all the natural ITALIANS out of ITALY, they gaue their ſouldiers their lands & townes, to the which they had no right: and moreouer, the only marke they ſhot at in all this warre they made, was but to ouercome, and raigne. Wherein contrary manner they had ſo great an opinion of *Brutus* vertue, that the common voice & opinion of the world would not ſuffer him, neither to ouercome, nor to ſaue himſelf, otherwiſe then iuſtly and honeſtly, and ſpecially after *Caſſius* death: whom men burdened, that oftentimes he moued Brutus to great crueltie. But now, like as the mariners on the ſea after the rudder of their ſhip is broken by tempeſt, do ſeek to naile on ſome other peece of wood in lieu thereof, & do helpe themſelues to keepe them from hurt, as much as may be vpon that inſtant daunger: euen ſo *Brutus*, hauing ſuch a great armie to gouerne, and his affaires ſtanding verie tickle, and hauing no other Captaine coequall with him in dignitie & authoritie: he was forced to imploy them he had, and likewiſe to be ruled by them in many things, & was of mind himſelfe alſo to grant them any thing, that he thought might make them ſerue like noble ſouldiers at time of neede. For *Caſſius* ſouldiers were very euill to be ruled, and did ſhew thēſelues very ſtubborne and luſtie in the campe, becauſe they had no Chieftaine that did cōmand them: but yet ranke cowards to their enemies, becauſe they had once ouercome them. On the other ſide *Octauius Cæſar*, & *Antonius*, were not in much better ſtate: for firſt of al, they lacked victuals. And becauſe they were lodged in low places, they looked to abide a harde and ſharpe winter, being camped as they were by the mariſh ſide, and alſo for that after the battell there had fallen plentie of raine about the autumne, where through, all their tents were full of myre and durt, the which by reaſon of the cold did freeze incontinently. But beſide all theſe diſcommodities, there came newes vnto them of the great loſſe they had of their men by ſea. For B*rutus* ſhippes met with a great aide and ſupply of men, which were ſent them out of ITALY, and they ouerthrew them in ſuch ſort, that there ſcaped but few of them: and yet they were ſo famiſhed, that they were compelled to eate the tackle and ſailes of their ſhips. Thereupon they were very deſirous to fight a battell againe, before Brutus ſhould haue intelligence of this good newes for him: for it chanced ſo, that the battell was fought by ſea, on the ſelfe ſame day it was fought by land. But by ill fortune, rather then through the malice or negligence of the Captaines, this victorie came not to *Brutus* eare, till twenty daies after. For had he knowen of it before, he would not haue bene brought to haue fought a ſecond battell, conſidering that he had excellent good prouiſion for his army for a long time, and beſides, lay in a place of great ſtrength, ſo as his campe could not be greatly hurt by the winter, nor alſo diſtreſſed by his enemies: & further, he had bene a quiet Lord, being a conqueror by ſea, as he was alſo by land. This would haue maruellouſly encoraged him. Howbeit the ſtate of ROME (in my opinion) being now brought to that paſſe, that it could no more abide to be gouerned by many Lords, but required one onely abſolute Gouernor: God, to preuent *Brutus* that it ſhould not come to his gouernment, kept this victorie from his knowledge, though in deede it came but a litle too late. For the day before the laſt battell was giuen, very late in the night, came *Clodius*, one of his enemies into his camp, who told that *Cæſar* hearing of the ouerthrow of his army by ſea, deſired nothing more then to fight a battell before *Brutus* vnderſtood it. Howbeit they gaue no credite to his words, but deſpiſed him ſo much, that they would not vouchſafe to bring him vnto *Brutus*, becauſe they thought it was but a lie deuiſed, to be the better welcome for this good newes. The ſelfe ſame night, it is reported that the monſtrous ſpirit which had appeared before vnto *Brutus* in the citie of SARDIS, did now appeare againe vnto him in the ſelfe ſame ſhape & forme, and ſo vaniſhed away, and ſaid neuer a word. Now *Publius Volumnius*, a graue and wiſe Philoſopher, that had bene with *Brutus* from the beginning of this warre, he doth make no mention of this ſpirite, but ſaith: that the greateſt Eagle and enſigne was couered ouer with a ſwarme of bees, and that there was one of the Captaines, whoſe arme ſodainely fell a ſweating, that it dropped oyle of roſes from him, and that they oftentimes went about to drie him, but all would do no

*Brutus fault wiſely excuſed by Plutarke.*

*Brutus victory by ſea.*

*Wonderfull famine among Cæſars ſouldiers by ſea.*

*The ignorance of Brutus victorie by ſea, was his vtter deſtruction.*

*The euill ſpirit appeared again vnto Brutus.*

*Straunge ſights before Brutus ſecond battell.*

good. And that before the battell was fought, there were two Eagles fought betwene both armies, and all the time they fought, there was a maruellous great ſilence all the valley ouer, both the armies being one before the other, marking this fight betwene them: and that in the end, the Eagle towardes *Brutus* gaue ouer, and flew away. But this is certaine, and a true tale: that when the gate of the campe was open, the firſt man the ſtanderd bearer met that caried the Eagle, was an ÆTHIOPIAN, whom the ſouldiers for ill lucke mangled with their ſwords.

*Brutus ſecond battell.*

Now after that *Brutus* had brought his armie into the fielde, and had ſet them in battell ray, directly againſt the voward of his enemie: he pawſed a long time, before he gaue the ſignall of battell. For *Brutus* riding vp and downe to view the bandes and companies: it came in his head to miſtruſt ſome of them, beſides, that ſome came to tell him ſo much as he thought. Moreouer, he ſaw his horſemen ſet forward but faintly, and did not go luſtily to giue charge: but ſtill ſtaied, to ſee what the footemen would doe. Then ſodainely, one of the chiefeſt Knights he had in all his armie called *Camulatius*, and that was alway maruellouſly eſteemed of for his valiantneſſe, vntill that time: he came hard by *Brutus* on horſebacke, and rode before his face to yeeld himſelfe vnto his enemies. *Brutus* was maruellous ſorie for it, wherefore partly for anger, and partly for feare of greater treaſon and rebellion, he ſodainly cauſed his armie to march, being paſt three of the clocke in the after noone. So in that place where he himſelfe fought in perſon, he had the better: and brake into the left wing of his enemies, which gaue him way, through the helpe of his horſemen that gaue charge with his footemen, when they ſawe the enemies in a maze, and affraid. Howbeit the other alſo on the right wing, when the Captaines would haue had them to haue marched: they were affraid to haue bene compaſſed in behind, becauſe they were fewer in number then their enemies, and therefore did ſpread themſelues, and leaue the middeſt of their battell. Whereby they hauing weakened themſelues, they could not withſtand the force of their enemies, but turned taile ſtraight, and fled.

*Brutus valiantneſſe and great ſkill in warres.*

And thoſe that had put them to flight, came in ſtraight vpon it to compaſſe *Brutus* behind, who in the middeſt of the conflict, did all that was poſſible for a ſkilfull Captaine and valiant ſouldier: both for his wiſedom, as alſo for his hardineſſe, for the obtaining of victorie. But that which wanne him the victory at the firſt battell, did now loſe it him at the ſecond. For at the firſt time, the enemies that were broken and fled, were ſtraight cut in peeces: but at the ſecond battell, of *Caſsius* men that were put to flight, there were fewe ſlaine: and they that ſaued themſelues by ſpeede, being affraid becauſe they had bene ouercome, did diſcourage the reſt of the army when they came to ioyne with them, and filled all the armie with feare and diſorder.

*The death of the valiant young man Cato, the ſonne of Marcus Cato.*

There was the ſonne of *M. Cato* ſlaine, valiantly fighting amongſt the luſtie youthes. For, notwithſtanding that he was verie wearie, and ouerharried, yet would he not therefore flie, but manfully fighting and laying about him, telling aloud his name, and alſo his fathers name, at length he was beaten downe amongſt many other dead bodies of his enemies, which he had ſlaine rounde about him. So there were ſlaine in the field, all the chiefeſt gentlemen & nobility that were in his armie: who valiantly ranne into any daunger to ſaue *Brutus* life.

*The fidelitie of Lucilius vnto Brutus.*

Amongſt them there was one of *Brutus* friends called *Lucilius*, who ſeeing a troupe of barbarous men making no reckoning of al men elſe they met in their way, but going all together right againſt *Brutus*, he determined to ſtay them with the hazard of his life, and being left behind, told them that he was *Brutus*: and becauſe they ſhould beleeue him, he prayed them to bring him to *Antonius*, for he ſaid he was affraide of *Cæſar*, and that he did truſt *Antonius* better. Theſe barbarous men being very glad of this good happe, and thinking themſelues happie men: they caried him in the night, and ſent ſome before vnto *Antonius*, to tell him of their comming. He was maruellous glad of it, and went out to meete thẽ that brought him. Others alſo vnderſtãding of it, that they had brought *Brutus* priſoner: they came out of all parts of the campe to ſee him, ſome pitying his hard fortune, and others ſaying, that it was not done like himſelfe ſo cowardly to be taken aliue of the barbarous people, for feare of death. When they came neere together, *Antonius* ſtaied a while bethinking himſelfe howe he ſhould vſe *Brutus*. In the meane time *Lucilius* was brought to him, who ſtoutly with a bold cõuntenance ſaid. *Antonius*, I dare aſſure thee, that no enemy hath taken nor ſhall take *Marcus Brutus* a liue: and I beſeech God keepe him from that fortune. For whereſoeuer he be found, aliue or dead: he will be found like himſelfe. And now for my ſelfe, I am come vnto thee, hauing deceiued theſe men of armes here, bearing them downe that I was *Brutus*: and do not refuſe to ſuffer any torment thou wilt put me to. *Lucilius* words made them all amazed that heard him. *Antonius* on the other ſide, looking vpon all them that had brought him, ſaid vnto them: my cōpanions, I thinke ye are ſorie you haue failed of your purpoſe, and that you thinke this man hath done you great wrong: but I do aſſure you, you haue taken a better bootie, then that you followed. For, in ſtead of an enemy, you haue brought me a friend: and for my part, if you had brought me *Brutus* aliue, truely I can not tell what I ſhould haue done to him. For, I had rather haue ſuch men my friends, as this man here, then enemies. Then he embraced *Lucilius*, and at that time deliuered him to one of his friendes in cuſtodie, and *Lucilius* euer after ſerued him faithfully, euen to his death. Nowe *Brutus* hauing paſſed a litle riuer, walled in on either ſide with hie rockes, and ſhadowed with great trees, being then darke night, he went no further, but ſtayed at the foote of a rocke with certaine of his Captaines and friends that followed him: and looking vp to the firmament that was full of ſtarres, ſighing, he rehearſed two verſes, of the which *Volumnius* wrote the one, to this effect,

*Brutus flying.*

*Let not the wight from whom this miſchiefe went*
*(O Ioue) eſcape without dew puniſhment.*

And ſaith that he had forgotten the other. Within a litle while after, naming his friendes that he had ſeene ſlaine in battell before his eyes, he fetched a greater ſigh then before: ſpecially when he came to name *Labio* and *Flauius*, of the which the one was his Lieutenant, and the other Captaine of the pioners of his campe. In the meane time, one of the companie being a thirſt, and ſeeing *Brutus* a thirſt alſo: he ranne to the riuer for water, and brought it in his ſallet. At the ſelfe ſame time they heard a noiſe on the other ſide of the riuer. Whereupon *Volumnius* tooke *Dardanus*, *Brutus* ſeruant with him, to ſee what it was: and returning ſtraight againe, aſked if there were any water left. *Brutus* ſmiling, gently tolde them all was drunke, but they ſhall bring you ſome more. Thereupon he ſent him againe that went for water before, who was in great danger of being taken by the enemies, and hardly ſcaped, being ſore hurt. Furthermore, *Brutus* thought that there was no great number of men ſlaine in battell, and to knowe the truth of it, there was one called *Statilius*, that promiſed to goe through his enemies (for otherwiſe it was impoſſible to goe ſee their campe) and from thence if all were well, that he would lift vp a torch light in the aire, and then returne againe with ſpeede to him. The torch light was lift vp as he had promiſed, for *Statilius* went thither. Nowe *Brutus* ſeeing *Statilius* tarie long after that, and that he came not againe, he ſaid: if *Statilius* be aliue, he will come againe. But his euill fortune was ſuch, that as he came backe, he lighted in his enemies hands, and was ſlaine. Now, the night being farre ſpent, *Brutus* as he ſate bowed towards *Clitus* one of his men, and told him ſomwhat in his eare, the other anſwered him not, but fell a weeping. Thereupon he proued *Dardanus*, and ſaid ſomewhat alſo to him: at length he came to *Volumnius* himſelfe, and ſpeaking to him in Greeke, praied him for the ſtudies ſake which brought them acquainted together, that he would helpe him to put his hand to his ſword, to thruſt it in him to kill him. *Volumnius* denied his requeſt, and ſo did many others: and amongſt the reſt, one of them ſaid, there was no tarying for them there, but that they muſt needs flie. Then *Brutus* riſing vp, we muſt flie in deede ſaid he, but it muſt be with our handes not with our feete. Then taking euery man by the hand, he ſaid theſe words vnto them with a cheerefull countenance. It reioyceth my heart that not one of my friends hath failed me at my neede, and I doe not complaine of my fortune, but only for my countries ſake: for, as for me, I thinke my ſelfe happier than they that haue ouercome, conſidering that I leaue a perpetuall fame of our courage and manhoode, the which our enemies the conquerors ſhall neuer attaine vnto by force nor money, neither can let their poſteritie to ſay, that they being naughty and vniuſt men, haue ſlaine good men, to vſurpe tyrannicall power not pertaining to them. Hauing ſaid ſo, he praied euery man to ſhift for themſelues, and then he went a litle aſide with two or three only, among the which *Strato* was one, with whom he came firſt acquainted by the ſtudie of Rethoricke. He came as neere to him as he could, and taking his ſword by the hilts with both his handes, and falling downe vppon the point of it, ranne himſelfe through. Others ſay, that not he, but *Strato* (at his requeſt) held the ſword in his hand, and turned his head aſide, and that *Brutus* fell

*Appian meaneth this by Antonius.*

*The death of Statilius.*

*Brutus ſaying of flying with hands, and not with feete.*

*Brutus ſlew himſelfe.*

*Strato Brutus familiar and frend.*

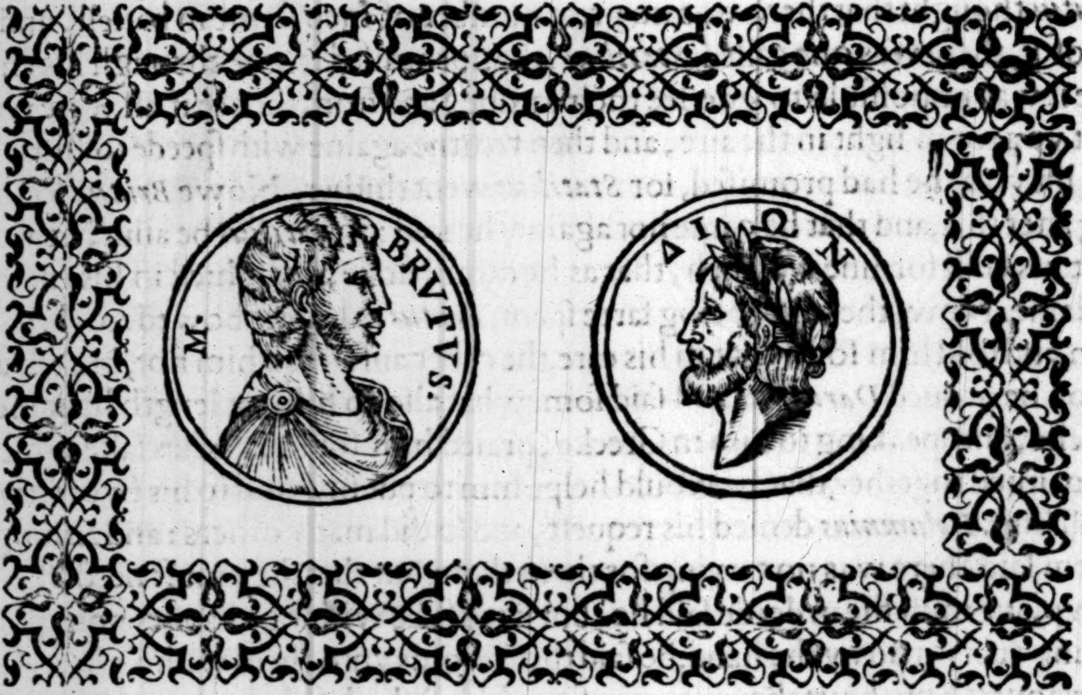
*Strato receiued into Cæſars friendſhip. Meſſala Coruinus Brutus friend.*

*Brutus funerals.*

*Porcia, Brutus wife, killed her ſelfe with burning coles.*

downe vpon it: and ſo ranne himſelfe through, and dyed preſently. *Meſſala*, that had beene *Brutus* great friend, became afterwards *Octauius Cæſars* friend. So, ſhortly after, *Cæſar* being at good leaſure, he brought *Strato*, *Brutus* friend vnto him, and weeping ſaid: *Cæſar*, behold, here is he that did the laſt ſeruice to my *Brutus*. *Cæſar* welcomed him at that time, and afterwardes he did him as faithfull ſeruice in all his affaires, as any GRECIAN elſe he had about him, vntill the battell of ACTIVM. It is reported alſo, that this *Meſſala* himſelfe anſwered *Cæſar* one day, when he gaue him great praiſe before his face, that he had fought valiantly, and with great affection for him, at the battell of ACTIVM: (notwithſtanding that he had bene his cruell enemie before, at the battell of PHILIPPES, for *Brutus* ſake) I euer loued, ſaide he, to take the beſt and iuſteſt part. Now, *Antonius* hauing found *Brutus* bodie, he cauſed it to be wrapped vp in one of the richeſt cote armors he had. Afterwards alſo, *Antonius* vnderſtanding that this cote-armor was ſtolen, he put the theefe to death that had ſtolen it, and ſent the aſhes of his bodie vnto *Seruilia* his mother. And for *Porcia*, *Brutus* wife: *Nicolaus* the Philoſopher, and *Valerius Maximus* doe write, that ſhe determining to kill her ſelfe (her parents and friendes carefully looking to her to keepe her from it) tooke hotte burning coles, and caſt them into her mouth, and kept her mouth ſo cloſe, that ſhe choked her ſelfe. There was a letter of *Brutus* found written to his friends, complaining of their negligence, that his wife being ſicke, they would not helpe her, but ſuffred her to kill her ſelfe, chooſing to die, rather then to languiſh in paine. Thus it appeareth, that *Nicolaus* knew not well that time, ſith the letter (at the leaſt if it were *Brutus* letter) doth plainely declare the diſeaſe and loue of this Ladie, and alſo the manner of her death.

# THE COMPARISON OF
## *Dion with Brutus.*



TO come now to compare theſe two noble perſonages together, it is certaine that both of them hauing had great gifts in them (& ſpecially *Dion*) of ſmall occaſions they made themſelues great men: & therfore *Dion* of both deſerueth chiefeſt praiſe. For, he had no cohelper to bring him vnto that greatneſſe, as *Brutus* had of *Caſſius*: who doubtleſſe was not comparable vnto *Brutus*, for vertue and reſpect of honor, though otherwiſe in matters of warre, he was no leſſe wiſe and valiant then he. For many doe impute vnto *Caſſius*, the firſt beginning and originall of all the warre and enterpriſe: and ſaid it was he that did encourage *Brutus*, to conſpire *Cæſars* death. Where *Dion* furniſhed himſelfe with armor, ſhips and ſouldiers and wanne thoſe friendes and companions alſo that did helpe him, to proſecute his warre. Nor he did not as *Brutus*, who roſe to greatneſſe by his enterpriſes, and by warre got all his ſtrength and riches. But he in contrarie maner, ſpent of his owne goods to make warre for the libertie of his countrie and disburſed of his owne money, that ſhould haue kept him in his baniſhment. Furthermore, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were compelled of neceſſitie to make warres, becauſe they could not haue liued ſafely in peace, when they were driuen out of ROME: for that they were condemned to death, and purſued by their enemies. And for this cauſe therefore they were driuen to hazard themſelues in warre, more for their owne ſafetie, then for the libertie of their country men. Whereas *Dion* on the other ſide, liuing more merily and ſafely in his baniſhment, then the tyrant *Dionyſius* himſelfe that had baniſhed him: did put himſelfe to that danger, to deliuer SICILE from bondage. Now the matter was not a like vnto the ROMAINES, to be deliuered from the gouernement of *Cæſar*: as it was for the SYRACVSANS, to be rid of *Dionyſius* tyranny. For *Dionyſius* denyed not, that he was not a tyrant, hauing filled SICILE with ſuch miſery and calamitie. Howbeit *Cæſars* power and gouernment when it came to be eſtabliſhed, did in deede much hurt at his firſt entry and beginning vnto thoſe that did reſiſt him: but afterwardes, vnto them that being ouercome had receiued his gouerment, it ſeemed he rather had the name and opinion onely of a tyrant, then otherwiſe that he was ſo in deede. For there neuer followed any tyrannicall nor cruell act, but contrarily, it ſeemed that he was a mercifull Phiſitian, whom God had ordeined of ſpeciall grace to be Gouernor of the Empire of ROME, and to ſet all things againe at quiet ſtay, the which required the counſell & authoritie of an abſolute Prince. And therefore the ROMAINES were maruellous ſorie for *Cæſar* after he was ſlaine, and afterwards would neuer pardon them that had ſlaine him. On the other ſide, the cauſe why the SYRACVSANS did moſt accuſe *Dion*, was: becauſe he did let *Dionyſius* eſcape out of the caſtle of SYRACVSA, and becauſe he did not ouerthrow and deface the tombe of his father. Furthermore, touching the warres: *Dion* alway ſhewed himſelfe a Captaine vnreproueable, hauing wiſely and ſkilfully taken order for thoſe things, which he had enterpriſed of his owne head and counſell: and did amend the faults others committed, and brought things to better ſtate then he found them. Wher it ſeemeth, that *Brutus* did not wiſely to receiue the ſecond battell: conſidering his reſt ſtood vpon it. For, after he had loſt the battell, it was vnpoſſible for him euer to riſe againe: and therefore his heart failed him, & ſo gaue vp all, and neuer durſt ſtriue with his euill fortune as *Pompey* did, conſidering that he had preſent cauſe enough in the field to hope of his ſouldiers, and being beſide a dreadfull Lord all the ſea ouer. Furthermore, the greateſt reproach they could obiect againſt *Brutus*, was: that *Iulius Cæſar* hauing ſaued his life, and pardoned all the priſoners alſo taken in battell, as many as he had made requeſt for, taking him for his friend, and honoring him aboue all his other friends: *Brutus* notwithſtanding had imbrued his hands in his bloud, wherewith they could neuer reproue *Dion*. For on the contrarie ſide, ſo long as *Dion* was *Dionyſius* friend and kinſman, he did alway helpe him to order and gouerne his affaires. But after he was baniſhed his countrie, and that his wife was forcibly married to another man, and his goods alſo taken from him: then he entred into iuſt and open warres againſt *Dionyſius* the tyrant. But in this point, they were contrarie together. For wherein their chiefeſt praiſe conſiſted, to wit, in hating of tyrants and wicked men: it is moſt true that *Brutus* deſire was moſt ſincere of both. For hauing no priuate cauſe of complaint or grudge againſt *Cæſar*, he ventred to kil him, only to ſet his cõtry againe at libertie. Where if *Dion* had not receiued priuate cauſe of quarrell againſt *Dionyſius*: he would neuer haue made warre with him. The which *Plato* proueth in his Epiſtles, where is plainly ſeene: that *Dion* being driuen out of the tyrants Court againſt his will, and not putting himſelfe to voluntarie baniſhment, he draue out *Dionyſius*. Furthermore, the reſpect of the cõmon wealth cauſed *Brutus*, that before was *Pompeys* enemie, to become his friend, and enemie vnto *Cæſar*, that before was his friend: onely referring his friendſhip and enmitie, vnto the conſideration of iuſtice and equitie. And *Dion* did many things for *Dionyſius* ſake and benefite, all the while he truſted him: and when he began to miſtruſt him, then for anger he made warre with him. Wherfore all his friends did not beleeue, but after he had driuen out *Dionyſius*, he would ſtabliſh the gouernment of himſelfe, flattering the people with a more courteous and gentle

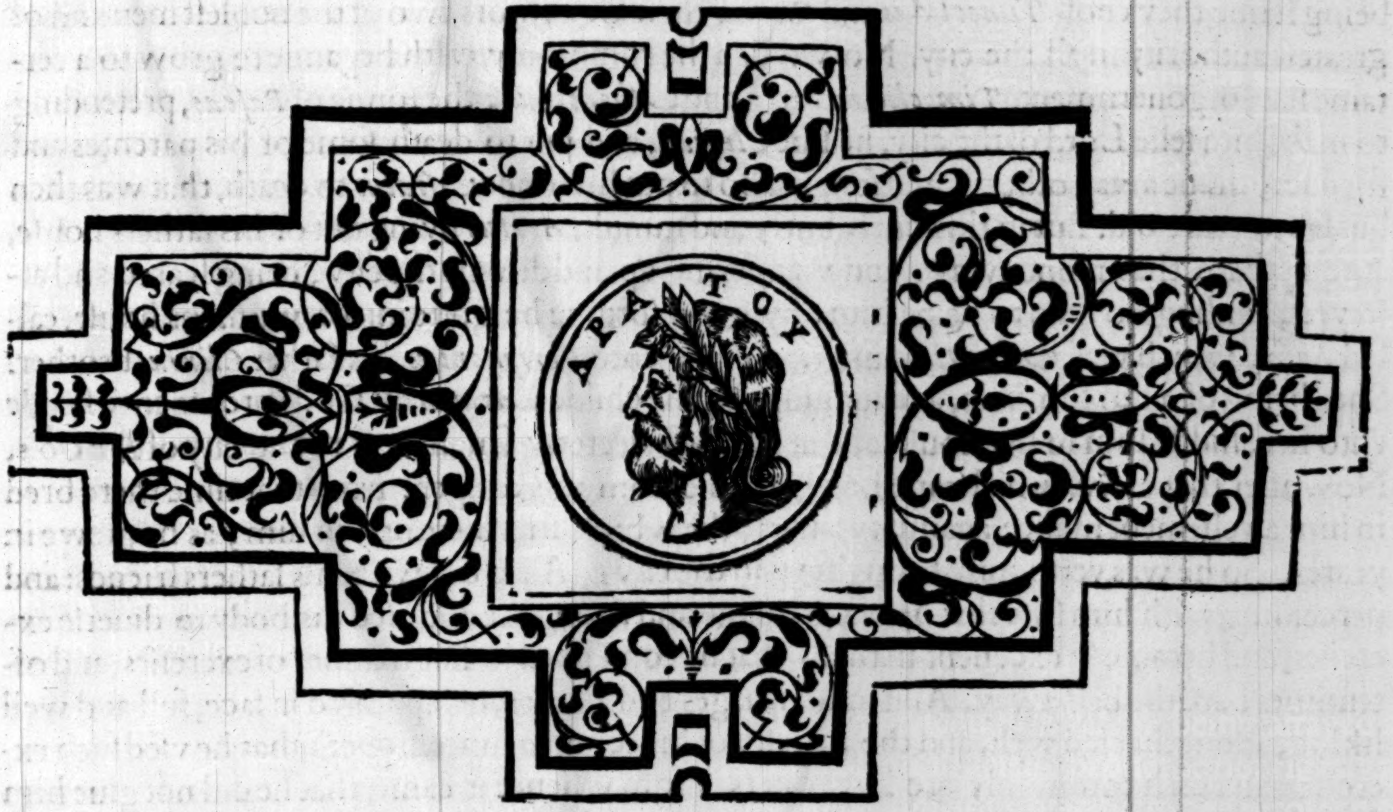
*In what things Dion was inferior vnto Brutus.*

title then the name of a tyrant. But for *Brutus*, his very enemies themſelues confeſſed, that of all thoſe that conſpired *Cæſars* death, he onely had no other ende and intent to attempt his enterpriſe, but to reſtore the Empire of ROME againe to her former ſtate and gouernement. And furthermore, it was not all one thing to deale with *Dionyſius*, as it was to haue to do with *Iulius Cæſar*. For no man that knew *Dionyſius*, but would haue deſpiſed him, conſidering that he ſpent the moſt part of his time in drinking, dycing, and in haunting lewd womens companie. But to haue vndertaken to deſtroy *Iulius Cæſar*, and not to haue ſhrunke backe for feare of his great wiſedome, power, and fortune, conſidering that his name only was dreadfull vnto euery man, and alſo not to ſuffer the kings of PARTHIA and INDIA to be in reſt for him: this could not come but of a maruellous noble mind of him, that for feare neuer fainted, nor let fall any part of his courage. And therefore, ſo ſoone as *Dion* came into SICILIA, many thouſandes of men came and ioyned with him, againſt *Dionyſius*. But the fame of *Iulius Cæſar* did ſet vp his friends againe after his death, and was of ſuch force, that it raiſed a young ſtripling, *Octauius Cæſar*, (that had no meanes nor power of himſelfe) to be one of the greateſt men of ROME: and they vſed him as a remedie to encounter *Antonius* malice and power. And if men will ſay, that *Dion* draue out the tyrant *Dionyſius* with force of armes, and ſundrie battels: and that in contrarie maner *Brutus* ſlew *Cæſar*, being a naked man, and without guard: then do I anſwere againe, that it was a noble part, and of a wiſe Captaine, to chooſe ſo apt a time and place, to come vpon a man of ſo great power, and to find him naked without his guard. For he went not ſodainly in a rage, and alone, or with a ſmall company to aſſaile him: but his enterpriſe was long time before determined of, and that with diuers men, of all the which, not a man of them once failed him: but it is rather to be thought, that from the beginning he choſe them honeſt men, or elſe that by his choiſe of them, he made them good men. Whereas *Dion*, either from the beginning made no wiſe choiſe in truſting of euill men, or elſe becauſe he could not tell how to vſe them he had choſen: of good men he made them become euill, ſo that neither the one nor the other could be the part of a wiſe man. For *Plato* himſelfe reproueth him, for that he had choſen ſuch men for his friends, that he was ſlaine by them, and after he was ſlaine, no man would then reuenge his death. And in contrarie maner, of the enemies of *Brutus*, the one (who was *Antonius*) gaue his bodie honorable buriall: and *Octauius Cæſar* the other, reſerued his honors and memories of him. For at *Millaine*, (a citie of GAVLE on ITALY ſide) there was an image of his in braſſe, very like vnto him: the which *Cæſar* afterwardes paſſing that way, beheld very aduiſedly, for that it was made by an excellent workman, and was very like him, and ſo went his way. Then he ſtayed ſodainly againe, and called for the Gouernors of the citie, and before them all told them, that the citizens were his enemies, and traitors vnto him, becauſe they kept an enemie of his among them. The Gouernors of the citie at the firſt were aſtonied at it, and ſtoutly denyed it: and none of them knowing what enemie he ment, one of them looked on an other. *Octauius Cæſar* then turning him vnto *Brutus* ſtatue, bending his browes, ſaid vnto them: this man you ſee ſtanding vp here, is he not our enemie? Then the Gouernors of the citie were worſe affraid then before, and could not tell what aunſwere to make him. But *Cæſar* laughing, and commending the GAVLES for their faithfulneſſe to their friends, euen in their aduerſities: he was contented *Brutus* image ſhould ſtand ſtill as it did.

*Brutus honored of his enemies after his death.*

*Brutus image or ſtatue ſtanding in braſſe in Millaine, was preſerued and kept by Octauius Cæſar.*

# THE LIFE OF *Aratus.*



CHriſyppus the Philoſopher (my friend *Polycrates*) being afrayed as it ſeemeth of the euill ſound of an auncient prouerbe not rightly as it was ſpoken, and in vſe, but as he thought it beſt, hee wrote in this manner:

*VVhat children do their aunceſtors commend,*
*But thoſe whom fortune fauors to the end?*

But *Dionyſodorus* TROEZENIAN reprouing him, doth rehearſe the prouerbe rightly as in deede it is?

*VVhat children do their aunceſtors commend,*
*But thoſe whoſe life is vertuous to the end?*

Saying, that this prouerbe ſtoppeth their mouthes who of them ſelues are vnworthy of praiſe, and yet are ſtill boaſting of the vertues of their auncesters, whoſe praiſe they highly extoll. But before thoſe that (as *Pindarus* ſaith,)

*Do match their noble aunceſtors in proweſſe of their owne,*
*And by their fruites commend the ſtocke whence they them ſelues are growne.*

(As thy ſelfe that comformeſt thy life vnto the examples and manners of thy vertuous aunceſters:) it is no ſmall good happe for them, often to remember the noble deedes of their parentes in hearing them ſpoken of, or otherwiſe for them ſelues oftentimes to remember ſome notable doings of their parents. For in them, it is not for lacke of commendable vertues, that they report others praiſe and glory: but in ioyning their owne vertues, to the vertues of their aunceſters, they do increaſe their glory, as inheriting their vertuous life, as challenging their diſcent by bloud. Therefore, hauing written the life of *Aratus* thy countrey man, and one of thy aunceſters, whoſe glory and greatneſſe thou doeſt not blemiſhe, I doe ſend it vnto thee, not that I thinke but that thou haſt more diligently then any man elſe, ſearched out all his deedes and ſayings: But yet, becauſe that thy two ſonnes, *Polycrates*, and *Pythocles*, reading, and ſtill hearing ſomething reported, might be brought vp at home by the example of their aunceſters, whoſe deedes ſhall lie before them to follow. For he loueth him ſelfe more, then he regardeth perfect vertue, or his credite: that thinketh him ſelfe ſo perfect, as he neede not follow any others example.

*The example of our aunceſters, wherein profitable to their poſterity.*

The city of SICYONE, after it fell from her firſt gouernment of the optimacy and nobility, which is proper to the city of the DORIANS: like an inſtrument out of tune, it fell into ciuill warres and ſeditious practiſes, through the Orators of the people: and neuer ceaſed to be plagued with thoſe troubles and miſeries, alway chaunging new tyraunts, vntill that *Cleon* being ſlaine they choſe *Timoclidas* and *Clinias* their Gouernors, two of the nobleſt men and of greateſt authority in all the city. Now when the common wealth beganne to grow to a certaine ſtate of gouernment, *Timoclidas* died: and *Abantidas*, the ſonne of *Paſeas*, pretending to make him ſelfe Lord of the city, he ſlue *Clinias*, and put to death ſome of his parentes and friendes, draue away others, and ſought alſo to put his ſonne *Aratus* to death, that was then but ſeuen yeare old. But in this hurly burly and tumult, *Aratus* flying out of his fathers houſe, among them that ranne away, and wandering vp and downe the city, being ſcared and affrayed, finding no man to helpe him: by good fortune he gotte into a womans houſe, called *Soſo*, which was *Abantidas* ſiſter, and wife vnto *Periphantus*, his father *Clinias* brother. Shee being of a noble minde, and iudging that the childe *Aratus* by Gods prouidence fledde vnto her: hidde him in her houſe, and in the night ſecretly ſent him vnto the city of ARGOS. Now after that *Aratus* had ſcaped, and was ſafe from this danger: from that time there bred in him a vehement malice againſt tyraunts, the which ſtill increaſed in him, as he grewe in yeares. So he was vertuouſly brought vp in the city of ARGOS, with his fathers friends: and perceiuing with him ſelfe that he waxed bigge and ſtrong, he diſpoſed his body to diuerſe exerciſes, and became ſo excellent in them, that he contended in fiue manner of exerciſes, and oftentimes bare the beſt away. And in his images and ſtatues, he appeared in face, full and well liking, as one that fed well, and the maieſty of his countenaunce argueth that he vſed ſuch exerciſe: and ſuch commonly are large eaters. From whence it came, that he did not giue him ſelfe ſo much to pleading, as peraduenture was requiſite for a Gouernor of a common wealth. Howbeit, ſome doe iudge by his Commentaries he wrote, that he had an eloquenter tong then ſeemed vnto ſome: becauſe he wrote them in haſt, hauing other buſineſſe in hand, and euen as things came firſt into his minde. But afterwardes, *Dinias* and *Ariſtotle* Logitian, ſlue *Abantidas*, who did commonly vſe to ſit in the market place, to heare their matters, and to talke with them. And this gaue them good meanes and opportunity to worke their feate they did. After *Abantidas* death, his father *Paſeas* poſſeſſed the tyranny: whom *Nicocles* afterwardes ſlue alſo by treaſon, and made him ſelfe tyrant in his place. It is reported that this *Nicocles* did liuely reſemble the countenance of *Periander*, the ſonne of *Cypſelus*, as *Orontes* PERSIAN was very like vnto *Alcmæon*, the ſonne of *Amphiaraus*: and an other young LACEDÆMONIAN, vnto *Hector* of TROIA, whom *Myrſillus* writeth, was troden vnder mens feete, through the ouer great preſſe of people that came to ſee him, when they heard of it. This *Nicocles* was tyrant foure monethes together, in the which he did wonderfull great hurt to the city, and had almoſt loſt it, the ÆTOLIANS comming on a ſodaine, who were like to haue taken it. Now *Aratus* was come to the ſtate of a ſtripling, and was greatly eſteemed for the noble houſe he came of, and alſo for the great courage they found in him, which was no ſmall matter: and beſides that, he had a maieſty in his countenaunce, being wiſer then was looked for in a young man of his yeares. Therefore the baniſhed men from the city of SICYONE, repaired vnto him before any other man. *Nicocles* for his part alſo was not careleſſe of his doings, but had an eye euer to ſee what *Aratus* intended, although he litle miſtruſted any ſuch bolde enterpriſe, nor ſo daungerous an exploite of him: but did onely coniecture that he did ſtirre vp the kings which had bene his dead fathers friendes. And ſo in deede *Aratus* tooke that courſe. But when hee ſaw that *Antigonus* ſtill delayed his promiſes, and did alwaies tract time, and that the hope of aide from king *Ptolomy* of ÆGYPT was too farre off: at length he determined to vndertake to deſtroy the tyraunt him ſelfe. So hee firſt conſulted with *Ariſtomachus* and * *Ecdelus*: of the which the one was baniſhed from SICYONE, and the other an ARCADIAN, from the city of MEGALIPOLIS, a Philoſopher, and a valiaunt man of his handes, and had bene ſcholler to *Arceſilaus* the Academicke, in the citie of ATHENS. Theſe two men being contented to ioyne with *Aratus*, he practiſed with other of the baniſhed men alſo: of the which there were ſome that were aſhamed, not to be partakers

of

*The common weale of the Sicyonians conuerted into tyranny.*

*Abantidas tyrant of Sicyone*

*Aratus the ſon of Clinias, ſcaped the handes of the tyrant Abantidas.*

*Aratus malice againſt tyrants.*

*Aratus fauor.*

*Aratus wrote a booke of Commentaries.*

*Abantidas the tyrant ſlaine.*

*Ariſtotle the Logitian.*

*Aratus goeth about to deliuer his country from the tyranny.*

** In an other place he calleth him Ecdemus.*

*Ariſtomachus and Ecdelus, doe ioyne with Aratus.*

of his hope and noble attempt, and ſo did alſo ioyne with him. Howbeit the moſt part of them did not onely refuſe to enter into that practiſe, but further, went about to diſſwade *Aratus* from his enterpriſe, ſaying: that for lacke of knowledge and experience, he vnderſtood not the danger in vndertaking ſuch a matter, altogether ſo vnlikely. Now, as *Aratus* was thinking in his minde to keepe a certaine place in the territory of Sicyone, from whence they might make warre with the tyraunts: there came a priſoner vnto them out of the city of Argos, that had broken priſon from the tyrant of Sicyone: and was brother vnto *Xenocles*, one of the baniſhed men. He being brought by the ſame *Xenocles* vnto *Aratus*, told that in the place whereby he had ſaued him ſelfe, the ground within was almoſt as high as the toppe of the wall, the which in that part ioyned vnto high ſtony places: and that without the wall the height was not ſo great, but that it was eaſily ſcalable with ladders. When *Aratus* heard that, he ſent two of his men, *Seuthas*, and *Technon*, with *Xenocles* to view the wall, being determined if it were true, rather to proue ſecretly to execute his pretended enterpriſe, and quickely to put it to a venture: then to beginne a long warre, and to prepare an open army, he being a priuate man, to goe againſt the power of a tyraunt. *Xenocles* being returned againe to *Aratus*, after he had meaſured the height of the wall: he reported that the place was not vnſcalable, but yet very hard to come to it vndiſcouered, because of certaine litle curſt curres a gardiner kept hard by the wall, which would neuer leaue barking. Howbeit *Aratus* would not leaue off his enterpriſe ſo. Now it was not ſtraunge to ſee euery man prepare them ſelues of armor and weapon, becauſe at that time there were great robberies and cruell murthers committed by high wayes, and one would aſſault an other: but for the ladders, *Euphranor* that was a carpenter and maker of engines, did not ſticke to make them openly, becauſe his common occupation did take away all ſuſpition why they were made. For this carpenter was himſelfe alſo a baniſhed man from Sicyone, as the reſidue were. Furthermore, *Aratus* friendes hee had in Argos, of thoſe few men they had, did euery man of them lend him tenne men, and armed thirty of his owne men: beſide them, *Aratus* himſelfe alſo did hire ſome prety number of ſouldiers, by the practiſe of *Xenophilus*, whom the Captaines of the theeues did furniſhe him. They were giuen to vnderſtand that they ſhould be led to the territory of Sicyone, to take a prey of cattell and coltes of the king: and they were ſent before, ſome one way, ſome an other, with commaundement, all to meete together at the tower of Polygnotus, where they ſhould tary. So he ſent *Capheſias* alſo before, without any weapons, with foure companions with him: who ſhould come to this gardiners houſe in the night, like ſtrangers and trauellers, to lie in his houſe, and to locke him vp and his dogs, becauſe they had no other deuiſe to get in but that way. But in the meane time, there were certain ſpials of *Nicocles* the tyrant diſcouered, that walked vp and downe the city (making no countenance of any matter) to ſee what *Aratus* did. Wherefore, *Aratus* went out of his houſe early in the morning (as his manner was) and walked to the market place with his friends. Then he went to the ſhew place (or place of exerciſes) and there ſtripped himſelfe, annointed him, and wreſtled, and in the end tooke certaine of the yong gentlemen home with him, that were wont to make mery, and to paſſe the time away with him: and immediatly after, one of his ſeruants was ſeen in the market place, carying of garlands of flowers. An other was ſeene alſo buying of linckes and torches, and an other hiring of theſe common dauncing and ſinging women, which follow feaſtes and banquets with their inſtruments. *Nicocles* ſpials ſeeing that, were deceiued: for one of them laughing on an other ſayd, that they might eaſily ſee by that, there was nothing more fearfull and timerous then a tyrant: conſidering that *Nicocles* being Lord of ſo great a city, was afraied of a yong ſtripling, that ſpent all that he could rap and rend to keepe him in his baniſhment, vpon vaine banquets, and feaſts, at noone daies. And thus were the tyrants ſpials finely mocked. *Aratus* ſelfe departed immediatly after dinner out of Argos, and went vnto his ſouldiers, whom he had appointed before to meete him at the tower of Polygnotus, & led them ſtraight vnto Nemea. There he told them openly his full intent and purpoſe, hauing before made an Oration vnto them to encourage them, and alſo made them maruellous faire promiſes. Then he gaue them for their watch word, *Apollo* fauorable, and ſo went directly to the city of Sicyone, marching with great ſpeede at the firſt becauſe of the going downe of the Moone, and afterwards ſlackened

*Aratus preparation to deliuer his country from tyranny.*

*Aratus policy to deceiue Nicocles ſpials.*

his pace a litle, ſo that they had Moone light all the way as they came, and the Moone went not downe, vntill they were come to the gardiners houſe that was hard by the wall. So *Capheſias*, whom he had ſent before vnto the gardiners houſe, came to meete with *Aratus*, and brought him word that he could not take the dogges, becauſe they ranne away: howbeit that he had made faſt the gardiner in his owne houſe. This diſcouraged the moſt part of all the company, who would needes haue him in any caſe to returne backe againe. But *Aratus* then began to comfort them, and promiſed that he would lead them backe againe, if it chaunced that the dogges were too buſie with them: and therewithall preſently cauſed the ladder men to goe before, whom *Ecdelus* and *Mnaſitheus* led, and he him ſelfe came faire and ſoftly after. The dogges made a fowle barking, and were baying about *Ecdelus* and his company. This notwithſtanding, they came ſafely to the wall, and did ſet vp their ſcaling ladders. But euen as the firſt men got vp on them, the Captain of the watch that had giuen place to him that ſhould ward in the morning, came by chaunce, and paſſed hard by them, viſiting the ſouldiers with a litle bell, and there was a number of torches, and a great noiſe of men that followed him. They that were vppon the ladders hearing them, ducked downe, and ſtirred not: and thereby the ſouldiers that paſſed by them, could not ſee them. But now the new morning watch came towardes them alſo, which did put them in great daunger to be diſcouered: but yet they once againe ſcaped them and were not diſcouered, becauſe the ſecond watch went beyond them, and ſtayed not. Then *Ecdelus* and *Mnaſitheus* immediatly ſcaled the wall, and ſent *Technon* with all poſſible ſpeed vnto *Aratus*, to will him to make all the haſt he could to come to them. Now there was no great diſtance betwixt the garden where the dogs were, and the wall, and and a litle tower where they kept a great greyhound to keepe watch: but the greyhound neuer heard their comming, either becauſe he was a cowardly curre of nature, or elſe for that he had bene ouercourſed and wearied the day before. But the gardiners litle curres that bald and barked beneath, had wakened the greyhound with their barking, who at the firſt began to anſwere them with a ſoft girning: but when they came by the tower where he lay, he barked out aloude, that all the place thereabouts rang of his barking. Inſomuch, that the ſkoute which was farther off, called aloude to the hunt that kept the dogge, and asked what he ailed, that he made ſuch a barking, and whether there were any thing ſtirring or not that angered him. The hunt within the tower aunſwered, that it was nothing, but that his dogge was waked, and fell a barking at the lights of the watch that paſſed by, and at the noyſe of the bell. This made *Aratus* ſouldiers a great deale the bolder: becauſe they thought that the hunt had beene made priuy to their enterpriſe, and that he went about to hide their ſecrete attempt, and hoped alſo that there were many other within the city that would further their enterpriſe. When they came to get vp vpon the wall, it was of a great height, and very daungerous, becauſe the ladders ſhooke, and bowed by reaſon of the waight of the men, vnles they did come vp faire and ſoftly one after another. Furthermore the time did put them in ſome perill, becauſe the cocks began to crow, and the countrey folke that brought things to the market to ſell, beganne to come a pace to the towne out of euery quarter. And therefore *Aratus* made haſt to get vppe, hauing only forty men aboue with him, and looked for ſome beſides to come vp, which were yet beneath. Then he marched directly towards the tyrants pallace, where his hiered ſouldiers kept watch and ward: and comming ſodainely vpon them, layd hold of euery man of them, & ſlue not one. Then he ſent into the city to his friends, to will them to come vnto him. Thereuppon they ranne out of euery corner to *Aratus*. Now the day began to breake, and ſtraight the Theater was full of people that gathered together, becauſe of the noyſe and ſturre they heard in the city, not knowing what the matter ment: vntill at length an Heraulde proclaymed with open voice, that it was *Aratus* the ſonne of *Clinias*, who called his country men and Citizens to the recouery of their liberty. Then they perſwading them ſelues, that the thing which they long wiſhed and looked for, was now come to paſſe: they ranne all in a troupe together to the tyrants houſe, and ſet it a fire. But the flame roſe ſo high and great after the fire had taken it in euery part, that it was ſeene to the city of CORINTHE: inſomuch that the CORINTHIANS wondring what the matter ſhould be, were in minde to haue gone to helpe it. Now for *Nicocles*, he ſaued him ſelfe, and got out of the city by ſecret vaultes he had made

*Aratus daungers, in deliuering of his countrey from the tyranny of Nicocles.*

*Aratus wan the city of Sicyone without bloudſhed.*

vnder the ground. The ſouldiers on the other ſide quenching the fire with the helpe of the Citizens, did ſacke all they found in the tyrants pallace. The which *Aratus* hindered not, but did moreouer make all the reſt of the tyrants goods common amongeſt them. So his enterpriſe had ſo good ſucceſſe, that there was none of his owne company ſlaine he brought with him, neither any of their enemies that were within the city, fortune kept this exploite ſo pure and cleane from any bloudſhed. Then *Aratus* reſtored foure ſcore men vnto their lands and goods againe, whom the tyraunt *Nicocles* had baniſhed: and others alſo, that had beene baniſhed by former tyrants, to the number of fiue hundred men, who had bene well neare fifty yeres ſpace baniſhed out of their countrey. Now the moſt of them being come home poore and needy, would haue entred on their goods and lands they enioyed before: and ſo, entring againe vpon their lands in their countrey, and their houſes in the city, they amazed *Aratus* withall, ſeeing *Antigonus* on the one ſide practiſe all the meanes he could to winne Sicyone being now free, and they all in an vprore and mutiny in the city. Therefore, following the beſt counſell he could thinke vppon and deuiſe, conſidering the daunger of the preſent time: he ioyned the city in league and friendſhippe with the Achaians, and of them all, made but one body. And becauſe the Citizens of Sicyone were Dorians, they were glad to ſubmit themſelues to be gouerned and protected by the name of the Achaians, who were at that time of no great fame nor power. For they dwelt in litle villages, and had no great bounds of lands, neither were they very ſpeciall good, for that they ſtoode vpon the ſea ſide, where was no manner of hauen nor port, but ſtones and rockes good ſtore: and the ſea beating vppon them, did eate into the maine land. This notwithſtanding, they made their enemies know, that the power of Greece when it was vnited and gouerned by good policy was of great force, and almoſt inuincible. For the Achaians being in compariſon of the ancient force of Greece, of no regard, and but a part of one city enfeebled with ciuill and forraine warre: So long as they could ſubmit them ſelues to be ruled by the wiſdome and vertue of their Captaine, and not enuy and malice his proſperity and ſoueraintry: they did not onely maintaine them ſelues as free men, in the middeſt of the ſeruitude of ſo many great cities, large and mighty, but did alſo deliuer many other people of Greece from their tyrants. Now, for *Aratus* maners: he was one that in nature loued ciuill gouernment, and equality among Citizens in one ſelfe city: he was nobly minded, and more painefull about the affaires of the common weale, then carefull of his owne buſines, and hated tyrants to the death, and imployed his good or euill will wholy for the ſeruice of the common wealth. And therefore he ſeemed not to be ſo ſound a friend, as he was a gentle and mercifull enemy: framing him ſelfe in either of both, as time ſerued for the common wealth. To be ſhort, it was a generall and common voyce among all the cities confederates, in priuate company, and at open meetings in the Theaters: that *Aratus* loued nothing but vertue, and honeſty. That in open warres he was not ſo valiant and couragious, as he was crafty and ſubtill, to take a city on the ſodaine. Furthermore, though he was valiant to attempt many great things, the which men thought he would neuer haue brought to paſſe: yet it ſeemeth he left many things poſſible vndone, the which hee might eaſily haue done, for that he durſt not venter on them. For as there be beaſtes whoſe ſight is perfecteſt by night, and by day they can ſee nothing, becauſe the ſubtilty of the humor & moyſture in their eyes is dried vp, and can not abide the bright light of the day: euen ſo, men that otherwiſe by nature are very wiſe, are eaſily afrayed of danger, when they muſt venter on it at noone dayes, where contrarily they are bold in ſecrete enterpriſes, ſodainely to attempt any thing. Now, this contrariety and difference in men well brought vp, groweth through ignoraunce and lacke of instruction of Philoſophy, which of it ſelfe doth noriſh vertue, as frute that ſpringeth vp without planting, or helpe of mans hand. But this is beſt diſcerned by examples. So *Aratus* hauing ioyned himſelfe and his city Sicyone vnto the Achaians, and ſeruing in perſon as a man of arms amōg the reſt: he was maruellouſly beloued of his generals, that ſaw him ſo obedient. For, notwithſtanding that he had made ſo large a contribution as the eſtimation of him ſelfe, and the force of his city vnto the common wealth of the Achaians: yet he was as ready to obey and execute the commandements of the generals, as the pooreſt and meaneſt ſouldier, were he of Dyma, or of Trita, or of any other ſmall village whatſoeuer. Further-

*Nicocles the tyrant flieth.*

*Aratus ioineth the city of Sicyone vnto the Achaians.*

*Aratus referred all things to the common wealth.*

*Why owles ſee beſt by night, and not by day. Men ignorant of Philoſophy be likened vnto owles.*

more, a great ſumme of money being ſent him from king *Ptolomy* for a gift, amounting to twenty and fiue talents, he tooke it, but forthwith diſpoſed it amongeſt his poore countrey men, both to releeue their want, as alſo to redeeme priſoners. This notwithſtanding the baniſhed men ſtill vexed and troubled them that had their goods and landes, to haue them out of their hands, and otherwiſe would be ſatisfied by no means. Their common wealth therefore being in great danger to fall into ciuill warre, *Aratus* perceiuing there was no other way to helpe this miſchiefe, but by *Ptolomies* liberality: he determined to goe vnto him, to pray him to helpe him with money, to pacifie this grudge and tumult. So he imbarked at the hauen of METHONA, aboue the foreland of MALEA, to ſaile from thence into ÆGYPT: howbeit he had ſuch a contrary winde, and the ſea roſe ſo high, that the maiſter of the ſhippe was driuen to let her go whither ſhe would to take ſea roome. So being driuen quite from his direct courſe, with great danger he got to the city of ADRIA, which was his enemy: becauſe *Antigonus* kept it, and had a garriſon in it. But *Aratus* did wiſely preuent it, going a ſhoare, and wandred farre from the ſea, with one of his friends called *Timanthes*, and got into a wod, whereby they had an euill nights reſt. He had not gone farre after he had left his ſhippe, but the Captaine of the garriſon came, and ſought for him. Notwithſtanding, his ſeruaunts had mocked him finely, (being before inſtructed by *Aratus* what anſwere they ſhould make) ſaying that he was gone, and fled into the Ile of EVBOEA. Howbeit, the Captaine of the garriſon ſtayed the ſhippe, his men, and all things els ſhe had in her, and tooke her for a good priſe. Within few dayes after, *Aratus* being maruellouſly troubled, and at a ſtraight with him ſelfe what he ſhould doe: there happily arriued a ROMAINE ſhippe hard by the place where he kept moſt, partly to hide himſelfe, and partly alſo to ſee if he could diſcouer any thing. This ſhippe was bound for SYRIA. So he had dealt with the maiſter of the ſhip in that ſort, that he tooke him abourd, and promiſed he would deliuer him in CARIA, and ſo he did. But he was in as much daunger, this ſecond iourney againe by ſea, as he was in the firſt he made towards ÆGYPT. From CARIA, a long time after, *Aratus* went into ÆGYPT, and ſpake with the king, who made very much of him: for *Aratus* fed him ſtill by ſending of him paſſing faire tables, and pictures of GREECE, of excellent workemanſhip. And in deede hauing a ſingular good wit, he alwayes got together, and bought the excellenteſt painted pictures he could get, but ſpecially the pictures of *Pamphilus* and *Melanthus*, to ſend them vnto the king. For learning floriſhed yet in the city of SICYONE, and they eſteemed the painting of tables in that city, to be the perfecteſt for true colours, and fine drawing, of all other places. Inſomuch as *Apelles*, (though he was then of a maruellous fame for painting) went thither, and gaue to theſe two excellent painters a talent, to remaine a while in their company: not ſo much to attaine to the perfection of the art, as thereby to winne him ſelfe fame. And therefore when *Aratus* had reſtored his city againe to liberty, he cauſed all the images of the tyraunts to be defaced and plucked downe: howbeit hee ſtood doubtfull a long time, whether he ſhould deface *Ariſtratus* picture or not, who raigned in the time of *Philip*. For it was painted with the hands of all the ſchollers of *Melanthus*, being by a triumphant chariot, that caried a victory, and as *Polemon* the Geographer writeth, *Apelles* hand was to it. This picture was a paſſing peece of worke to ſee to, ſo that *Aratus* at the firſt yeelded, and was contented to ſaue it for the excellency of the workemanſhip: yet in the end, ouercome with the extreame hate he bare vnto tyrants, he bad it ſhould be defaced. Now it is reported alſo, that *Nealces* the painter being one of *Aratus* friends, prayed him with the teares in his eyes to pardon ſuch a notable peece of worke. But when he ſaw *Aratus* ſo hard hearted that he would not graunt it: he told him it was good reaſon to make war with tyrants, but not with their pictures. Let vs then (quoth he) leaue the chariot of triumphe and victory, and I will make thee ſee *Ariſtratus*, willingly to come out of the table. *Aratus* was contented to let him haue his will. Then *Nealces* defaced the picture of *Ariſtratus*, and in place thereof drew onely a palme tree, and durſt adde nothing elſe to it of his owne deuiſe. Some ſay, that vnder the chariot were conueied *Ariſtratus* feete defaced. So *Aratus* by meanes of theſe tables and pictures, was maruellouſly well beloued of king *Ptolomy*. But after that he was acquainted with him, and knew his conuerſation: he loued him then better then before. Inſomuch that he gaue him a hundred and fifty talents to helpe his city withall: of the which, hee caried forty away

*Aratus taketh ſea to goe to king Ptolomy into Ægypt.*

*The pictures and painted tables made in the city of Sicyone, did paſſe all the other paintings in Greece.*

*The excellency of Ariſtratus picture the tyrant of Sicyone painted by all Melanthus ſchollers and Apelles helpe: and Aratus conſultation for the defacing of it.*

*The ſaying of Nealces the painter, touching tyraunts.*

*The great liberality of Ptolomy vnto Aratus.*

away with him vnto Peloponnesvs, and the king afterwards ſent him the reſt at ſundrie times. Now this was a maruellous matter of him to get ſuch a maſſe of money together for his Citizens: conſidering that the Orators, Captaines and Gouernors of free cities, for a litle ſumme of money onely which they haue taken of kings and princes, haue bene corrupted and betrayed their townes and coũtry. But this was a more wonder, that by meanes of this money, he made peace and loue betwixt the poore and rich, and furthermore, ſaued vpright all the people of Sicyone, where he ſhewed himſelfe maruellous wiſe and temperate, being of that great power and authoritie he was. For after they had choſen him Arbitrator to iudge compounde, and abſolutely to decide all quarrels and ſtriſe betwene the baniſhed men: he would neuer vndertake it himſelfe alone, but tooke fifteene other of the chiefeſt Citizens with him, and with them, with great paines and trouble, at length he pacified all matters among his Citizens, and made them good friends one with another. Therefore, not onely all the inhabitants and Citizens of Sicyone together, did not onely decree publike honors meete for him: but alſo the baniſhed men themſelues did priuately caſt his image in braſſe, and ſet it vp, vnder the which they cauſed this inſcription to be grauen.

*Aratus temperance*

*Thy proweſſe and thy feates of armes, thy counſaile ſage and wiſe,*
*Not onely are among the Greekes extolled to the skies,*
*But alſo to the vtmoſt ſtreights of Marrok blowen by fame.*
*And we that through thy goodneſſe home into our country came,*
*Haue ſet this image vp to thee Aratus, as a ſigne*
*Of our deliu'rance through thy loue and through the power diuine.*
*For thy good nature furthred by good fortune doth reſtore*
*Vs country, lawes, and libertie, bereft vs quite before.*

*Aratus* hauing done all theſe things, he ſuppreſſed the enuie of the Citizens, through the great good turnes he had done vnto them. But then king *Antigonus* being angry with *Aratus* in his mind, and ſeeking either to make him his friend, or to bring him to be miſtruſted of *Ptolomy*: he did him many other great curteſies, *Aratus* neuer ſeeking them at his hands. But one day ſpecially aboue the reſt, as he did ſacrifice vnto the gods at Corinth, he ſent *Aratus* part of his weathers he had ſacrificed, vnto Sicyone. And at the feaſt of his ſacrifice in the hearing of many noble men that were bidden gueſts, he ſaid openly of *Aratus*: I did alway thinke that this young Sicyonian could not but haue a liberall mind, louing the liberty of his contrie and countrimen: but I perceiue now he is a man that can iudge of Princes manners and affaires. For heretofore he made no account of vs, becauſe his hope was out of his countrie, and he greatly eſteemed the riches of Ægypt, hearing talke of ſo many Elephants, of ſuch a great fleete of ſhippes, and of ſuch a ſumptuous Court, as king *Ptolomyes* Court. But now that he knoweth by experience, that it is onely but a ſmoke and vaine pompe, he is come to vs: & for my part, he is welcome to me, and I wil haue you al to take him for my frend. Theſe words of king *Antigonus*, were ſtraight taken at bound of certaine enuious men, and carried for lacke of better matter vnto king *Ptolomy*, euery man ſtriuing who ſhould write all the euill they could againſt him: So that *Ptolomy* thereuppon ſent a Meſſenger of purpoſe vnto him, to reproue him for it. Thus fell there out much enuy and malice, betweene the earneſt loue of theſe Princes and kings, that contended with each other who ſhould haue *Aratus*. Furthermore, the firſt time that *Aratus* was choſen Lieutenant generall of the tribe of the Achaians, hee forraged and ſpoiled the country of Locride, which lieth directly ouer againſt Achaia, & Calydonia alſo. Howbeit he came not time enough to aide the Boeotians, in the battell which they loſt before the city of Chæronea, againſt the Ætolians: where *Abæocritus*, Gouernor of Boeotia was ſlain in the field, with a thouſãd other Boeotians. Howbeit the next yeare following, he being the ſecond time choſen Lieutenant generall, he attempted to winne the caſtell of Corinth againe, being an enterpriſe which not onely concerned the priuat benefite of Sicyone it ſelfe, and the tribe of the Achaians, but alſo of all Greece beſides. For, he was fully bent to driue the garriſon of the Macedonians thence, the which ſeemed euen a very yoke that held al the Grecians noſes to the grindſtone. For like as *Chares*, Captaine of the Athenians, hauing in a certaine conflicte, diſcomfited the kings Lieutenants,

*Aratus doings in his firſt Pratorſhip.*

wrote to the ATHENIANS that had wonne a victory halfe ſiſter to the victory of *Marathon*. Euen ſo me thinkes it were no diſgrace to ſay, that this execution was like (as one brother to another) to the killing of the tirants, which was done by *Pelopidas* THEBAN, and *Thraſybulus* ATHENIAN, ſauing that this laſt acte was more famous, becauſe it was not againſt GRECIANS, but againſt ſtrangers and forren power and gouernment, vpon whom it was executed. For the Iſthmus or barre of PELOPONNESVS, which ſeparateth the ſea Ægeum from the ſea Ionium, doth come and ioine the firme land of the reſt of GRECE, with the PRESCHE an Iland of PELOPONNESVS. Euen ſo likewiſe the mountaine called Acrocorinth, on the which the caſtle ſtandeth, riſing vp in the middeſt of GRECE, when there is any garriſon of men of warre in it, it cutteth off all traffike and paſſage by, of any armies of them which inhabit within the ſtraight: for them that are without the ſtraight, both by ſea and by lande, and maketh him onely Lord of the countrie that keepeth the caſtle. So that it was not for ſporte, but for truth, and in good earneſt, that *Philip* the young king of MACEDON was wont to call the citie and caſtle of CORINTH the ſtockes and gyues of GRECE. And therefore was this caſtle maruellouſly wiſhed and deſired of euerie man, but ſpecially of Kings and Princes. But the deſire *Antigonus* had of it was ſo vehement, that it differed nothing from the paſſions of a franticke louer. For he did nothing elſe continually but ſtudy and deuiſe how he might winne it vpon the ſodaine, from them that kept it: becauſe otherwiſe by open force, it was impoſſible to be had. Wherefore after the death of *Alexander* that kept that caſtle, being poyſoned (as it is reported) by *Antigonus* practiſe, the caſtle being left in the handes of his wife *Nicæa*, who gouerned the ſtate of CORINTHE, and did carefully cauſe the Acrocorinthe to be kept: he immediatly ſent his ſonne *Demetrius* thither, and put *Nicæa* in good hope to marry her with this young Prince: a thing that pleaſed this Ladie well, though ſhe was verie olde. So, for her ſelfe ſhe was wonne ſtraight, by meanes of his young ſonne *Demetrius*, whom he vſed as a ſtale to intrappe her. Howbeit *Nicæa* for all this goodly offer, forſooke not her caſtle, but alwaies made it ſtraightly to be looked vnto. *Antigonus* ſeemed to make no account of it, but daily gaue himſelfe to make ſumptuous ſacrifices, feaſtes, and playes to the gods, within the citie of CORINTHE for the mariage: as though he had ment no other thing, but banqueting and iolitie all that might be. When the houre was come to ſee theſe ſportes, and that the Muſitian *Amœbeus* began to ſing: he himſelfe made as though he would accompanie *Nicæa* vnto the Theater, being conueyed thither in a ſumptuous rich litter, as it had bene for a Queene. She was very glad of this honor, and thought nothing leſſe then of that which happened her. But when *Antigonus* came to the end of a ſtreete that turned to goe vp the hill towardes the caſtle, he bad her keepe on ſtill to the Theater: and himſelfe in the meane time left *Amœbeus* there with his ſinging, and all the feaſt of the mariage, and went ſtraight vp to the caſtle, forcing himſelfe aboue his ſtrength and yeares. When he was at the toppe of the hill, and found the gates ſhut, he knocked with his ſtaffe, and commaunded the garriſon to open him the gates. They wondring to ſee him there in perſon, did let him in. When he was gotten into the caſtell, he was ſo exceeding ioyfull of it, that he had no reaſon to moderate his ioy, but would banquet in the middeſt of ſtreetes, and in the market place, hauing minſtrels to play vppon their inſtruments at his table, wearing garlandes of flowers on their heads for ioy, and did ſo fondly and lightly behaue him ſelfe, as if he had beene a light young man, (and not as he was) an old man: who had proued ſuch ſundry chaunges of fortune, and yet ſuffered him ſelfe to be thus caried away with pleaſure, that he embraced, and ſpake to euery man he met. Whereby it is eaſy to iudge, that ioy poſſeſſing a man without wit or diſcretion, it maketh him beſides him ſelfe, and doth more trouble his wits, then paine or feare. Now *Antigonus* hauing wonne the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe, as you haue heard, he put it into the handes of thoſe he truſted beſt, to be ſafely kept: and therefore made *Perſæus* the Philoſopher Captaine of the caſtell. But in deede *Aratus* was in minde to haue attempted the taking of the caſtell, in *Alexanders* life time: yet he let it alone, becauſe he ioyned him ſelfe with the ACHAIANS. But at that time there was offered him an other occaſion againe to attempt it, and this it was. At CORINTHE, there were foure brethren borne in SYRIA, of the which, one of them being called *Diocles*, was a ſouldier of the garriſon of the caſtell: and the reſt, hauing robbed the kings treaſure,

*Preſche, an Iland of Peloponneſus.*

*Acrocorinthus mons.*

*Young king Philips ſaying of the caſtle of Corinthe.*

*Antigonus craft and deceite.*

*Antigonus craftily taketh the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe.*

*Ouer great ioy to a ſimple man, maketh him mad.*

*Perſæus the Philoſopher, made Captaine of the Acrocorinthe.*

*Aratus determination for the taking of the Acrocorinthe.*

ſure, went ſtraight vnto Sicyone, to *Aegias* the banker, whom *Aratus* imployed in his facultie. Theſe three brethren immediatly ſold him part of the gold they had robbed: and afterwards, one of them called *Erginus*, comming often to ſee him, by litle and litle ſold him all the reſt. By this meanes *Aegias* fell into familiar acquaintance with him, and talked with him of the garriſon of the caſtle of the Acrocorinthe. *Erginus* told him, that going vnto his brother vp thoſe ſteepe and high rockes, he found a path as it were cut out of the rocke, that went to a place of the wall of the caſtle, which was verie lowe. *Eegias* hearing that, aunſwerd him ſmyling: alas, my friend, what meane you to ſteale a litle peece of gold to hinder the king, when in one houres ſpace you can ſell ſuch a great maſſe of money together? For as well ſhall you dye if you be apprehended for this felonie, as if you were otherwiſe attainted for treaſon. *Erginus* with that fell a laughing, and promiſed that he would feele his brother *Diocles* minde in it, for he did not greatly truſt his other bretheren. So, returning ſhortly after, he bargayned with *Aratus* to bring him to a place of the wall that was not aboue fifteene foote high, promiſing that he would helpe him to execute the reſt, with his brother *Diocles*. *Aratus* promiſed then to giue him fifty talentes, if he brought his enterpriſe to paſſe: and if he fayled, that he would then giue either of them, a houſe & a talent. *Erginus* would haue the whole 50 talents put into *Aegias* the bankers hands. *Aratus* had not ſo much readie money, and beſides, he would not take it vp at vſury, for feare of giuing cauſe to ſuſpect his enterpriſe. Wherefore he tooke all his plate of gold and ſiluer, and his wiues iewels, and layde them to gage to *AEgias*, to disburſe the ſaid ſumme. But *Aratus* had ſo great and noble a mind in him, and was ſo bent to doe notable actes: that knowing how *Phocion* and *Epaminondas* had bene eſteemed for the iuſteſt and honeſteſt men of Grece, becauſe they had refuſed great giftes that were offered them, and would neuer ſell nor ſtaine their honor for money: he yet ſurpaſſing them, was contented to ſpend his owne, to bring any good enterpriſe to paſſe, and did put his life in danger for the common benefite of his country men, they themſelues knowing nothing of his enterpriſe, which turned all to their benefite. What is he then, that will not wonder at the great magnanimitie and courage of ſuch a man, and that will not euen now as it were, be willing to aide him: conſidering how dearely he bought ſo great a daunger of his perſon, and howe he laide his plate and all the riches he had to gage, to be brought in the night among the middeſt of his enemies, where he was to fight for his owne life, hauing no other gage nor pledge, but the hope of ſuch a noble enterpriſe, and nothing elſe? But now, though the enterpriſe of it ſelfe was daungerous, an error chauncing through ignorance at the firſt, made it yet more daungerous. For *Aratus* had ſent *Technon*, one of his men before with *Diocles*, to view the wall. This *Technon* had neuer ſpoken with *Diocles*, howbeit he thought in his mind what manner of man he was, by the markes that *Erginus* had giuen him of him: that he had a blacke curled haire, that his face was blacke, and that he had no beard. Nowe *Technon* being come to the place where *Erginus* ſayd he would be with *Diocles*: he ſtayed before the towne in a place called Ornis. So whileſt he was tarying there, the elder brother of *Diocles*, called *Dionyſius* (who knew nothing of the enterpriſe, nor was made acquainted withall, and looked very like his brother *Diocles*) came that way by chaunce. *Technon* being moued by the markes he ſaw in him, like vnto thoſe he was told of: asked him if he were nothing a kinne vnto *Erginus*. The other anſwered, he was his brother. Then *Technon* perſwading him ſelfe it was certainly *Diocles* that ſpake to him, without asking him his name, or making other inquirie of him: he tooke him by the hand, and began to talke with him of the practiſe he had with *Erginus*, and to aske him of it. *Dionyſius* taking the matter vpon him, & feeding on his error, returned forthwith into the city, holding him on ſtill with talke, *Technon* miſtruſting nothing. But euen as *Dionyſius* was ready to take him faſt by the choller: his brother *Erginus* came. Who, perceyuing how *Technon* had miſtaken the matter, and the daunger he was in: beckned to him with his head to flie, and ſo they both ranne for life vnto *Aratus*, to ſaue them ſelues. Howbeit *Aratus* was nothing the more diſcoraged for this, but ſent *Erginus* ſtraight to cary his brother *Dionyſius* money, and to pray him not to be acknowen of anie thing: who furthermore brought him with him vnto *Aratus*. But after they had him once, they made him ſure for ſtarting: for the bound him, and locked him vp faſt in a chamber, whileſt they went about their enter-

*The error and danger by likenes of men one vnto another.*

wrote to the ATHENIANS that had wonne a victory halfe ſiſter to the victory of *Marathon.* Euen ſo me thinkes it were no diſgrace to ſay, that this execution was like (as one brother to another) to the killing of the tirants, which was done by *Pelopidas* THEBAN, and *Thraſybulus* ATHENIAN, ſauing that this laſt acte was more famous, becauſe it was not againſt GRECIANS, but againſt ſtrangers and forren power and gouernment, vpon whom it was executed. For the Iſthmus or barre of PELOPONNESVS, which ſeparateth the ſea Ægeum from the ſea Ionium, doth come and ioine the firme land of the reſt of GRECE, with the PRESCHE an Iland of PELOPONNESVS. Euen ſo likewiſe the mountaine called Acrocorinth, on the which the caſtle ſtandeth, riſing vp in the middeſt of GRECE, when there is any garriſon of men of warre in it, it cutteth off all traffike and paſſage by, of any armies of them which inhabit within the ſtraight: for them that are without the ſtraight, both by ſea and by lande, and maketh him onely Lord of the countrie that keepeth the caſtle. So that it was not for ſporte, but for truth, and in good earneſt, that *Philip* the young king of MACEDON was wont to call the citie and caſtle of CORINTH the ſtockes and gyues of GRECE. And therefore was this caſtle maruellouſly wiſhed and deſired of euerie man, but ſpecially of Kings and Princes. But the deſire *Antigonus* had of it was ſo vehement, that it differed nothing from the paſſions of a franticke louer. For he did nothing elſe continually but ſtudy and deuiſe how he might winne it vpon the ſodaine, from them that kept it: becauſe otherwiſe by open force, it was impoſſible to be had. Wherefore after the death of *Alexander* that kept that caſtle, being poyſoned (as it is reported) by *Antigonus* practiſe, the caſtle being left in the handes of his wife *Nicæa*, who gouerned the ſtate of CORINTHE, and did carefully cauſe the Acrocorinthe to be kept: he immediatly ſent his ſonne *Demetrius* thither, and put *Nicæa* in good hope to marry her with this young Prince: a thing that pleaſed this Ladie well, though ſhe was verie olde. So, for her ſelfe ſhe was wonne ſtraight, by meanes of his young ſonne *Demetrius*, whom he vſed as a ſtale to intrappe her. Howbeit *Nicæa* for all this goodly offer, forſooke not her caſtle, but alwaies made it ſtraightly to be looked vnto. *Antigonus* ſeemed to make no account of it, but daily gaue himſelfe to make ſumptuous ſacrifices, feaſtes, and playes to the gods, within the citie of CORINTHE for the mariage: as though he had ment no other thing, but banqueting and iolitie all that might be. When the houre was come to ſee theſe ſportes, and that the Muſitian *Amœbeus* began to ſing: he himſelfe made as though he would accompanie *Nicæa* vnto the Theater, being conueyed thither in a ſumptuous rich litter, as it had bene for a Queene. She was very glad of this honor, and thought nothing leſſe then of that which happened her. But when *Antigonus* came to the end of a ſtreete that turned to goe vp the hill towardes the caſtle, he bad her keepe on ſtill to the Theater: and himſelfe in the meane time left *Amœbeus* there with his ſinging, and all the feaſt of the mariage, and went ſtraight vp to the caſtle, forcing himſelfe aboue his ſtrength and yeares. When he was at the toppe of the hill, and found the gates ſhut, he knocked with his ſtaffe, and commaunded the garriſon to open him the gates. They wondring to ſee him there in perſon, did let him in. When he was gotten into the caſtell, he was ſo exceeding ioyfull of it, that he had no reaſon to moderate his ioy, but would banquet in the middeſt of ſtreetes, and in the market place, hauing minſtrels to play vppon their inſtruments at his table, wearing garlandes of flowers on their heads for ioy, and did ſo fondly and lightly behaue him ſelfe, as if he had beene a light young man, (and not as he was) an old man: who had proued ſuch ſundry chaunges of fortune, and yet ſuffered him ſelfe to be thus caried away with pleaſure, that he embraced, and ſpake to euery man he met. Whereby it is eaſy to iudge, that ioy poſſeſſing a man without wit or diſcretion, it maketh him beſides him ſelfe, and doth more trouble his wits, then paine or feare. Now *Antigonus* hauing wonne the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe, as you haue heard, he put it into the handes of thoſe he truſted beſt, to be ſafely kept: and therefore made *Perſaus* the Philoſopher Captaine of the caſtell. But in deede *Aratus* was in minde to haue attempted the taking of the caſtell, in *Alexanders* life time: yet he let it alone, becauſe he ioyned him ſelfe with the ACHAIANS. But at that time there was offered him an other occaſion againe to attempt it, and this it was. At CORINTHE, there were foure brethren borne in SYRIA, of the which, one of them being called *Dioceles*, was a ſouldier of the garriſon of the caſtell: and the reſt, hauing robbed the kings treaſure,

*Preſche, an Iland of Peloponneſus. Acrocorinthus mons.*

*Young king Philips ſaying of the caſtle of Corinthe.*

*Antigonus craſt and deceite.*

*Antigonus craftily taketh the caſtell of the Acrocorinthe.*

*Ouer great ioy to a ſimple man, maketh him mad.*

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priſe. So when all things were readie, *Aratus* commanded the reſt of his army that they ſhould tarie behind, armed all night: and he himſelfe with foure hundreth of the beſt men he had (not knowing themſelues whither they went, nor to what intent) went ſtraight to the gates of the citie, paſſing by the temple of *Iuno*. This was about the middeſt of ſummer, when the Moone was at the full, and the element verie cleare without cloudes: inſomuch that they were afraid their armors would gliſter by moonelight, and bewray them. But as the formoſt of them came neare vnto the citie, there roſe cloudes out of the ſea that darkened all the citie and places thereabouts, and ſhadowed them. Then all of them ſitting downe on the ground, plucked off their ſhooes, both becauſe they ſhould make leſſe noiſe, as alſo for that their footing ſhould be ſurer, and that they ſhould ſlippe leſſe vpon the ladders. But *Erginus*, and ſeuen other companions with him like men that trauell, came ſecretly into the gate of the citie, and ſlewe the porter and warders there. At that verie inſtant, *Aratus* cauſed the ladders to be ſet vp againſt the walles, and made an hundreth of his ſouldiers get vp on them: and ſent alſo to command the reſt, that they ſhould follow him with all poſſible ſpeede. Then drawing vp his ladders after him, as faſt as he could, he went through the citie with his hundreh men toward the caſtle, with ſuch a ioyfull cheere, as if he had had it alreadie in his hand, for that he ſawe he was not diſcouered. But as he went on, he ſaw foure of the watch comming with a light againſt them. They ſaw not *Aratus* and his company, but the enemies ſaw them plainly a far off. *Aratus* and his men therefore ſtood vp cloſe againſt old wals to tarrie their comming, and at the firſt onſet, ſlew three of them: but the fourth hauing a blow on his head with a ſworde, ranne away, making an outcry, that the enemies were in the citie. The trumpets forthwith ſounded the alarme, all the citie was in an vprore, the ſtreetes were ſtraight full of people running vp and downe, and of lights in euery corner, both beneath in the citie, as alſo in the caſtle, and the noyſe was great euery where. *Aratus* in the meane time forced to get vp the hie rockes faire & ſoftly at the firſt, and with great paine and difficulty, being out of his path he ſhould haue found, which he miſſed, being very deepe into the rockes, and with many crookes & crankes went to the foote of the caſtle: but ſodainely, euen as it had bene by miracle, the Moone appearing through the cloudes, when they were in their worſt way, it gaue thē light, & brought them to that part of the wall where they ſhould be, and ſtraight the Moone was ſhadowed againe. Now the three hundred ſouldiers whom *Aratus* had left at the gate by the temple of *Iuno*, when they were come into the citie, being full of lightes, and in vprore, and beſides could not find the path by the which their Captaine *Aratus* went before them: they ſtood cloſe together vnder a rocke that ſhadowed them, ſorowfully looking to heare ſome news of *Aratus*: who was then fighting with the garriſon of the caſtle, the which made head againſt him with all the force and power they could. Vnder the caſtle there was a great noyſe heard of men that fought, but yet the noyſe was ſo confuſed by the ſound rebounding againſt the rockes and mountaine, that they could not deuiſe whence it ſhould come. So they being in this perplexitie, not knowing which way to turne them ſelues: *Archelaus*, Captaine of king *Antigonus* men, hauing a good number of ſouldiers with him, went vp the hil with great cries and noiſe of trumpets to ſet vppon *Aratus*, and his company behinde. But after he was paſſed by theſe three hundred ſouldiers of *Aratus* band, they gaue charge vpon him, as if they had bene layed there in ambuſh of purpoſe, and ſlue the firſt they encountred withall, and made the others ſo affrayed, and *Archelaus* him ſelfe, that they diſperſed them, and made ſome flie one waie, ſome an other way. So, as they were ouerthrowen, *Erginus* came to theſe three hundred men, comming immediatly from them that fought, and brought them newes that *Aratus* and them of the caſtell, were come to the ſword together, and valiantly defended themſelues, luſtely fighting for the wall, and therefore it was time for them to helpe him quickely. Then the ſouldiers bad him bring them thither ſtraight, and ſo he did. So they climing vp the hill, did ſignifie by their cries to their men, that they came to ayde him. Furthermore, the Moone being then at the full, and ſhining on their harneſſe, made their enemies in the caſtell thinke that they were a greater number then in deede they were, becauſe of the long way they had to make to gette vppe vppon the rockes: and alſo becauſe of the ſound in the night, that made their cry ſeeme to be of a greater number then they were. At length

*Aratus great danger in taking of the caſtle of the Acrocorinth.*

*The happy benefit of the Moone.*

*Aratus taketh the Acrocorinthe.*

they ioyning with *Aratus*, they fought it out ſo luſtely, that they draue the garriſon out of the walles, and by breake of day wanne the caſtle. So that their exployte was diſcouered by the riſing of the Sunne, and beſides, all the reſt of their armye that came from the citie of SICYONE: whom the CORINTHIANS verie gladly receiued, and did ſet open their gates vnto them, and ayded them to take King *Antigonus* men. Afterwardes, when they thought that all was ſafe, then *Aratus* came from the caſtle vnto the Theater of the citie, whither repaired an infinite number of people, aſwell for the deſire they had to ſee him, as alſo to heare him ſpeake vnto the CORINTHIANS. So, hauing placed the ACHAIANS of either ſide, at the comming into the Theater: *Aratus* being armed, went vp into the chaire or pulpit for orations, hauing his face quite chaunged, both for the great paines he had taken, and alſo for lacke of ſleepe: ſo that his bodie being ouerwearied, his ſpirits were euen done. Now when all the aſſemblie of the people (ſeeing him in the chayer) did humble themſelues to ſhew him all the honor and kindneſſe they could poſſible: he tooke his ſpeare out of his left hand into his right, and bowing his knee and bodie ſomewhat, he leaned vpon it, and ſo ſtoode a great while in this manner before he ſpake, receiuing the cryes of ioy and clapping of hands which the people made, praiſing his valiantnes, and bleſſing his good hap and fortune. Then when they had done, and were quiet againe, he framed his countenance, and began to make an oration vnto them in the name of all the tribe and common wealth of the ACHAIANS, meete for the enterpriſe from whence he came: and perſwaded them to ioyne to the ACHAIANS. So therewithall, they preſently deliuered him the keyes of their citie, the which were neuer before that time in their power, ſince the raigne of king *Philip*. Nowe touching the other Captaines of king *Antigonus*: *Aratus* hauing taken *Archelaus* priſoner, he let him goe, but put *Theophraſtus* to death, becauſe he would not goe out of CORINTH. *Perſaus* (Captaine of the caſtle) ſeeing the caſtle but loſt: he ſecretly ſaued himſelfe, & fled vnto the citie of CENCHREES. And it is reported, that as he was afterwards in talke of Philoſophie, where one maintaining that a man could not be a good Captaine, vnles he were a perfect wiſe man: This (q; he) is one of *Zenoes* opinions rightly, the which heretofore pleaſed me beſt: but now this young SICYONIAN *Aratus*, hath made me of an other mind. Many writers doe report this ſaying of *Perſaus*. Furthermore, *Aratus* wanne preſently the temple of *Iuno*, and the hauen of LECHÆVM where he tooke fiue and twentie ſhippes of king *Antigonus*, and fiue hundred horſe of ſeruice for the warre, & foure hundred SYRIANS, which he ſold euery one of them. The ACHAIANS left within the caſtle of the Acrocorinthe, a garriſon of foure hundred footemen, and fiftie dogges, and as many hunts, all the which were kept for the watch of the caſtle. Now, the ROMAINS wondring at the valiantnes of *Philopæmen*: they called him the laſt of the GRECIANS. Euen ſo might I alſo (in my opinion) ſay, that this act is the laſt and moſt famous of all the GRECIANS, and deſerueth to be equall, aſwell for valiantnes, as alſo good ſucceſſe, with the greateſt exploites of the moſt famous auncients: as that which followed immediately after doth amply declare. For the MEGARIANS reuolting from king *Antigonus*, did ſtraight ioine with *Aratus*: and the TROEZENIANS alſo with the EPIDAVRIANS, did likewiſe enter into league and friendſhip with the ACHAIANS. So at the firſt inuaſion he made, he went to ſpoile the country of ATTICA, and croſſed ouer to the Ile of SALAMINA, and ſpoiled and deſtroyed it, euen as if he had deliuered the power and force of the ACHAIANS out of priſon, to ſerue his owne turne in any thing he thought good of. Howbeit, he ſent home the ATHENIAN priſoners without paying of ranſome: and all of policy to make them deſirous to rebell againſt the MACEDONIANS, Furthermore, he made king *Ptolomy* a frend and confederat of the ACHAIANS, with condition, that he ſhould be Lieutenaunt generall both by ſea and by land. For theſe reſpects *Aratus* was of maruellous eſtimation and credit with the ACHAIANS: inſomuch that where they could not yearely chooſe him their generall, being cōtrary to their law: they choſe him at the leaſt euery ſecond yeare, but in effect, all was done by his aduiſe and counſell. For they ſaw plainely, that it was neither honor, nor riches, nor friendſhip of kings & Princes, nor the priuate benefite of his owne city wherein he was borne, nor any other thing elſe that hee preferred, before the glory and increaſe of the common weath of the ACHAIANS. For he was of opinion, that cities by themſelues were but weake, & being ioyned together with the chaine

*Aratus ioyneth the citie of Corinth vnto Achaia.*

*Zenoes opinion, that a man could not be a good Captaine vnleſſe he were a perfect wiſe man.*

*Perſæus aunſwere to Zenoes opinion.*

*Philopæmen the laſt famous man of the Grecians.*

*Aratus power and authoritie with the Achaians.*

of common benefit, they were a ſtrength one to preſerue the other. And in like manner, euen as the parts that are in the bodies of brute beaſtes haue life & ſuſtenance, being ioyned & knit together, and ſtraight ſo ſoone as there is any ſeperation of them the one from the other, they liue no more & putrifie: euen ſo cities alſo were brought to decay by thẽ that did diſperſe their ſocietie among them, & in contrary manner did then againe increaſe, when ioyning with any other great body & city, they were gouerned with wiſdom & good counſell. So *Aratus* ſeeing the chiefeſt cities thereaboutes enioy their lawes and liberties: thought it a ſhamefull thing to leaue the ARGIVES in ſlauerie & bondage. Wherfore he praſtiſed to kill the tirant *Ariſtomachus* that gouerned them, both to ſhew himſelfe thankefull to the citie for his bringing vppe there: as alſo to ioyne that great & mightie citie vnto the tribe of the ACHAIANS. Now there were diuerſe men, that had the harts and courage to vndertake to do it, of the which the chiefeſt were *Aeſchylus* and *Charimenes* the Soothſayer, but they had no ſwordes: for they were ſtraightly forbidden by the tirant, and grieuous puniſhments ordayned for them that ſhould be found with their ſwordes. *Aratus* therefore cauſed certen litle ſhort daggers to be made at CORINTHE for them, the which he ſowed vp in packs caried on certen beaſts loden with other baggage and ſtuffe. But the ſoothſayer *Charimenes*, did impart this enterpriſe vnto a third man, and made him one of the conſpiracie with them. *Aeſchylus* being very much offended with it, began therefore to enter into practiſe by himſelfe, and left their companie. *Charimenes* perceiuing that, tooke ſuch a toy in his head in a mad moode, that he bewrayed them as they went about to execute their enterpriſe. This notwithſtanding, the moſt part of the conſpirators ſaued themſelues, and fled to CORINTHE. So the tyrant *Ariſtomachus* was ſlaine ſhortly after, by his owne men. But then another tyrant *Ariſtippus*, a crueller man than the firſt, made haſte to take the tyranny before he could be reſiſted. This notwithſtanding, *Aratus*, with all the yong men of the ACHAIANS able to ſerue in the field, went ſodainly thither with aide, hoping to find them of the city very glad to recouer their liberty. Howbeit the people being acquainted, and of long time vſed patiently to beare the yoke of bondage: there was not a man of them that would once take his part. So he returned backe againe, and did nothing, ſauing that therby the ACHAIANS were accuſed, becauſe that in open peace they had made warre, and therefore they were put in ſute before the MANTINIANS, at *Ariſtippus* requeſt, tyrant of ARGOS. The matter was pleaded in *Aratus* abſence, and the ACHAIANS were condemned to pay the ſumme of 30. Minas. After this proofe & attempt of *Aratus*, *Ariſtippus* being affraid of *Aratus*, & hating him to the death, ſought waies to kill him, with the help of *Antigonus*, who did aide him in it: and almoſt there were ſpials in euery corner, that did nothing els but lie in waite to execute *Ariſtippus* minde. Now, there is no ſurer guard vnto a Prince, than the perfect loue and good will of his ſubiects. For, after that the nobilitie and common people haue beene vſed to feare, not him, but thoſe that for him commaund them: he then ſeeth with many eyes, heareth with many eares, and knoweth what is done farre off. Here therefore I will a litle digreſſe from my hiſtory, to ſhew you the manner of *Ariſtippus* life the tyraunt, whereunto hee was brought by this ſo much deſired tyrannicall gouernment, and ſmoke of ſignory, ſo eſteemed of all men. Now, though *Ariſtippus* had king *Antigonus* his friend, & that he kept a great gard of ſouldiers about him for the ſafety of his perſon, and that there was not an enemy of his left aliue in all the city: yet he made his ſouldiers watch and lie without his pallace, vnder the cloiſters and galleries thereabous, and after ſupper turned all his men out of the dores, and then ſhut his Court gates to him, and locked himſelf alone with his Concubine, in a litle high chamber with a trappe dore, and ſet his bed vpon it, and ſo ſlept, as one that continuallie was afraied of him ſelfe. Then after he was come vp, his Concubines mother came to take vp the ladder, and locked it in an other chamber: and ſo did let it downe againe the next morning, and called this trimme tyraunt, that went downe out of his chamber, like a ſnake that ſhould haue crept out of her hole. Where *Aratus* in contrary manner, not hauing obtained by force of armes, but lawfully through vertue a continuall gouernment, being ſimply apparelled with a poore gowne of ſmall price, & ſhewing himſelf a mortall enemy vnto al ſorts of tyrants: hath left a race & noble offſpring among the GRECIANS, which remaine yet vntill this preſent day. Contrarily alſo, there are few tyrants that doe vſurpe the caſtels of free cities, that keepe ſo

*Aratus goeth about to set Argos at libertie.*

*Aratus prepared litle short daggers against the tirants decree and ordinance.*

*Aristippus tyrant of the citie of Argos.*

*Aristippus layd waite to kill Aratus.*

*No surer garde to a Prince, then the loue of his subiects.*

*The miserable life of Aristippus, the tyrant of Argos.*

*Aratus gouernment obtained by vertue.*

many ſouldiers in pay, that make ſuch prouiſion for armor and weapon, & haue ſo many gates and draw-bridges for the ſafetie of their perſons, that in the ende can keepe themſelues from violent death, no more then hares: neither do leaue alſo any poſteritie, houſe, or graue, why their memorie ſhould be honored after their death. So *Aratus* hauing diuerſe waies made ſundry attempts, both by open force, and otherwiſe ſodainely, to take the citie of ARGOS, and to thruſt out the tirant *Ariſtippus*: he euer failed of his purpoſe, but ſpecially one night among the reſt, when he entred the citie verie dangerouſly, with a few ſouldiers with him, and ſlue the ſouldiers that came to giue ſupply to them that fought. But after that day was broken, and that the tirant with all his forces came to ſet vpon him: the ARGIVES ſturred not at all, as if *Aratus* had not fought for their libertie, but as though they had bene Iudges appoynted to ſit to ſee the ſportes of the games Nemee, to iudge the game vnto the Conquerour without partiality, and with indifferency. *Aratus* in the meane time fighting like a valiant man, was thruſt at with a pike, and runne through the thigh. This notwithſtanding, at length he wanne that part of the citie where he fought, and was not thruſt out till night, what force ſoeuer the enemies made vpon him: and if he could poſſibly haue holden it out all night, he had vndoubtedly obtained his purpoſe. For the tirant looked for none other but to flie, and had alreadie ſent diuerſe of his goods to the ſea. Howbeit no man once came to tell *Aratus* any newes of it, beſides alſo lacking water, and for that he could not helpe himſelfe becauſe of his wound, he was driuen to leade his men away, and failed of his purpoſe. So, diſpairing that he could euer take it by ſtelth, he went thither with open warres, and ſpoiled and deſtroied all the country of ARGOS: and hauing fought a great battell againſt the tirant *Ariſtippus*, by the riuer of Chares, they blamed *Aratus* much, that he forſooke the victorie, and cowardly retired out of the battell. For the reſt of his armie doubtles had the better, and had followed the enemies farre in chaſe: when he fled being affraid, not compelled by his enemies, but miſtruſting his fortune, and retyred to his lodging. So, when they that returned from the chaſe of their enemies were offended, for that they hauing put them to flight, and alſo ſlayne a greater number more of them then they had loſt of theirs, and yet for cowardlineſſe ſhould ſuffer their enemies (whom they had ouercome and put to flight) to ſette vppe markes of triumph in token of victorie: *Aratus* beeing aſhamed of it, determined to fight once againe, for the markes of triumphe. Whereuppon, reſting his men but one day, he ledde them againe into the fielde, and ſetting his armie in battell raye, offered to fight once more. This notwithſtanding, when he ſawe a great ſupply comming to his enemie, and that the tirantes men came to fight more luſtely, and with better courage then before: *Aratus* durſt not abide them, but retired, and ſent to demaund leaue to take away his dead men to burie them, yet he could ſpeake ſo courteouſly, and behaue himſelfe ſo wiſely, by the experience he had in gouernment, and alſo for the good will they bare him: that they forgat the fault he committed, and he wanne the citie of CLEONES vnto the ACHAIANS, where he cauſed the feaſts of the games Nemee to be celebrated, as belonging of great antiquitie, rather vnto the CLEONEIANS then vnto the ARGIVES. This notwithſtanding, the ARGIVES did keepe it alſo, & then was the firſt time that the ſanctuarie and priuiledge was broken, which was wont to be granted vnto all them that came to play for the games: becauſe the ACHAIANS did make them priſoners that fought in ARGOS, as they returned through their countrie, and ſold them as enemies. So maruellouſly did *Aratus* & the ACHAIANS hate all ſorts of tirants, without reſpect of pardon. Shortly after he was aduertiſed, that the tirant *Ariſtippus* did lye in waite to ſpye oportunitie, to take the citie of CLEONES from him: howbeit that he was affraid of it, becauſe he remained at that time in CORINTHE. So *Aratus* ſtraight ſent out commaundement into euery place, to aſſemble the armie of the tribe of the ACHAIANS, & that they ſhould bring victuals with them for many dayes: and ſo craftily came downe to the citie of CENCHREES, to intiſe *Ariſtippus*, by his going away ſo farre off, that in his abſence he ſhould attempt to ſet vpon the CLEONIANS, as indeede he did. For he fayled not preſently to goe thither with his armye. But *Aratus* returning from CENCHREES vnto CORINTHE, very late in the night, and hauing layed good watch euerie way: he ſodainely brought the armie of the ACHAIANS vnto CLEONES with ſuch ſpeede and quietnes, that they were not ſeene as they came, but entred into

*Chares fl.*

*Aratus gaue Ariſtippus the victorie.*

*Aratus ſtratageme to intrap the tirant Ariſtippus.*

the citie of Cleones by night, and were readie to fight with the tiraunt, before he knewe they were come. So the gates of the citie were ſet open by breake of daye, and the ſignall of battell giuen by ſound of trumpettes: and ſo ſetting vppon the tirantes men with great cryes, they ſuſpecting nothing, they were preſently put to flight.

*Aratus victory of the tyrant Ariſtippus. Ariſtippus the tirant ſlaine.*

And becauſe the place where the ouerthrow was giuen, had many turnings: *Aratus* following the chaſe, tooke the way which he thought the tirant fled in. The chaſe continued to the citie of Mycenes. There the tirant was ouertaken by a Cretan called *Tragiſcus*, (as *Dinias* reporteth) who ſlue him: and there were ſlaine of his men alſo, aboue fifteene thouſand. But now *Aratus* hauing wonne ſuch a famous victorie, and loſt neuer a man: he could not yet winne the citie of Argos, nor ſet it againe at libertie. For one *Aegias*, & another *Ariſtomachus*, got into the towne with the kings armie, and kept it. But notwithſtanding, by this noble victory *Aratus* did race out a great part of the reproach that they gaue him, and of the ſcoffes and ſlentes the flatterers of the tirants deuiſed of him. Who to pleaſe them, reported that when they ſhould come to fight indeede, the generall of the Achaians had the winde collicke in his belly, and a dimneſſe in his eyes with a guydines in his head, when he heard but the ſound of the trumpettes. And furthermore alſo, when he had ſet his men in battell ray, and giuen them the word of battell: he asked the generalls if he ſhould neede to be there in perſon, becauſe he was hurt in the heele, and then would get him as farre off as he could, to ſee the end of the battell. This talke was ſo common, that the Philoſophers themſelues diſputing of it, to wit, whether to tremble and chaunge colour in preſent danger and perill, be ſignes of a faint heart or of an euill complexion and coldnes of bodie: they alway vouched *Aratus*, that had bene a good and valiant Captaine, and yet when he began to fight, he was euer in that taking.

*A Philoſophicall queſtion whether trembling, & changing of colour in danger, be a ſigne of cowardlines. Lyſiadas tirãt of Megalipolis*

So when he had ouercome *Ariſtippus*, he ſought meanes alſo to deſtroy *Lyſiadas* Megalopolitan, who as abſolute Lord & king of the country, kept the city of Megalopolis. Notwithſtanding, he had no baſe mind in him, neither was he caried away with a cruell deſire of tirannie to liue at his pleaſure, nor through extreame couetouſnes, as moſt princes be: but being a yong man, & pricked forward with deſire of honor & fame, & hauing vnaduiſedly conceiued in his mind, (which was great & highly bent) the vaine reaſons he heard men talke of principalitie, as of a ſtate moſt bleſſed, & worthy of admiration: he found the meanes to make himſelfe Lord of his coũtry. But afterwards, he was ſoone wearie of the dangers & troubles ſuch manner of gouernment bringeth with it, & deſired to follow *Aratus*, whom he ſaw proſper, and of great honor. Furthermore, alſo fearing his ſecret practiſes againſt him, he tooke hold of a noble deuiſe: firſt to rid himſelfe of the malice and feare of the priſon and garde of his ſouldiers: and laſtly, to be a benefactor to his coũtrie. So he ſent for *Aratus*, gaue vp his gouernment, and deliuered vp his citie to the tribe of the Achaians.

*Lyſiadas, tirãt of Megalipolis leaueth the tirannie & yeelded himſelfe and his dominion vnto the Achaians.*

They ſo extolled him for this acte, that they choſe him their Lieutenant generall of all their tribe. Wherfore, *Lyſiadas* ſtriuing at the firſt to excell *Aratus* in honor, attempted diuerſe things which were not verie needefull: as among others, to make warre with the Lacedæmonians. But *Aratus* was very much againſt him in that, though ſome think it was for enuie. Thereupon they choſe *Lyſiadas* generall of the Achaians the ſecond time: although *Aratus* openly both ſpake and made what meanes he could to the contrary, & would haue had another to haue bene choſen. For, he himſelfe was euery other yeare generall. So, *Lyſiadas* was choſen again generall of the Achaians the third time, with euery bodies good will: and *Aratus* and he had abſolute power and gouernment by turnes, one after the other.

*Diſſention betwixt Aratus and Lyſiadas.*

But when they ſaw that *Lyſiadas* became open enemie vnto *Aratus*, and did ſtill accuſe him in all their councels and aſſemblies: they fell in ſuch miſliking with him, that they reiected him. For they thought his but a coũterfeat vertue, to contend with the perfectnes of *Aratus* vertue.

*One of Iſopes tales of the Cuckowes queſtion to litle byrdes.*

Much like vnto one of *Iſopes* fables, ſaying that litle birds did anſwer the cuckow on a time, asking them why they did flie from her: becauſe we are affrayd (ſayd they) thou wilt be a ſparhawke one day. Euen ſo it ſeemeth, that there was a certen ſuſpition in mens mindes of *Lyſiadas* tirannie, which made them miſtruſt that he went not from his tirannie with good will.

*Aratus noble counſaile againſt the Aetolians.*

Now *Aratus* on the other ſide, wan as great praiſe and honor by his doings againſt the Ætolians. For when the Achaians would needes haue fought vpon the confines of the territory of the Megarians, & that *Agis*, king of Lacedæmon, being come with his army to the campe of the tribe of the Achaians, did perſwade them hardily to giue battell: *Aratus* was ſtoutly againſt it, and did abide many mocks and tauntes they gaue him, ſaying, that it was for cowardlines he would not go. This notwithſtanding, he would not leaue his wiſe and ſafe determination, for all that open ſhame: but ſuffered the enemies to paſſe ouer the Mountaine Gerania, and to inuade Peloponnesvs, and would neuer fight with them. But afterwards, when he ſaw that at their firſt comming they had taken the citie of Pallena: he then changed his mind, and would deferre time no longer to tary till al his power were come together, but marched forthwith againſt his enemies, with thoſe fewe he had, who maruelouſly weakned themſelues by their inſolency & diſorder after their victorie, keeping no watch nor ward. For after they had entred the citie of Pallena, the ſouldiers ran into euery houſe, one thruſting in anothers necke, and fighting for the goods they found. The Captaines alſo fell to rauiſhing of maydes, and the Pallenians wiues, and put their burganets and morrions vpon their heades, that none other ſhould take them, becauſe that by the ſame the ſouldiers ſhould know whoſe they were, and to whom the women belonged. So they being in this ruffe and iolitie: newes came ſodainly that *Aratus* was come. This made them quake for feare, when they ſaw they were like to be taken out of order. For before they all vnderſtood of the danger by their ſodaine ſetting on thẽ, the Achaians were fighting alreadie within the ſuburbs and gates of the citie, againſt the firſt that reſiſted, whom they ſlue. They being broken & put to flight, made the reſt ſo affraied that were gathered together to aide them, that they wiſt not what to do. In this tumult and great hurly burly, there was one of the Ladies a priſoner, that was the daughter of *Epigethes* one of the nobleſt men of the citie, and ſhe a maruellous goodly woman, and paſſing fayre: who being ſet in the temple of *Diana*, whither a Captaine had brought her that had choſen her for himſelfe, and had put his burganet on her head: ſhe ſodainely ranne to the gate of the temple with the burganet on her head, when ſhe heard the noyſe of them that fought, to ſee them fight. The Citizens ſeeing her in that aray, found her the goodlier to behold, and of greater maieſtie, then any worldly creature. The enemies on the other ſide were ſo affraid to ſee her, thinking ſhe had bene ſome ſpirit: that not a man of them durſt once defend themſelues. So the Pallenians ſay, that the image of *Diana* all the reſt of the time is kept locked vp, and no bodie toucheth it, and that when the Nunne that keepeth it doth carie it elſe where, no man dare looke on it, but euerie man turneth his eyes away: becauſe the ſight of it is not onely fearefull and hurtfull vnto men, but it alſo killeth the frute of the trees it paſſeth by, and maketh them barren. This was the cauſe that then troubled the Ætolians mindes ſo much, becauſe the Nunne remouing the image of the goddeſſe *Diana*, ſhe turned it towards them. Howbeit *Aratus* in his commentaries maketh no mention of this at all, but onely writeth, that when he had defeated the Ætolians, following them in chaſe, he entred hand ouer head with them that fled into the citie, out of the which he draue them, and ſlue ſeuen hundreth of them. This noble victorie hath bene eſteemed amongſt the chiefeſt afterwards: and the paynter *Timanthes* hath drawen and ſet it forth in table verie liuely. This notwithſtanding, becauſe diuerſe Princes and people did immediatly prepare force againſt the Achaians: *Aratus* preſently made peace with the Ætolians by the practiſe of *Pantaleon*, who bare great ſway and authoritie amongeſt them. Furthermote, *Aratus* being deſirous to ſet the Athenians at libertie, he ſodainly attempted to take the hauen of Pirea: for the which the Achaians reproued him, becauſe he had broken the peace they had made with the Macedonians. But *Aratus* in his commentaries doth ſtoutly denie that it was he, and layeth the faulte vpon *Erginus*, by whoſe meanes he wanne the calſte of the Acrocorinthe: ſaying that it was he, that of his owne minde did ſet a ſcaling ladder to the wall, and that his ladder breaking vnder him, he fledde vpon it, and perceiuing he was followed neare by the enemies, he ſtill cryed out, *Aratus* as if he had bene there, and by this pollicie mocked his enemies, and ſaued himſelfe. Howbeit, me thinketh this aunſwer is not true. For it is not credible, that *Erginus* a priuate ſouldier, and a Syrian borne, ſhoulde haue ſo great an enterpriſe in his head, vnleſſe it had bene by *Aratus* conſent and commandement, who had giuen him men, time and meanes to vndertake it. And this appeared plainely afterwardes, for, *Aratus* did not attempt it twiſe or thrice onely, but oftener

*Gerania mons.*

*Aratus ſetteth vpon his laſciuious enemies.*

*A womã with a burganet on her head, ſeemeth a monſtrous thing.*

*The ſigne of Diana with the Palleniãs.*

*Aratus bringeth the Aetolians in league with the Achaians.*

*Aratus attẽpteth to ſet Athens at libertie.*

then ſo (as thoſe that extreamely deſire a thing) to take the hauen of PIREA on the ſodaine, not giuing ouer for once failing, but rather emboldening himſelfe againe with good hope becauſe he miſſed it but litle, and that he came ſo neare the taking of it. And another time alſo amongeſt others, flying through the playne of THRIASIA, he brake his legge, and was driuen to make many inciſions to heale it: ſo that he was a long time together caryed in his lytter vnto the warres. After that King *Antigonus* was dead, and that *Demetrius* his ſonne ſucceeded him in the kingdome: he attempted then more earneſtly then euer before, to ſet the citie of ATHENS at libertie, making ſmall account of the MACEDONIANS. *Aratus* therefore beeing ouerthrowen in battell neare vnto PHYLACIA, by King *Demetrius* Lieutenant, called *Bithys*, and the rumor running ſtraight abroade, that *Aratus* was deade, or at the leaſt that he was taken priſoner: one named *Diogenes*, Captaine of the hauen of PIREA, wrote a letter vnto CORINTHE, and commanded the garriſon of the ACHAIANS that kept it, to deliuer the towne for *Aratus* was dead. But he by chaunce was at the ſelfe ſame time in CORINTHE: ſo that they which brought the letters went home with a mocke, without their purpoſe, and made all the companie merrie. Furthermore, King *Demetrius* him ſelfe ſent a galley out of MACEDON, to bring *Aratus* bound vnto him. The ATHENIANS themſelues alſo to pleaſe the MACEDONIANS, exceeding all lightneſſe of flatterie, wore garlands on their heads a whole day together, in token of cõmon ioy, when newes was brought them of *Aratus* death. *Aratus* was ſo madde in his minde to heare this, that he brought his armie preſently againſt them, euen to the verie ſuburbes of the Academy. Notwithſtanding at their earneſt requeſts, he did no hurt there. And afterwards the ATHENIANS acknowledging his valiantnes, when king *Demetrius* dyed: it tooke them in the heads to recouer their libertie againe. So *Aratus*, though that yeare another man was generall of the ACHAIANS, and that he kept his bedde lying ſicke of a long diſeaſe: yet to further this, he was caryed vnto ATHENS in a lytter, and ſo perſwaded *Diogenes*, Captaine of the garriſon there, that for the ſumme of an hundreth and fiftie talents (towards the which *Aratus* gaue of his owne, twenty talents) he made him deliuer to the ATHENIANS the hauen of PIREA, the caſtle of MVNYCHIA, the Ile of SALAMINA, and the caſtle of SVNIVM. After this the ÆGINETES, the HERMIONIANS, and the moſt parte of ARCADIA it ſelfe, did preſently ioyne with the ACHAIANS: ſo that the MACEDONIANS beeing occupied with warres at that time in other places againſt their neighbours, the power of the ACHAIANS maruellouſly encreaſed, hauing alſo the ÆTOLIANS their confederates. Then *Aratus* to performe his oulde promiſe, and beeing angrie to ſee the citie of ARGOS (being ſo neere neighbour vnto them) yet kept in bondage: he ſent vnto *Ariſtomachus*, to perſwade him to be contented to ſet his citie againe at libertie, and to ioyne it to the tribe of the ACHAIANS, as *Lyſiadas* had done his towne of MEGALOPOLIS, and rather to like to be made a Generall with honor and praiſe of ſo great and famous a ſtate as the ACHAIANS: then tirant of one onely citie, hated, and euerie houre of the night and daye in daunger of his life. *Ariſtomachus* gaue eare to his perſwaſions, and ſent vnto *Aratus*, telling him that he had neede of fiftie talents to diſcharge the ſouldiers he had about him. The money was ſtraight prepared. And *Lyſiadas* that was at that time Generall of the ACHAIANS, and that maruellouſly deſired this matter might be brought to paſſe by his meanes: he ſecretly ſent vnto *Ariſtomachus* to accuſe *Aratus*, and ſhewed how he had bene alwaye a mortall enemie vnto tirants, and therefore counſelled him rather to put himſelfe into his hands, as indeede he did. For *Lyſiadas* brought *Ariſtomachus* vnto the councell of the ACHAIANS. There all the councell plainely ſhewed their good willes, and the confidence they had in *Aratus*: for when he ſpake againſt it, that they ſhould not receiue *Ariſtomachus*, they reiected him with great anger. But afterwardes alſo when *Aratus* was won, and that he began to moue the contrary to the councell: they ſtraight agreed to receiue the ARGIVES, & the PHLIASIANS in league with them, & alſo the next yere following they choſe *Ariſtomachus* Lieutenant generall of all their tribe. *Ariſtomachus* ſeing himſelfe in credit now with the ACHAIANS, would needes inuade the countrie of LACONIA with a maine armie, and ſent for *Aratus* being then at ATHENS. *Aratus* wrote vnto him, & wiſhed him in any wiſe not to meddle with that iorney, becauſe he would not haue the ACHAIANS to deale with *Cle-*

*Aratus ouerthrowen by the Macedonians.*

*Aratus by perſwaſion deliuered Argos frõ tirannie.*

*The loue and faith of the Achaians vnto Aratus.*

*omenes*

king of LACEDÆMON, that was a couragious and ſtout young Prince, and maruellouſly growen in ſhort time. Howbeit *Ariſtomachus* being ſelfewilled in that point, *Aratus* obeyed him, and was there in perſon all that iorney. So *Cleomenes* being come to them vppon the ſodaine with his armie, neare vnto the citie of PALANTIVM: *Ariſtomachus* would needs fight with him. But *Aratus* diſſwaded him from it. Whereupon *Lyſiadas* afterwards accuſed him to the ACHAIANS, and the next yere following he contended with him, ſuing to be Generall: howbeit he was reiected by moſt voyces, and *Aratus* choſen Generall the twelfth time. The ſelfe ſame yeare he was ouerthrowen in battell by *Cleomenes*, neare vnto the mountaine Lycæum, and being fledde, wandred vp and downe in the night, that euerie man thought he had bene ſlaine, and it ranne for good payment among all the GRECIANS. Howbeit he ſaued himſelfe, and hauing gathered his men together againe, not contenting him that he had eſcaped with life, but wiſely taking the oportunitie and occaſion offered, no man knowing it, nor miſtruſting his comming: he ſodainely went to aſſayle the MANTINEANS, which were confederates of *Cleomenes*, and hauing taken the citie of MANTINEA, he left a great garriſon in it, and made the ſtraungers that were there, free of the citie. Thus *Aratus* was he alone, that being ouercome wanne the ACHAIANS that, which they themſelues could ſcarcely haue wonne if they had bene conquerors. Afterwards the LACEDÆMONIANS inuading the territories of the MEGALOPOLITANS with a great armie, *Aratus* ſodainly went thither to aide them, but would hazard battell no more, nor giue *Cleomenes* vantage, who deſiredonly to fight, and ſtill conſtantly reſiſted the MEGALOPOLITANS, that prouoked him to come into the field. For beſides that in nature he was not meete for a ſet battell, at that time alſo he was the weaker in men, and had to doe with a venturous young man, that was all fire: where his courage & ambition on the other ſide was coole, & quiet enough. Furthermore, he conſidered, that as king *Cleomenes* ſought honour by valiant venturing, which he had not before: euen ſo it was his parte wiſely to keepe that which he had long ſince gotten, and to ſtand vpon his guard and ſafetie. This notwithſtanding, the light armed men being put out into the fielde, and hauing chaſed the LACEDÆMONIANS euen into their campe, & entring in with thẽ hand ouer head: *Aratus* would neuer bring out his citizens, but ſtayed them in a great valley that lay betwene them both, and would not let them come on any farther. Wherewithall *Lyſiadas* being mad with himſelfe, and falling out with *Aratus*: he called for the horſmen and ſayd that he would yet helpe them that followed the chaſe, and prayed them not to loſe the victorie ſo cowardly, of the which they were ſo ſure: nor to forſake him at a pinch, fighting for the defence of their countrie. So hauing gotten a great number of choyſe horſmen together, he went with great furie, and gaue charge on the right wing of his enemies battell, and hauing diſperſed them, and put them to flight, he vnaduiſedly followed them with great courage, into euill fauored crooked wayes, among trees, and great broade ditches. Whereupon *Cleomenes* came, and ſo luſtely ſet on him, that he ſlue him dead in the place, valiantly fighting and defending himſelfe. The other men of armes flying alſo, ruſhed in againe into the battell of the footemen, and ſo diſordered their rankes, that they made all their armie flie for feare. For this cauſe they greatly blamed *Aratus*, becauſe he had forſaken *Lyſiadas*: and being enforced vnto it by the ACHAIANS that went without his leaue, he followed them at length, and fled himſelfe alſo vnto the city of ÆGIVM. There the ACHAIANS ſitting in coũcell, they decreed that they would furniſh *Aratus* with no more money, neither would they pay his ſtrangers any more: and bad him pay them at his owne charge, if he would entertaine them for the warre. *Aratus* perceiuing that they did him great wrong, ſtood euen indifferẽt to deliuer vp his cõmiſſion of Lieutenancy, and to diſcharge himſelfe of his office: but after he had bethought himſelfe better, he bare it patiently, and led the ACHAIANS directly to the citie of ORCHOMENE. There he valiantly fought with *Megiſtonus*, king *Cleomenes* father in lawe, and had the vpper hand of him: for he ſlue three hundreth of his men, and tooke *Megiſtonus* ſelfe priſoner. Furthermore, where before euerie ſecond yeare they did vſe to chooſe him their Lieutenant generall: when his turne came about againe, they called him to giue him the office, but he refuſed it, and *Timoxenus* was choſen in his roome. Now the cauſe alledged for his refuſall, was ſayed to be, for that he miſliked of the common people. But that ſoundeth like a lye: for the truth of it, to

*Aratus ouerthrowen in battell by king Cleomenes hard by the mountaine Lycæum.*

*Aratus tooke the citie of Mantinea.*

*The death of Lyſiadas.*

*Aratus once againe ouerthrowen by Cleomenes.*

my ſeeming was, for that he ſawe the ſtate of the ACHAIANS to decline. For king *Cleomenes* proceeded no more fayer and ſoftly as he did at the firſt, when he was controlled & bridled by the Ephori: but hauing ſlaine them, and equalitie deuided the landes through LACEDÆMONIA, and made the ſtrangers free Citizens of SPARTA, being then abſolute Lord of LACEDÆMON: he ſtraight ſet vpon the ACHAIANS with all the power he could, and ſought to conquer them. And therefore *Aratus* deſerueth iuſt reproofe, for that he forſooke his countrie in ſuch extreame trouble and danger, that being as the maiſter of a ſhippe he gaue another the ſtearne to ſteare, when it had bene moſt honorable & meeteſt for him to haue taken it in hand (though they would not haue giuen it him) to haue ſaued his countrie. Or otherwiſe, if he had indeed vtterly diſpaired of the good ſucceſſe of the ACHAIANS, he ſhould then haue put it rather into *Cleomenes* hands, and not to haue poiſoned PELOPONNESVS againe, with the maners of the barbarous people (bringing in as he did, the garriſõ of the MACEDONIANS, filling the caſtle of the Acrocorinth with GAVLES and ILLYRIAN ſouldiers, and making them his Lordes and Maiſters, whom he had ſo often ouercome in warres, and deceiued of their gouernment, and of whom he alſo ſpake ſo much euill in his Commentaries) nor to haue put them into townes and calling them friends and confederates, to thinke thereby to colour and diſguiſe his wicked practiſe. Admit *Cleomenes* had bene a tirant, and a cruell man (if I ſhould ſo terme him) yet came he of the blood of *Hercules*, and was borne in SPARTA: from whence they ſhould rather haue choſen the meaneſt man Gouernor, then the greateſt king of MACEDON, and thoſe ſpecially that preferre the honour and glorie of GRECE, before ſtraungers. Yet king *Cleomenes* required no more of all the ACHAIANS but the name onely to be their Lieutenant generall: and ſo they would graunt him that honour, he promiſed he would be verie good vnto the cities confederats to ACHAIA. Where *Antigonus* notwithſtanding, whẽ they had choſen him their Lieutenant generall with abſolute power and authoritie, both by ſea and alſo by land, refuſed the charge, vnleſſe they would let him haue the caſtle of the Acrocorinthe for his hyer. The which was euen like to *Eſopes* hunter, that brideled his horſe. For he would not get vp vpon the ACHAIANS that requeſted him, and that by their Ambaſſadors and decrees of counſell did referre all vnto himſelfe: before he had firſt ſaddled and brideled them, by the garriſon he made them receiue, and the pledges he cauſed them to giue him, and yet he ſpake as much as might be to cleere himſelfe of the accuſation againſt him, bearing them in hand that he was forced to it. Howbeit *Polybius* writeth: that long time before he was compelled, being affrayed of *Cleomenes* valiantnes, he had ſecretly practiſed that with *Antigonus*, which he was openly ſeene in afterwards: and that he had intiſed the MEGALOPOLITANS (who were the firſt that moued it to the councell of the ACHAIANS) to call king *Antigonus* to their aide, becauſe they were neareſt neighbours to the fire, and continually harried with *Cleomenes* warre, that alwaies knocked at their gates to come and ſpoyle them. Thus much is affirmed by *Philarchus* in his hiſtorie, who were hardly to be credited notwithſtanding, had not *Polybius* confirmed it. For he loued *Cleomenes* ſo well, that it ſeemed he was rauiſhed with ſome ſpirite as often as he ſpake of him: and frameth his hiſtorie, as a common counſeller that ſhould pleade a caſe in lawe before the Iudges, ſtill accuſing the one, and defending the other. The ACHAIANS loſt the citie of MEGALOPOLIS againe, the which king *Cleomenes* tooke of them, and ouercame them in a great battell, by Hecatombæon. Wherewithall they were ſo amazed, that they ſent Ambaſſadors preſently vnto him, and praied him to come to the citie of ARGOS, & there they would make him their Lieutenant generall. But when *Aratus* heard he came indeede, and that he was not farre from the citie of LERNA with his armie: being affrayed, he ſent other Ambaſſadors to tell him that he ſhould ſafelie come with three hundreth men only, as vnto his frends and confederats, & yet if he miſtruſted craft and euill dealing, that then they woulde giue him pledges for the ſafetie of his perſon. *Cleomenes* aunſwered him, that was a plaine mockerie, and an iniurie they offered him. Wherefore he preſently departed thence, and ſent a letter before to the councell of the ACHAIANS, full of foule words and reproaches he gaue vnto *Aratus*: who likewiſe replyed to him againe, bitterly taunting eache other, that they came to talke of their mariage and wiues. After this letter, *Cleomenes* ſent defyance by an Herauld vnto the ACHAIANS, and proclaimed open

*Aratus reproach. A gouernor of a common weale ought no more to forſake his coũtrie in time of danger: then the maſter of a ſhip his ſhip, in ſtorme and tempeſt.*

*The meaneſt man of Sparta, was to be preferred before the greateſt Prince of Macedon.*

*Eſopes hunter.*

*Polybius Hiſtoriographer.*

*Philarchus the Hiſtoriographer not greatly to be credited.*

*Cleomenes winneth the citie of Megalopolus from the Achaians.*

*The ſpitefull letters that paſſed betwixt Cleomenes and Aratus.*

warres

warre againſt them: in ſomuch as he had almoſt gotten the citie of Sicyone by practiſe of traitors. Howbeit failing of his purpoſe, he returned ſodainly, and went vnto the city of Pallena, which he tooke, and draue out the Generall of the Achaians thence, and immediatly after he wanne the cities alſo of Phenea, and Pentelion. After that, the Argives and Phliasians willingly yeelded vnto him, ſo that of all that which the Achaians had conquered, and ioyned vnto their tribe, they could reckon of nothing elſe of certainty vnto them. Then *Aratus* was maruellouſly troubled in his mind, to ſee all Peloponnesvs in tumult & vprore, and that all the cities fell to open rebellion by thoſe that practiſed chaunge and alteration. For no man was contented with the ſtate and gouernement at that time, but diuers of the Sicyonians and Corinthians both were bewrayed which had ſecretly practiſed with *Cleomenes*, & that of long time maliced the gouernement of the Achaians, deſiring thẽ ſelues to be Lords and Gouernours of their cities. *Aratus* hauing full commiſsion and authoritie from the councell of the Achaians, to make inquirie of them, and to put them to death, without further triall of law: he did execute them accordingly, whom he found faultie in the city of Sicyone. Furthermore, attempting to do the like at Corinthe, he made inquiry of them, & put them to death: whereby he made the common people very angry with him, who otherwiſe of themſelues were weary of the gouernement & ſubiectiõ of the Achaians. The Corinthians therfore gathering together in the tẽple of *Apollo*, they ſent for *Aratus*, intending to make him priſoner before they would opẽly enter into actuall rebellion. *Aratus* went thither, to ſhew that he neither feared nor miſtruſted them, but yet he held his horſe in his hand following of him. Then many roſe vp againſt him, and did both reproue and iniuriouſly intreate him. But *Aratus* with ſtayed countenaunce and gentle words, prayed them to keepe their places, and not to crie out in ſuch rage vpon their feete, and withall, cauſed them alſo to come in that were at the temple doore. But as he ſpake vnto them, by litle and litle he drew backe out of the preſſe, as though he meant to haue giuen his horſe to ſome body to hold. So being gotten out of the preſſe, he gently ſpake without any feare vnto the Corinthians he met, and bad them go to the temple of *Apollo*. When he was come to the caſtle, he then ſodainly tooke his horſe backe, and commaunded *Cleopater*, Captaine of the garriſon of the Achaians there, to looke well to the ſafe keeping of the caſtle. Then he ſet ſpurres to his horſe, and gallopped towardes the citie of Sicyone for life, being followed onely by thirtie of his ſouldiers, all the reſt hauing forſaken him, and diſperſed themſelues here and there. Shortly after, the Corinthians vnderſtanding that *Aratus* was gone, they followed after, but could neuer ouertake him: whereupon they ſtraight ſent for king *Cleomenes*, and deliuered the citie of Corinthe into his hands, the gaine whereof pleaſed him not ſo much, as he was ſory for the loſſe of *Aratus*, whom they had let go. So king *Cleomenes* ioyning vnto him all the people dwelling alongeſt the ſea coaſt, commonly called the riuer of Corinthe, who yeelded vp themſelues, holdes and townes into his handes: he then intrenched in the caſtle of the Acrocorinthe with a great trench. Furthermore, when *Aratus* came to the citie of Sicyone, many of the Achaians gathered about him, and holding a councell and aſſembly, he was choſen their Lieutenant generall, hauing abſolute power and authoritie to do what he would, and gaue him of their owne citizens to gard his perſon. So, he hauing managed the affaires of the ſtate and common wealth of the Achaians, the ſpace of three and thirtie yeares together, and hauing all that time bene counted of all men, the chiefeſt man of power and authoritie in Grece: he then found himſelfe in poore eſtate, forſaken, and in great miſerie, as in the ſhipwracke of his country beaten with ſtorme, and in great daunger of himſelfe. For when he ſent vnto the Ætolians for aide, they flatly denied him, and would ſend him none. Furthermore, the Athenians being very deſirous to ſend aide for *Aratus* ſake, were diſſwaded frõ it through the practiſe of *Euclidas*, & *Micion*. *Aratus* alſo had a houſe in Corinthe, where all his money was: the which king *Cleomenes* at the firſt meddled not withall, neither would ſuffer any other to touch it, but ſent for his friendes and officers, and charged them to looke well to it, to giue *Aratus* a good account of it afterwardes. Furthermore, he priuately ſent *Tripylus* vnto him, and his father in law *Megiſtonus*, and offered him great gifts, and ſpecially an annuall penſion of twelue talents, which was double as much as king *Ptolomie* gaue

*Aratus putteth the rebels of Sicyone to death.*

*Aratus conſtancie in danger.*

*Aratus ſutletie when he fled out of Corinthe.*

*The citie of Corinth yeelded vp vnto Cleomenes.*

*Aratus, in great daunger for his country.*

*King Cleomenes curteſie vnto Aratus.*

him, who ſent him yearely ſix talents. Beſides, he only prayed the ACHAIANS that they would make him their Lieutenãt generall, & alſo that the garriſon in the caſtle of the Acrocorinthe, might be deuided in common betweene them. *Aratus* made aunſwere, that he had no abſolute power in his hands, & that it was in the ACHAIANS, not in him. *Cleomenes* thinking this but a deuiſe and excuſe of *Aratus*, he preſently inuaded the country of the SICYONIANS, and deſtroyed all as he came, and continued the ſpace of three moneths. *Aratus* in the meane time ſtood doubtfull how to determine, whether he ſhould receiue king *Antigonus* or not: becauſe *Antigonus* would not aide him, before he deliuered him the caſtle of the Acrocorinthe into his handes. So the ACHAIANS meeting at the citie of ÆGIVM to conſult vpon it, they ſent for *Aratus* thither. Howbeit it was daungerous comming thither, becauſe *Cleomenes* campe lay hard by the citie of SICYONE, beſides alſo that the citizens kept *Aratus*, and held him by force, ſaying that they would not let him venture himſelfe in ſuch apparaunt daunger, their enemies being ſo neare vnto them. Moreouer, the women and litle children hung about him, weeping, and compaſsing him about, as their common father and ſauiour. But *Aratus* comforting them, bad them not be affrayed, and ſo tooke his horſe, with ten of his friends (and his ſonne that was a young ſtripling growen) and went towards the ſea, and imbarked in certaine ſhips that roade at ancker. Thence he ſailed vnto ÆGIVM, where the diet or parlament was kept: and there it was reſolued, that they ſhould ſend for *Antigonus*, and deliuer the caſtle of the Acrocorinthe into his handes. And ſo it was performed: for *Aratus* ſent thither his owne ſonne amõg the other hoſtages. The CORINTHIANS were ſo ſore offended withall, that they made hauocke of his goods, and gaue his houſe he had in CORINTHE, vnto king *Cleomenes*. So king *Antigonus* being onwardes on his way come into PELOPONNESVS with his army, bringing with him twenty thouſand footemen, all MACEDONIANS, & foure hundred horſemen: *Aratus*, with the greateſt ſtates and officers of the ACHAIANS, vnwitting to their enemies, went to meete him, as farre as the citie of PEGES, hauing no great truſt nor confidence in *Antigonus*, nor the MACEDONIANS. For he remembred very well, that he came firſt to his greatneſſe, by the iniuries he had offered them: and how that the chiefeſt cauſe of his riſing, was the malice he bare vnto old *Antigonus*. Howbeit, making vertue of neceſsitie, and weighing the inſtant occaſion of their preſent extremitie: (of Gouernours, to be driuen to be ſubiectes) he put himſelfe in aduenture. So, when *Antigonus* was told that *Aratus* was come in perſon to him: hauing with good countenaunce after a common ſort ſaluted thoſe that came in his company: to *Aratus* ſelfe at his firſt comming he gaue him an honourable welcome and enterteinement. Afterwardes alſo, finding him a good and diſcreete man: he fell into inward friendſhip and familiaritie with him. For *Aratus* was not onely ſkilfull to giue direction in matters of ſtate touching good order and gouernement: but moreouer, his companie and conuerſation was very pleaſaunt, to entertaine a Princes leaſure with. Wherefore though *Antigonus* was but young at that time, yet ſeeing throughly into *Aratus* nature, and that he was a meete man to be well thought of, and eſteemed about a Prince: he vſed his counſell and aduiſe more then any other mans, in all matters, not onely touching the affaires of the ACHAIANS, but of the MACEDONIANS alſo. And ſo all things came to paſſe, which the goddes had promiſed in their ſacrifices. For in a beaſt that was ſacrificed, there were two galles wrapped in one ſelfe cawle: the which the Soothſayers interpreted did prognoſticate, that two which before were mortall enemies, ſhould now become aſſured friendes. But *Aratus* made no account of their prediction, neither did alſo giue any credit to the ſacrifices, but truſted more to his owne determination. So, the warres afterwardes hauing good ſucceſſe, and *Antigonus* making a feaſt in the citie of CORINTHE, where he had bidden many gueſts: he would needs haue *Aratus* lye vpon him at the table, and a litle while after, commaunded his men to bring him a couerlet, and turning to him, asked him if he were not a cold. *Aratus* aunſwered him, it freezed. Then *Antigonus* bad him come neare him, and when the ſeruaunts brought a couerlet for the king, they caſt it ouer them both. Then *Aratus* remembring the ſacrifice, fell a laughing, and told the king what a wonder he had ſeene in the ſacrifice, and what interpretation the Soothſayers made of it. This was long after. So, *Antigonus* and *Aratus* being at that time in the citie of PEGES, they were ſworne brethren together: and then went both with all ſpeede

againſt

*The Achaians do ſend for king Antigonus.*

*Gouernours obey neceſsitie.*

*Antigonus honorable enterteinement to Aratus.*

*A wonder ſhewed to Aratus.*

*Antigonus and Aratus ſworne brethren.*

againſt the enemies. Thus there fell out hot skirmiſhes betweene them, hard by the citie of CORINTHE. For *Cleomenes* was very well fortified, and the CORINTHIANS valiantly defended themſelues. In the meane time, *Ariſtoteles* of ARGOS, (*Aratus* friend) ſecretly ſent him word, that he would make the citie rebell, if he came himſelfe with any number of ſouldiers, *Aratus* told it vnto king *Antigonus*, who gaue him fifteen hundred men, with the which he imbarked, and paſſed ouer with great ſpeede from the *Iſthmus* (or barre in the ſtraight) vnto the citie of EPIDAVRVM. Howbeit the ARGIVES taried not *Aratus* comming, but were all vp before he came and did ſet vpon king *Cleomenes* men, and had driuen them into the caſtle. *Cleomenes* being aduertiſed of it, and fearing leaſt his enemies (keeping the citie of ARGOS) ſhould cut off his way from returning into his country againe with ſafetie if he were driuen to a ſtraight: he forſooke the caſtle of the Acrocorinthe, and went his way by night to helpe his men in the citie of ARGOS. So he came thither in time, and ouerthrew certaine of his enemies. But ſhortly after, *Aratus*, and king *Antigonus* both being come thither with all their aide, *Cleomenes* was driuen to flie to the citie of MANTINEA. After the recouerie againe of the citie of ARGOS, all the reſidue of the cities of PELOPONNESVS did againe returne to the ACHAIANS, and *Antigonus* tooke the caſtle of the Acrocorinthe. So *Aratus* being choſen generall by the ARGIVES, he counſelled them to preſent *Antigonus* with all the tyrants goods, and thoſe that had bene traitours to the common wealth. And after they had cruelly tormented the tyrant *Ariſtomachus* in the citie of CENCHREES, in the end they caſt him into the ſea, and drowned him. *Aratus* was maruellouſly reproued for his death, that would ſuffer the poore man to be ſo vilely handled, that was a good man, and one that had done him great pleaſure: who through his perſwaſion willingly reſigned vp his tyrannie, and deliuered the city of ARGOS vnto the ACHAIANS. But beſides this, they blamed him for many other things elſe. For that the ACHAIANS through his meanes had put the citie of CORINTHE into *Antigonus* handes, as though it had bene ſome meane village: for that when they had ſacked the citie of ORCHOMENE, they ſuffered him to place a garriſon of the MACEDONIANS there: for that they had enacted by Parliament, that they ſhould neither write, nor ſend Ambaſſadours any whither, without *Antigonus* priuitie and conſent: furthermore, for that they were compelled to giue pay to the MACEDONIANS: for that they made ſacrifices, feaſtes, and games vnto *Antigonus*, as if he had bene a god, following the example of *Aratus* citizens, who were the firſt that began, and had receiued *Antigonus* into the citie by the perſwaſion of *Aratus*, that lodged and feaſted him in his owne houſe. With all theſe faults they burdened *Aratus*, and conſidered not that after they had put the reynes of the gouernement into *Antigonus* hand, *Aratus* himſelfe (whether he would or not) was compelled to follow the ſwing of the vnbridled Prince, hauing no other meanes to ſtay it, but onely the libertie of ſpeach to admoniſh him: and that alſo was not to be exerciſed, without apparant and great daunger. For it is moſt true, that many things were done greatly againſt *Aratus* minde, as amongeſt others, that *Antigonus* cauſed the tyrants images of ARGOS to be ſet vp, which he had before pulled downe: and alſo that he made them to be ouerthrowen, which *Aratus* had ſet vp for thoſe that had taken the caſtle of CORINTHE, and onely left *Aratus* owne ſtatue, notwithſtanding all the earneſt intreatie *Aratus* made to the contrarie, yet he could get no graunt of any thing he requeſted. Beſides alſo, it appeareth that the ACHAIANS delt not ſo friendly with the MANTINIANS, as became GRECIANS one to an other. For they hauing the citie in their handes by *Antigonus* meanes, did put all the nobleſt and chiefeſt men of MANTINEA to death, others they ſold as ſlaues, and ſent the reſt into MACEDON with irons on their legges, & brought the poore women and children into bondage, and ſold them for ſlaues: and of the money they got by ſpoyle, they deuided the third part among themſelues, and left the other two partes vnto the MACEDONIANS. Now ſurely it can not be ſayd, but this was done for ſome cruell reuenge. For though it was an ouergreat crueltie, in rage & paſſion of minde, to handle people of one ſelfe bloud and language in this lamentable ſort: yet, *Simonides* ſayth, when men are driuen and forced to it, it is a gentle (no cruell) thing, to eaſe their great ſtomackes inflamed with rage and malice. But for that which was done afterwards vnto the citie, no man can excuſe *Aratus*, nor ſay that he was either driuen to it by neceſſitie, or that he had otherwiſe any honeſt occa-

*The citie of Argos reuolted from Cleomenes.*

*Ariſtomachus downed in the ſea.*

*Aratus infamie for Ariſtomachus.*

ſion to do it. For king *Antigonus* hauing giuen the citie of MANTINEA vnto the ARGIVES, they determined to make it a Colonie, and choſe *Aratus* their generall: who made a decree, that thenceforth the citie ſhould no more be called MANTINEA, but ANTIGONIA, as it beareth name vnto this day. Thus it ſeemeth that gentle MANTINEA (for ſo the Poetes called it) was vtterly deſtroyed, and bare the name of an other citie through *Aratus* meanes; preferring the name of him that deſtroyed the city, & did put all the inhabitants of the firſt to death. After that, king *Cleomenes* being ouerthrowen in a great battell by the citie of SELASIA, he left the citie of SPARTA, and fled into ÆGYPT. So *Antigonus* hauing vſed *Aratus* with all kind of honourable curteſie, he returned againe into MACEDON. There falling ſicke, he ſent *Philip* that ſhould ſucceede him in the kingdom (being a young ſtrippling growen) into PELOPONNESVS, and ſtraightly charged him ſpecially to follow *Aratus* councell, and to imploy him when he would ſpeake vnto the cities, and become acquainted with the ACHAIANS. So *Aratus* hauing receiued him in that ſort, made him ſo well affected and louing towardes him, that he ſent him againe into MACEDON, being throughly determined to make warres with GRECE. So after the death of *Antigonus*, the ÆTOLIANS began to deſpiſe the careleſneſſe and cowardlineſſe of the ACHAIANS (becauſe that they being acquainted to be defended by ſtraungers, and hauing bene altogether gouerned by the armies of the MACEDONIANS, they liued very idlely & diſſolutely) whereupon they tooke vpon them to make themſelues Lords of PELOPONNESVS. So they aſſembled an armie, and by the way as they went, they onely tooke ſome prey and ſpoyle vpon the lands of the PATRÆIANS, and the DYMÆIANS: but inuading the territorie of MESSINA with all their army, they deſtroyed the whole country before them. *Aratus* being angry withall, and perceiuing that *Timoxenus* (who at that time was Generall of the ACHAIANS) did ſtill tract and delay time in vaine, becauſe he was vpon his going out of his yeare: he being appointed Generall for the yeare following, did anticipate his time fiue dayes before, to go and aide the MESSENIANS. Wherefore, leauing an armie of the ACHAIANS, whoſe perſons were now neither exerciſed in armes, nor yet had any deſire to go to the warres: he was ouerthrowen by the citie of CAPHYES. Now, becauſe it was thought that he went ſomewhat too hotly and couragiouſly to the warres, he ſo extremely cooled againe, and left things in ſuch caſe, that all hope being caſt aſide, he ſuffred the ÆTOLIANS in maner to tread PELOPENNESVS vnder their feete, before his eyes, with all the inſolencie and cruelty that might be poſſible, notwithſtanding that they ſundrie times gaue him great aduauntages of them. Thus were the ACHAIANS once againe forced to pray ayde out of MACEDON, and to ſend for young king *Philip* to make warres in GRECE: hoping for the loue he bare vnto *Aratus*, and the great truſt he had in him, that he would vſe them gently, and do as they would haue him. But then firſt of all began *Apelles*, *Megareus*, and a few other Courtiers to accuſe *Aratus*: vnto whom king *Philip* giuing eaſie eare, he procured that one *Eparatus*, of contrarie faction vnto *Aratus*, was choſen Generall by the ACHAIANS. Howbeit this new Generall *Eparatus* being extremely hated by the ACHAIANS, and *Aratus* alſo leauing to deale any more with matters of ſtate: no acte was done to any purpoſe. Whereupon king *Philippe* finding his fault, returned againe vnto *Aratus*, and was ruled altogether by him: and when he found that his affaires proſpered in all things he went about, he then let him alone withall, as from whom came all his honour and greatneſſe. Thereupon euery man eſteemed *Aratus* a wiſe Gouernour, not onely to rule a common wealth, but alſo a whole realme and kingdome. For his manners, intent, and chiefeſt purpoſe appeared, in the deedes of this young king, as a riche colour that did ſet forth and beautifie them. For the clemencie this young Prince *Philippe* vſed to the LACEDÆMONIANS, that had offended him, the great curteſie he ſhewed to the CRETANS, whereby in few dayes he wanne all the Iſle of CRETA: and the iourney he made againſt the ÆTOLIANS, which was a wonderfull great exploit: wanne the Prince great fame, for following good councell, and *Aratus* accounted to be a wiſe Gouernour, and of deepe vnderſtanding. Now the kings flatterers enuying *Aratus* more then before, and perceiuing that they got no good by ſecret backebyting of him: they then began with open mouth very inſolently to reuile him at the table, and with great deriſion: in ſomuch as one night going home

*Mantinea, called Antigonia, by Aratus decree.*

*Aratus ouerthrowen in battell, by the citie of Caphyes.*

*The Achaians ſent for king Philip Antigonus ſonne.*

*Aratus, a wiſe counſeller. Enuy, the companion of vertue.*

to his tent after ſupper, they pelted him with ſtones all the way as he went. King *Philippe* when he knew it, was ſo offended therewith, that he did condemne them in the ſumme of twentie talentes: and afterwardes alſo, becauſe they troubled his affaires, he did put them to death. But king *Philip* in the end being puffed vp with the good fortune and ſucceſſe of this warre, which proſpered as he would haue it: he then grew to be couetous, and began to ſhewe his naughtie nature, and to bewray his diſsimulation wherewith he diſguiſed himſelfe: and by litle and litle to make his vices plainly to appeare. For firſt of all, he abuſed young *Aratus* wife, which was kept ſecret a long time, becauſe he lay in their houſe, and began dayly to growe more ſeuere and cruell to the common weales: and then the world ſawe plainlie, that he cared no more for *Aratus*. For the firſt ſuſpition and beginning of the miſtruſt he had of *Aratus*, came for that which was done at MESSENA. For the MESSENIANS being fallen together by the eares, and in great ciuill warres one with another: *Aratus* went thither to make peace betweene them. Howbeit king *Philip* came thither the next day following, and in ſteade of pacifying the quarrell, he ſet them further out together then they were before. Firſt he asked the Gouernours of the citie, and if they had no lawes to bridle the inſolencie and ſtomacke of the common people, and priuately alſo talked with the heades of the faction of the people, and asked them if they had not handes to defende themſelues from tyrantes. So both the one and the other faction truſting to king *Philip*, the Gouernours would haue layed hold of the Oratours of the citie: but they riſing with the common people, ſlue of their Nobilitie and Magiſtrates, well neare two hundred of them. *Aratus* that came ſoone after this fact, ſhewed that he was greatly offended with king *Philippe*, and cauſed his ſonne with open mouth ſhamefully to reproue him. Now it ſeemed that this young *Aratus* was in loue with king *Philippe* before: but then he told him before all the people, that for this ſhamefull acte he had done, he thought him now no more fayre of face, but the fowleſt creature that could be. *Philippe* made no aunſwere to it, although euery man looked he would haue aunſwered him in rage, and that oftentimes as the other reproued him, he byt it in with his teeth: but as if he had not bene offended at all with the bigge wordes his ſonne had ſpoken againſt him, for that he was a ciuill man, and mylde of nature, he tooke *Aratus* the father by the hand, and caried him out of the Theater where the aſſembly was kept, to the caſtle of Ithome, to do ſacrifice there to *Iupiter*, and to ſee the forte. This forte was of no leſſe ſtrength then the caſtle of the Acrocorinthe: and when any garriſon is in it, it keepeth all the country about it in obedience, and beſides, it is very hard to driue them out of it. Now *Philip* being gotten vp into that caſtle, he did ſacrifice there: and when the Soothſayer had brought him the intrals of the oxe which they had ſacrificed, he tooke it himſelfe with both his handes and ſhewed them vnto *Aratus*, and to *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, now turning to the one, then vnto the other, and asked them what they iudged of theſe ſignes of the ſacrifice: whether he ſhould keepe the caſtle to himſelfe, or elſe deliuer it to the MESSENIANS. *Demetrius* ſmiling aunſwered him: if thou beeſt of the Soothſayers minde, then thou ſhalt deliuer it vp: but if thou haſt a kings minde in thee, thou ſhalt then hold the oxe by both hornes. (By the oxe, he meant the country of PELOPONNESVS, and moreouer, that if he kept both theſe caſtles of Ithome, & the Acrocorinthe, all PELOPENNESVS were wholly at his commaundement. (*Aratus* ſtill held his peace, and ſayd not a word. In the end, *Philip* praying him to ſpeake, he ſayd. In CRETA, and in the country of the BOEOTIANS and PHOCIANS, there are many ſtrong caſtles ſituated on high hils from the vallies. Moreouer, there are alſo many places of great ſtrength in the marches of the ACARNANIANS, both within maine land, as alſo vpon the ſea coaſt: of all the which thou haſt not taken one of them by force, and yet they all do willingly obey thee notwithſtanding. It is for theeues to hide their heades in high rockes and mountaines, but a king can haue no ſtronger caſtle, then the loue, faith, and good will of men. That is it that opened the ſea of CRETA. That is it that hath brought thee into PELOPONNESVS. Thoſe are the meanes which haue made thee being ſo young a man, ſome of them to chooſe thee their Captaine, and others alſo to make thee their abſolute Lord and Maiſter. *Aratus* going on with his tale, *Philip* gaue the intrals againe to the Soothſayer that brought

*The beginning of diſpleaſures betwixt Aratus & Philip.*

*The deepe diſſimulation and double dealing of king Philip.*

*Aratus the ſonnes wordes vnto Philip.*

*The wiſe aunſwere of Aratus vnto king Philip, touching the ſafetie of a Prince.*

them, and taking *Aratus* by the hand, (as if by force he had caſt him out of the caſtle, and had alſo taken the citie of MESSINA from him) ſayd vnto him: come on then, let vs euen take that courſe. But after that time, *Aratus* came as litle to the Court as might be, and ſo by litle and litle left *Philips* companie. For when he went to make warre in the realme of EPIRVS, he was earneſtly in hand with *Aratus* to go that iourney vnto him. But *Aratus* prayed him to hold him excuſed, and ſo remained at home, being affrayed to be brought into an euill name with *Philips* doings. For *Philip* afterwards hauing ſhamefully loſt his army by ſea, againſt the ROMAINES, and beſides, hauing had alſo very euill ſucceſſe in all other his affaires: he returned againe to PELOPONNESVS, & thought once more to haue deceiued the MESSENIANS. But when they founde his practiſe, then he began with open force to ſpoyle their country. *Aratus* then flatly fell out with *Philip*, and vtterly refuſed his friendſhip, for that he perceiued then the iniurie he had done his ſonnes wife, the which grieued him to the hart, but yet he made not his ſonne priuie to it: becauſe he could get no other amendes, then to know what iniurie had bene done to him, conſidering that he had no way nor meanes to be reuenged. For, king *Philip* was maruellouſly changed, and from a curteous and chaſt young Prince, become a vitious and cruell tyrant: the which to ſpeake truely, was not a chaunge or alteration in nature, but a manifeſt declaration (when he was no more affrayed of any man) of his wicked and deuiliſh minde, the which through feare had of long time bene kept ſecret. Now, to proue that *Philips* firſt loue and good will he bare vnto *Aratus*, was alſo mingled with feare and reuerence: that which he did afterwardes vnto him did plainly ſhew it. For he being deſirous to put *Aratus* to death, not thinking himſelfe free ſo long as he liued, neither king, nor tyrant: he durſt not go about to kill him himſelfe, but procured one of his Captaines called *Taurion*, and commaunded him to make him away as ſecretly as he could poſsible, & ſpecially with poyſon, in his abſence. This *Taurion* fell in friendſhip with *Aratus*, and poyſoned him with no violent poyſon, but ſo tempered and qualified it, as it did by litle and litle heate the body, and procure a pretie coffe which brought him into a conſumption. *Aratus* knew he was poyſoned, but becauſe he ſaw it booted not to bewray it, he bare it patiently, and made no wordes of it, as if he had had ſome naturall diſeaſe about him. Yet on a time, one of his chiefeſt friends being in his chamber with him, who wondred to ſee him ſpit bloud as he did: he told him, friend *Cephalon* mine, this is the reward of a kings loue. So he died of this poiſon in the citie of ÆGIVM, being the ſeuenteenth time choſen generall of the ACHAIANS: who would haue had him buried in the ſelfe ſame place, and haue made ſome honourable monument for him, worthy of his noble life. But the SICYONIANS thinking themſelues diſhonored, if his body were buried any where elſe but in their owne citie: they ſo perſwaded the counſell of the ACHAIANS, that they ſuffered them to take *Aratus* body with them. Yet was there an auncient law that forbad buriall within the wals of the citie, of any maner of perſon whatſoeuer: and beſides that law, they had a certaine ſuperſtitious feare in them that made them they durſt not. Whereupon they ſent to *Apolloes* temple at DELPHES, to aske councell of his Nunne that gaue the Oracles, who made them this aunſwere.

*Aratus the father forſooke Philip.*

*Philip of a curteous Prince, became a cruell tyrant.*

*Aratus poyſoned by king Philippes meanes.*

*A kings friẽdſhip daungerous.*

*The death of Aratus.*

*A law for buriall among the Sicyonians.*

*Thou happy ſoyle of Sicyon, Aratus natiue place,*
*VVhereas thou askeſt councell in that noble Captaines caſe,*
*For keeping of a yeare minde and for making feaſtfull dayes*
*In honour of that worthy wight, to laſt henceforth alwayes:*
*If any hinder your intent through fondneſſe or through ſpight,*
*Both ſea and land and heauen it ſelfe will puniſh that ſame wight.*

*The Oracle for Aratus buriall.*

This Oracle being brought, all the ACHAIANS were maruellous glad of it, but the SICYONIANS ſpecially: who preſently chaunging their mourning into publike ioy, they caried the body from the citie of ÆGIVM, & brought it home as in maner of proceſsion, in white robes, and garlands of flowers on their heades, ſinging hymnes and ſonges of ioy, and daunſing, till they came to the citie of SICYONE. And there they choſe out the chiefeſt place, and buried him as their founder, father, and ſauiour of their citie: and the place is called at this preſent time, ARATIVM. There they yearely make two ſolemne ſacrifices, the one the fift of Nouember, at which time he deliuered the citie of SICYONE from tyrannie, & they call this ſacrifice

*Aratium.*

*Yearely ſacrifices appointed to honor Aratus memorie.*

Soteria, as much to ſay, as the feaſt of health : and the other on his birth day, as it is reported. For the firſt ſacrifice, that was done by the Prieſt of *Iupiter* the ſauiour. The ſecond ſacrifice alſo was done by *Aratus* ſonne, who was girt about with a cloth, not altogether white, but mingled with purple colour. So during the ſacrifice, they ſong hymnes vpon the harpe in prayſe of him, and the maiſter of the Muſitians made a proceſsion round about, being accompanied with boyes and young men of the citie, after whom followed the Senate crowned with garlands of flowers, and other citizens that were diſpoſed to go a proceſsion. Howbeit the moſt part of the honours that were appointed to be done vnto him, were left off by proceſſe of time, and chaunge of things that followed afterwardes. Thus you ſee what the life of *Aratus* the father hath bene, as we finde in hiſtories. Now *Philip* being a wicked man, and cruell of nature, cauſed his ſonne *Aratus* alſo to be poyſoned, not with a deadly poyſon, but with ſuch poyſon as troubleth a mans wits ſo, that through their deuiliſh receit, he becometh a ſtarke foole without any wit at all, and maketh him to attempt ſtraunge and abhominable things, and to haue certaine ſhamefull and deteſtable deſires: in ſomuch as his death (though he dyed in the pryme of his youth) could be not thought miſerable, but rather a happy deliuerance to him of all his miſeries and miſhappes. But *Philip* afterwardes, ſo long as he liued, payed vnto *Iupiter* (protectour of all iuſtice and friendſhip) the puniſhment his wicked life deſerued. For, after he was ouercome in battell by the ROMAINES, he was compelled to yeeld himſelfe to their mercy, by whom he was depriued from all the reſt of his landes and dominions he had, and of all his ſhips, but fiue onely, and condemned beſides to pay a thouſand talents for a fine, & to giue his ſonne in hoſtage: and they onely left him for pities ſake, the kingdome of MACEDON, with all the appertenaunces. And there he dayly putting to death the chiefeſt of his Nobilitie, and neareſt of bloud vnto him: he filled his realme with crueltie and mortall hate againſt him. Furthermore, amongeſt ſuch a heape of euils, hauing but one onely ioye, to haue a vertuous ſonne: he put him to death, for ſpight and malice that he ſaw the ROMAINES honour him, and left his other ſonne *Perſeus* ſucceſſour of his realme: who, as it is reported, was not his lawfull begotten ſonne, but taken for his ſonne, and borne of a taylours wife called *Gnathenium*. It is that *Perſeus* whom *Paulus AEmylius* ouercame and lead in triumphe in ROME: and at him, the race of the kings diſcended from *Antigonus*, fayled. Where the iſſue and offſpring of *Aratus*, continueth yet vntill our time, in the cities of SICYONE, and PALLENA.

*The miſerable death of Aratus the ſonne. Straunge kinds of poyſoning.*

*King Philip puniſhed for his wickednes.*

*Perſeus king Philips ſonne whom Paulus AEmylius triumphed for in Rome.*

# THE LIFE OF *Galba.*

SER GALBA IMP CAES AVG

*Iphicrates ſaying what manner of man a Mercenarie ſouldier ſhould be.*

*Æmylius ſaying of ſouldiers.*

*Platoes ſaying of an armie.*

*Demades ſaying of Alexanders army, after his death.*

*The Empire of Rome, wherto likened.*

Iphicrates the Athenian Captaine ſaid, that a mercenarie ſouldier ſhould be couetous, a louer, and voluptuous: that to get wherewith to maintaine his pleaſure, he ſhould be the valianter, and readier to put himſelfe into any daunger. But moſt men thinke, that ſouldiers ſhould be as one entire ſtrong body, that ſturreth not of it ſelfe without the mouing of the generall. And to approue this opiniō, it is ſayd that *Paulus Æmylius* arriuing in Macedon, & finding the ſouldiers full of wordes & curioſitie (euery man medling with the affaires of the generall) he made opē proclamatiō, no man ſo hardy to medle with his office and affaires, but euery man onely to keepe his ſword ſharpe, and to be quicke of hand againſt the enemy: and for the reſt, to referre all to him, who would take ſufficient order for things of his charge and gouernement. Therefore *Plato*, that ſaith it litle preuaileth to haue a good and wiſe Captaine, if the ſouldiers alſo be not wiſe and obedient, thinking it as requiſite for the vertue of obedience, to haue men of a noble minde and good education, as otherwiſe it is meete for a Captaine to know how to direct and commaunde well, conſidering it is that which with lenity & mildnes doth mitigate all furie and choller: he hath diuers other examples and ſufficient proofes to proue his wordes true, and namely, the great miſeries and calamities which came to the Romaines after the death of *Nero*, do plainly ſhew, that nothing is more daungerous nor dreadfull in an Empire, then a great armie liuing licentiouſly and diſorderly. For *Demades* after the death of *Alexander* the great, compared *Alexanders* armie, vnto *Cyclops Polyphemus* after his eye was put out: conſidering how blindly and looſely they were gouerned. Howbeit the Empire of Rome being deuided into ſundry factions at one ſelfe time, and riſing againſt it ſelfe in many places, it fell into the like miſfortunes and calamities fayned of the Poetes by the Titans: not ſo much through the ambitiouſneſſe of the Emperours, as by meanes of the couetouſneſſe & inſolency of the ſouldiers, who draue the Emperours out of their Imperiall ſeates one after an other, as one nayle driueth out an other. And *Dionyſius* alſo the tyrant of Sicilia, was wont to call *Pheraus*, who had bene onely tyrant of Thessalie ten monethes ſpace a tyrant in a play, deriding his ſo ſodaine chaunge of ſtate. But the Imperiall houſe of the *Cæſars* at Rome receiued foure Emperours, in leſſe then ten monethes ſpace, the ſouldiers now putting in one, and then taking out an other, as if they had bene in a play on a ſcaffold. So that, the ROMAINES being thus grieuouſly oppreſſed, had yet this comfort: that they needed not to ſeeke to be reuenged of them that did oppreſſe them. For they ſaw one of them murther an other, and him firſt and moſt iuſtly of all other murthered, that had firſt of all corrupted the ſouldiers, in teaching them to make gaine of the chaunge of Emperours: and ſo deprauing a worthy deed of it ſelfe, which was their forſaking of *Nero*: and mingling it with briberie, made it plaine treaſon. For *Nymphidius Sabinus*, being a Captaine of the Emperours gard, which are called the Prætorian ſouldiers, together with *Tigellinus*, when he ſaw *Nero* in diſpaire of himſelf & of his eſtate, and that he was ready to flie into ÆGYPT: he perſwaded the gard they ſhould call *Galba* Emperour, as if *Nero* had not bene at ROME, but fled and gone, and promiſed euery one ſeuen thouſand fiue hundred Drachmas a peece. And to the reſt of the ſouldiers that were diſperſed vp and downe in garriſon vpon the prouinces, twelue hundred & fifty Drachmas a man. For the leauying of which ſumme, they could not poſsibly do it, but they muſt needes commit ten thouſand times more extortion to euery body, then *Nero* had done. This large promiſe made them preſently put *Nero* to death, and ſhortly after him, *Galba* himſelfe alſo. For the ſouldiers forſooke *Nero*, for the hope they had to receiue this promiſed gift: and ſhortly after they ſlue the ſecond, which was *Galba*, becauſe they receiued not their gifts in time to their contentment. Afterwardes alſo, in ſeeking who ſhould ſtill feede them with like gifts, before they could obtaine their wiſhed hope, one of them deſtroyed an other by treaſon and rebellion. But now to ſet downe all things particularly which hapned at that time, it were to write one whole entire hiſtorie: and therefore, I will content my ſelfe, not to paſſe ouer with ſilence the notableſt deedes and lamentable calamities which happened at that time vnto the *Cæſars*.

*Nymphidius Sabine, and Tigellinus, betrayed Nero.*

*The hope of gifts deſtroyed the Empire of Rome.*

It is manifeſtly knowen to all men, that *Sulpitius Galba* of a priuate man, was the richeſt and wealthieſt that came to be in the number of the *Cæſars*: who, though he came of a very noble houſe, deriuing himſelfe from the race and family of the *Seruij*: yet he was honored the more, becauſe he was a kinne vnto *Quintus Catulus*, who for vertue and eſtimation, was one of the chiefeſt men of his time, albeit that otherwiſe, he willingly reſigned his authoritie and power vnto others. So *Galba* thereby was ſomwhat a kinne vnto *Liuia*, the wife of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, & therefore for her ſake he came out of the Emperours pallace, when he went to take poſſeſsion of his Conſulſhip. Moreouer, it is reported, that when he had charge of the army in GERMANIE, he did valiantly behaue himſelfe. And in the gouernement of LIBYA alſo, where he was Viceconſull, he did as honourably behaue himſelfe, as any man whatſoeuer. Howbeit his meane and ſimple ordinary of dyet, voyde of all exceſſe, was imputed miſery & niggardlines in him, when he was proclaimed Emperour: becauſe the praiſe of ſober & temperate diet which he would haue brought in vſe, was then ſo raw a thing, that it was taken for a new & ſtrange deuiſe. He was ſent gouernour alſo into SPAYNE by *Nero*, before he had learned to be affrayed of the citizens of great authoritie: howbeit, beſides that he was of a curteous & gentle nature, his age moreouer increaſed the opinion they had of him, that he was timerous and fearefull. For when the wretched officers of *Nero* did cruelly vexe & torment the prouinces, and that it lay not in *Galba* any way to helpe them: yet was it ſome cōfort to them, which were iudged & ſold as ſlaues by the officers, to ſee that *Galba* did lament the miſeries and calamities they endured, as if they had bene done vnto himſelfe. So when any ſlaunderous rymes were made againſt *Nero*, which were ſong vp and downe in euery place, he would neither forbid them, nor yet was offended, as *Neroes* officers were. Therefore he was maruellouſly beloued in the countrey, with them that were acquainted with him: becauſe he was then in the eight yeare of his gouernement as Proconſull amongſt them, at which time *Iunius Vindex* being Proprætor of GAVLE, rebelled againſt *Nero*, who as it is reported, had writtē vnto *Galba*, before he entred into opē action of rebelliō. But *Galba*, did neither beleeue him, nor alſo accuſe & bewray him, as diuers others which were gouernors of armies & prouinces did: who ſent *Vindex* letters vnto *Nero* which he himſelfe had written vnto them, and ſo did as much as in them lay to hinder the enterpriſe, who afterwards being of the conſpiracie did confeſſe they were traitors to them ſelues, as much as vnto him. Howbeit, when *Vindex* afterwardes had proclaimed open warre againſt *Nero*, he wrote againe vnto *Galba*, & prayed him to take the Imperiall crown vpō him,

*The wealth & nobilitie of Galba.*

*Galbaes manners.*

*Galbaes curteſie.*

*Iunius Vindex rebelled againſt Nero.*

and to become the head of a ſtrong and mightie body (which were the GAVLES) that lacked nothing but a head and gouernour, being a hundred thouſand fighting men ready armed, and might alſo leaue a great number more of them. Then *Galba* conſulted thereupon with his friends, & among them, ſome were of opinion that he ſhould ſtay a while, to ſee what change and alteration would grow at ROME vpon this ſturre. Howbeit *Titus Iunius*, Captaine of the Prætorian band, ſayd vnto him: O *Galba*, what meaneth this ſo doubtfull a deliberation? Be not we wiſe men to call in queſtion, whether we ſhall allow of *Vindex* friendſhip, or accuſe him? Yea, and with armes perſecute him, that deſired rather to haue thee Emperour, then *Nero* tyrant ouer the eſtate of ROME? Afterwardes *Galba* by bils ſet vp euery where, appointed a day certaine, to enfranchiſe ſuch as would make ſute for it. This rumour flying ſtraight abroad, he gathered a great number of ſouldiers together, that were very willing to rebell: & he was no ſooner gotten vp into the tribunall or chaire of ſtate, but all the ſouldiers did ſalute him, by the name of Emperour. Howbeit he was not content with this name at the firſt, but accuſing *Nero*, and lamenting the deathes of the nobleſt men whom he had cruelly put to death: he promiſed that he would imploy his beſt wit and diſcretion to the ſeruice and benefit of his country, neither naming himſelfe *Caſar*, nor Emperour, but onely Lieutenant to the Senate, and ſtate of ROME. Now, that *Vindex* did wiſely to call *Galba* to be Emperour, *Nero* himſelfe in his doings doth witneſſe it. Who hauing alwayes made a countenance as though he paſſed not for *Vindex*, & that he waighed not the rebelliõ of the GAVLES: whẽ it was told him that *Galba* was called Emperour, he being thẽ at ſupper, for ſpight he ouerthrew the table. Moreouer, though the Senate had iudged *Calba* an enemy, yet *Nero* to be pleaſaunt with his friendes, made as though he was nothing affrayed of it, and ſayd, this newes made all for him, becauſe he ſtood in neede of money, and alſo that it was a happy occaſion offred him to helpe him withall. For ſayd he, we ſhall ſoone haue all the GAVLES goodes, as the ſpoyle of a iuſt warre, after we haue once againe ouercome and conquered them: and moreouer, *Galbaes* goods alſo would quickly be in his hands, that he might ſell them, conſidering that he was become his open enemy. So he preſently commaunded *Galbaes* goods ſhould be openly ſold, to them that would giue moſt. *Galba* vnderſtanding that, did alſo by ſound of trumpet ſell all *Neroes* goods he had in all the prouince of SPAYNE, and did alſo finde more men readier to buy, then there were goods to ſell. Daily men roſe againſt *Nero* in euery coũtry, who tooke *Galbaes* part, *Clodius Macer* only excepted in AFRICK, and *Verginius Rufus* in GAVLE, both of them hauing charge of legions appointed for the ſafe keeping of GERMANIE: and both of them did follow ſeuerall directiõs by themſelues, varying in mind & intent. For *Clodius Macer* hauing robbed much, & put diuers men alſo to death through his cruelty & couetouſneſſe: he ſhewed plainly, that he ſwamme betweene two waters, as one that could neither let go his charge, nor yet kept it. *Verginius* alſo on the other ſide, being generall ouer great & mighty legions, who had ſundry times called him Emperour, & did in maner force him to take vpon him the name and Empire: he notwithſtanding did euer aunſwere them, that he neither minded to take the Empire vpon him, nor yet to ſuffer any other to do it, then ſuch as the Senate ſhould chooſe and call vnto the ſame. This at the firſt ſomewhat amazed *Galba*. But when both the armies of *Vindex* and *Verginius*, in ſpight of their Captaines (who could not ſtay nor keepe them backe, no more then couchmen can keepe backe the horſe with their bridles) were ioyned in a great battell together, where were ſlaine twenty thouſand GAVLES in the field, & *Vindex* alſo ſlue himſelfe ſhortly after: it was giuen out, that the conquerours after ſo great a victory obtained, would cõpell *Verginius* to take vpon him to be Emperour, or elſe that they would take *Neroes* part againe. Then *Galba* being not a litle perplexed, wrote vnto *Verginins*, & perſwaded him to ioyne with him, to hold vp the Empire & liberty of the ROMAINES, & therupon fled ſtraight into a city of SPAYNE called *COLONIA, rather repẽting him of that he had done, & wiſhing for his wonted peaceable & quiet life wherwith he was brought vp: thẽ otherwiſe occupying himſelfe about any neceſſary or profitable thing for the furtherance of his enterpriſe. Now it was about the beginning of ſommer, and one day towards euening, there came to *Galba* one of his ſlaues infranchiſed, a SICILIAN borne, that was come from ROME in ſeuẽ dayes: who vnderſtãding that *Galba* was alone, went preſently to his chamber doore & opened it, & cõming

*In this place the Greeke is corruptly read μενόντων for μαινόντων.*

*Sulpitius Galba, ſaluted by the ſouldiers, as Emperour.*

*Galba iudged an enemie by the Senate of Rome, and his goodes ſold by the crier.*

*Clodius Macer, gouernour of Africke. Rufus, gouernour of Gaule. Verginius Rufus called Emperour.*

*Colonia a citie of Spaine.*
** Others read Clunia.*

in againſt the wils of the grõmes of the chãber that ſtood at the doore, he told him that *Nero* being yet aliue, but ſeen no more, firſt the people of ROME, & then the Senate, had proclaimed him Emperor, & that immediatly after, newes came that *Nero* was dead, the which he hardly beleeuing notwithſtanding, went thither himſelfe, ſaw his body layed out vpon the ground, & then made towardes him with all ſpeede to bring him theſe newes. The newes maruellouſly reuiued *Galba*, and a multitude of men thronged ſtraight about his doore, which began to be couragious, ſeeing him liuely againe, although the ſpeede of the Meſſenger ſeemed incredible. Howbeit two dayes after, *Titus* alſo arriued, with certaine other of the campe, who told *Galba* particularly what the Senate had decreed in his behalfe. So, this *Titus* was called to great honour, and the ſlaue infranchiſed had priuiledge giuen him to weare rings of gold, and he was called *Martianus Vicellus*, who afterwards of all the infranchiſed bond men, became the chiefeſt man about his maiſter *Galba*. In the meane time, *Nymphidius* SABINE began at ROME, not couertly, but with open force, to take vpon him the abſolute gouerment of the Empire, perſwading himſelf that *Galba* was ſo old, that he could hardly be brought in a litter vnto ROME, being at the leaſt three ſcore and thirteen yeare old: beſides alſo, that the army of the PRÆTORIANS which were in ROME, did beare him good will of long time, and then acknowledged none other Lord but him onely, for the large promiſe he had made them, for the which he receiued the thankes, and *Galba* remained the debter. So he preſently commaunded *Tigellinus*, his companion & Captaine with him of the army of the PRÆTORIANS, to leaue off his ſword: and diſpoſing himſelfe to bancketing and feaſting, he ſent for all thoſe that had bene Conſuls, Prætors, or Proconſuls of prouinces, and made them all to be inuited in the name of *Galba*. So there were certaine ſouldiers gaue out this rumour in the campe, that they ſhould do well to ſend Ambaſſadours vnto *Galba*, to pray him that *Nymphidius* might be their onely Captaine ſtill, without any companion ioyned with him. Furthermore, the honor and good will the Senate bare him, calling *Nymphidius* their benefactour, and going dayly to viſite him in his houſe, procuring him to be Authour of all their decrees paſſed in Senate, and that he ſhould authoriſe them: this made him high minded, and the bolder by much, in ſomuch that ſhortly after, they that came to honour him in this ſort, did not onely hate and miſlike his doings, but moreouer he made them affrayd of him. Furthermore, when the Conſuls had giuen to common purſeuants any commiſsions vnder ſeale, or letters pattents ſignifying the decrees of the Senate, to cary them to the Emperour, by vertue of which letters pattents, when the officers of the citie do ſee the ſeale, they ſtraight prouide the purſeuants of couches and freſh horſes to further their ſpeede and haſty iourney: *Nymphidius* was very angry with them: becauſe they did not alſo come to him for his letters, ſealed by him and his ſouldiers, to ſend likewiſe vnto the Emperour. But beſides all this, it is alſo reported that he was like to haue depoſed the Conſuls: howbeit they excuſing themſelues vnto him, and crauing pardon, did appeaſe his anger. And to pleaſe the Commons alſo, he ſuffred them to put any of *Neroes* friends to death they could meete withall. Among other, they ſlue a Fenſer called *Spicillus*, whom they put vnder *Neroes* ſtatues, which they dragged vp and downe the citie. An other alſo called *Aponius*, one of *Neroes* accuſers, they threw him to the ground, and draue charts ouer him loden with ſtones. And diuers others alſo, whom they ſlue in that manner: of the which ſome had done no manner of offence. Hereupon one *Mauriſcus*, one of the nobleſt men of the citie & ſo eſteemed, ſayd openly in the Senate. I feare me we ſhall wiſh for *Nero* againe, before it be long. So *Nymphidius* being come in manner to the fulneſſe of his hope: he was very glad to heare that ſome repyned at him, becauſe he was the ſonne of *Caius Cæſar*, that was the next Emperour after *Tiberius*. For this *Caius Cæſar*, whẽ he was a young man, had kept *Nymphidius* mother, which had bene a fayre young woman, and the daughter of one *Calliſtus*, one of *Cæſars* infranchiſed bond men, whom he had gotten of a laundres he kept. Howbeit it is found contrary, that this *Nymphidius* was borne before *Caius Cæſar* could know his mother, and men thought that he was begotten by a Fenſer called *Martianus*, with whom his mother *Nymphidia* fell in fancie, for that he had a great name at that time in ROME, and indeede *Nymphidius* was liker to him in fauour, then vnto any other. So, he confeſſed that he was the ſonne of this *Nymphidia*, howbeit he did aſcribe the glory of the death of *Nero* vnto himſelfe, and

*Nymphidius Sabine taketh vpon him to be Emperour.*

*Honours done to Nymphidius by the Senate, made him grow too bold and inſolent.*

*Neroes friends ſlaine at Rome, by Nymphidius commandement.*

*The parentage of Nymphidius.*

thought himſelfe not ſufficiently recompenſed with the honours they gaue him, neither alſo with the goods he enioyed, neither for that he lay with *Sporus* whom *Nero* loued ſo dearely, whom he ſent for to *Neroes* funerals whileſt his body was yet a burning, and kept him with him as if he had bene his wife, and called him *Poppæus*. Furthermore, all this did not content him, but yet ſecretly he aſpired to be Emperour, partly practiſing the matter in ROME it ſelfe, by the meanes of certaine women and Senatours which were ſecretly his friendes: and partly alſo through one *Gellianus*, whom he ſent into SPAYNE, to ſee how all things went there. Howbeit after the death of *Nero*, all things proſpered with *Galba*, ſauing *Verginius Rufus* onely, who ſtood doubtfull yet, & made him ſorely miſtruſt him, for that he was affrayed (beſides that he was generall ouer a great and puiſſant army, hauing alſo newly ouerthrowen *Vindex*, and ſecretly ruling the beſt part of the Empire of ROME, which was all GAVLE, and then in tumult and vprore, ready to rebell) leſt he would harken vnto them that perſwaded him to take the Empire to himſelfe. For there was no Captaine of ROME at that time ſo famous, and of ſo great eſtimation as *Verginius*, and that deſeruedly, for that he had done great ſeruice to the Empire of ROME in time of extremitie, hauing deliuered ROME at one ſelfe time from a cruell tyranny, and alſo from the daunger of the warres of the GAVLES. This notwithſtanding, *Verginius* perſiſting ſtill in his firſt determination, referred the election of the Emperour vnto the Senate: although, that after the death of *Nero* was openly knowen, the common ſort of ſouldiers were earneſtly in hand with him, and that a Tribune of the ſouldiers (otherwiſe called a Colonel of a thouſand men) went into his tent with a ſword drawen in his hand, and bad *Verginius* either determine to be Emperour, or elſe to looke to haue the ſword thruſt into him. Yet after that *Fabius Valens*, Captaine of a legiō, was ſworne vnto *Galba*, and that he had receiued letters from ROME, aduertiſing him of the ordinaunce & decree of the Senate: in the end, with much a do, he perſwaded the ſouldiers to proclaime *Galba* Emperour, who ſent *Flaccus Ordeonius* to ſucceede him, vnto whom he willingly gaue place. So, when *Verginius* had deliuered vp his army vnto him, he went to meete with *Galba*, on whom he waited, comming on ſtill towardes ROME. And *Galba* all that time neither ſhewed him euill countenance, nor yet greatly eſteemed of him, *Galba* himſelfe being cauſe of the one who feared him, and his friends of the other, but ſpecially *Titus Iunius*: who for the malice he bare vnto *Verginius*, thinking to hinder his riſing, did vnwittingly in deede further his good hap, and deliuered him occaſion to draw him out of the ciuill warres and miſchieues, (the which lighted afterwardes vpon all the other Captaines) and to bring him to a quiet and peaceable life in his age. Furthermore, Ambaſſadours were ſent from the Senate, and met with *Galba* at NARBONA, a citie of GAVLE: where after they had preſented their humble duetie, they perſwaded him to make all the haſt he could poſſible to ſhew himſelfe to the people of ROME, who were maruellous deſirous to ſee him. *Galba* receiued them very gratiouſly and curteouſly, & made them great cheare, howbeit very modeſtly notwithſtanding. For notwithſtanding that *Nymphidius* had ſent him diuers Officers, and ſtore of *Neroes* moueables: yet he would neuer be ſerued with any of them, at any feaſtes or bankets he made, with other then his owne ſtuffe, wherein he ſhewed his noble minde, and how he could maiſter all vanitie. But *Titus Iunius* ſhortly after told *Galba*, that this noble mind and ciuill moderatiō, without pride or pompe, was too lowly a manner to flatter the people, and that it was a certaine reſpect of honeſtie that knew not it ſelfe, and became not his greatnes and maieſtie. So, he perſwadid him to vſe *Neroes* money and ſtuffe, and to be ſumptuous & Princely in his feaſtes, without niggardlineſſe. To conclude, the old man *Galba* began plainly to ſhew that he would be ruled by *Titus Iunius*: who aboue all other was extreme couetous, and beſides too much giuen to women. For when he was a young man, the firſt time he went to the warres vnder *Caluiſius* SABINE, he brought his Captaines wife (which liked good felowſhip) diſguiſed like a ſouldier into the campe, into his generals tent (which the ROMAINES called Principia) and there was ſomwhat bold with her: Wherefore *Caius Cæſar* committed him to priſon, but he eſcaped at his death. An other time, when he ſupped with *Clodius Cæſar*, he ſtale a ſiluer pot. *Clodius* hearing of it, bad him againe to ſupper the next night: but he commaunded his men they ſhould giue him drinke in an earthen cruſe. Thus this theft (through *Cæſars* pleaſauntneſſe) ſeemed rather a matter of ſport, then

*Verginius, a famous Captaine.*

*The conditions of Titus Iunius.*

of anger: howbeit the faults which he committed afterwards through extreme couetouſnes of money, (at what time he ruled *Galba*, and bare all the ſway about him) gaue vnto ſome iuſt cauſe, and vnto others apparant colour of tragicall miſchiefes, and grieuous calamities. For *Nymphidius*, ſo ſoone as *Gellianus* was returned out of SPAINE, whō he had ſent thither to ſee what *Galba* did: he enforming him that *Cornelius Lacon* was Captaine of the guard and houſe of the Emperor, and that *Titus Iunius* did all in all about him, and that he could neuer be ſuffered to come neere *Galba*, not to ſpeake with him a part, becauſe thoſe which were about *Galba* did miſtruſt him, & euer had an eie to him to ſee what he did, he was maruellouſly perplexed withall. Thereuppon he called for all the Centurions, Captaines, and petie Captaines of the campe of the PRÆTORIAN army, and perſwaded them that *Galba* touching his owne perſon, was a good old and diſcreete man, howbeit that he did not follow his owne aduiſe & counſell, but was ruled altogether by *Iunius* and *Lacon*, who marred all: and therefore, that it were good before they came to be of greater power, and to haue ſuch great authority in maneging the affaires of the Empire, as *Tigellinus* had before, to ſende Ambaſſadours to the Emperor in the name of all the campe, to tell him that in putting thoſe two men from about him, he ſhould be the better welcome vnto ROME, and to all men elſe beſides. The Captaines vtterly miſliked this deuiſe. For they thought it too ſtrange, and beyong all reaſon, to ſeeme to teach an olde Emperor, as if he were but a child that did not know what it was to gouerne: and to appoint him what ſeruants and friendes he ſhould keepe, and whom he ſhould truſt or miſtruſt. *Nymphidius* perceiuing this, tooke another courſe, and wrote letters vnto *Galba* to terrifie him, one time ſending him word that he was maruellous euill beloued of many in ROME, & that they were ready to rebell againſt him: an other time alſo, that the legions of GERMANY were reuolted, and that he vnderſtoode the like from the legions in IVRY and SYRIA. And another time alſo, that *Clodius Macer* in AFRICKE ſtaied all the ſhips fraughted with corne that were bound for ROME. But in the end, finding that *Galba* made no account of him, and that he gaue no credite to his words nor writings: he determined firſt of all to ſet vpon him. Howbeit *Clodius Celſus*, borne in the citie of ANTIOCH, a wiſe man, and his faithfull friend, diſſwaded him maruellouſlly not to doe it: declaring vnto him, that he thought there was no one houſe nor family in ROME that would call *Nymphidius*, *Cæſar*. Howbeit in contrary manner, diuers others mocked *Galba* and ſpecially one *Mithridates* of the Realme of PONT, that ſaid he was a bauld writhen man. For the ROMAINES (ſaid he) haue him in deede now in ſome eſtimation, but when they haue once ſeene him, they will thinke it a perpetuall ſhame and reproch to our time, that he was called *Cæſar*. So they thought it good to bring *Nymphidius* about midnight into the campe, and there openly to proclaime him Emperor. Howbeit the chiefe Tribune of the ſouldiers called *Antonius Honoratus*, gathered his ſouldiers together in the night, and before them all did firſt openly reproue himſelfe, and then them, for that they had ſo often turned and chaunged in ſo ſhort time, without any wit or diſcretion, hauing no iudgement to chuſe the beſt way, but to be pricked forward and caried headlong in that ſort by ſome wicked ſpirit, which brought them out of one treaſon into an other. And yet (ſaid he) our firſt chaunge
had ſome countenance of reaſon, to wit, the horrible vices and faults of *Nero*: but now, where- »
in can we accuſe *Galba*, to haue any countenãce to falſifie our faith vnto him? hath he ſlaine his »
mother? hath he put her to death? hath he ſhamefully played the tumbler or cõmon plaier vp- »
on a ſcaffold in the Theater? And yet for all theſe vile parts, we neuer durſt once begin to for- »
ſake *Nero*, but gaue credit to *Nymphidius* words, who told vs that *Nero* had firſt forſaken vs, »
and that he was fled into ÆGYPT. What ſhall we doe? Shall we kill *Galba* after *Nero*? what, »
ſhal we kill him that is a kinne to *Liuia*, to make the ſonne of *Nymphidia* Emperor: as we haue »
alreadie ſlaine the ſonne of *Agrippina*? or ſhall we rather kill him that hath raſhly entred into »
this enterpriſe, and thereby to reuenge the death of *Nero*, and to ſhew our ſelues faithfull ſoul- »
diers vnto *Galba*? »
All the ſouldiers yeelded ſtraight to the Colonels words, & therewith went to their other companions to perſwade them to keep their faith & promiſe they auowed vnto the Emperor: ſo that they made many of them reuolt againe from *Nymphidius*. Thereuppon the noyſe and cryes being great, *Nymphidius* ſuppoſing (as ſome thought) that the ſouldiers did call for him, or elſe hoping betimes to quench this tumult, to ſtay ſuch as were yet wauering:

*Nymphidius practiſes.*

*The oration of Antonius Honoratus, Tribune of the ſouldiers, vnto his mutinous ſouldiers.*

*Nymphidius aſpireth to be Emperor.*

he went thither himſelfe with great ſtore of torch light, and caried an oration in his hand, the which *Ciconius Varro* had made for him, & the which he had learned without booke to ſpeak vnto the ſouldiers. But when he found the gates of the campe ſhut, and ſaw diuers men armed vpon the walles, he began to be affraid: and comming nearer, asked them what they ment by it, and by whoſe commandement they had armed themſelues as they did. Anſwere was made him by them all, that they did acknowledge no other Emperor but *Galba*: the which he ſeemed to like of, and alſo commaunded them that followed him to do the like, and therewithall drew neerer. Whereupon certaine of the ſouldiers that warded at the gate, did open him the gate, and ſuffred him to com in with a few men with him. Howbeit aſſoone as he was come in, firſt there was a dart throwen at him, the which one *Septimius* that went before him receiued vpon his ſhield, and then others alſo came with their ſwords drawen in their handes to ſet on him, and followed him as he fled into a ſouldiers cabbin, where they ſlew him. Then they layed his body in an open place, and railed it about, that euery man that would, might the next day ſee it. So *Nymphidius* being ſlaine in this ſort, *Galba* vnderſtanding of his death, commanded that all *Nymphidius* friends and confederators that had not bene ſlaine at that time, ſhould for his ſake be put to death, as in deede they were. Amongſt them they ſlew *Ciconius* that had made the oration for *Nymphidius*, and *Mithridates* alſo of PONT. Howbeit, though in deede they had deſerued it, yet men thought it a very cruell part to command theſe men to be put to death in that ſort, which were men of ſuch quality and calling as they were, without due forme and order of law. For euery man ſtoode in good hope vpon the comming in of this new Emperor, to haue ſeene another manner of gouernment, then they had yet ſeene: howbeit they were deceiued of their hope at the firſt choppe. But yet they miſliked this moſt of all, when he commaunded them to kill *Petronius Tertullianus*, that had bene Conſull, becauſe he was *Neroes* faithfull friend. But now for the death of *Clodius Macer*, whom *Trebonianus* ſlew in AFRICKE by his commandement, and for *Fonteius* that was alſo ſlaine in GERMANY by *Valens*: he had ſome reaſon to feare them, becauſe they were in armes, and commanded great armies. But for *Tertullianus* that was an old man, naked, and vnarmed: truely he ſhould haue put him to his triall by law, if he would haue miniſtred iuſtice, the which he promiſed to keepe at his firſt comming to the Imperiall crowne. Herein they greatly reproued *Galba*. Now, when he drew neare to ROME within fiue and twentie furlongs, he was compaſſed about with a multitude of Mariners and ſea faring men, that kept the high way on euery ſide, wandring vp and downe in euery place. Theſe were the men whom *Nero* had gathered together into one legion, and had taken them from the ower and made them ſouldiers. So they were come thither to be ſuters to him, that he would allowe them ſtill to be ſouldiers, and they ſo preſſed arrogantly vpon him, that they would not ſuffer thoſe which came to the new Emperor, to ſee him nor ſpeake with him: but they fell to tumult and vprore, crying out to haue enſignes for their legion, and to be appointed a place to lye in, in garriſon. *Galba* referred them ouer to an other time, and bad them they ſhould then let him vnderſtand their demand. They told him againe, that this delay was a kinde of deniall, and thereupon fell to plaine mutinie, and followed him with great cryes: inſomuch that ſome of them ſtuck not to draw out their ſwords. Then *Galba* commaunded the horſemen he had about him, to ſet vpon them. So there was not a man of them that reſiſted, but ſome of them were ouerthrowen, and troden vnder their horſe feete: and others alſo ſlaine as they fled. This was a very euil ſigne and preſage for him, to enter into ROME with ſuch boudſhed, vpon ſo many poore mens dead bodies as lay ſlain on the ground. Howbeit, where ſome before did deſpiſe and mocke him for an old and feeble man, euery man then was affraid of him, and quaked for feare. Furthermore, becauſe he would ſhewe a great change and alteration from the vnreaſonable vaine giftes and expenſes of *Nero*: it ſeemeth he did many vncomely things. As when one *Canus*, an excellent plaier on the recorder, had plaid all ſupper time, becauſe it was a maruellous ſweete Muſicke to heare: he praiſed and commended it maruellouſly, and commaunded one to bring him his casket, out of the which he tooke a few crownes, and put them into his hande, ſaying, that it was not money of the common treaſure, but of his owne. Furthermore, he gaue ſtraight commaundement that they ſhould require and call backe againe the gifts *Nero* had giuen, and beſtowed vpon common players,

*Nymphidius Sabine ſlaine*

*The crueltie of Galba.*

*Cornelius Tacitus calleth him Turpilianus.*

*Galba entred Rome with murder.*

*The vileneſſe of Galba.*

minſtrels, wreſtlers, and people of ſuch kind of facultie and profeſſion, and to leaue them only the tenth part. But he got litle by this deuiſe. For the moſt part of thoſe that had giftes giuen them, had ſpent and conſumed it all, as men that liue without any rule or order, and ſpent at night that which they get in the day: and beſides, they were to hunt after them that had either taken or bought any thing of them, and to make them to reſtore it againe. But this was an endleſſe worke, for things had bene ſo conueyed from man to man, that in the end it came to an infinite number of mens hands. But of all this, the ſhame and diſhonor returned to *Galba* himſelfe, though the malice and hatred lighted on *Titus Iunius*: who onely made the Emperour ſtraight laced to all others, whileſt he himſelfe tooke vnreaſonably of all men, making portſale of euery thing that came to hand. For *Heſiodus* the Poet ſaith:

*As well when the veſſell is full that it ſpill,*
*As when it is emptie, thirſt craueth drinke ſtill.*

*Heſiodus ſaying.*

But *Iunius* perceiuing *Galba* to be old and feeble, would wiſely take his fortune and time, while time ſerued, ſuppoſing it almoſt to be at an end, ſo ſoone as he beganne to enter into it. So in the meane time he did much diſhonor the poore old man, ouergreatly abuſing (vnder cloke of his authoritie) the chiefeſt and waightieſt matters, in reprouing, or altogether hindering thoſe, the which the Prince himſelfe had a good deſire to deale vprightly in, as to puniſh the officers of *Nero*. For he put ſome of them to death, among the which *Elius* was one, and certaine other, as *Polyclitus*, *Petinus*, and *Patrobius*: whereat the people maruellouſly reioyced, and cryed out as they went to execution through the market place, that it was a goodly and bleſſed proceſſion, and required *Tigellinus* of the gods & men, that had bene chiefe maſter and guide of all *Neroes* tyrannie. Howbeit the trimme man had gotten the vantage, and had largely fed *Iunius* before: for afterwardes he put poore *Tertullianus* to death, who had neither betraied nor hated *Nero*, being as he was, and had neuer offended, nor was partaker of any of his wicked parts he plaied when he was aliue. Whereas he that made *Nero* worthy of death, and that afterwards had alſo betrayed him: he was left alone, and nothing ſaide vnto him, being a manifeſt proofe to all others, that they ſhould not doubt to hope to obtaine any thing at *Titus Iunius* hands, ſo they fed him with gifts. For the common people of ROME neuer deſired thing ſo much, as to ſee *Tigellinus* to be caried to execution: and they neuer left crying out to demaund him in all aſſemblies of the Theater or ſhew place, vntill ſuch time as the Emperour *Galba* did forbid thē by proclamation, the which declared that *Tigellinus* would not liue long, becauſe he was ſicke of a conſumption of the lungs, which by litle and litle did weare him to nothing: and *Galba* prayed the people that they would not make his Empire tyrannicall and bloudie. The people were much offended with this, but yet they ſeemed to laugh at it: and *Tigellinus* did ſacrifice to the goddes for his health and ſafetie, and prepared a ſumptuous feaſt. Where *Iunius* riſing from ſupper, being ſet by the Emperor, went vnto *Tigellinus* to be mery with him, and tooke his daughter being a widdow with him, vnto whom *Tigellinus* dranke, and offred her a gift of fiue and twentie Myriades of ſiluer: and commaunded one of his chiefeſt concubines to take a carcanet from her necke ſhe wore, & to giue it the other, being worth fifteene Myriades. After he had handled the matter thus, thoſe things that were done vprightly and with iuſtice, were reproued and taken in euill part: as the thing that was graunted to the GAVLES, becauſe they did rebell with *Vindex*. For men thought that they were not diſcharged of the ſubſidies & taxes they were wont to pay, & that they were made free of ROME, ſo much through the bountie and liberalitie of the Emperour, as it was by *Iunius* meanes, of whom they had bought it. For theſe cauſes the people hated the Emperor *Galba*. Howbeit the ſouldiers ſtill liued in good hope, for the gift that was promiſed them at the beginning, thinking that though they had not as much as was promiſed them, they ſhould yet enioy as much as *Nero* had giuen them. But *Galba* vnderſtanding that they complained of him, he ſpake a word meete for ſo noble and worthie a Prince as he was: that he vſed to chooſe ſouldiers, not to buy them. This word being reported to the ſouldiers, it bred a maruellous mortal hatred in them againſt him: becauſe they thought it was not only to take the gift away frō them which they hoped preſently to haue receiued, but that it was alſo a preſident to teach the Emperours that ſhould come after him, what they ſhould doe. Howbeit the rebelling mindes of the Præ-

*Galba killeth Neroes ſeruants and officers.*

*The noble ſaying of the Emperor Galba.*

*Galba offended the ſouldiers.*

torian guard at ROME appeared not yet, but was ſecretly kept in for the reuerence they bare vnto the maieſty and perſon of *Galba*, who kept them that were deſirous to rebel, becauſe they ſaw as yet no beginning of any change or alteration. This did ſomwhat ſmother and keepe in the ſhew of their wicked intent. But they which had before ſerued vnder *Verginius*, & were at that time vnder *Flaccus* in GERMANY, thinking themſelues worthy of great rewarde for the battell they had wonne againſt *Vindex*, and hauing nothing giuen them in recompence: they would not be pleaſed with any thing their Captaine ſaid vnto them, neither did they make any account of *Flaccus*, becauſe he could not ſturre himſelfe, he was ſo plagued with the gout, and beſides that, he had no maner of experience in warres. So one day when certaine ſports were made, at the bringing in of the which, the Colonels and Captaines (according to the maner of the ROMAINES) made praiers vnto the gods for the health and proſperitie of the Emperour *Galba*: there were diuers of them that made a noyſe at the firſt, and afterwards when the Captaines continued on their prayers, in the end the ſouldiers aunſwered, if he be worthy. The legions in like maner vnder *Tigellinus* charge, did oftentimes vſe ſuch inſolent partes: whereof *Galbaes* officers did aduertiſe him by letters. Wherefore *Galba* being affraide, and miſtruſting that they did not only deſpiſe him for his age, but alſo becauſe he had no children: he determined to adopt ſome young gentleman for his ſonne, of the nobleſt houſe of the citie of ROME, and to proclaime him his ſucceſſor in the Empire. At that time there was one *Marcus Otho*, of a noble houſe, but euer giuen to ſenſuality and pleaſure from his cradle, as much as any ROMAINE could be. And as *Homer* oftentimes doth call *Paris*, the husband of the faire *Helen*, naming him by the name of his wife, becauſe he had no other commendable vertue in him: euen ſo *Otho* came to be knowen in ROME, by marying *Poppæa*, whom *Nero* loued when ſhe was *Criſpinus* wife, howbeit bearing ſome reſpect to his wife, and being affraid alſo of his mother, he had intiſed *Otho* to be his bawd vnto her. *Nero* loued *Otho* dearely, and much delighted in his company, becauſe he was ſo good a fellow and free of his fleſh: and was verie glad ſometime to heare how he mocked him, calling him niggard. The report went, that as *Nero* on a time was nointing himſelfe with precious oyles and perfumes, he caſt a litle vppon *Otho* as he went by: who the next day made him a feaſt in his houſe, where ſodainely were thruſt into the hall, diuers veſſels of gold and ſiluer full of this perfumed oyle, that ranne out of them like conduit water, and did wette all the hall. So *Otho* hauing firſt poſſeſſed *Poppæa*, and abuſed her vnder hope of *Neroes* loue: he perſwaded her to be diuorſed from her husband. The which ſhe did, and he receiued her home to his owne houſe, as his lawfull wife: not being ſo well pleaſed to haue part, as he was ſorie and angry alſo to let an other enioy her. Now *Poppæa* her ſelfe (as it is reported) did not miſlike this his gealouzie, for ſometimes ſhe would ſhut her dore againſt *Nero*, though *Otho* were not within: either becauſe ſhe would keepe *Nero* in breath, and in loue liking ſtill, or elſe as ſome thought, becauſe ſhe would not haue *Cæſar* to her husband, and likewiſe that ſhe would not refuſe him for her friend, becauſe ſhe was wantonly giuen. But ſo it is, *Otho* was in danger of his life by marrying of *Poppæa*: and ſo was it alſo a ſtrange thing, that *Nero* hauing put his wife and ſiſter to death, only to mary *Poppæa*, he did yet pardon *Otho*, & ſaued his life. Howbeit it was for *Senecaes* ſake that was his friend, through whoſe perſwaſion he was ſent to the fartheſt part of SPAINE alongſt the Ocean ſea, to be Gouernor of LVSITANIA. And there he gouerned ſo wiſely, that he was nothing chargeable nor troubleſome vnto the countrie: knowing that this honorable charge was giuen him, only to mitigate and hide his baniſhment. Afterwards when *Galba* had rebelled, he was the firſt of all the Gouernors of the prouinces that ioyned with him, and bringing with him all his plate, both golde and ſiluer, vnto the mynt maiſter, he gaue it him to put into bullion, and ſo to be conuerted into currant coine. Moreouer he gaue of his officers vnto *Galba*, thoſe which he thought the meeteſt men to ſerue a Prince: and otherwiſe, when he was tryed, he ſhewed himſelfe as faithfull & ſkilfull in matters of ſtate, as any one that followed the Emperors traine. Inſomuch as all the way he went many dayes iorney in coch with *Galba* himſelfe, & did maruellouſly curry fauour with *Titus Iunius*, beſtowing great gifts vpon him, & alſo entertaining him with pleaſant ſpeches: but ſpecially, becauſe he willingly gaue him the vpper hãd wherby he was aſſured to be the ſecond perſon in credit about *Galba*. So in all that he did, he far excelled *Iunius*, for that

*Tumult amongſt the ſouldiers and legions of the Romaines in Germanie.*

*Othoes maners.*

*Poppæa, Othoes wife.*

*Otho ſent Propretor into Luſitania.*

*Othoes credit about Galba.*

he graunted mens ſutes frankely and freely without one penny taking, and was beſides eaſie to be ſpoken with of euery man that had any ſute to him: but ſpecially of the ſouldiers, whom he did greatly helpe & further, and cauſed diuers alſo to be called to honorable office, he himſelfe partly mouing the Emperor for them, without any labour or ſute made vnto him, and partly alſo obteining them at *Iunius* hands, and of the two infranchiſed bondmen of *Galba*, *Icellus*, and *Aſiaticus*. For, theſe three men did beare all the ſway & credit about the Emperor in the court. Moreouer, alwaies when he inuited the Emperor to his houſe, he bribed the Prætorian guard that waited vpon him, and gaue euery ſouldier a crowne. Now this in ſight, ſeemed chiefly to be done to honor the Emperor with: though in deede it was a fine deuiſe to ouerthrow him, to bribe the ſouldiers in that ſort as he did. So *Galba* conſulting whom he ſhould make his ſucceſſor: *T. Iunius* preferred *Otho* vnto him: the which he did not ſimply of himſelfe, nor without reward, but only with promiſe that *Otho* ſhould marry his daughter if *Galba* did adopt him his ſonne, and proclaime him ſucceſſor in the Empire. Howbeit *Galba* did alway ſpecially regard the common wealth before his priuate liking, and ſought to adopt ſuch a one, as ſhould not ſo much pleaſe himſelfe, as otherwiſe he ſhould be profitable & meete for the Empire. But ſurely in my opinion, *Galba* would not make *Otho* his heire of his goods, conſidering what an vnreaſonable ſpender he was, & how ſumptuous in all his things, & beſides, farre gone in debt: for he ought aboue fiue thouſand Myriades. So when he had heard *Iunius* counſell about this adoption, he gently without other anſwere, did put ouer his determination vntil another time, and made *Otho* onely Conſull at that time, and *T. Iunius* Conſull with him: whereby it was ſtraight ſuppoſed, that at the beginning of the new yere, he wouldproclaime him his ſucceſſor in the Empire. Which was the thing the ſouldiers moſt deſired of all other. But now, delaying ſtill his determination, the legions of the ROMAINES in GERMANY, did riſe & rebell againſt him all at an inſtant. For he was generally hated of allhis ſouldiers, becauſe he paid thē not the gift he had promiſed them. So they particularly to cloke their malicious intent, alleaged for their cauſe of riſing, that he had diſhonourably reiected *Verginius Rufus*: and that the GAVLES which had fought againſt them, were rewarded with great & rich priuiledges, and they that tooke not part with *Vindex*, had bene grieuouſly puniſhed & put to death. Moreouer, that *Galba* did only honor *Vindex* death after he was dead, as acknowledging his goodwil vnto him, offring publique oblations and funerall ſacrifices for him, as if by him onely he had bene proclaimed Emperor. Now ſuch ſpeeches & rumors ran through the campe amongſt them, when the firſt day of the yeare came, which the ROMAINES call the calendes of Ianuary, on which day when *Flaccus* had called the ſouldiers together, to ſweare them to the Emperor according to the cuſtome: they plucked downe *Galbaes* images, & ſware only in the name of the people, and the Senate of ROME. The Captaines ſeeing what courſe they tooke, were as much affraid of the danger to be without a head, as they ſtood doubtfull of the miſchiefe of their rebellion. So there ſtept vp one amongſt them & ſaid. My fellowes in armes, what do we mean?

*Othoes practiſe aſpiring to the Empire.*

*The legions in Germanie doe rebell againſt Galba.*

*The ſouldiers doe rebell againſt Galba.*

We neither chooſe any other Emperor, nor yet do allow of him that is Emperor at this preſent: »
wherby we ſhew plainly, that we do not only refuſe *Galba*, but alſo al other to be our head »
& Emperor that may command vs. Now for *Flaccus Ordeonius*, that is but *Galbaes* ſhadow & »
image: I would wiſh we ſhould let him alone there as he is. And for *Vitellius*, gouernor of the »
lower GERMANY, he is not farre from vs, but one daies iorney onely, whoſe father was Cenſor »
at ROME, and thrice alſo Conſull, and that was in a maner a Peere & companion of *Clodius* »
*Cæſar* in the gouernment of the Empire: whoſe pouertie if any man miſlike in him, is a maniſeſt »
proofe of his goodnes & magnanimity. Him therfore let vs chooſe & let the world know »
that we can tell how to chooſe an Emperor, better then the SPANIARDS or LVSITANIANS. »

Some of the ſouldiers that ſtood by, confirmed theſe words, but others alſo miſliked of them: inſomuch that among the reſt there was an enſigne bearer that ſtale ſecretly out of the campe, to carrie *Vitellius* newes hereof, who that night made a great ſupper, and had great ſtore of good company with him. Theſe newes running ſtraight through his campe, *Fabius Valens*, Colonell of a legion, came the next morning with a great number of horſemen, and was the firſt man that named *Vitellius* Emperour, who before ſeemed to refuſe that name, as one that was affraid to take the charge of ſo great an Empire vpon him: but after dinner, being full of

*Vitellius accepted the name of Germanicus, but not of Cæſar.*

*Vitellius named Emperor by the ſouldiers*

wine and meate, he came out among them, and accepted the name of *Germanicus* which they gaue him, and refuſed the name of *Cæſar*. But therewithall incontinently after, *Flaccus* ſouldiers leauing their goodly popular oth which they had ſworne in the name of the people & Senate, they all then tooke their othes faithfully to doe what it ſhould pleaſe the Emperor *Vitellius* to command them. Thus *Vitellius* was choſen Emperor in GERMANY. So *Galba* hearing of this new chaunge, thought it not good to deferre time any longer for the adoption he had intended, wherefore certainely vnderſtanding that thoſe whom he truſted moſt about him, were parties in this matter, ſome taking part with *Dolabella*, and the moſt part of them with *Otho*, he neither liking the one nor the other, ſodainely without any word ſpoken to any man, he ſent for *Piſo* (that was the younger ſonne of *Craſſus* and *Piſo*, whom *Nero* had put to death) a young man fairer conditioned, and ſhewed by his graue and modeſt countenance he had by nature, that he was indued with many noble vertues.

*Galba adopteth Piſo his ſucceſſor.*

*Galba* came downe preſently from his pallace, and went ſtraight to the campe to proclaime *Piſo Cæſar*, and his ſucceſſor in the Empire. Howbeit at his ſetting out of his pallace, there appeared many great ſigns in the firmamēt which followed him. And moreouer, when he was alſo come into his campe, and that he began to ſay without booke part of his oration, and partly alſo to read it: it lightned al the while he ſpake, & there fell ſuch a great ſhower of raine vpon it, and a maruellous thicke miſt in the campe, & ouer all the city, that men might eaſily ſee the gods did not like this adoption, & that it would not proſper.

*Euill ſignes appeared vnto Galba.*

The ſouldiers themſelues ſhewed their diſcontentment by their heauie lookes, & the rather, becauſe at that time there was no ſpeech of reward or liberality. And furthermore, they that were preſent alſo, maruelled much (for that they could gather by the countenance and words of *Piſo*) that *Piſo* nothing reioyced at this great fauour, although he lacked not wit & vnderſtanding otherwiſe to acknowledge it. And on the other ſide alſo, they found eaſily by *Othoes* looks, many ſignes & proofes that he was maruellouſly offended in his mind, to ſee that he was thus deceiued of his hope. For he being the man that was firſt ſpoken of, and thought moſt worthieſt of all other, and being come alſo ſo nere vnto it: now to ſee himſelfe thus wiped out of it, he ſuppoſed that it was a plaine proofe that *Galba* had no good opinion of him, & that he maliced him in his hart, ſo that after that time he ſtil ſtood in fear of his life. For be being affraid of *Piſo*, hating alſo *Galba*, and being grieuouſly offended with *T. Iunius*: he went his way full of diuers thoughts in his mind. For the Soothſaiers, Aſtronomers, & Chaldeans which he euer kept about him, they did perſwade him not to be diſcoraged for this, & to caſt all hope aſide: but ſpecially one *Ptolomy*, in whom he had great confidence, becauſe he had oftentimes before foretold & aſſured him, that *Nero* ſhould not put him to death, but contrarily, that *Nero* ſhould die firſt, and he himſelfe ſuruiue him, and ſhould become Emperor of ROME.

*Ptolomyes prediction of Othoes Empire.*

Whereby *Ptolomy* hauing proued his firſt prediction true vnto him, he bad him be bold, and feare not that to come. But now beſides him, thoſe that ſecretly complained vnto him, did prick him forward the more, ſighing to ſee him ſo euill dealt with by *Galba*, & diuers of them chiefly, which bare great authoritie & credit about *Tigellinus* and *Nymphidius*: who being then caſt off, and diſcountenanced, came all vnto him, & ſtirred him vp the more.

*Optio, and Teſſerarius, why ſo called by the Romaines.*

*Otho bribed the Pretorian ſouldiers.*

As amongſt others, *Veturius* & *Barbius* chiefly, of the which the one had bene *Optio*, and the other *Teſſerarius*: (for ſo the ROMAINES call thoſe that be their meſſengers, ſpials, and officers to the Captaines) who with an infranchiſed bondman of his called *Onomaſtus*, went vnto the campe, and there corrupted ſome ſouldiers with readie money, and other ſome with faire wordes, being of themſelues euill inclined, and expected but occaſion to vtter their malice. For otherwiſe, had the ſouldiers bin all of one mind, it had not bin an enterpriſe to haue bene brought to paſſe in foure daies ſpace (being no more betwixt the adoption and murther) to make a whole campe rebell in that ſort. For they were ſlaine the fifteenth day of Ianuary, on which day *Galba* did ſacrifice in the morning within his pallace, before his friends.

*The preſage of Ombricius the Soothſaier touching the treaſon practiſed againſt Galba.*

But at that time the Soothſaier called *Ombricius*, when he had the intrals of the beaſtes ſacrificed in his handes, and had looked vpon them: he ſpake not doubtfully, but plainely, that he ſaw ſignes of great tumult and rebellion, and that the Emperour was in preſent daunger of great treaſon. Whereby it plainely appeared, that the goddes had put *Galba* into *Othoes* handes: for he ſtoode at that time behinde *Galba*, and both heard and ſawe all that the Soothſayers did.

So he ſeeming to be grieued withall in his minde, and his colour chaunging oft for the feare he was in: his infranchiſed bondman *Onomaſtus* came and tolde him that the maſons and chief carpenters were come to ſpeake with him, and taried for him. This was the watch word agreed vppon betweene them, at which time *Otho* ſhould then goe vnto the ſouldiers. Then *Otho* ſayed, that he went to looke to an old houſe he had bought, which was falling downe, and in decay, and that he would ſhew it vnto the workemen. So he went his way, and came from the pallace, by the place they call *Tiberius* houſe, into the market place, where the golden piller ſtandeth, where alſo the greateſt high wayes of all ITALIE doe meete together. There certaine met him that firſt called him Emperour, which were not in all aboue three and twenty perſons. Thereupon, though *Otho* was not vnconſtant as it appeared, notwithſtanding he was ſo fine and effeminate a man, but rather reſolute and ſtout in inſtant daunger: yet feare ſo oppreſſed him at that time, that he would faine haue left his enterpriſe. Howbeit the ſouldiers would not ſuffer him, but compaſſing his litter round about with their armes, and their ſwords drawen in their hands, they commaunded the litter men to go forward. So *Otho* as he went haſtening on his driuers, he often muttered to him ſelfe, I am but dead. Some hearing him as they paſſed by him, rather wondred, then that they were otherwiſe troubled, to ſee ſuch a ſmal number of men about him, that they durſt venter vpon ſo hard an enterpriſe. Now as he was caried through the market place, he was met withall by certaine others, and afterwards by others, by three and by four in a company: al the which came and ioyned with him, & cried *Cæſar*, *Cæſar*, hauing their ſwords drawen in their hands. Now the Colonell apppointed for that day to guard the field of *Mars*, knew nothing of this conſpiracy, but being amazed and affraied with their ſodaine comming, he ſuffred them to come in. So when *Otho* was come in, he found no man that reſiſted him. For they that knew nothing of the practiſe, being cōpaſſed in with thoſe that were made priuy to it, & had knowen it of long time: being found ſtragling here and there, by one and by two, they followed the reſt for feare at the firſt, & afterwards for good wil. This was brought ſtraight to *Galba* to the pallace, the Soothſayer being yet buſie about his ſacrifice: inſomuch that they which beforegaue no credite to thoſe diuinations, began then to maruell much at this heauenly ſigne. Then there ran immediatly a great number of people from the market place, vnto the pallace. Thereupon *Iunius* and *Lacon*, and certaine other of *Galbaes* infranchiſed bondmen, ſtood to gard *Galbaes* perſon with their ſwords drawen in their hands. *Piſo* alſo went out to ſpeake vnto the ſouldiers that guarded the Emperors perſon. Moreouer, becauſe the ILLYRIAN legion lay out of the campe in a place called Vipſanus: they diſpatched away *Marius Celſus* with all ſpeede, a very honeſt man, to get that place. *Galba* in the meane time ſtood in doubt whether he ſhould come out of the pallace or not: for *Iunius* would not let him go, but *Celſus* and *Lacon* perſwaded him to go out. Inſomuch as they fell at great words with *Iunius*, that went about to diſſwade him from it. In this ſturre there ran a rumor that *Otho* was ſlaine in the field. Immediatly after came *Iubius Atticus*, one of the nobleſt ſouldiers of all the Emperours guard, and ſhewed his ſword drawen, crying that he had ſlaine *Cæſars* enemy: and thruſt through the preaſe, and got to *Galba*, & ſhewed him his ſword bloudied. *Galba* looking him in the face, asked him who commanded him to doe it. The ſouldier anſwered him: the faith and oath he had made vnto him. Therewith all the people that ſtood by cried out, it was nobly done of him, and clapped their hands for ioy. Then *Galba* taking his litter, went out of his pallace to do ſacrifice to *Iupiter*, and alſo to ſhew him ſelfe openly. Howbeit he was no ſooner come into the market place, but he heard contrary news, that *Otho* was Lord and Maiſter of the whole campe and army. Then, as it happeneth in ſo great a preaſe of people, ſome cried out to him to returne backe againe, others would haue him to go forward: others bad him be affrayed of nothing, and others willed him to looke to him ſelfe. So his litter being thus turmoyled to and fro, as toſt vpon the ſea, ſomtime borne back, otherwhile caried forward: firſt of all they ſaw certaine horſmen, and then footmen alſo armed, comming frō *Pauls* pallace, al of thē together crying out with loud voice, hence, hence, priuat man. Thē al the people ſet vpō a running, not flying diſperſedly, but in heaps vpō proches & ſtals in the market place, as it had bin to haue ſeen ſome ſight or ſport. Thē one called *Attilius** *Sarcello*, ouerthrew one of the images of *Galba*, which was as it were a beginning of opē wars. Others round about

*Otho called Emperour.*

*Otho receiued of the Prætorian ſouldiers.*

*A ſhamefull lie of a ſouldier.*

*Tumult for Galba.*

* *Tacitus doth call him Virgilio.*

** Cornelius Tacitus doth call him Denſus.*

*The valiantnes and fidelity of Sempronius in diſcharge of his oath to the Emperour Galba.*

*The death of Sempronius.*

*The death of Galba, and his wordes at his death.*

** Others doe read Murcus.*

*The murther of Piſo, and T. Iunius.*

threw dartes on euery ſide of him againſt his litter. But when they ſaw they could not kill him, then they came nearer to his litter with their ſwords drawen in their handes, and neuer a man of his left with him to offer to defend him, ſauing one man onely, whom the Sunne ſawe that day, amongeſt ſo many thouſands of men, worthy of the Empire of ROME: and he was called * ***Sempronius***. He hauing receiued priuately no manner of pleaſure at ***Galbaes*** hands, but only to diſcharge his oath and duety: ſtepped before the litter, and lifting vp a vine braunch he had in his hand (with the which the ROMAINE Captains doe vſe to beate their ſouldiers that haue offended) hee fell out with them that did ſet vpon him, and prayed them to hold their hands, and not to hurt their Emperour. But in the end when he ſaw they would not leaue, but that they fell to it in good earneſt: he then drew his ſword, and bare off the blowes as well as he could, vntill they hought him, that he fell to the ground. Then ***Galbaes*** litter being ouerthrowen right in the place called ***Curtius*** lake: ***Galba*** lay on the ground armed in his curaces. The traiterous ſouldiers flew vpon him, and gaue him many a wound: and ***Galba*** holding out his necke vnto them, bad them ſtrike hardily, if it were to do their countrey good. So he had many wounds on his armes and his thighes, as it is reported: howbeit the ſouldier that ſlue him, was called ***Camurius***, of the fifteenth legion. Others do report that it was one ***Terentius***, other alſo ſay ***Arcadius***: And ſome other do call him ***Fabius Fabulus***: who hauing ſtriken off his head, wrapped it in the lappe of his gowne, becauſe he could not otherwiſe take hold of it, for that he was al bald. Howbeit his fellowes and conſorts would not ſuffer him to hide it, but rather that his notable fact he had done ſhould be ſeene. Therefore he ſet it vppon the point of his launce, and ſo ſhaking the face of this poore olde man, (a wiſe and temperate Prince, and chiefe Biſhoppe, and Conſull) he ranne vp and downe (like madde women poſſeſſed with the ſpirite and fury of ***Bacchus*** at the feaſtes of ***Bacchus***) bowing downe his launce being all of a goare bloud. When his head was brought to ***Otho***, it is ſayed he cried out aloud: tuſh my fellowes, this is nothing: vnleſſe you bring me alſo ***Piſoes*** head. So not long after, they brought him his head alſo. For the yong man being hurt, fled, and was followed by one called * ***Marcus***, who ſlue him hard by the temple of ***Veſta***. So did they alſo kill ***Titus Iunius***: who openly confeſſed that he was one of the conſpiracy againſt ***Galba***, and cried out to them that ſlue him, that ***Otho*** did not know they did kill him. This notwithſtanding, the ſouldiers ſtrake off his head and ***Lacons*** alſo, and brought them both to ***Otho*** to receiue the reward. Howbeit, as the Poet ***Archilochus*** ſayth:

> ***Of ſeuen peraduenture ſlaine dead on the ground,***
> ***A thouſand will ſay, that they all gaue the wound.***

*The Senate ſware by the name of Otho.*

*Citizens heades ſold at Rome.*

So there were diuerſe men at that time, who being no partakers of this murther, hadde bloudied all their handes and ſwordes, and ſo ſhewed them bloudied to haue reward alſo: but ***Vitellius*** notwithſtanding made inquirie of them afterwardes, and cauſed them to be put to death. There came into the field alſo, one ***Marius Celſus***, whom diuerſe men accuſed to haue perſwaded the ſouldiers to aide ***Galba***, and the common people cried out, and bad he ſhould be put to death. Howbeit ***Otho*** would not ſuffer them to kill him: and yet being afrayed to contrary the ſouldiers mindes, he told them they ſhould not kill him ſo raſhly, becauſe he was firſt to learne ſome things more of him. So he commanded them to binde him, and deliuered him to be kept of thoſe he truſted moſt. Afterwards, the Senate were preſently aſſembled: who, as if men had bene ſodainely changed from them they were, or as if there had bene new goddes, they all ſware by the name of ***Otho***, (the which oath he him ſelfe had before ſworne vnto ***Galba***, and did not keepe it) and called him beſides, ***Auguſtus***, and ***Cæſar***, the bodies of them that were ſlaine lying yet headleſſe on the ground in the market place, all in their Conſuls robes. And as for their heads, the ſouldiers after they could tell no more what to doe with them, they ſold the head of ***Titus Iunius*** vnto his daughter, for the ſumme of two thouſand fiue hundred Drachmas. And for ***Piſoes*** head, his wife through intreaty, begged it of one called ***Veranius***. On the other ſide, for ***Galbaes*** head, they gaue it vnto ***Patrobius*** and ***Vitellius*** ſeruaunts: who, after they had vſed it as vilely as they could deuiſe, they threw it at length in a place, wher their bodies are caſt, whom the ***Cæſars*** put to death, the which they cal Seſtertium. Now for his body, ***Heluidius Priſcus***, through ***Othoes*** ſufferance, caried it away, and ***Argius***, one of his infranchiſed bondmen, buried it by night. Thus haue you heard the hiſtory of *Galba*, a man that in nobility and wealth, was inferior to few ROMAINES, and in them both was the chiefeſt man of all his time, and had alway liued in honorable fame and eſtimation, in the raigne of fiue Emperours. So that he ouercame *Nero* by his good name, and the good opinion men had of him: and not through his owne force and power. For of them that ſtroue to make themſelues Emperours at that time, ſome found no man that thought them worthy of it: others did put forth them ſelues, as thinking them ſelues worthy of it. Howbeit *Galba* was called vnto it, and obeyed them that called him, vſing his name againſt *Vindex* boldnes: whereby he procured, that his riſing (which before was called innouation and rebellion) was then called ciuill warre, after that his faction came to haue a man to be their head, thought worthy to be their Emperor. And therefore he did not ſo much deſire to be Emperor for him ſelfe, as to do good to his countrey and common wealth. But yet he erred, in ſeeking to command the ſouldiers whom *Tigellinus* and *Nymphidius* had ſpoiled by their flatteries: euen as in old time *Scipio, Fabricius*, and *Camillus* did command the ſouldiers of the Empire of ROME at that time. So he being now a very old man, ſhewed him ſelfe a good Emperour and after the old ſort, in his behauiour towards the ſouldiers only: but in all other things elſe, being caried away with the couetouſnes of *T. Iunius* and *Laco*, and of other his infranchiſed bondmen, he left none deſirous to be gouerned by him, but many that were ſory for his death.

# THE LIFE OF *Otho.*

IMP. OTTO CAESAR AVG. TR P

*Othoes moderation at the beginning of his raigne.*

THe next morning, the new Emperour by breake of day went vnto the Capitoll, and ſacrificed, and there ſent for *Marius Celſus* to come vnto him, whom he curteouſlie ſaluted, and prayed him rather to forget the cauſe of his impriſonment, then to remember his deliuery. *Marius Celſus* made him a wiſe and noble aunſwere againe, and ſayed that the matter for the which they would haue accuſed him vnto him, did witnes his behauiour, ſhewing him ſelf faithfull vnto *Galba*, who neuer did him any pleaſure. Theſe words of them both did maruellouſly pleaſe the people: & ſo did they like the ſouldiers alſo wõderfully wel. Moreouer, after he had very fauorably and graciouſly taken order for matters in the Senate, the reſt of the time he had to be Conſull, he imployed partly about *Verginius Rufus*, and did alſo eſtabliſh them Conſuls in their place and degree, which had bene called vnto that dignity by *Nero*, or otherwiſe by *Galba*: and he alſo honored the oldeſt Senators and of greateſt eſtimation with certaine Prieſthoodes. Beſides all this, he reſtored vnto all thoſe Senators that were baniſhed by *Nero*, and called home againe, all their goods yet vnſold. Whereupon the chiefeſt Magiſtrates and noble men of the city that quaked before for feare, ſuppoſing that he was not a man, but rather a deuill or fury of hell that was come to be Emperour: they all became glad men, for the good hope of this ſmiling and gracious raigne they were ſo lately entred into. Moreouer, nothing pleaſed all the ROMAINES together more, nor wanne him the good will of all men ſo much, as that he did vnto *Tegellinus*. For it was puniſhment enough for him, if he had had no more but the feare of the puniſhment euery man threatned him withall, as a thing due to the common wealth, and alſo by reaſon of the incurable diſeaſes his body was infected withall. Now, though the noble men thought his vnreaſonable inſolency and luſt of the fleſh, (following naughty packes, and common ſtrumpets, burning ſtill in filthy concupiſcence) an extreame puniſhment, comparable to many deaths, and being alſo no better then a dead man in maner, ſtill following pleaſure and ſenſuality as long as he could: this notwithſtanding, all men were offended with him, that they ſhould ſee ſuch a wicked creature as he liue, that had put ſo many noble men to death. So *Otho* ſent for him, who liued very pleaſantly at his houſes in the countrey, by the city of SINVESSA, and had ſhippes euer ready vppon the ſea coaſt, to flie if neceſſity draue him to it. Thereuppon he firſt ſought to bribe him with money, which was ſent with commiſſion to apprehend him, and perſwaded him to let him ſcape: but when he ſaw he could not frame him to his minde, yet he refrayned not to giue him gifts, and prayed him to giue him leaue to ſhaue his beard. The other graunted him. Then *Tigellinus* tooke a razer, and did cut his owne throate. So, *Otho* hauing pleaſed the people thus well, he ſought not otherwiſe to be reuenged of his priuate iniuries. Moreouer, to curry fauour with the common people, he refuſed not to be called *Nero*, in any open aſſemblies at the Theaters. Alſo when certaine priuate men had ſet vp *Neroes* images in open ſight, *Otho* was not offended withall: but moreouer *Clodius Rufus* writeth, that letters pattents and commiſſions were ſent into SPAINE by poſts, ſubſcribing the goodly name of *Nero*, with the name of *Otho*. Howbeit when it came to his eares that the noble men of ROME miſliked of it: he left it off, and would write it no more in his letters. So *Otho* hauing begunne in this ſort to ſtabliſh his Empire, the ſouldiers maruellouſly troubled him. For they continually perſwaded him to take heede to him ſelfe, and to beware how noble men and gentlemen came neare vnto him: the which they did, either for that in deede they bearing him good will, were affrayd ſome trechery or treaſon would be ſecretly practiſed againſt him: or elſe it was ſome fayned deuiſe to ſet all together by the eares, and to bring it to ciuill warre. For when *Otho* him ſelfe had ſent *Criſpinus* with his ſeuenteenth legion to bring him certaine priſoners, and that *Criſpinus* was ready before day, going to performe the effect of his commiſſion, hauing loden carts with armor and weapon for his ſouldiers: the deſperateſt and boldeſt men among men, began to crie out, and ſayd that *Criſpinus* ment no good in his heart, and that the Senate went about to make ſome chaunge and ſturre, and that his armor and weapons were not for *Cæſar*, but againſt him. Theſe wordes moued many mens conſciences, and made them to rebell: ſo that ſome layed hold vppon the cartes to ſtay them, others ſlue two Centurions out of hand, and *Criſpinus* him ſelfe alſo that would haue ſtayed them. Thereuppon all of them together, one incoraging an other, went directly to ROME, as meaning to aide the Emperor. But when they came thither, vnderſtanding that there were foure ſcore Senatours at ſupper with the Emperour, they ranne ſtraight to the pallace, crying out that it was a good occaſion offered them to kill all *Cæſars* enemies at a clappe. Hereupon all ROME was ſtraight in armes, looking immediatly after to be ſacked and ſpoyled of all that euer they had: and the people ranne vp and downe the pallace, here and there, *Otho* him ſelfe alſo being in great feare and diſtreſſe. For men might eaſily ſee he was affrayed, becauſe of his gueſtes he had bidden, not for him ſelfe, ſeeing them all amazed with the matter for feare, not ſpeaking a word vnto him, but ſtaring on him ſtill, and ſpecially thoſe that came and brought their wiues with them to ſupper.

*Tigellinus killeth him ſelfe.*

*Otho at the beginning of his raigne, tooke vpon him the name of Nero.*

*Tumult amongeſt the Prætorian ſouldiers.*

*The death of Criſpinus.*

So *Otho* ſodainly ſent the Captaines vnto the ſouldiers and commanded them to ſpeake with them, and to pacifie them as well as they could: and therewithall he made them take away the borde, and conueyed his gueſtes out of his pallace by ſecret poſternes. So they ſaued themſelues, paſſing through the ſouldiers, a litle before they entred into the hall where the feaſt was kept, crying out, and asking, what was become of *Cæſars* enemies. So the Emperour riſing from his bedde, he pacified them with gentle wordes, the teares ſtanding in his eyes, and thereby at length he ſent them all away.

*Othoes liberality to the ſouldiers.*

The next morning he liberally beſtowed vpon euery ſouldier, a thouſand two hundred and fifty Drachmas: and then hee went into the market place, and there gaue great commendation to the common people for their ready good wils they had ſhewed vnto him: howbeit, he ſaid there were ſome among them, that vnder colour and pretext of honeſty, did commit many leud partes, and made his goodneſſe and grace towardes them to be euill ſpoken of, and their conſtancy and faith alſo to be miſliked of, and prayed them his griefe might be theirs, and that the offendors might be puniſhed. They all confirmed his wordes, and bad him aloud he ſhould do it. So *Otho* thereuppon cauſed two of them only to be apprehended, ſuppoſing no man would be greatly offended with the puniſhment of them, and then went his way. Thoſe that loued and truſted him, maruelled much to ſee this chaunge. Other were of opinion, that it ſtoode him vppon to doe ſo, to winne the ſouldiers hearts, becauſe of the warre at hand.

*Vitellius rebellion.*

Now news came flying to him out of all parts, that *Vitellius* had taken vpon him the authority to be Emperour, and poſtes came to him one in an others necke, to tell him that numbers of people came in dayly to ſubmit them ſelues vnto *Vitellius*. Others told him alſo, how the legions remaining in PANONIA, DALMATIA, and MYSIA, had choſen *Otho*. Immediatly after, friendly letters were brought him alſo from *Mutianus* and *Veſpaſianus*, the one of them being in SYRIA, and the other in IVDEA, with great and mighty armies. Whereupon *Otho* giuing credit vnto them, wrote vnto *Vitellius* and bad him beware how he meddled with any deeper enterpriſe, then became a priuate ſouldier: and that he would giue him golde and ſiluer enough, and a great city, where he might liue quietly, and take his pleaſure. *Vitellius* gently anſwered him at the firſt, and ſported with him: but afterwards they falling out one with an other, ſpitefull letters were ſent betwixt either parties, one of them reproaching an other, not falſely but fondly, and fooliſhly detecting each others vices.

*Small difference betwixt Otho and Vitellius manners of life.*

For in deede it was hard to iudge, which of them two was moſt licentiouſly giuen, moſt effeminate, leaſt skilfull, poorer, or moſt indebted before. Now at that time they talked of wonderfull ſignes that had bene ſeene: howbeit they were but flying tales, and there was no man to iuſtifie them.

*wonders ſeene at Rome.*

But in the Capitol there was the image of Victory ſet vpon a triumphing chariot: the which euery body ſaw did let ſlacke the raines of the bridles of the horſes which ſhe had in her hands, as though ſhe could not ſtay them any more. The ſtatue of *Caius Cæſar* alſo within the Iland, which ſtandeth in the middeſt of the riuer of Tiber at ROME, without any earthquake or ſtorme of winde, turned of it ſelfe from the Weſt to the Eaſt: the which (as it is reported) chanced about the time that *Veſpaſian* began to take vpon him to be Emperour.

*The wonderfull ouerflowing of the riuer of Tiber.*

Many alſo tooke the ouerflowing of the riuer of Tiber for an euill ſigne. For in deede it was at that time of the yeare when riuers do ſwell moſt, yet was it neuer ſo great before, neither had it euer done ſo much hurt as it did at that time. For it had ouerflowen her bankes, and drowned the moſt part of the city, and ſpecially the corne market: inſomuch that they ſuffered famine many dayes after in ROME. In all this ſturre, newes came that *Cecinna* and *Valens*, (two of *Vitellius* Captaines) had taken the mountaines of the Alpes: and moreouer in ROME, *Dolabella* a noble man, was ſuſpected by the Prætorian ſouldiers, that he practiſed ſome treaſon. Now *Otho*, eyther becauſe he was affrayed of him, or of ſome other: he ſent him to the citie of AQVINVM, promiſing him he ſhould haue no other hurt. Then chooſing the choyſeſt gentlemen which he would take with him, among others he tooke *Lucius*, the brother of *Vitellius*, and did not depriue him of any iot of his honor and dignity. Moreouer, hee was verie carefull to ſee his wife and mother ſafe, that they ſhould not be affrayed of them ſelues. Beſides all this, he appointed *Flauius Sabinus*, *Veſpaſians* brother, Gouernour of ROME in his abſence: and did it for *Neroes* ſake, who had before giuen him the ſame honour and authority the which *Galba* had taken from him: or els to make *Veſpaſian* ſee, that he loued & truſted him.

*The frowardnes of Otho and Vitellius ſouldiers.*

*Placentia the fertileſt towne of all Italie.*

*The praiſe of Othoes Captaines, and diſpraiſe of Vitellius Captaines.*

*Fabius Valens*

*Cremona a goodly city.*

So he taried behinde at Breſſelle, a city ſtanding vpon the riuer of Po: and ſent his army before vnder the conduct of *Marius Celſus*, of *Swetonius Paulinus*, and of *Gallus* and *Spurina*, all noble and great perſonages, howbeit they could not haue their wils to rule the army as they would, becauſe of the inſolency and ſtubborneſſe of the ſouldiers, who would haue no other Captaines but the Emperour onely, ſaying that he, and none other, ſhould commaund them. In deede, the enemies ſouldiers alſo were not much wiſer, nor more obedient to their Captaines, but were braue and luſty vppon the ſelfe ſame occaſion: howbeit they had this aduantage ouer the other, that they could tell how to fight, and were all well trained in the warres, and could away with paines and hardnes, and neuer ſhrunke from it. Whereas the Prætorian ſouldiers that came from Rome, were fine meale-mouthed men, becauſe they had beene long from the warres, and had liued at eaſe in Rome, and taken their pleaſure in banquetting and playes: and therefore in a brauety and iolity, they would needs haue men thinke that they diſdained to do what their Captaines commaunded them, as men that were too good to do it, and not that they were fine fingered, and loth to take paines. So that when *Spurina* would haue compelled them, he was in danger of death, and ſcaped very narrowly that they ſlue him not. For they ſtucke not to reuile him, and giue him as fowle wordes as they could: calling him traitor, and curſing him, ſaying that he marred all *Caſars* affaires. Yea and there were ſome of them that hauing their full cuppes went in the night to his tent, to aske him leaue to depart, ſaying that they would go to the Emperour, and complaine to him of him. But the flout they had giuen them by their enemies about that time, hard by the city of Placentia, did ſtand *Spurina* and his affaires to great purpoſe. For *Vitellius* ſouldiers comming hard to the wals of the city, did mocke *Othoes* men that were at the cranewes of the ſame, and called them fine dancers, and goodly ſtage players, that had ſeene nothing but playes and feaſtes: and that for feats of armes, and battels, they knew not what it ment: and that the greateſt act they euer did, was for that they ſtrake off the head of a poore naked olde man, meaning by *Galba*: and that to come to fight a battell in the fielde before men, their hearts were in their heeles. Theſe vile words galled them to the heart, and made them ſo mad withall, that they came of them ſelues to pray *Spurina* to commaund them what he thought good, promiſing that from thence forth they would neuer refuſe any paines or daunger he would put them to. Thereupon, there was a hotte aſſault giuen to the city of Placentia, with great ſtore of ſundry engines. Howbeit *Spurinaes* men had the better, and hauing with great ſlaughter repulſed the aſſailants, they ſaued one of the goodlieſt, the greateſt, and moſt floriſhing cities of all Italie. So *Othoes* Captaines were farre more familiar, curteous, and ciuill to deale with cities and priuate men, then *Vitellius* ſouldiers were. For, of *Vitellius* Captaines, *Cecinna*, was neither for perſon nor maners accompanyable for the people, but ſtraunge, monſtruous, and troubleſome to ſee him onely, a mighty made man wearing gallie gaskons, and coates with ſleeues, after the faſhion of the Gaules, and ſpake in this attire vnto the enſigne bearers, and Captaines of the Romaines. Furthermore, he had his wife alway with him brauely mounted a horſebacke, gallantly apparelled, and accompanied with a troupe of the choyſeſt men of armes of all the companies. The other, *Fabius Valens*, he was ſo couetous, that no ſpoile of enemies, no polling of ſubiects, nor bribes taken of their friends and confederates, could quench or ſatisfie his vnſatiable couetouſnes: whereby it ſeemeth that was the let, that comming on ſo ſlowly, hee was not at the firſt battell. Howbeit others do blame *Cecinna* for it, that made too much haſt, for the deſire he had to haue the onely honor of the victory to himſelfe: and this was the cauſe, that beſides his other light faultes, he alſo made this, that he gaue battell out of due time and ſeaſon, and when it came to the pointe in deede, yet he fought it out not valiantly, ſo that he had almoſt caſt all alway. For when he had the repulſe fr[illegible] Placentia, he went vnto Cremona an other great city. And *Annius Gallus* going to aide *Spurina*, who was beſieged in the city of Placentia: when he heard by the way that the Placentines had the better, and that the Cremonenses, were in great danger and diſtreſſe: he marched thither with his army, and went and camped hard by the enemies. After that alſo, the other Captaines of either ſide came to aide their men. Howbeit *Cecinna* hauing layed a great number of his beſt ſouldiers well armed in ambuſhe, in certaine thicke groues and woddes: he commaunded his horſemen to march forward,and if the enemies came to charge them, that they ſhould retyre litle and litle,making as though they fled, vntill they had drawen them within his ambuſh.So there were certaine traitors that bewrayed the ambuſh vnto *Marius Celſus*, who came againſt them with his choyce men of armes, and did not follow them ouer raſhly, but compaſſed in the place where the ambuſh lay, the which he raiſed, and in the meane time ſent to his campe with all poſſible ſpeede to his footemen to make haſte thitherward: and it ſeemeth,that if they had come in time, they had not left one of their enemies aliue, but had marched vppon the bellies of all *Cecinnaes* armie, if they had followed the horſemen in time, as they ſhould haue done. But *Paulinus* being come too late to aide them, for that he came ſo ſlowly: he was burdened that he did not the duetie of a Captaine, that bare the name and countenance he caried. Furthermore, the common ſouldiers accuſed him of treaſon vnto *Otho*, and ſtirred vp their Emperour againſt him,and ſpake verie bigge words of themſelues, ſaying, that they had ouercome for their owne partes, had not the cowardlines of their Captaines bene, who put them by the victory. So *Otho* did not truſt him ſo much,that he would not make him beleeue but that he miſtruſted ſomewhat. Therefore he ſent his brother *Titianus* to the campe, and *Proclus* with him, Captaine of the Prætorian guard, who indeede commanded all, but in ſight *Titianus* had all the honor, as bearing the name of the Emperours Lieutenant. *Marius Celſus*, and *Paulinus* followed after,bearing name of counſellers and friends only: howbeit otherwiſe they meddled with nothing, neither had any authoritie giuen them. On the other ſide, the enemies were in as much trouble as they, and thoſe ſpecially, whom *Valens* led. For when newes was brought of the conflict that was betweene them in this ambuſh, they were angrie with him, becauſe they were not at it, and for that he had not led them thither, to helpe their men that were ſlaine: inſomuch that he had much a doe to pacifie and quiet them, they were ſo readie to haue flowen vpon him. So *Valens* at length remoued his campe, & went & ioyned with *Cecinna*. Howbeit *Otho* being come to his campe at the towne of BEBRIACVM, which is a litle towne hard by CREMONA: he conſulted with his Captaines whether he ſhould giue battell or not. So *Proclus* and *Titianus* gaue him counſell to fight, conſidering that the ſouldiers were very willing to it, by reaſon of the late victorie they had wonne, and wiſhed him not to deferre it: for thereby he ſhould but diſcourage his armie, which was nowe willing to fight, and alſo giue their enemies leaſure to tarie for their Chiefetaine *Vitellius*, who came himſelfe out of GAVLE. But *Paulinus* in contrarie manner alleaged, that the enemies had all their force and power preſent, with the which they thought to fight with them, and alſo to ouercome them, and that they wanted nothing: whereas *Otho* looked for an other armie out of MYSIA and PANNONIA,as great an army as his enemies had alreadie,ſo that he could tary his time, and not ſerue his enemies turne: and alſo, that if the ſouldiers being now but a few in number were willing to fight, they ſhould then be much more incouraged, when they ſhould haue greater company, and ſhould alſo fight with better ſafetie. Furthermore he perſwaded them, that to delay time was for their auaile, conſidering that they had plentie and ſtore of all maner of prouiſion: where the enemies on the other ſide being alſo in their enemies country, their victuals would quickely faile them. *Marius Celſus* liked very well of theſe perſwaſions. And ſo did *Annius Gallus*, who was not preſent at this counſell (but gone from the campe, to be cured of a fall he had from his horſe) but he was written to by *Otho* to haue his opinion alſo. So *Annius Gallus* returned aunſwere, that he thought it not beſt to make haſte,but to ſtay for the armie that came out of MYSIA,conſidering they were onwardes on their way. Howbeit *Otho* would not hearken to this counſell, but followed their mindes that concluded of battell: for the which were alleaged diuers occaſions. But the chiefeſt and likelieſt cauſe of all was, that the ſouldiers which are called the Prætorian guard (being the daily guard about the Emperours perſon) finding then in effect what it was to profeſſe to be a ſouldier, and to liue like a ſouldier: they lamented their continuing in ROME,where they liued at eaſe & pleaſure, feaſting and banquetting,neuer feeling the diſcommodities and bitter paines of warre,and did therefore ſo earneſtly cry out to fight, that there was no ſtaying of them, as if they ſhould at their firſt crie and ſetting forward, haue ouerthrowen their enemies. Moreouer, it ſeemed alſo that *Otho* himſelfe could no more away with the feare and doubt of the vncertaine ſucceſſe

*Paulinus, Othoes Captaine, accuſed for a coward.*

*Bebriacum a towne by Cremona.*

*Othoes conſultation of giuing battell.*

*Freſh water ſouldiers lament their pleaſant life at Rome, feeling the paines and ſmart of a ſouldier.*

to com, neither could any longer abide the grieuous thoughtes of the daunger of his eſtate, he was ſo effeminate, and vnacquainted with ſorrow and paines. This was the cauſe that caried him on headlong, as a man that ſhutteth his eyes falling from a high place, and ſo to put all at aduenture. The matter is thus reported by *Secundus* the Orator, and *Othoes* ſecretarie. Others alſo doe report, that both armies had diuers determinations and mindes: as to ioyne all together in one campe, and ioyntly to chooſe among them, if they could agree, the worthieſt man of all the Captaines that were there: if not, then to aſſemble the whole Senate in a place together, & there to ſuffer the Senators to chooſe ſuch a one Emperour, as they liked beſt of. And ſure it is very likely it was ſo, conſidering that neither of them both which were then called Emperours, was thought meete for the place they had: and therefore that theſe counſels and conſiderations might eaſily fall into the ROMAINE ſouldiers heades (who were wiſe men and expert ſouldiers) that in deede it was a thing for them iuſtly to miſlike, to bring themſelues into the like miſerable time and calamitie, which their predeceſſors before them had cauſed one an other to ſuffer, firſt for *Sylla* and *Marius* ſakes, and afterwards for *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, and now to beſtow the Empire of ROME either vpon *Vitellius*, to make him the abler to follow his drunkenneſſe and gluttony: or elſe vpon *Otho*, to maintaine his wanton & licentious life. This was the cauſe that moued *Celſus* to delay time, hoping to end the warres without trouble and daunger: and that cauſed *Otho* alſo to make the more haſte, being affraide of the ſame. Howbeit *Otho* returning backe againe to BRESSELLES, he committed an other fault, not only becauſe he tooke his mens good wils from thẽ to fight, the which his preſence, and the reuerence they bare vnto him did put in them: but becauſe alſo he caried away with him for the gard of his perſon, the valianteſt ſouldiers & moſt reſolute men of all his hoſt. About that time there chaunced a skirmiſh to fall out by the riuer of Po, becauſe *Cecinna* built a bridge ouer it, and *Othoes* men did what they could to hinder them. Howbeit when they ſaw they preuailed not, they laded certaine barges with faggots and drie wood, all rubbed ouer with brimſtone and pitch, and ſetting them a fire, then ſent them downe the ſtreame. When the barges were in the middeſt of the ſtreame, there ſodainely roſe a winde out of the riuer, which blew vppon this woodſtake they had prepared to caſt among the enemies workes of this bridge, that firſt made it ſmoke, and immediatly after fell all on a great flame, which did ſo trouble the men in the barges, that they were driuen to leape into the riuer to ſaue themſelues: and ſo they loſt their barges, and became themſelues alſo priſoners to their enemies, to their great ſhame and mockerie. Furthermore, the GERMAINES vnder *Vitellius*, fighting with *Othoes* fenſers, which of them ſhould winne a litle Iland in the middeſt of the riuer: they had the vpper hand, and ſlew many of the fenſers. Thereuppon *Othoes* ſouldiers which were in BEBRIACVM, being in a rage withall, & would needs fight: *Proclus* brought them into the fielde, and went and camped about fiftie furlong out of the citie, ſo fondly, and to ſo litle purpoſe, that being the ſpring of the yeare, and all the countrie thereabout full of brookes and riuers, yet they notwithſtanding lacked water. The next morning they raiſed their campe to meete with their enemies the ſame day, and were driuen to march aboue a hundred furlong. Now *Paulinus* perſwaded them to goe faire and ſoftly, & not to make more haſte then needed, and would not ſo ſoone as they ſhould come, (being wearied with their iorney and trauell) ſet vpon their enemies that were well armed, and beſides had leaſure & time enough to ſet their men in battell ray, whileſt they were cõming ſo long a iorney with all their cariage. Now the Captaines being of diuers opinions about this matter, there came a horſeman from *Otho*, one of thoſe they call the Nomades, that brought them letters, in the which *Otho* commaunded them to make all the haſte they could, and to looſe no time, but to march with all ſpeede towardes the enemie. So when theſe letters were read, the Captaines preſently marched forward with their armie. *Cecinna* vnderſtanding of their comming, was aſtonied at the firſt, and ſodainely forſooke the worke of his bridge to returne to his campe, where he found the moſt part of his ſouldiers alreadie armed, and *Valens* had giuen them their ſignall and worde of battell. And in the meane time, whileſt the legions were taking their places to ſet themſelues in battell ray: they ſent out before the choyceſt horſemen they had, to skirmish. Now there ran a rumor (no man knew how, nor vpon what cauſe) that *Vitellius* Captaines would turne on

*Secundus the Orator, ſecretarie vnto Otho the Emperour.*

*Vitellius: a drunkard and glutton.*

*Otho: a wanton and licentious liuer.*

*The towne of Breſſelles is hard by the riuer of Po.*

*Othoes* ſide in battell. Inſomuch that when theſe men of armes came neere to meete with the voward of *Othoes* armie: *Othoes* men did ſpeake very gently to them, and called them companions. *Vitellius* men on the other ſide tooke this ſalutation in euill part, and aunſwered them againe in rage, as men that were willing to fight. Inſomuch that thoſe that had ſpoken to thē, were quite diſcoraged: and the reſidue alſo beganne to ſuſpect their companions which had ſpoken to them, and miſtruſted them to be traitors. And this was the chiefeſt cauſe of all their diſorder, being readie to ioyne battell. Furthermore, on the enemies ſide alſo, all was out of order: for the beaſts of cariage ranne in amongeſt them that fought, and ſo did put them maruellouſly out of order. Beſides that alſo, the diſaduantage of the place where they fought, did compell them to diſperſe one from an other, becauſe of ſundry ditches and trenches that were betwene them, whereby they were compelled to fight in diuers companies together. So there were but two legions onely, the one of *Vitellius*, called the deuourer: and the other of *Otho*, called the helper: which getting out of theſe holes and ditches a part by themſelues, in a good plaine euen ground, fought it out ſo a long time together in good order of battell. *Othoes* ſouldiers were men of goodly perſonages, ſtrong, and valiant of their handes, howbeit they had neuer ſerued in the warres, nor had euer foughten battell but that. And *Vitellius* men on the other ſide, were olde beaten ſouldiers, and had ſerued all their youth, and knew what wars and battels ment. So when they came to ioyne, *Othoes* men gaue ſuch a luſtie charge vpon the firſt onſet, that they ouerthrew, & ſlew all the firſt rancke, and alſo wanne the enſigne of the Eagle. *Vitellius* men were ſo aſhamed of it, and therewith in ſuch a rage, that they tooke hart againe vnto them, and ranne in ſo deſperately vpon their enemies, that at the firſt they ſlew the Colonell of all their legion, and wanne diuers enſignes. And furthermore, againſt *Othoes* fenſers, (which were accounted the valianteſt men, and readieſt of hande) *Varus Alphenus* brought his mē of armes called the BATTAVII, which are GERMAINES in the lower part of GERMANY, dwelling in an Iland compaſſed about with the riuer of Rhein. There were few of his Fenſers that ſtucke by it, but the moſt of them ranne away towards the riuer, where they founde certaine enſignes of their enemies ſet in battell ray, who put them all to the ſworde, and not a man of them ſcaped with life. But aboue all other, none proued more beaſts & cowards, then the Prætorian gard. For they would not tarie till the enemies came to giue them charge, but cowardly turned their backes, and fled through their owne men that were not ouerthrowen: and ſo did both diſorder them, and alſo make them affraid. This notwithſtanding, there were a great number of *Othoes* men who hauing ouerthrowen the voward of them that made head againſt them, they forced a lane through their enemies that were Conquerours, and ſo valiantly returned back into their camp. But of their Captaines, neither *Proclus* nor *Paulinus*, durſt returne backe with them, but fled another way, being affraid of the furie of the ſouldiers, that they would lay all the fault of their ouerthrow vpon their Captaines. Howbeit *Annius Gallus* receiued them into the citie of BEBRIACVM, that came together after this ouerthrow, & told them that the battell was equall betwixt them, and that in many places they had had the better of their enemies. But *Marius Celſus* gathering the noble men and gentlemen together that had charge in the army, he fell to conſultation what they ſhould do in ſo great a calamitie, and extreame ſlaughter of the ROMAINE Citizens. For if *Otho* himſelfe were an honeſt man, he ſhould no more attempt fortune: conſidering that *Cato* and *Scipio* were both greatly blamed, for that they were the cauſe of caſting away many men in AFRICKE to no purpoſe, (though they fought for the libertie of the ROMAINES) and only of ſelfe will, for that they would not yeeld to *Iulius Cæſar* after he had wonne the battell of PHARSALIA. For though fortune in all other things haue power ouer men: yet extremities happening to good men, ſhe can not preuent them to determine the beſt for their ſafetie. Theſe perſwaſions ſtraight caried away the Captaines, who went preſently to feele the mindes of the priuate ſouldiers, whom they found all of them deſirous of peace. So *Titianus* perſwaded them to ſend Ambaſſadors vnto the enemies to treate of peace: and *Celſus* and *Gallus* tooke vppon them the charge to goe thither, to breake the matter vnto *Cecinna*, and *Valens*. But by the way they met with certain Centurions, who told them how all the army of the enemies were cōming onwards on their way, to come directly to the city of BEBRIACVM, and that their chieftaines had ſent before to offer

*Battell betwixt the Othonians and Vitellians.*

*Legions called by prety names: Deuourer, Helper.*

*The valiantnes of the Battauij in warre.*

*Note the trim ſeruice of Fenſers, and what ſouldiers they be.*

*The Othonians ouercome in battell by the Vitellians.*

*The cowardlines of the freſh-water ſouldiers*

*Marius Celſus oration to Othoes ſouldiers perſwading them to goe to Vitellius.*

*Othoes Captaines do yeeld themſelues vnto Vitellius.*

treatie of peace. *Celſus* and his companion *Gallus* being glad of this, prayed the Centurions that they would returne with them vnto *Cecinna*. But when they were come neare vnto him, *Celſus* was in great daunger of his life: becauſe the men of armes which he had ouerthrowen certaine daies before in an ambuſh, comming before, when they ſpyed him, they flew vpon him with great ſhoutes. Howbeit the Centurions that were in his companie, ſtepped before him, and cloſed him in: and ſo did the other Captaines that cryed vnto them they ſhould doe him no hurt. *Cecinna* vnderſtanding what the matter was, rode thither, and pacified the tumult of theſe men of armes: and then ſaluting *Celſus* very courteouſly, he went with him towardes B e b r i a c v m. But nowe *Titianus* in the meane time, repenting him ſelfe that hee had ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the enemies, he placed the deſperateſt ſouldiers he had vpon the walles of the citie, and incouraged the reſt alſo to doe the like, and to ſtand to the defence. But *Cecinna* came to the wall, & being a horſebacke, held vp his hand vnto them. Then they made no more reſiſtance, but thoſe that were vpon the walles, ſaluted the ſouldiers: and they that were within the citie opened the gates, and thruſt in amongeſt *Vitellius* men, who receiued them, and did no man any hurt, but courteouſly imbraced them, and ſaluted each other. Then they all ſware & tooke their othes to be true to *Vitellius*, and ſo yeelded them ſelues vnto him. So doe the moſt part of thoſe that were at this battell, report the ſucceſſe thereof: graunting notwithſtanding, that they knew not euery thing that was done, becauſe of the great diſorder among them. But as I trauelled on a time through the field where the battell was ſtriken, with *Metrius Florus* that had beene Conſull: he ſhewed me an olde man that when the fielde was fought in that place, was young, and againſt his will was at the ſame battell on *Othoes* part. Who told vs, that after the battell was fought, he came into the field to ſuruey the number of thoſe that were dead: and he found the dead bodies piled on a heape, of the height of thoſe that came to view them. And ſaide moreouer, that he made inquirie of the matter, but he neither could imagine it himſelfe, nor be ſatisfied by others. Now in deede it is likely, that in ciuill warres betwene countrimen of one ſelf city, where one of the two armies is ouerthrowen, that there ſhould be greater ſlaughter among them, then againſt the other enemies, becauſe they take no priſoners of either ſide: for thoſe they ſhould take, would ſerue them to no good purpoſe. But after they were ſlaine, one to be laide on heapes ſo by an other, that is a hard thing to iudge. But now to the matter. The newes of this ouerthrow came firſt but obſcurely vnto *Otho*, a common thing in a matter of ſo great importaunce: but afterwardes, when ſome that were hurt came and brought him certain newes of it, it was no maruell then to ſee *Othoes* friendes and familiars to comfort him, who praied him to be of good cheere, and not to be diſcoraged for that. Howbeit, the wonderfull great loue and good will which the priuate ſouldiers ſhewed vnto him at that time, did paſſe and exceede all ſpeech and education. For they forſooke him not, neither went they to ſubmit themſelues to their enemies the conquerors, neither tooke they any regard of themſelues, to ſee their Emperour in that diſpaire: but all of them ioyntly together went vnto his lodging, and called him their Emperor. Then he came out, and they fell downe at his feete, as men repreſented in a triumphe lying on the ground, & kiſſed his hands, with the teares running downe their cheekes, and beſought him not to forſake and leaue them to their enemies, but to commaund their perſons whileſt they had one droppe of bloud left in their bodies to doe him ſeruice. All of them together made this petition to him. But amongſt others, there was a poore ſouldier drawing out his ſword, ſaid vnto him: know, O *Cæſar*, that all my companions are determined to die in this ſort for thee, and ſo ſlew himſelfe. But all theſe lamentable things did neuer melt *Othoes* hart: who looking with a ſtout countenance round about him, and caſting his eyes euery where, ſpake vnto them in this manner. I thinke this a more happie day for me, my fellowes, then that in the which you firſt choſe me Emperour: to ſee you loue me ſo well, and doe me ſuch honour, with ſo great ſhew of loyalty. But yet I beſeech you not to denie me of a greater fauour, which is: to die va-
,, liantly and honorably, for the ſafetie of ſo many honeſt men as you be, and ſo good Citizens
,, of R o m e. If by your election you made me worthy to take vpon me the Imperiall crowne: I
,, muſt now needes ſhew my ſelfe an Emperour, not ſparing to ſpende my life for your and my
,, countries ſafetie. I am certaine that the victorie is not altogether mine enemies. For newes are

*Men that fight a battell, know not all things that are done at the battell.*

*The great fidelitie of the ſouldiers, vnto the Emperor Otho.*

*The wonderful courage of a ſouldier of Othoes.*

*The noble courage of Otho before his death and his oration to the ſouldiers.*

come vnto me, that our armies of MYSIA and PANNONIA are in their way comming to vs, »
and that they are not farre off from the Adriaticke ſea. ASIA, SYRIA, and ÆGYPT, and the »
legions that made warre in IVREE, are all ours. The Senate taketh our part, and our enemies »
wiues and children be in our handes. But this warre is not againſt *Anniball*, nor *Pyrrhus*, nor »
againſt the CIMBRES, to fight who ſhould be owners of ITALIE: but it is againſt the ROMAINES »
themſelues. For in this ciuill warre, both the Conquerour and vanquiſhed doe offend »
their country: for where the Conquerors haue benefite, the country & common wealth »
alwaies receiueth loſſe. Aſſure your ſelues I had rather die, than raigne Emperour: conſidering »
alſo that my life with victorie can not ſo much benefite the ROMAINES, as the ſacrifice »
of the ſame may doe my country good, for the peace and quietneſſe of my country men, keeping »
ITALY thereby from ſeeing ſuch an other battell, as this hath bene. So when he had made »
this oration vnto them, and put thoſe by, that would haue diſſwaded him the contrarie: he commaunded all the Senators and his friendes that were preſent, to auoyde. Then he wrote letters to them that were abſent, and alſo vnto the cities wherethrough they paſſed, to vſe them verie courteouſly, and to ſee them ſafely conueyed. Then came his Nephewe *Cocceius* to him, who was yet but a young boy, and he did comfort him, and bad him not to be afraide of *Vitellius*, for he had ſafely kept his mother, wife, and children, and had bene as carefull of them, as if they had bene his owne: and that he would not yet adopt him for his ſonne, though he was deſirous to doe it, vntill ſuch time as he ſawe the end of this warre: to the end that if he ouercame, he ſhould quietly raigne Emperour with him: and if he were ouercome, that for adopting of him, he would not be cauſe of his death. But this one thing onely, I commaund and charge thee, my ſonne, euen as the laſt commandement that I can giue thee: that thou doe not forget altogether, neither ouermuch remember, that thine Vncle hath bene Emperor. When he had told him this tale, he heard a noyſe at his dore: they were the ſouldiers that threatned the Senators which came from him, and would kill them, if they did not remaine with him, but would forſake their Emperour. Vpon this occaſion he came out once againe among them, being affraid leaſt the ſouldiers would doe the Senators ſome hurt, and made the ſouldiers giue backe, not by intreating of them, nor ſpeaking courteouſly to them, but looking grimly on them, and in great rage: inſomuch that they all ſhrunke backe, & went away for feare. So when night came, he was a thirſt, and dranke a litle water: and hauing two ſwordes, he was prouing a great while which had the beſt edge. In the end, he put by the one, and kept the other in his armes. Then he began to comfort his ſeruants, and liberally to giue out his money among them, to ſome more, to ſome leſſe, not prodigally throwing it away without diſcretion, as being an other mans money: but diſcreetely gaue to euery man according to his deſert. Then after he had diſpatched them away, he laide him downe to ſleepe all the reſt of the night, that the groomes of his chamber heard him ſnort, he ſlept ſo ſoundly. In the morning he called one of his infranchiſed bondmen, whom he had commanded to helpe to ſaue the Senators, and ſent him to ſee if they were all ſafe, and gone. So when he vnderſtood that they were all gone, and that they had all they would: come on, ſaide he then vnto him, looke to thy ſelfe I read thee, and take heede the ſouldiers ſee thee not, if thou wilt ſcape with life, for ſure they will kill thee, thinking thou haſt holpen me to kill my ſelfe. So aſſoone as his infranchiſed bondman was gone out of his chamber, he tooke his ſword with both his hands and ſetting the point of it to his breſt, he fell downe vppon it, ſeeming to feele no other paine, ſauing that he fetched a ſigh: whereby they that were without, knewe that he had done himſelfe hurt. Thereupon his friends made ſtraight an outcry, and all the campe and citie was incontinently full of teares and lamentation. The ſouldiers ſodainly ranne with a great noyſe to his gates, where they bitterly bewayled, and lamented his death, falling out with themſelues that they were ſuch Villaines ſo ſlenderly to haue guarded their Emperor, that they kept him not from killing himſelfe for their ſakes. So there was not a man of them that left his bodie, though the enemies were hard at hand: but hauing honourably buried him, and prepared a great ſtacke of wood, they conueyed him armed to the fire of his funerals, euery man thinking himſelfe happie, that could firſt ſet his ſhoulders to the coffin to helpe to carie him. Others comming to it, kneeled downe on their knees, and kiſſed his wound. Others tooke and kiſſed

*The Emperour Othoes wordes to his Nephew Cocceius.*

*Otho in his death, ſeemed to follow Cato Vtican.*

*Otho ſlew himſelfe.*

*The funerals of Otho the Emperour.*

*The Emperor Othoes tombe in the citie of Breſſelles.*

*Othoes age and raigne.*

his handes. Others that could not come neare him, honoured him, and did reuerence him a farre off, and ſome there were alſo that after the ſtacke of wood was ſet a fire, ſlew themſelues hard by the fire: who had neuer receiued benefite by him that was dead, (at the leaſt to any mans knowledge) neither had they any occaſion to be affraid of him that was Conquerour. And truely me thinkes, neuer king nor tyrant was ſo ambitiouſly giuen to raigne, as they vehemently deſired to be commaunded by *Otho*, and to obey him: conſidering that their deſire left them not euen after his death, but was ſo liuely rooted in their mindes, that in the ende, it turned to a deadly hate vnto *Vitellius*. But of this we will ſpeake more hereafter in time and place. Now, when they had buried *Othoes* aſhes, they did ſet vp a tombe for him, neither for magnificence of building, nor for glorious epitaphe, ſubiect vnto enuie. For I haue ſeene his tombe in the citie of BRESSELLES, a meane thing, and the epitaph vpon it tranſlated out of Latine, ſaieth no more but this: This is the tombe of *Marcus Otho*. He died being but ſeuen and thirtie yeare old, and was Emperor but three monethes: and there were as many famous men that commended his death, as they that reproued his life. For though he liued not much more honeſter then *Nero*, yet he dyed farre more honorably. Furthermore, when *Pollio* one of the Captaines would haue compelled his ſouldiers preſently to haue taken their othes to be true to *Vitellius*, they fell out with him: and vnderſtanding that there were yet remaining ſome Senators, they would not meddle with them, but onely troubled *Verginius Rufus*. For they came to his dores armed, and called him by his name, and commaunded him to take charge of them, and to goe as Ambaſſador to intreate for them. Howbeit he thought it were but a fond part of him to take charge of them that were alreadie ouercome, conſidering he refuſed it when they had ouercome: and alſo he was affraide to goe Ambaſſador to the GERMAINES, because he had compelled them to doe things againſt their willes. Therefore he went out at his backe dore, and ſaued himſelfe. So when the ſouldiers heard of it they were at length contented to be brought to be ſworne vnto *Vitellius*, and ſo ioyned themſelues with *Cecinnaes* ſouldiers, ſo they might be pardoned for all that was paſt.

# THE LIVES OF ANNIBAL AND SCIPIO AFRICAN.

## Tranſlated into French by *Charles de la Sluce*, and engliſhed by *Thomas North*.

ANNI BAL CARD

## *Anniball.*

The parentage of Anniball.

IF we doe call to minde the firſt PVNICKE war the CARTHAGINIANS had with the ROMAINES: we ſhall find many Captaines, who by the glory of their noble deeds, haue left great fame and renowme vnto their poſterity. Howbeit amongeſt all the Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS, none are found more worthy of fame, and ſo commended of all Greeke and Latine Authors, then *Hamilcar*, *Annibals* father, otherwiſe ſurnamed *Barcha*, a valiant man doubtles, and in his time a ſkilfull ſouldier as any was. The ſame *Hamilcar* firſt of all made warre with the ROMAINS, a longer time in SICILIA then was looked for, who had done great hurt to his countrey and common wealth. After that alſo in the warres of AFRICKE (at what time the mercenarie ſouldiers through their rebellion did put the countrey of CARTHAGE in great daunger) he did ſo valiauntly appeaſe the inſurrection: that to euery mans iudgement, hee was reputed the onely preſeruer of his countrey. Then he was ſent Gouernour and Captaine into SPAINE, and caried with him at that time, (as it is reported) his ſonne *Anniball*, being but a young boy, where hee did noble ſeruice. In fine, in the ninth yeare of his aboad there in that prouince, he died fighting valiauntly againſt the VETHEONS. After his death, *Haſdrubal* his Sonne in lawe, whom the Carthaginians through the aide and friendſhip of the Barcinian faction had made generall of all their army ) remained gouernor there the ſpace of eight yeares. This *Haſdrubal* ſent for *Anniball* into Spaine, after his father *Hamilcars* death, againſt the minds of the chiefe of the contrary faction, to the end that as he had bene trayned from his youth in the diſcipline of warres, in his father *Hamilcars* life: euen ſo in like manner, that now being come to mans ſtate, he ſhould the better harden his body, to away with the paines and daungers of the warres. Now although at the firſt, the remembrance of his father was a great helpe vnto him to winne the loue and good will of the ſouldiers: Yet he him ſelfe afterwardes, through his diligence and induſtry ſo handled the matter, that the olde ſouldiers forgetting all other Captaines, they onely deſired to chooſe him (and none other) for their gouernour. For they found in him all the perfections that could be wiſhed for, in a noble Captaine or generall. He had a preſent and ready wit to giue counſell what was to be done, in moſt greateſt attempts: & beſides, he lacked neither manhood nor induſtry to put it in execution. He had a valiant and inuincible minde, euen in greateſt daungers and aduerſities of bodie: the which are wont to ſtay others from performing their indeuours and duetie. He would watch and ward as any priuate ſouldier, and was quicke and ready to doe any kind of ſeruice, either like a valiant ſouldier, or a good Captaine. In this ſort *Annibal* continued in ſeruice in the warres, the ſpace of three yeares, vnder the conduct of *Haſdrubal*. In that time he ſo wanne the hearts of all the army, that immediatly after *Haſdrubals* death, he was choſen to be Lieutenant generall, with the common conſent of all the ſouldiers: and this honor was laid vppon him without contradiction of any of the Carthaginians through the friendſhip and good will of the Barcinian faction. *Annibal* was now ſixe and twenty yeare old, when the ſouldiers made him their Lieutenant generall. For at what time his father *Hamilcar* brought him into Spaine, he was then but nine yeare old: and from that time vnto *Haſdrubals* death (according to *Polybius* declaration) it was ſeuenteene yeares moe. So he was no ſooner made Lieutenant generall of all the campe, and his countrey: but he bent him ſelfe to make war with the Romains, hauing long before determined it. For firſt of all, he chiefly maintained almoſt a common hate of all the Carthaginians againſt the Romains, becauſe of the loſſe of Sicilia and Sardinia. Beſides alſo, he bare them a ſecret malice in nature, as a thing inheritable from his father *Hamilcar*: who, of all the Captaines the Carthaginians euer had, was the mortalleſt enemy vnto the Romains. And it is written alſo, that at what time *Hamilcar* made his preparation to go into Spain, he compelled *Annibal* being but a boy, to ſweare in a ſacrifice he made, that he would be a mortall enemy to the Romains, as ſoone as euer he came to the ſtate of a man. So, the remembraunce of theſe things were ſtill freſh in the young mans minde, as the Idea (or image) of his fathers hate, and ſtill prouoked him to ſpie out all the meanes he could, how to deſtroy the Empire of Rome. Beſides alſo, the Barcinian faction neuer left to prick him forward vnto it, becauſe by wars he might raiſe him ſelfe to greatnes, and ſo increaſe his eſtate. Theſe cauſes, as well common as particular, inticed *Annibal* to attempt warre againſt the Romains, and gaue the ſtout young man occaſion by theſe meanes to practiſe innouation. There was a people at that time called the Sagvntines, who confined indifferently betwixt the Romaines and Carthaginians: and were left free by the former peace concluded. Theſe Sagvntines euer after tooke part with the Romaines, and by meanes of the league that was made betwixt them, the Romains alwaies found them very true and faithfull to the Empire of Rome. *Annibal* therefore thought with him ſelfe, hee could not deuiſe to make a better match to anger the Romaines withall, and to kindle the fire of his malice alſo againſt them: then to make warre with the Sagvntines, their confederates. Howbeit, before hee would be openly ſeene to ſet vpon them, he firſt determined to lead his army againſt the Olcades, and other people on the other ſide of the riuer of Iberus: and after he had ouercome them, then to finde occaſion to moleſt the Sagvntines, to make it appeare that the warre was rather begunne by them, then purpoſely intended by him. So after he had ouercome the Olcades, he did ſet vpon the Vacceians, ſpoyled their countrey, beſieged manie cities, and tooke Hermandice, and Arbocole, great and rich cities. Now hee had in manner ouercome all the whole countrey, when diuerſe fugitiues from the citie of Herman-

*The ſharpe wit and diſpoſition of Annibal.*

*Annibal choſen Lieutenant generall after the death of Haſdrubal, being but 26. yeare old.*

*Diuers cauſes of Annibals mortall hate to the Romaines.*

*The Barcinian faction.*

*Iberus fl.*

DICE, encoraging one another, conſpired againſt him, leauied men, & intiſed the OLCADES that were fled, to take their part. Then they perſwaded the CARPENTANIANS their neighbours, that they would all agree ſodainly to ſet vpon *Annibal* at his returne. They being a people that deſired nothing more then to fight, & conſidering alſo that they had receiued iniuries by *Annibal*, did eaſily hearken vnto that counſell: and thereuppon leauying a great number of men, to the number of a hundred thouſand, they went to aſſaile *Annibal* at his returne from the VACCEIANS, by the riuer of Tagus. When the CARTHAGINIANS diſcouered their army, they ſtaid vpon it, and were maruellouſly afraid. And doubtles, they had had a great ouerthrow, if they had fought with thoſe ſo fierce people, being afraid of their ſodain comming, & alſo loden as they were with ſo great ſpoiles: the which *Annibal* deepely conſidering, like a wiſe Captaine as he was, he would not fight, but lodged his campe in the place where they were. Then the next day following, he paſſed his army ouer the riuer with as litle noiſe as hee could, leauing the paſſage where the enemies might eaſilieſt come ouer, vngarded: becauſe vnder pretence of diſſembled feare, he might intiſe the barbarous people to paſſe ouer the riuer, to take the oportunity and occaſion offred them. Now in deede as he was the ſubtillieſt captaine, and had the fineſt ſtratagems of any other captaine of his time: ſo his policy was not in vaine, and his purpoſe to good effect, in abuſing of the enemy. For the wilde barbarous people repoſing too great truſt in the multitude of their men, ſuppoſing the CARTHAGINIANS had been afraid: with great fury entred the riuer to paſſe it ouer. So they being greatly troubled, and out of order by this meanes, and ſpecially before they could paſſe al ouer the riuer, they were ſet vppon by the CARTHAGINIANS: firſt by certaine horſemen, and afterwards with the whole army, ſo that there was a great number of them ſlaine, & the reſidue were put to flight. After this victory, all the people inhabiting about the riuer of Iberus, yeelded them ſelues vnto him, ſauing the SAGVNTINES: who, though they ſaw *Annibal* at hand comming towardes thē, truſting to the friendſhip of the ROMAINES, they prepared to defend them ſelues againſt him: and therewithall ſent Ambaſſadors preſently to ROME, to ſhew the Senate in what great daunger they were, and alſo to pray aide againſt their ſo great enemy, that made warres hottely with them. The Ambaſſadors that were ſent to ROME, were ſcant gone out of SPAINE, when *Annibal* made open warre on them, with all his army, & pitched his campe before the city of SAGVNTVS. When this matter was reported at ROME, and conſulted of for the wrongs that had beene done to their confederates: the Senators dealt but ſlackly in it, and by decree only ſent *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *Quintus Bebius Pamphilus* vnto *Annibal*, to wil him to raiſe his ſiege from SAGVNTVS: & if they found he would not hearken to them, that then they ſhould thence repaire to CARTHAGE, and to pray them to deliuer their general *Annibal* vnto them, becauſe he had broken the peace. *Polybius* writeth, that *Annibal* did heare theſe Ambaſſadours, howbeit that he made them a ſlender anſwer. *Liuius* writeth in contrary manner, that they were neuer heard, nor came at any time to his campe. Howbeit they both agree thus farre, that they came into SPAIN, and afterwards went into AFRICK, & from thence came to CARTHAGE, where after they had deliuered their meſſage vnto the councell, the BARCINIAN faction were ſo much againſt them, that they diſhonourably returned to ROME, and obtained not their deſire. Now, in the Senate of CARTHAGE, there were two contrary parts and factions: of the which, the firſt tooke his beginning from the gouernment of *Hamilcar*, ſurnamed *Barcha*, & ſo diſcended as it were by ſucceſſion to his ſonne *Annibal*, and grew afterwards vnto ſuch greatnes, that that faction (as well abroad, as at home) ruled all matters iudiciall. The ſecond faction came of *Hanno*, a graue man, and of great authority in the ſame common wealth: howbeit a man more giuen to embrace peace and quietnes, then otherwiſe diſpoſed to war and trouble. It is he only (as it is reported) who at that time when the Ambaſſadours of the ROMAINES came to CARTHAGE, to complaine of the iniuries done to their confederates: that did then in maner againſt the will of all the whole Senate, counſell them to keepe peace with the ROMAINS, and to beware of warres, the which one day might peraduenture vtterly deſtroy their country. Doubtleſſe, if the CARTHAGINIANS would haue followed the graue counſell of *Hanno*, rather then to haue giuen place to their deſires, and had followed the Author of peace, and not to haue beene ruled by them that gaue counſell to make warres: they hadde not taſted of

*The conſpiracy of the Spaniards againſt Annibal.*

*Tagus fl.*

*Annibals ſtratagemes.*

*The Iberians yeelde them ſelues vnto Annibal.*

*Annibal layeth ſiege to the citie of Saguntus.*

*Two contrary factions in the Senate of Carthage: the Barcinians, and Hannians. Hamilcar Barcha. Hanno: a graue counſeller and gouernor in peace.*

*A happy thing to follow good counſell.*

thoſe miſeries which their country afterwards came vnto. But giuing place to the fury & ambitious mind of a young man, they heaped ſuch miſchiefes on their heades, as afterwardes fell out vpon them. Therefore it is very meete for wiſe Magiſtrats & gouernors of cōmon weales, alwaies rather to haue an eye to the beginning of any matters, then to the end: and euer to decide all matters by aduiſe & councell, before they ſhould take any wars in hand. Now the SAGVNTINES ſeeing them ſelues beſieged by *Annibal*, & that againſt al reaſon & equity he made wars vpon them: they notwithſtanding valiantly defended the ſiege, many moneths together. Yet in fine, though *Annibal* had many moe men then they (hauing a hundred and fifty thouſand men in his camp) and that the moſt part of their rampars were battered & ouerthrowen: they liked rather to abide the ſacke of their city, then to yeeld them ſelues to the mercy of their mortall enemy. So ſome doe report, that SAGVNTVS was taken the eight moneth after ſiege was layed vnto it: But *Liuie* ſeemeth not to agree to that, neither to ſet downe any certain time of the continuance of the ſiege. Now, the taking of this ſo wealthy a city, was a great furtherance diuerſe wayes to *Annibals* enterpriſes. For many cities taking example of the ſacke of SAGVNTVS, who before miſliking to be ſubiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, were ready to rebell: they kept them ſelues quiet, and the ſouldiers alſo waxed liuely and couragious: ſeeing the rich ſpoiles that were deuided in the campe. So *Annibal* ſent great preſents of the ſpoiles of the SAGVNTINES vnto CARTHAGE, whereby he wanne the chiefeſt men of the city, and made them like the better of warres: whom he determined to lead with him againſt the ROMAINES, not in SPAINE, as many ſuppoſed, but into ITALIE it ſelfe. Whileſt theſe matters were in hand, the Ambaſſadors returned from CARTHAGE to ROME, and declared in open Senate, the ſlender anſwer they had receiued, in manner at the ſelfe ſame time when they had intelligence of the ſacke of SAGVNTVS. Hereuppon the ROMAINES greatly repented them ſelues, (though ſomewhat too late) for that they ayded not their friendes and confederates in ſo great a daunger. Therefore all the Senate and people together, being very ſorie for it, and therewith alſo maruellouſly offended, they deuided the prouinces vnto the Conſuls, to weet: SPAIN vnto *Publius Cornelius*, and AFRICK and SICILIA alſo vnto *Titus Sempronius*. Afterwards, certain of the nobleſt men of the city were ſent ambaſſadors vnto CARTHAGE, to make their complaints in open Senate for breach of the peace, and alſo to denounce vnto them the cauſe of the warre to come, and therewith boldly to proclaime open war againſt them, after they had declared the occaſion there of to come of them ſelues. This was as brauely receyued of the CARTHAGINIANS, as luſtely offered vnto them: but therein they were not ſo well aduiſed, as the ſucceſſe of that warre in the end ſufficiently proued it to them. Now *Annibal* being aduertiſed how things were concluded in the Senat at CARTHAGE, and thinking with him ſelfe that it was time to goe into ITALIE, as he had determined from the beginning: he made all the poſſible ſpeede he could to prepare his ſhippes and things ready, and ſo required aide of the cities that were his beſt friendes and confederates, and commaunded that all the bandes ſhould meete him at new CARTHAGE. So when he came to GADES, hee appointed good garriſons in places moſt conuenient, in AFRICK and SPAINE, which he thought aboue all things els to be moſt neceſſary: becauſe that when he ſhould go into ITALY, the ROMAINS ſhould not winne it from him. Therefore he ſent into AFRICKE, twelue hundred horſmen, and thirteene thouſand footemen, all SPANIARDS: and beſides, he brought out of diuers parts of AFRICK foure thouſand ſouldiers, and placed them in garriſon in CARTHAGE, obtayning both hoſtages and ſouldiers by this meanes. So he left the gouernment of SPAINE to his brother *Haſdrubal*, and gaue him an army of fifty ſhippes of warre, two thouſand horſemen, and twelue thouſand footemen. Theſe were the garriſons he left in both thoſe prouinces. Nowe he thought them not ſufficient to withſtand the power of the ROMAINES, if they bent their warres into SPAYNE, or AFRICK: but becauſe he thought them ſtrong inough to ſtay the enemy from ouerrunning of the country, vntill that hauing brought his army by land, he had ſet foote in ITALY. Moreouer, he knew that the CARTHAGINIANS were ſtrong inough to leauy a new army if they liſted, and if neede ſo required, to ſend him ayde alſo into ITALY. For, after that they had driuen away this ſo daungerous a warre, procured againſt them through the ſpight of the mercenary ſouldiers, hauing euer after obteined victorie: firſt vnder

the

*Wiſe counſell for gouernors to preuent things at the beginning.*

*Annibal wan the citie of Saguntus.*

*P. Cornelius, and T. Sempronius Conſuls.*

*Warres proclaimed by the Romaines, with the Carthaginians.*

the conduct of *Hamilcar*: ſecondly, vnder *Haſdruball*: and laſtly, vnder *Annibal*: they were growen to ſuch greatnes and ſtrength, that at what time *Annibal* came into ITALY, their Empire & dominions were maruellouſly enlarged.

*The greatnes of the dominion of Africke.*

For they had all the coaſt of AFRICK, which lieth ouer againſt the ſea Mediterraneum, from the aulters of the Philenians, which be not farre from the great Syrte, vnto *Hercules* pillers: and containeth in length *two thouſand paces.

** The place is falſe.*

So, after they had paſſed the ſtraight which deuideth AFRICKE from EVROPE, they poſſeſſed almoſt all SPAINE, to the mountaines Pyrenei, which doe deuide SPAINE from GAVLE. Thus order being taken for all things in AFRICKE, and SPAINE: *Annibal* returned againe to new CARTHAGE, where his army was ready for him, and well appointed. So, meaning to delay time no longer he called his men together, and incouraging them with great and large promiſes, he greatly commended the commodities of ITALIE, and made great accompt vnto them of the friendſhippe of the GAVLES; and in the end he bad them be of good corage, and ſet luſtely forward.

*Annibal determineth to inuade Italy.*

Thereuppon, the next day following he departed from CARTHAGE, and brought his army all alongeſt the coaſt, vnto the riuer of Iberus. It is reported, that the next day following, *Annibal* dreamed he ſaw a young man, of a maruellous terrible looke and ſtature, who bad him follow him into ITALIE: but afterwards, that he ſaw a ſnake of a wonderfull greatnes, making a maruellous noiſe: and being deſirous to vnderſtand what the ſame might ſignifie, it was told him that it betokened the deſtruction of ITALY.

*Annibals dreame at the riuer of Iberus*

It is not to be maruelled at, though the great care and thought he tooke in the day time for the war of ITALIE, made his mind to run of ſuch fancies in the night, as dreaming of victory or deſtructiō, or ſuch other calamities of war. For they are things that happen often, as *Cicero* the Orator ſaith: that our thoughts & words do beget ſuch things in our dreame, as *Ennius* the Poet writeth of *Homer*, to wit, like to thoſe his minde moſt ran on, or that he talked of moſt. Now, after *Annibal* had paſſed ouer the mountaines Pirenei, and that he had alſo wonne the GAVLES hearts with bountifull gifts: in few daies he came to the riuer of Rhone.

*The head and courſe of the riuer of Rhone.*

*Arar fl.*

The head of the riuer of Rhone, is not far from the heads of the riuers of the Rhein and Danuby, and running eight hundred furlongs, it falleth into Lacus Lemanus at GENVA. Then it runneth from thence towardes the Weſt, and deuideth the GAVLES a prety way: and then being increaſed by the riuer of Arar (called in French, Saone) and with other riuers, in the end it falleth into the ſea with duers heades, betwixt the VOLCES, and the CAVARIANS.

*The Volces: people that inhabited about the riuer of Rhone.*

The VOLCES, at that time inhabited both the ſides of the riuer of Rhone, and were full of people, and the richeſt of all the other GAVLES. They hauing vnderſtanding of *Annibals* comming, paſſed ouer the riuer, and armed them ſelues, and prepared on the other ſide to ſtoppe the CARTHAGINIANS, that they ſhould not paſſe ouer. Now, though *Annibal* had wonne all the other GAVLES, yet thoſe he could neuer winne neither by giftes, nor threates, to cauſe them rather to proue the friendſhip of the CARTHAGINIANS, then their force, Therefore *Annibal* perceiuing he was to handle ſuch enemies rather by policy, he commaunded *Hanno* the ſonne of *Bomilcar*, ſecretly to paſſe ouer the riuer of Rhone, with part of the army, and ſo to ſet vppon the GAVLES on the ſodaine. Thereupon *Hanno* as he was commaunded, made a long iourney, and hauing paſſed ouer the riuer at paſſable fords: he ſhewed him ſelfe hard by the enemies campe, before they ſaw him, or that they knew what it was. The GAVLES hearing their ſhoutes and cries behinde them, and hauing their handes full of *Annibal* before them: who had many botes ready to paſſe ouer his men: they hauing no leyſure to conſult of the matter, neither to arme them ſelues to ſtand to defence, left their campe, and fledde for life. So they being driuen from the other ſide of the riuer, the reſt of the army of the CARTHAGINIANS paſſed ouer it with ſafety.

*P. Cornelius Scipio Conſul: ſent againſt Annibal, and arriued at Maſſilia.*

In the meane time, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, that but a litle before was come vnto MASSILIA, ſtill heard newes of *Annibals* armie. Wherefore, to be more aſſured of the matter, hee ſent a band of choyce horſemen to diſcouer what the enemies intent was: who making great ſpeede as they were commaunded, met by chaunce with fiue hundred horſmen of the NVMIDIANS, whom *Annibal* had alſo ſent to bring him word of the ROMAINES army. So, they firſt ſodainly gaue charge vpon the NVMIDIANS, and after a hotte and valiant conflict betweene both the parties, in the end the ROMAINES ouercomming them, they made them flie, but with great loſſe of their men: howbeit the greateſt loſſe and ſlaughter fell vppon the enemies. So *Annibal* by this meanes ſound where the ROMAINES lay, and ſtood in a great doubt with himſelfe, whether he ſhould keepe on his way into ITALIE, or elſe lead his army againſt the Conſull that then was, and ſo to proue his hap and ſucceſſe. At length, debating many wayes in his minde, and vncertaine which way he would determine: the Ambaſſadors of the BOIANS perſwaded him to leaue all other deuiſes, and to goe on into ITALIE. For before that *Annibal* had paſſed ouer the mountains Pirenei, the BOIANS hauing by craft taken the ROMAINES Ambaſſadors, and done great miſchiefe vnto *Manlius* the Prætor, and incited the INSVBRIANS alſo: they were reuolted from the ROMAINES, and tooke part with *Annibal*, and onely becauſe the ROMAINS had repleniſhed the cities of PLACENTIA, and CREMONA with people, and had made them Colonies to ROME. So *Annibal* being ruled by their counſell, raiſed his campe, and keeping the riuers ſide, ſtill going againſt the riuer: in few dayes he came to the place which the GAVLES do call the Iland, the which the riuer of Arar and Rhodanus comming from diuers mountaines doe make there. So at this preſent, there is the famous city of LION in GAVLE, which they ſay was built long time after, by *Plancus Munatius*. From thence he came to the country of the ALLOBROGES, and hauing pacified the variance betwixt two brethren for the realme, he came through the country of the CASVINIANS and VOCONTIANS, to the riuer of Durance. The head of this riuer commeth from the Alpes, and from thence running with a ſwift ſtreame, falleth into the riuer of Rhone: and as it oftentimes changeth her courſe, ſo hath it in manner no paſſable forde. Yet *Annibal* hauing paſt it ouer, he led his army vnto the Alpes, through open and plaine countries, as farre as hee could: howbeit as he paſſed through them, he had great loſſes, as it is reported. Inſomuch that ſome that were liuing at that time, did affirme, that they heard *Annibal* him ſelfe ſay, that hee had loſt aboue thirtie thouſand men, and the moſt part of his horſemen. For he was forced not onely to fight with the inhabitants of the mountaines, but alſo compelled to make wayes through the ſtraightes: ſo that in certaine places of the higheſt rockes, hee was driuen to make paſſages through, by force of fire and vineger. So when he had paſſed the Alpes in fifteene dayes ſpace, hee came downe into the valley, not farre from the city of TVRINE. Whereby it ſeemeth to me, that he paſſed ouer the mountaine they commonly called Genua, the which on the one ſide of it hath the riuer of Druentia, and on the other ſide it goeth downe to the city of TVRINE. Now it is hard to ſay truly, what number of men he had when he was come into ITALIE: becauſe of mens diuerſities of opinions. For ſome write, that he had a hundred thouſand footemen, and twenty thouſand horſemen: others alſo write, that he had twentie thouſand footemen, and ſixe thouſand horſemen, all AFRICANS and SPANIARDES. But others, rekonning the GAVLES and LIGVRIANS, doe count foure ſcore thouſand footemen, and tenne thouſand horſemen. Yet it is not credible, that his army was ſo great, as the firſt men report, and ſpecially hauing paſſed through ſo many countries, and alſo receiued ſuch loſſe as he had: neither alſo could his number be ſo ſmall, as the ſecond reporters do make it, if a man will conſider the famous exploites and great enterpriſes he did afterwardes. So that I like their opinions beſt, which keepe the meane betweene them both: conſidering that he brought into ITALY, the better part of foure ſcore thouſand footemen, and tenne thouſand horſemen, the which he had leauied in SPAINE: as it is manifeſtly knowen alſo, that a great number of the LIGVRIANS and GAVLES came to ioyne with him, for the great malice they bare vnto the ROMAINES, that gaue no place nor ground vnto the CARTHAGINIANS. So *Annibal* being come from TVRINE, into the country of the INSVBRIANS: he was met withall by *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, who marching with wonderfull ſpeede from MASSILIA, and hauing paſſed the riuers of Po and Teſin, he camped not farre from the enemy. So ſhortly after, both the Generals being come into the fielde to view each others campe, the horſemen of either ſide grew to skirmiſh, which continued long, and was not to be diſcerned which of them had the better. Howbeit in the end, the ROMAINES ſeeing the Conſull hurt, and alſo that the horſmen of the NVMIDIANS, by litle and litle came to compaſſe them in: they were driuen to giue ground, and ſo pretily retired, defending the Conſull the beſt they could to ſaue him, and ſo at length recouered their campe. It is reported that *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, was ſaued at that time through his ſonnes helpe, who afterwards was called AFRICAN, and at that time was

but

*The Boians and Inſubriãs, reuolt from the Romaines, and take part with Annibal.*

*Lugdunum, built by Plancus Munatius. Druentia fl.*

*Annibal made waies through the rockes of the mountaines, by force of fire and vineger. The valley of Taurinus. Annibals comming into Italy by Piedmont, not farre from Turine.*

*Annibals army in Italy.*

*Annibals firſt conflict with the Romains, and victorie. P. C. Scipio Conſull hurt, and ſaued* *from his enemies by his ſon who was afterwards called African.*

*Padus fl.*

but a young ſtripling: whoſe praiſe though it was wonderfull in ſo greene a youth, yet it is likely to be true, becauſe of the famous and valiant actes that he did afterwardes. Nowe *Scipio* hauing proued how much his enemie was ſtronger than himſelfe in horſemen: he determined to place his campe ſo, as his footemen might be in beſt ſafetie, & alſo fight with greateſt aduantage. And therefore the next night following he paſſed the riuer of Po, and made as litle noyſe as he coulde, and went vnto PLACENTIA. The like ſhortly after did *T. Sempronius Longus*, who had bene reſtored from baniſhment by the Senate, and ſent for out of SICILIA: becauſe both the Conſuls ſhould gouerne the common wealth by one ſelfe authoritie. *Anniball* alſo followed them both with all his armie, and pitched his campe neere vnto the riuer of Trebia: hoping that becauſe both campes lay ſo neere together, ſome occaſion would be offred to fight, the which he chiefly deſired, both becauſe he could not long maintaine warre for lacke of victuals, as alſo that he miſtruſted the ficklenes of the GAVLES. Who like as they ſoone fell in league and friendſhip with him, drawen vnto it with hope of chaunge, and with the fame alſo of his victorie obtained: ſo he miſtruſted that vpon any light occaſion (as if the warre ſhould continue any long time in their countrie) they would turne all the hate they bare vnto the ROMAINES, againſt him, as the onely author of this waare. For theſe reſpects therfore, he deuiſed all the meanes he could to come to battell. In the meane time, *Sempronius* the other Conſul, met with a troupe of the enemies, loden with ſpoile, ſtragling vp and downe the fieldes, whom he charged, and put to flight. So imagining the like ſucceſſe of all the battell, by this good fortune he had met withall: he had good hope of victorie, if once both the armies might come to fight. Therefore being maruellous deſirous to doe ſome noble enterpriſe before *Scipio* were recouered of his hurt, and that the new Conſul ſhould be choſen: he determined to ioyne battell againſt the will of his other colleague and fellow Conſul *Scipio*, who thought nothing could be to leſſe purpoſe, then to put all the ſtate and common wealth in ieopardie, ſpecially hauing all the whole GAVLES in maner in the field againſt him. Now, *Annibal* had ſecret intelligence of all this variance, by ſpials he had ſent into the enemies campe. Wherefore, he being politicke and ſuttle as he was, found out a place ſtraight between both campes, couered ouer with buſhes and briers, and there he placed his brother *Mago* to lye in ambuſh, with a companie of choſen men. Then he commaunded the horſemen of the NVMIDIANS, to ſcurrie to the trenches of the ROMANES, to intiſe him to come to battell: & thereupon made the reſidue of his armie to eate, and ſo put them in very good order of battell, to be readie vpon any occaſion offered. Now the Conſul *Sempronius*, at the firſt tumult of the NVMIDIANS, ſodainly ſent his horſemen to encounter them, and after them put out ſixe thouſand footemen, and in the ende, came him ſelfe out of his campe with all his armie. It was then in the middeſt of winter, and extreame cold, and ſpecially in the places incloſed about the Alpes, and the mountaine Appenine. Now the NVMIDIANS as they were commaunded, intiſed the ROMANES by litle and litle on this ſide the riuer of Trebia, vntill they came to the place where they might diſcerne their enſignes: and then they ſodainely turned vpon the enemies which were out of order. For it is the manner of the NVMIDIANS, oftentimes to flie of ſet purpoſe, and then to ſtay vpon the ſodaine when they ſee time, to charge their enemie more hotely and fiercely then before. Whereupon *Sempronius* incontinently gathered his horſemen together, and did ſet his men in battell ray, as time required, to giue charge vpon his enemie, that ſtayed for him in order of battell. For *Annibal* had caſt his men into ſquadrons, readie vpon any occaſion. The skirmiſh beganne firſt by the light horſemen, & afterwards increaſed hotter by ſupply of the men of armes: howbeit the ROMANE Knights being vnable to beare the ſhocke of the enemies, they were quickly broken. So that the legions maintained the battell with ſuch furie & noble courage, that they had bene able to haue reſiſted, ſo they had fought but with footemen onely. But on the one ſide, the horſemen and Elephants made them affraied, and on the other ſide the footemen followed them very luſtely, and fought with great furie againſt famiſhed and frozen men. Wherefore the ROMANES notwithſtanding, ſuffring all the miſeries that vexed them on euery ſide, with an vnſpeakeable corage and magnanimitie, ſuch as was aboue their force and ſtrength: they fought ſtill, vntill that *Mago* comming out of his ambuſh, came and ſodainly aſſailed them with great ſhowres

*P. Cornelius Scipio and T. Sempronius Longus, Conſuls againſt Anniball.*

*Trebia fl.*

*Ambuſh layed by Annibal to intrappe Sempronius.*

*Annibal fought with Sempronius the Conſul at the riuer of Trebia.*

*The Numidians craft in flying.*

and cries, and that the middle ſquadron of the CARTHAGINIANS alſo (through *Annibals* cōmandement) flew vpon the CENOMANIANS. Then the ROMAINS ſeing their confederats flie, their harts were done, and vtterly diſcouraged. It is ſayed that there were tenne thouſand footemen of the ROMAINS got to PLACENTIA, and came through the enemies. The reſt of the armie that fledde, were moſt part of them ſlaine by the CARTHAGINIANS. The Conſull *Sempronius* alſo ſcaped very narrowly from the enemies. The victory coſt *Anniball* the ſetting on alſo: for he loſt a great number of his men, and the moſt parte of all his Elephantes were ſlaine. After this battell, *Anniball* ouercame all the countrie, and did put all to fire and ſworde, and tooke alſo certen townes: and with a fewe of his men made a great number of the countrie men flie, that were diſorderly gathered together in battell. Then at the beginning of the ſpring, he brought his armie into the field ſooner then time required: & meaning to goe into THVSCAN, he was driuen backe by a great tempeſt at the verie toppe of the height of the Appenine, and ſo compelled to bring his armie about PLACENTIA: howbeit ſhortly after he put himſelfe againe into the fields for diuers vrgent & neceſſary cauſes. For had he not ſaued him ſelfe by that pollicie, he had almoſt bene taken tardie by the ambuſh of the GAVLES: who being angry with him that the warre continued ſo long in their cōutry, they ſought to be reuenged of him, as the onely author & occaſion of the warre. Therfore perceiuing it was time for him to auoide this daunger, he made all the haſt he could to leade his armie into ſome other prouince. Furthermore, he thought it would increaſe his eſtimatiō much among ſtrangers & alſo greatly encorage his owne people, if he could make the power of the CARTHAGINIANS to ſeeme ſo great, & alſo their Captaine to be of ſo noble a corage, as to dare to make warre ſo neare to the citie of ROME. All things therefore ſet apart, he marched with his campe by the mountaine Appenine, and ſo cōming through the country of the LIGVRIANS, he came into THVSCAN, by the way that bringeth them into the champion cōutry, & to the mariſſes about the riuer of Arnus. The riuer of Arnus at that time was very high, and had ouerflowen all the fields thereabouts. *Anniball* therefore marching with ſo great an army as he had, could not auoide it, but that he muſt needes loſe a number of his men & horſe, before he could get out of thoſe euill fauored mariſſes. Inſomuch that he himſelfe loſt one of his eyes, by reaſon of the great paines he had taken day and night without ſleepe or reſt, and alſo through the euill ayer: though he was caried vpon a high Elephants back, which only was left him of all that he had brought with him. In the meane time, *C. Flaminius* Conſul, to whom the charge of *Sēpronius* armie was giuen: he was come vnto ARETIVM againſt the Senates mind, who were maruellouſly offended with him, becauſe he left his cōpanion *Cn. Seruilius* at ROME, & went vnto his prouince by ſtelth as it were, without the furniture of a Conſul & his officers. This was a very haſty man of nature, and one that the people had brought to that dignitie & office: ſo that he was become ſo proud & inſolent that men might ſee he would hazard all things without wit or iudgement. *Anniball* hauing intelligence thereof, thought it the beſt way to anger the Conſul, & to do what he could poſſible to allure him into the field, before his fellow Cōſul ſhould come to ioyne with him. Therfore, he marching forward with his campe through the cōutry of FESVLA, & ARETIVM, he burnt & ſpoiled al the cōutrey therabouts, & filled them all with feare, neuer leauing to deſtroy all before him, vntill he came to the mountaine Cortonenſes, & ſo to the lake called Thraſimene. When he had viewed the place he went about to ſurpriſe his enemy by ſome ambuſh: whereupon he conuied certen horſemen vnder the hils, hard by the ſtraight that goeth vnto Thraſimene, and behind the mountaines alſo, he placed his light horſmen. Then he himſelf with the reſt of his army came downe into the field, ſuppoſing that the Conſul would not be quiet: and ſo it fell out. For hot ſtirring heads are eaſily intrapped, & fall into the enemies ambuſh, & oftētimes do put all in hazard, becauſe they will follow no counſell nor good aduiſe. *C. Flaminius* therfore ſeeing their country vtterly ſpoiled, the corne deſtroyed and cut downe, and the houſes burnt: he made great haſt to leade his armie againſt the enemie contrarie to all mens minds, who would haue had him taried for his companion *Cn. Seruilius* the other Conſul. So euen at ſunne ſet, when he was come to the ſtraightes of the lake of Thraſimene, he cauſed his campe to ſtay there, although his men were not wearie with the long iorney they had taken by the way. So the next morning by breake of day

*Annibals victorie of the Conſull Sempronius.*

*Arnus fl.*

*Anniball loſt one of his eyes in the mariſſhes by the riuer of Arnus.*

*C. Flaminius & Cn. Seruilius, Conſuls.*

*Montes Cortonenſes.*

*Lacus Thraſimenus.*

*The iudgment of a ſouldier.*

making no view of the coũtrie,he went ouer the mountains. Then *Anniball* who long before was prepared for this,did but ſtay for the oportunitie to worke his feate: when he ſaw the ROMAINS come into the plaine, he gaue a ſignall vnto all his men to giue charge vpon the enemie. Thereupon the CARTHAGINIANS breaking out on euerie ſide, came before and behinde, and on the flanckes to aſſaile the enemie, being ſhut in betweene the lake and the mountaines. Now in contrary maner, the ROMAINS beginning to fight out of order, they fought incloſed together, that they could not ſee one another, as if it had bene darke: ſo that it is to be wondred at, how, and with what minde they fought it out ſo long, conſidering they were compaſſed in on euerie ſide. For they fought it out aboue three howers ſpace, with ſuch furie and courage, that they heard not the terrible earthquake that was at that preſent time, neither did they offer to flie or ſtir a foot: vntill they heard that the Conſull *C. Flaminius* going from rancke to rancke to encourage his men, was ſlaine by a man of armes called *Ducarius*. Then when they had loſt their Generall, and being voyde of all hope, they fled, ſome towards the mountaines, and others towards the lake, of the which, diuers of them flying, were ouertaken and ſlaine. So there were ſlaine * fifteene thouſand in the field, & there ſcaped about ten thouſand. Furthermore the report went, that there were ſix thouſand footemen which forciblie (at the beginning of the battell) got to the mountaine, and there ſtayed on a hill till the battell was ended, and at length came downe vpon *Annibals* promiſe: but they were betrayed, and ſlaine, euery mothers ſonne of them. After this great victory, *Anniball* did let diuers ITALIAN priſoners goe free without ranſome paying, after he had vſed them maruellous curteouſly: becauſe that the fame of his clemencie and curteſie ſhould be knowen vnto all nations, whereas in deede his owne nature was contrarie to all vertues. For he was haſtie and cruell of nature, and from his youth was brought vp in warres, and exerciſed in murther, treaſon, & ambuſhes laide for enemies: and neuer cared for law, order, nor ciuill gouernment. So by this meanes he became one of the crueleſt Captaines, the moſt ſubtle, and craftieſt to deceiue and intrappe his enemie, that euer was. For as he was alway prying to beguile the enemie: ſo thoſe whom he could not ouercome in warre by plaine force, he went about to intrappe by ſlight and policie. The which appeareth true by this preſent battell, and alſo by the other he fought againſt the Conſull *Sempronius*, by the riuer of Trebia. But let vs returne to our matter, and leaue this talke till an other time. Now when the newes of the ouerthrow and death of the Conſull *Flaminius* was reported at ROME, hauing loſt the moſt part of his armie: there was great mone and lamentation made through all the citie of ROME. Some bewailing the common miſerie of the common wealth, others lamenting their priuate particular loſſe, & ſome alſo ſorowing for both together. But indeede it was a wofull ſight, to ſee a world of men and women to run to the gates of the citie, euery one priuatly asking for their kinne and friends. Some doe write, that there were two women, who being very ſorie & penſiue, diſpairing of the ſafetie of their ſonnes, died ſodainly for the extreame ioy they had, when beyond their expectation and hope they ſaw their ſonnes aliue and ſafe. At the ſelfe ſame time, *Cn. Seruilius*, the other Conſull with *C. Flaminius*, did ſend him foure thouſand horſemen, not vnderſtanding yet of the battell that was fought by the lake of Thraſymene. But when they heard of the ouerthrow of their men by the way, and therefore thought to haue fled into VMBRIA: they were compaſſed in by the horſemen of the enemies, and ſo brought vnto *Anniball*. Now the Empire of ROME being brought into ſo great extreamity and daunger, becauſe of ſo many ſmall loſſes one in the necke of an other: it was ordained, that an extraordinarie Gouernor or Magiſtrate ſhould be choſen, who ſhould be created Dictator: an office ſpecially vſed to be reſerued for the laſt hope and remedy, in moſt extreame daunger and perill, of the ſtate and common wealth. But becauſe the Conſul *Seruilius* could not return at that time to ROME, all the waies being kept by the enemy: the people contrary to their cuſtome, created *Q. Fabius* Dictator, (who afterwards attained the ſurname of *Maximus*, to ſay, very great) who likewiſe did name *M. Minutius* Generall of the horſemen. Now this *Fabius* was a graue and wiſe counſeller, and of great authority and eſtimation in the common wealth: inſomuch as the citizens had all their hope and confidence in him onely, perſwading them ſelues, that the honour of ROME might be better preſerued vnder the gouernment and conduct of ſuch a Generall, rather then

*Battell betwixt Anniball and C. Flaminius the Conſull, by the lake of Thraſimene.*

*The Romains were ſo earneſt in fight, that they heard not the noiſe of an earthquake.*

*C. Flaminius the Conſull ſlaine.*

* *Plutarch in the life of Fabius Maximus addeth to as many priſoners*

*Annibals craftines to diſſemble vertue.*

*The naturall diſpoſition of Anniball.*

*Extreame ioy cauſeth ſodaine death.*

*The office of Dictator, of what effect.*

*Q. Fabius Maximus, created Dictator.*

vnder the gouernment of any other man whatſoeuer. So *Fabius* knowing it very wel, after he had carefullie and diligentlie giuen order for all things neceſſarie: he departed from ROME, and when he had receiued the armie of the late Conſull *Cn. Seruilius*, he added vnto them two other legions, and ſo went vnto the enemie. Now *Anniball* was gone from the lake of Thraſymene, and went directly towards the citie of SPOLETVM, to ſee if he could take it at the firſt aſſault. But when he ſaw that the townes-men ſtood vpon the rampers of their wals, and valiantly defended themſelues: he then left the towne and deſtroyed the countrie as he went, and burnt houſes and villages, and ſo went into APVLIA, through the marches of ANCONA, & the countrie of the MARSIANS and PELIGNIANS. The Dictator followed him at the heeles, and camped hard by the citie of ARPY, not farre from the campe of the enemie, to the ende to draw out the warre at length. For the raſhnes and foole-hardines of the former Captaines afore time, had brought the ſtate of ROME into ſuch miſerie: that they thought it a victorie vnto them, not to be ouercome by the enemie, that had ſo often ouercome them. Whereby all things were turned ſtraight with the chaunge and alteration of the Captaine. For, though *Anniball* had ſet his men in battell raye, and afterwardes perceiuiug his enemie ſtirred not, went and deſtroyed the country, hoping thereby to intiſe the Dictator to fight, when he ſhould ſee the country of his confederates ſo ſpoyled, as it was before his face: the Dictator, this notwithſtanding, was not moued withall, but ſtill kept his men cloſe together, as if the matter had not concerned him. *Anniball* was in a maruellous rage with the delay of the Dictator, and therefore often remoued his campe, to the ende that going diuerſe wayes, ſome occaſion or oportunitie might fall out to deceiue the enemie, or elſe to giue battell. So when he had paſſed the mountaine Appenine, he came vnto SAMNIVM. But becauſe ſhortly after, ſome of CAMPANIA, who hauing bene taken priſoners by the lake of Thraſymene, had bene ſet at libertie without ranſome: they putting him in hope that he might take the citie of CAPVA, he made his armie march forward, and tooke a guide that knew the countrie, to bring him vnto CASINVM. Now the guide ouerhearing CASINVM, vnderſtood it CASILINVM, & ſo miſtaking the ſound of the word, brought the armie a cleane contrary way vnto CALENTINVM, and CALENVM, and from thence about STELLA. So when they came into a country enuironned about with mountaines & riuers, *Annibal* knew ſtraight they had miſtaken their way, and ſo did cruelly put the guide to death. *Fabius* the Dictator, did in the meane time beare all this patiently, and was contented to giue *Anniball* libertie to take his pleaſure which way he would: vntill he had gotten the mountaines of Gallicanum, and Caſilinum, where he placed his garriſon, being places of great aduantage and commoditie. So the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS was in manner compaſſed in euery way, and they muſt needes haue died for famine in that place, or elſe haue fled, to their great ſhame and diſhonor: had not *Anniball* by this ſtratageame preuented the daunger. Who knowing the daunger all his armie ſtoode in, and hauing ſpied a fit time for it: he commaunded his ſouldiers to bring forth two thouſand oxen which they had gotten in ſpoile in the fieldes, hauing great ſtore of them, and then tying torches of fire linckes vnto their hornes, he appointed the nimbleſt men he hadde to light them, and to driue the oxen vp the hill to the toppe of the mountaines, at the relieſe of the firſt watch. All this was duely executed according to his commaundement, and the oxen running vp to the toppe of the mountaines with the torches burning, the whole armie marched after them faire and ſoftly. Now the ROMAINES that had long before placed a ſtrong garriſon vppon the mountaines, they were affrayed of this ſtrange ſight, and miſtruſting ſome ambuſhe, they forthwith forſooke their peeces and holdes. *Fabius* him ſelfe miſtruſting alſo that it was ſome ſtratageame of the enemy, kept his men within the campe, and could not well tell what to ſay to it. In the meane time, *Anniball* got ouer the mountaine, not far from the bathes of Sweſſa, which the countrey men doe call the tower of the bathes, and brought all his army ſafe into ALBA: and ſhortlie after, hee marched directlie as though hee would goe to ROME, howbeit he ſodainly turned out of the way, and went preſently into APVLIA. There he tooke the city of GLERENVM, a verie rich and wealthie towne, where he determined to winter. The Dictator followed him hard, and came and camped by LAVRINVM, not farre from the CARTHAGINIANS campe. So he being ſent for to ROME about waighty

affaires

*Haſtines of Captaines oftē times verie hurtfull.*

*The guide cruelly put to death by Anniball.*

*Annibals ſtratageame in the mountaenes of Gallicanum, and Caſilinum, againſt Q. Fabius Dictator.*

*Certaine bathes at Sweſſa, called the tower of the bathes.*

*Glerenum: a city in Apulia.*

affaires of the ſtate, there was no remedie but that he muſt needes depart from thence with all the ſpeede he could: howbeit before he went, he lefte *Marcus Minutius* Generall of the horſemen, his Lieutenaunt of all the armie, and commaunded him in his abſence not once to ſturre nor to meddle with the enemies. For he was fully bent to followe his determination, which was: not to vexe the enemie, nor to fight with him, though he were prouoked vnto it. Howbeit *Marcus Minutius* litle regarding the Dictators commaundement, his backe was no ſooner turned, but he ſet vpon a companie of the enemies diſperſed in the field a foraging, and ſlue a great number of them: and fought with the reſt euen into their campe. The rumor of this ſkirmiſh flewe ſtraight to ROME, and there was ſuch great account made of it, that it was eſteemed for a victorie: and the common people were ſo ioyfull of it, that they ſtraight made the power of the Lieutenaunt, equall with the Dictator *Fabius*: the which was neuer heard of before. *Fabius* patiently bearing this extreame iniurie with a noble courage, hauing no way deſerued it: he returned againe vnto the campe. Thus there were two Dictators at one ſelfe time (a thing neuer ſeene nor heard of before) who after they had deuided the armie betweene them, either of them commaunded his armie a parte, as the Conſulles were wont to doe before.

*Two Dictators together neuer heard of before*

*Marcus Minutius* thereupon grewe to ſuch a pride and haughtie mind, that one day he ventured to giue battell, and made not his companion *Fabius* a councell withall: the which *Anniball* hauing ſo often ouercome, durſt ſcantly haue enterpriſed. So he led his armie into ſuch a place, where the enemie had compaſſed them in: inſomuch that *Anniball* ſlue them at his pleaſure, without any hope left them to eſcape, if *Fabius* had not come in time (as he did) to aide them, rather reſpecting the honor of his countrey, then remembring the priuat iniurie he had receiued. For he comming freſh with his armie to the battell, made *Anniball* affrayed, that the ROMAINES legions had liberty to retire with ſafety. Whereby *Fabius* wan great fame for his wiſedome and valiantnes, both of his owne ſouldiers, as alſo of the enemies them ſelues. For it was reported that *Anniball* ſhould ſay, returning into his campe: that in this battell he had ouercome *M. Minutius*, but withall, that he was alſo ouercome by *Fabius*. And *Minutius* ſelfe alſo confeſſing *Fabius* wiſedome, and conſidering that (according to *Heſiodus* ſaying) it was good reaſon to obey a better man then him ſelf: he came with all his army vnto *Fabius* campe, and renouncing his authority, came and humbly ſaluted *Fabius* as his father, and all that day there was great ioy, and reioycing among the ſouldiers. So both the armies being placed in garriſon for the winter time, after great contention about it, at length there were two new Conſuls created: *L. Paulus AEmylius*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, one that of a meane man (through the fauour of the common people) was brought to be Conſul. So they had liberty and commiſſion to leauie a greater armie then the Generals before them had done.

*L. Paulus AEmylius, and C. Terentius Varro Conſuls.*

Whereby the legions were newly ſupplied, and alſo others added vnto them, more then were before. Now when the Conſuls were come into the army, as they were of ſeuerall diſpoſitions, ſo did they alſo obſerue diuerſe manners in their gouernment. *Lucius Paulus*, who was a graue wiſe man, and one that purpoſed to follow *Fabius* counſell and faſhions: he did deſire to draw out the warre in length, and to ſtay the enemy without fighting. *Varro* on the other ſide was a haſty man, and venturous, and deſired nothing but to fight.

*The difference betwixt L. Paulus, and C. Ter. Varro.*

So it chaunced, that not long after it was knowen, to the great coſt and daunger of the citie of ROME, what difference there was betwixt the modeſtie of *AEmylius*, and the foole-hardineſſe of *Varro*. For *Anniball* being affrayed of ſome ſturre and tumult in his campe for lacke of victuals, hee departed from GLERENVM, and going into the warmeſt place of APVLIA, came and camped with all his army, by a village called CANNES. So hee was followed with both the Conſuls, who came and camped ſeuerallie hard by him, but ſo neare one to an other, that there was but the riuer of Aufide that parted them. This riuer as it is reported, doth alone deuide the mountaine of the Appenine, and taketh his head on that ſide of the mountaine that lieth to the ſea ſide, from whence it runneth to the ſea Adriaticum.

*Aufidus fl.*

Now, *Lucius Paulus* finding that it was impoſſible for *Anniball* beeing in a ſtraunge countrey to maintaine ſo great an armie of ſuch ſundrie nations together: hee was fullie bent to tracte time, and to auoyde battell, perſwading him ſelfe that it was the right and onelie waie to ouercome him, being as much to the enemies diſaduauntage, as alſo maruellous profitable and beneficiall for the common wealth. And ſure if *C. Terentius Varro*, had caried that minde, it had bene out of all doubt, that *Annibals* armie had bene ouerthrowen by the Romains, without ſtroke ſtriking. Howbeit he had ſuch a light head of his owne, and was ſo fickle minded, that he neither regarded wiſe counſell, nor *Paulus AEmylius* anthoritie: but in contrarie manner woulde fall out with him, and alſo complained before the ſouldiers, for that he kept his men pent vp, and idle whileſt the enemie did put forth his men to the fielde in battell raye. So when his turne came, that he was abſolutelie to commaunde the whole armie, (for they both had abſolute power by turnes) he paſſed ouer the riuer of Aufide by breake of day, and gaue the ſignall of battell without the priuitie of his companion *Aemylius*, who rather followed him againſt his will then willingly, becauſe he coulde doe none otherwiſe. So he cauſed a ſkarlet coate of armes to be put out verie earlie in the morning, for a ſignall of battell. *Anniball* on the other ſide was as glad of it as might be poſſible, that he had occaſion offered him to fight (conſidering that the continuall delaying of battell did alter all his purpoſe) he paſſed his armie ouer the riuer, and had ſtraight put them in verie good order. For hee had taken great ſpoyles of his enemies to furniſh himſelfe verie brauely. Now the armie of the Romaines ſtoode South-ward, inſomuch that the South winde (which the men of the countrie call Vulturnus) blewe full in their faces: whereas the enemies in contrarie manner had the vantage of the winde and ſunne vpon their backes, and their battell ſtoode in this manner. The Afrikans were placed in both the wings, and the Gavles and Spanyardes ſet in a ſquadron in the midſt. The light horſemen firſt beganne the ſkirmiſh, and after them followed the men of armes: and becauſe the ſpace betwixt the riuer and the footemen was verie narrow, ſo as they could not well take in any more ground, it was a cruell fight for the time, though it laſted not long. So, the horſemen of the Romaines being ouerthrowen, the footemen came with ſuch a luſtie courage to receiue the charge, that they thought they ſhould not haue day enough to fight. Howbeit the ouer earneſt deſire they had to ouercome their enemies, made their ouerthrow more miſerable, then their ioy and good happe was great at the beginning. For the Gavles and Spanyardes, (who as we haue ſaid before kept the battell) not being able any longer to withſtand the force of the Romaines, they retyred towards the Afrikans in the wings. The Romaines perceiuing that, ranne vpon the enemie with all the fury they could, and had them in chaſe & fought with them, till they were gotten in the midſt of them. Then the Carthaginians that were in both wings, came & compaſſed them in before they were aware. Moreouer, there were fiue hundred of the Nvmidian horſemen, that colourably fled vnto the Conſuls, who receiued them very curteouſly, and placed them in the rereward of the armie. They ſeeing their time, ſhewed behind the enemies, and did ſodainly giue them charge. Thē the army of the Romains was vtterly ouerthrowen, & *Anniball* obtained victory. *Liuie* writeth that there were ſlaine in this battell* forty thouſand footmen, and aboue two thouſand ſeuen hundred horſemen. *Polybius* ſaith, that there were many more ſlaine. Well, letting this matter paſſe, it is certaine that the Romains had neuer greater loſſe, neither in the firſt warre with Africke, nor in the ſecond by the Carthaginians, as this ouerthrow that was giuen at Cannes. For there was ſlaine, the Conſull *Paulus AEmylius* him ſelf, a man vndoubtedly deſeruing great praiſe, and that ſerued his country and common wealth euen to the hower of death: *Cn. Seruilius*, Conſul the yeare before, he was alſo ſlaine there, and many other that had bene Conſuls, Prætors, and others of ſuch like dignity, Captaines, Chieftaines, and many other Senators and honeſt citizens, and that ſuch a number of them, that the very crueltie it ſelfe of the enemy was ſatisfied. The Conſull *Terentius Varro*, who was the onely author of all this warre and ſlaughter, ſeeing the enemy victor euery way, hee ſaued him ſelfe by flying. And *Tutidanus* a Chiefetaine of a band, comming through his enemies with a good company of his men, he came vnto Canvsivm. Thither came alſo about tenne thouſand men, that had eſcaped from their enemies, as out of a daungerous ſtorme: by whoſe conſent, the charge of the whole army was giuen vnto *Appius Pulcher*, and alſo vnto *Cornelius Scipio*, who afterwardes did end this warre. Thus was the end of the battell fought by Cannes. Newes flew ſtraight to Rome of this ouerthrow, the which though they iuſtlie filled

*Battell at Cannes.*

*A ſtratageame of Anniball.*

** Plutarke in the life of Fabius ſaith, that there were fifty thouſand ſlaine and fourteene thouſand taken priſoners.*

*Paulus AEmylius Conſull, ſlaine at the battell of Cannes.*

*Great ſlaughter at the battell of Cannes.*

all the citie with ſorrow and calamitie, yet the Senate and people of ROME kept alwaies their countenance and greatnes, euen in this extreame miſerie. Inſomuch they had not onely good hope to keepe their citie ſafe, but furthermore they leauied a new armie and made young men to beare armor, and yet left not SICILIA and SPAYNE vnprouided in the meane time: ſo that they made the world to wonder at them, to conſider theſe things how they could in ſo great calamitie and trouble haue ſo noble hartes, and ſuch wiſe counſell. But to let paſſe the former ouerthrowes, and great loſſes they ſuſtained at TICINVM, at TREBIA, & at the lake of Thraſimene: what nation or pepole could haue borne this laſt plague wherby the whole force and power of the ROMAINS was in manner vtterly deſtroied and ouerthrown? and yet the people of ROME ſo held it out, and that with ſo great wiſdome and counſell: that they neither lacked manhood, nor magnanimity. Beſides to help them the more, *Anniball* being cōqueror, trifling time in taking his leiſure, and refreſhing his armie: he gaue the ROMAINS leiſure that were ouercome to take breath againe, & to reſtore themſelues. For doubtles, if *Anniball* being conqueror, had immediatly after the victorie obtained, brought his armie directly to Rome: ſurely the ROMAINS had bene vtterly vndone, or at the leaſt had bene compelled to haue put all in venture. So it is reported, that *Anniball* often times afterwardes repented himſelfe he followed not his victorie, complaining openly, that he rather followed their counſaile which wiſhed him to let his ſoldiers reſt, then *Maharbals* aduiſe, generall of his horſmē, who would haue had him gone ſtraight to ROME, and ſo to haue ended all this warre. But he ſeing *Annibals* delay, told him (as it is reported) this that is now common in euery mans mouth: *Anniball*, thou knoweſt how to ouercome, but thou knoweſt not how to vſe victory. But what? all things are not (as *Neſtor* ſaieth in *Homer*) giuen to men altogether. For ſome had no skill to ouercome, others knew not how to follow their victory, & ſome alſo could not keepe that they had won. *Pyrrhus* king of the EPIROTES that made war with the ROMAINS, was one of the famouſeſt captains that euer was: yet as men write of him, though he was maruellous fortunat to conquer realmes, he would neuer keepe them. Euen ſo in like manner, ſome captaines haue bene indued with excellent vertues, & yet notwithſtāding haue bin inſufficient in martiall affaires, deſeruing praiſe in a captaine: as we may read in diuerſe hiſtories. Now after this battell fought by CANNES, the ATTELLANIANS, the CALATINIANS, the SAMNITES, after thē alſo, the BRVTIANS, LVCANIANS, & diuers other nations & people of ITALY, caried away with the fame of this great victory: they all came & yeelded to *Anniball*. And the citie of CAPVA alſo (which *Anniball* was deſirous to haue won long before) forſaking their old frends & confederats, made new league & frendſhip with *Anniball*, the which wan him great eſtimatiō with other nations. For at that time the city of CAPVA was verie populous & of great power, & the chiefeſt city of eſtimation of all ITALY next vnto ROME. Now to tell you in few words what is reported of CAPVA, it is certaine that it was a colony of the THVSCANS, the which was firſt called VVLTVRNVM, & after that CAPVA, by the name of their Gouernor called *Capius*: or otherwiſe, (as it is moſt likely) becauſe of the fields round about it. For on euery ſide of it, there are goodly pleaſant fields, full of all kinds of frutes growing on the earth, called in Greeke Kepi. Furthermore, all the cōtry is confined round about with famous nations. Towards the ſea there dwell the SVESSANIANS, the CVMANIANS, and the NEAPOLITANS. On firme land alſo towardes the North, are the CALENTINIANS, and the CALENIANS. On the Eaſt and South ſide, the DVNIANS and the NOLIANS. Furthermore, the place is of a ſtrong ſituation, and on the one ſide is compaſſed in with the ſea, and on the other ſide with great high mountaines. Now the CAMPANIANS floriſhed maruellouſly at that time: and therefore, ſeeing the ROMAINS in manner vtterly vndone by the battell they had loſt at CANNES, they quickly tooke part with the ſtronger, as it commonly falleth out: and furthermore beſides that they made league with *Anniball*, they receiued him into their citie with great triūph, hoping that the warre being ended, they ſhould be the chiefeſt & welthied of all ITALIE. But marke how men are commonly deceiued in their expectation. Now, when *Anniball* came into the citie of CAPVA, there was a world of people that went to ſee him, for the great fame they heard of him. For there was no other talke, but of his happy victories he had wonne of the enemie. So being come into the citie, they brought him vnto *Pacuuius* houſe, his verie familiar friend,

*The conſtancie of the Romains in extreamitie.*

*The Romains loſt three great battels to Annibal at Ticinum, Trebia, & Thraſimene.*

*Maharball generall of Annibals horſmē.*

*Maharbals ſaying to Anniball.*

*Pyrrhus could not keepe the realmes he conquered.*

*The citie of Capua, how ſo called.*

*Conſpiracy againſt Annibal at Capua.*

who was a man of great wealth and authoritie, as any among all the CAMPANIANS. Then he made him a notable banquet, to the which no citizens were bidden, ſauing onely *Iubellius Taurea* a ſtout man, and the ſonne of *Pacuuius* his hoaſt: who through his fathers meanes, with much a doe, was reconciled to *Anniball*, for that *Anniball* hated him as he did, becauſe he followed *Decius Magius*, who alwaies tooke the ROMAINS part. But now let vs conſider a litle I pray you, how great men ſometime vnwares are ſubiect to great dangers and miſfortunes. For this yong man diſſembling his reconciliation with *Anniball*, watching time and occaſion notwithſtanding to do him ſome diſpleaſure, in the time of this feaſt, while they were making merrie, he tooke his father aſide into a ſecret corner of the houſe, and prayed him together with him, by a great good turne, to redeeme the fauor & good will againe of the ROMAINS, the which they had loſt through their great wickedneſſe. Then he told him how he was determined to kill *Anniball*, the enemy of his coũtry, and all ITALIE beſides. His father that was a man of great countenance, and authoritie, was maruellouſly amazed withal, to heare what his ſonne ſaid: wherfore imbracing him with the teares running downe his cheeks, he prayed him to leaue off his ſword, and to let his gueſt be ſafe in his houſe. The which his ſonne in the end yeelded to with great a doe. Thus *Anniball* hauing before withſtoode all the force of his enemies, the ambuſhes of the GAVLES, and hauing brought with him alſo a great army from the ſea, and the fartheſt part of SPAYNE, through ſo many great and mightie nations: he ſcaped killing verie narrowly by the hand of a young man, whileſt he was at the table making merrie. The next morning *Anniball* had audience in open Senate, where he made great and large promiſes, and told them many things, which the CAMPANIANS eaſily beleeued, and therefore flattered themſelues, that they ſhould be Lords of all ITALIE: howbeit they reckoned beſide their hoaſt. And to conclude, they did ſo cowardly ſubmit themſelues to *Anniball*: that it ſeemed they had not onely ſuffered him to come into their citie, but that they had alſo made him their abſolute Lord, like men that neither remembred, nor regarded their libertie. And this appeareth plainely by one example I will ſhew you amongſt many. *Anniball* willed them to deliuer him *Decius Magius*, the head of the contrarie faction to him. Whereunto the Senate not only obeyed with all humilitie, but worſt of all, ſuffered him to be brought bound into the market place, in the preſence of all the people: who, becauſe he would not forſake the ancient league and friendſhippe with the ROMAINS, had ſhewed himſelfe a more faithfull citizen to his countrie & common wealth, then vnto the barbarous people. Now whileſt theſe things paſſed thus in CAPVA, *Mago* (*Annibals* brother) went to CARTHAGE, to report the newes of his happie victorie to his countrimen, which they had wonne of the enemies: and with all, before the Senate to declare the noble exploytes of armes done by *Anniball*, and to proue the words true he ſpake, he poured out at the comming in of the Senate houſe, the golden rings which had bene taken from the ROMAINE Knights: of the which there were (as ſome doe report) aboue a buſhell full, and as other ſome doe write, aboue three buſhels full and a halfe. After that he praied a new ſupply for *Annibals* army: which was granted him by the Senate with greater ioy, then afterwards it was ſent. For the CARTHAGINIANS perſwaded themſelues by the things preſent, that the warre would fall out as fortunate, as the beginning was fayer, they thereupon decreed to continue the warre, and to aide *Annibals* attempts, by leuying of ſouldiers. Now no mā withſtood this new ſupply to be ſent to *Anniball*, but *Hanno*, a perpetuall enemie of the Barcinian faction. Howbeit the CARTHAGINIANS wayed not his counſell and aduiſe then, though it tended to peace, and was good counſell for them, as often times before he had vſed the like. So whē *Anniball* had made league with the CAMPANIANS, he led his campe before the citie of NOLA, hoping they would yeelde of themſelues without compulſion. And certainly ſo had it come to paſſe, had not the ſodaine comming thither of *Marcellus* the Prætor bene, who both kept the people in, pacified the ſedition & repulſed the enemie that was comming into the citie, by a ſaly he made vpon him at three ſeuerall gates, chaſing and killing them euen to their campe with great loſſe. This is that noble captaine and valiant ſouldier *Marcellus*, who with a noble corage made the world know that *Anniball* was not inuincible. *Anniball* perceiuing that there was no other way, but to let NOLA alone til an other time: he came to ACERRES, and tooke and ſpoiled it without reſiſtance. Then going on

*Marcellus victory of Anniball at the citie of Nola.*

farther

further with greater power vnto CASILINVM, a fit place to offend the CAPVANS, he went about to win them that lay there in garriſon: but when he ſaw that neither his faire promiſes, nor otherwiſe his threates could preuaile, he left part of his armie to beſiege the citie, and beſtowed the reſidue in garriſons before the winter ſeaſon. Howbeit, he choſe for his chiefeſt ſeate and ſtrength the citie of CAPVA, which ſtoode verie pleaſauntly, and had plentie of all things, There it was that *Annibals* ſouldiers being vſed to lye hard, and eaſily to away with colde, hunger and thirſt, became then of valiant men, rancke cowardes: of ſtrong menne weakelings: and of ſeruiceable and readie men, timerous and effeminate perſons, through the daily pleaſures they enioyed at will. For ſweet intiſing pleaſures, do corrupt the ſtrength and courage of the minde, and mans diſpoſition vnto vertue: moreouer they ſpoile his witte, and take all good counſell from him, all which things are daungerous for men. And therefore *Plato* rightly calleth pleaſure, the bayte of all euils. And doubtleſſe in this caſe, the pleaſures of CAMPANIA did hurt the CARTHAGINIANS more then otherwiſe the higheſt Alpes, and all the armies of the ROMAINS did. For one onely winter paſſed ouer in ſuch pleaſure and wantonnes, was of ſuch great force to extinguiſh the vehement courage in the ſouldiers: that when they were brought into the fielde at the beginning of the ſpring, ſure you would rightlie haue ſayd that they had forgotten all martiall diſcipline. Thus the winter being paſſed ouer, *Anniball* returned again to CASILINVM, hoping that the citizens within would willingly yeelde vnto him, after they had abidden ſo long a ſiege. Howbeit they were bent to abide all extreamity, before they would yeeld to their ſo cruell an enemie, although they lacked victuals. Wherfore liuing firſt by ſpelt, or beere barly, and afterwards with nuts which they had receiued of the ROMAINS by the riuer of Vulturnus: they held it out ſo long, that *Anniball* in the end being angrie with the continuance of the ſiege, he was content to take the citie vpon compoſition, the which he had refuſed before. Now this warre in the which the CARTHAGINIANS had alwaies had great victories and good fortune, and receiued any loſſe worthy of memorie: began at that time to decline, and to fall to great chaunge and alteration. For the league that was made with *Philip* king of MACEDON, and the newe ayde and ſupply that was ſent frō CARTHAGE, & the taking of PETILIA, CONSTANTIA, & of other cities of the coũtry of the BRVTIANS, kept the CARTHAGINIANS in good hope. On the other ſide, the great victories which the ROMAINS had won vpon the enemies of SPAIN, & SARDINIA, did greatly encourage them, & gaue them alſo good hope that their affaires would proſper better and better. They had alſo choſen three excellent captaines, *Fabius Maximus*, *Sempronius Gracchus*, and *Marcus Marcellus*, a man moſt worthy of praiſe for martiall diſcipline: who ſo wiſely gouerned the affaires of the ſtate, that *Anniball* found he ſhould make warre with an enemie, no leſſe politike and wiſe, than hardie and valiant. For, firſt of all, he was driuen from the citie of CVMES, with great ſlaughter of his men, by *Sempronius Gracchus*, and forced to raiſe his ſiege: and ſhortly after he was ouercome by *Marcellus*, in a battell he fought at NOLA. For there were ſlaine aboue a thouſand ROMAINES, and * 6000 CARTHAGINIANS ſlaine, and taken flying. Now it is eaſily ſene what great importance that battel was of: becauſe *Anniball* immediatly vpon it, raiſed his ſiege from NOLA, & went into APVLIA to winter his army there. By this meanes came the ROMAINS to recouer againe, as out of a great ſicknes, and ſent a great power againſt the enemy: and were not content only to keepe their owne, but they durſt alſo inuade others. So their chiefeſt intent was, to beſiege the citie of CAPVA, for the iniurie they had but lately receiued of the CAMPANIANS. For incontinently after the battell, was fought at CANNES, they forſook the ROMAINS, euē in their greateſt extreamity & miſery, & took part with *Anniball* that was conqueror, forgetting the great pleaſures their city had receiued in old time by the ROMAINS. On thother ſide the CAMPANIANS, knowing they had made a fault, & being afraid of this new preparatiō of the ROMAINS, they ſent to *Anniball* into APVLIA, to pray him to come & aid their citie (being of the number of their confederats) in their greateſt neceſſity. *Anniball* departed out of APVLIA without delay, & came on with great iornies into CAMPANIA, & cāped by TIFATA ouer CAPVA, wherby he rather defered til another time, thē preuented the plague hanging ouer the CAMPANIANS heads: ſo ſpoiling the country round about NAPLES, he began to take conceit of a new hope, that he might take NOLA by treaſon.

*Annibals ſouldiers marred with eaſe at Capua.*

*Pleaſure the baite of all euilles.*

*One winters eaſe ſpoiled a ſouldier, and made him a coward.*

*The hard ſhift of the Caſſilinians to liue during Annibals ſiege.*

*Annibals good fortune began to faile him.*

*Three famous Captaines of the Romaines Fabius Maximus, Sempronius Gracchus, Marcus Marcellus.*

*The victories of the Romains againſt Anniball.*

** Plutarch in the life of Marcellus, ſpeaketh of fiue thouſand Carthaginians ſlaine, & onely of fiue hundred Romains.*

*Two factions in Naples.*

*The citie of Tarentum deliuered vnto Anniball by treaſon.*

*Tarentum wonne by Anniball.*

For in NOLA, the people and Senate were at variance the one againſt the other, as they were likewiſe in diuerſe other cities of ITALIE. The common people deſirous of change, fauored *Anniball* and the noble men, and men of authoritie, tooke part with the people of ROME. So when *Anniball* went to take the citie of NOLA, *Marcellus* met him with his army in battel ray, as he had often done before, and failed not to fight with him, euen at the firſt meeting. There the ROMAINS ouercame, and draue the enemie with ſuch manhood and readines: that if the horſemen which had taken another waye had come in in time, as *Marcellus* commaunded them: no queſtion the CARTHAGINIANS had bene vtterly ouerthrown. *Anniball* after he had retyred his armie into his campe with great ſlaughter, he ſhortly after departed thence, & went into the countrie of the SALENTINIANS. For certen young TARENTINES that had bene taken priſoners in former battels, where the ROMAINS had bene ouerthrown, and that were afterwards deliuered free without ranſome: they to ſhew themſelues thankful, had put *Anniball* in hope to deliuer him the citie of TARENTVM, ſo he would bring his army before the citie. *Anniball* intiſed by their promiſes, did what he could to obtain it, becauſe he might haue ſome citie vpon the ſea in his power, the which he had deſired of long time. And indeed, of all the cities vpon the ſea coaſt, there was none ſo meete as TARENTVM, to bring aide out of GRECE thither, & alſo to furniſh the cāpe with many things that were to be occupied daily. So thogh this thing was drawen out in length, by the garriſon of the ROMAINS that valiantly reſiſted: yet *Anniball* neuer gaue ouer his enterpriſe, vntill that *Nico* and *Philomenes* the authors of the treaſon, had deliuered him the citie into his hands. The ROMAINS kept onely the caſtle, the which is in manner enuironned with the ſea on three ſides: and on the fourth ſide, that lay vpon the firme lande, it was verie ſtrong with rampers and bulwarks. *Anniball* perceiuing that he could doe no good on that ſide, becauſe of their great ſtrength: he determined to ſhut vp the mouth of the hauē of TARENTVM, hoping that was the only way to make the ROMAINS yeld, when their victuals ſhould be cut frō them. Yet the enterpriſe ſeemed verie hard, becauſe the enemies had all the ſtraights of the hauen in their power, and the ſhips alſo that ſhould beſiege the iſſue of the hauen, were ſhut vp in a narrow litle place, and were to be drawen out of the hauen, at the foote of the caſtle, to bring them into the next ſea. But when neuer a man of the TARENTINES could deuiſe howe to bring this enterpriſe to paſſe: *Anniball* himſelfe perceiued that theſe ſhips might be drawen out of the hauen with certen engines, and then to cart them through the citie to the ſea. So hauing ſet cunning workmen in hand with the matter, the ſhips within fewe daies after were taken out of the hauen, and caried into the ſea, and then came and ſhewed before the barre of the hauen. Thus the citie of TARENTVM, being won againe, after the ROMAINS had kept it the ſpace of a hundreth yeares: *Anniball* leauing the caſtle beſieged both by ſea and land, he returned vnto SAMNIVM. For the Conſuls of the ROMAINS had ſpoyled and ſtripped the CAMPANIANS that went out to forrage, and hauing brought their armie before CAPVA, they determined (if it might be) to win it by ſiege. Wherfore *Anniball* being very ſory for the ſiege of CAPVA, he came with all his armie againſt the enemie: and ſeeing ſhortly after that the ROMAINS did not refuſe to fight, they both marched forward, and doubtles to fight, it would haue proued a bloody battell, had not *Sempronius* army ſeuered them as he did, which came into CAMPANIA, vnder the conduct of *Cn. Cornelius*, after they had loſt *Sempronius Gracchus* in the coūtry of LVKE. For they ſeing this army far off, before they could know who they were, the ROMAINS & CARTHAGINIANS both were afraid and ſo retired into their campe. Afterwards the Conſuls went into ſeuerall countries, the one into LVKE, and the other towards CVMES, to make *Anniball* remoue from CAPVA: who went into LVCANIA, and found occaſion to fight with *M. Centenius*, who very fondly and deſperatly did hazard his army left him in charge, againſt a ſubtill aud dangerous enemy. The battel being begun, *M. Centenius* was ſlaine valiantly fighting, & few other eſcaped. After this alſo there hapned another loſſe. For *Anniball* returning ſhortly after into APVLIA, he met with another army of the ROMAINS, the which *Fabius* the Prætor led, who alſo intrapped that armie by ambuſhes, and ſlue the moſt of them: ſo that of twenty thouſand men 2000 ſcant ſcaped the edge of the ſword. In the meane time the Conſuls perceiuing that *Anniball* was gone, they came with all their army vnto CAPVA, & did beſiege it round. This being come to

*Annibals* eare, he came with his armie into CAMPANIA, in very good order and well appointed: and at his firſt comming he ſet vpon the campe of the ROMAINS, hauing firſt willed the CAMPANIANS at the ſelfe ſame inſtant to make a ſalye out on them. The ROMAIN Conſuls at the firſt tumult of their enemies, deuided the army betwene them, & went againſt them. The CAMPANIANS were eaſily driuen againe into the citie: howbeit againſt *Anniball*, the battell was verie bloody. For if euer he proued himſelfe a valiant captaine or noble ſouldier, that day he ſhewed it. He attempted alſo to ſurpriſe the ROMAINS by ſome ſtratageme. For as his men were about to breake into the ROMAINS camp, he ſent one thither that had the Latine tongue excellently well, who cryed out, by the commandement of the Conſuls, that the ROMAINS ſhould ſaue themſelues in the next mountains, conſidering they had almoſt loſt all their camp & ſtrength. This cry made on the ſodaine, had eaſily moued thē that heard it, if the ROMAINS being throughly acquainted with *Annibals* ſubtilties, had not found out his deceit. Wherfore one of them incouraging another, they made the enemie retire, and compelled him in deſpite of his beard to flie into his campe. When *Anniball* had done what he could by all deuiſe and practiſe poſſible to raiſe his ſiege from CAPVA, and perceiuing all would not ſerue, being ſory for the danger of his confederates: he then determined to call a councell, the which he had paſſed ouer a long time, hauing reſerued it for the laſt refnge. For he truſſed vp his cariage, and marched away with his army, & as quietly as he could, he paſſed ouer the riuer of Vulturnus, and coaſting through the countries of the SIDICINIANS, ATIFANIANS, & CASSINIANS, he came to ROME with enſignes diſplayed, hoping thereby he ſhould make them raiſe their ſiege, being ſo earneſtly bent to winne CAPVA. This flying ſtraight to ROME by currers, they were ſo afraid there, as ROME was neuer in like feare it ſtood in then. For they ſaw their mortall enemie come to them with enſignes diſplayed, whom they had ſo often proued, almoſt to the vtter deſtruction of their Empire: and now they ſaw him preſent, whom they could not reſiſt being abſent, threatning to bring the Senate and people of ROME into ſubiection. So all ROME being in feare and tumult, it was ordained that *Fuluius Flaccus* (one of the Conſuls lying before CAPVA) ſhould be ſent for home. And that the new Conſuls *Sulpitius Galba*, and *Cornelius Centimalus*, ſhould lye in campe out of the citie: and that *C. Calphurnius* Prætor, ſhould put a ſtrong garriſon into the Capitoll, and alſo that the Citizens that had borne any office or dignitie, ſhould be appointed by their countenance and authoritie, to pacifie the ſodaine tumults that might happen in the city. So *Annibal* marched forward without ſtaying, till he came to the riuer of Anienes, and there camped within 24 furlong of ROME: and ſhortly after that, he came with two thouſand horſe ſo neare vnto ROME, that riding from the gate Collina, vnto *Hercules* temple, he had leiſure to view at his pleaſure, the ſituation and walles of ſo great a citie. *Fuluius Flaccus* ſeeing that, could not abide it, but ſtraight ſent out certen men at armes of the ROMAINES againſt him: who comming with great furie to giue charge vpon him as they were commaunded, they eaſily ſent him packing. The next morning *Anniball* brought his armie out of the campe, and did ſet them in battell ray, determining to fight preſently, if he could allure the enemy to battell. The ROMAINS on the other ſide did the like. So, both armies marched one againſt the other with ſuch life and courage, that to ſee them, they appeared men that feared no daunger, ſo they might obtaine the victorie that day. For on the one ſide, the CARTHAGINIANS were to fight (in maner) for the Empire of the world: the which they thought depended vpon this battell, as being the laſt they ſhould fight. The ROMAINS in contrary maner, they were to fight for their country, libertie, and their goods to ſee whether they could keepe them, or that they ſhould come to their enemies handes. Howbeit there fell out a thing worthy of memorie. For as they were ready ſet in battell ray, tarying but for the ſignall of battell to giue charge: there fell ſuch a wonderfull great ſhower and ſtorme vpon them, that both of them were driuen in ſpight of their teethes, to bring backe their armie into their forts againe. The next day following in like manner, vnto the which it ſeemed the battell had bene deferred: when they had againe both of thē ſet their men in battell raye, there fell the like ſtorme vpon them, which did as much hurt the ROMAINS and CARTHAGINIANS, as the firſt: ſo that it forced them onely to looke to ſaue themſelues, and not to thinke otherwiſe to fight. *Anniball* perceiuing this, he turned to his frends and tolde them, that

*Annibals ſtratageme.*

*Vulturnus fl.*

*Sulpitius Galba, Cornelius Centimalus Conſuls.*

*Anienes fl.*

*Anniball commeth to inuade Rome.*

*A wonder.*

the firſt time he thought not to winne ROME, and that at the ſecond time the occaſion was taken from him. So there was a thing that greatly troubled *Anniball*, and that was this. That though he came ſo neere to ROME, with an armie of horſemen and footemen: yet he heard that the ROMAINS had ſent aide into SPAINE, and that they had redeemed the coũtry where he had bene, at a farre greater priſe than reaſon required. Wherefore being in a rage withall, he cauſed all the goldſmithes and bankers ſhoppes of the ROMAINS citizens to be ſolde by the Cryer. But afterwardes caſting with himſelfe what a hard enterpriſe it was to take the citie of ROME, or elſe being afrayed to lacke victuals: (for he had ſtored himſelfe onely but for tenne dayes) he rayſed his campe, and remouing thence came vnto the holy wood of the goddeſſe *Feronia*, and rifled the rich temple there, and afterwardes went thence into the countrie of the BRVTIANS and LVCANIANS. The CAPVANS hauing intelligence therof being left out of all hope: they yeelded vp their citie vnto the ROMAINS. The citie of CAPVA being thus yeelded vp, and brought againe to the ſubiection of the ROMAINS, it was of great importance to all the people of ITALY, and withall brought a great deſire of change. *Anniball* himſelfe alſo following euill counſell, did ſpoile and deſtroy many cities he could not keepe: wherby he did ſturre vp the harts of diuerſe nations againſt him. For where before when he was conqueror, he had often let priſoners goe without ranſom paying, through which liberality he had won the harts of many men: euen ſo at that preſent time, his barbarous crueltie made diuerſe cities (miſliking to be ſubiect to the CARTHAGINIANS) to rebell againſt him, and to take parte with the ROMAINS. Amongſt them was SALAPIA, the which was yeelded vp vnto the Conſul *Marcellus*, by *Blacius* meanes chiefe of all the ROMAINE faction: and a band alſo of choice horſemen which was left there in garriſon, were in manner ſlaine euerie man of them. This is the citie where *Anniball* fell in fancy with a gentlewoman, and therefore they greatly reproue his immoderate luſt & laſciuiouſnes. Howbeit there are others, that greatly commending the continencie of this Captaine, ſay that he did neuer eate lying, and neuer dranke aboue a pynte of wine, neither when he came to make warre in ITALY, nor after that he returned into AFRICK. Some there be alſo that ſay, *Anniball* was cruell and vnconſtant, and ſubiect to diuerſe ſuch other vices: howbeit they make no manner of mention of his chaſtitie or incontinencie. But they report that his wife was a SPANIARD, borne in CASTVLO, a good towne: and that the CARTHAGINIANS granted her many things, and truſted her very much, becauſe of the great faith and conſtancy of that nation. Now *Anniball* after he had loſt (as we haue told you) the citie of SALAPIA: he found the meanes to crie quittance, and to make the ROMAINS loſe more then he had loſt. For at the ſelfe ſame time *Fuluius* Viceconſul, laye beſieging of HERDONEA, hoping to winne the citie without reſiſtance. And becauſe he ſtood in no feare of any enemy roũd about him, (for *Anniball* was gone into the coũtry of the BRVTIANS) he kept no watch, and was altogether negligent in martiall affaires, contrary to the nature of the ROMAINE Captains. *Anniball* being aduertiſed thereof by ſpyals, would not loſe ſuch a goodly oportunitie: and therefore comming into APVLIA with his army ready, he came ſo haſtely vnto HERDONEA, that he had almoſt ſtolen vpon *Fuluius*, vnprouided in his campe. Howbeit the ROMAINES valiantly receiued the firſt charge with ſuch corage, that they fought it out longer then it was looked for. Notwithſtanding in the end, as the ROMAINS two yeare before that had bene ouercome not farre from thence, with their Conſul *Fuluius*: euen ſo likewiſe vnder the conduct of this *Fuluius* Viceconſul, the ROMAINE legions were vtterly ouerthrowen, and their Captaine ſlaine, with the moſt parte of his armie. The Conſull *Marcellus* was at that time in the citie of SAMNIVM, who being aduertiſed of this great ouerthrow, deſired to be euen with him: and though it ſeemed he came too late to helpe things paſt remedie, yet he brought his armie into the countrie of the LVCANIANS, whither he vnderſtood *Anniball* was gone after his victorie, and came and camped directly ouer againſt his enemie, and ſoone after came to battell. The which the CARTHAGINIANS refuſed not, but gaue ſuch a fierce onſet on either ſide, that they fought it out till Sunne ſet, and no man knewe who had the better, and ſo the night parted them. The next morning the ROMAINS ſhewing againe in field in battell raye, made it knowen that the enemies were afraid of them. For *Anniball* kept his men within the campe, and the next night following ſtole away without any noiſe, and

*Salapia a citie where Annibal fell in loue.*

*The death of Fuluius vice-conſul.*

went into Apvlia. *Marcellus* alſo followed him foote by foote, & ſought to put all to hazard by ſome notable battell: for he bare himſelfe thus in hand, that of all the Romaine Captaines there was none machable with *Anniball* but himſelfe, either in counſell, wit, or policie: or elſe in mattiall diſcipline, or warlike ſtratagemes. Howbeit the winter folowing kept him, that he could not fight any ſet battell with the enemie: for after he had made a few light skirmiſhes, becauſe he would not trouble his ſouldiers any more in vaine, he beſtowed them in garriſon for the winter time. At the beginning of the next ſpring, procured partly by *Fabius* letters (who was one of the new Conſuls for that yeare, ) and partly alſo through his owne diſpoſition: he brought out his garriſons ſooner then they were looked for, and came with his army againſt *Anniball*, who lay at that time at Canvsivm. Now it chanced, that through the nearenesſe of both their campes, and the good deſire they both had to fight: in few dayes they fought three ſeuerall times. The firſt battell, when they had fought it out till night, in manner with like hope of both ſides, and that it could not be iudged which of them had the better: they both of purpoſe retired into their campe againe. The ſecond day *Anniball* was conquerer, after he had ſlaine almoſt two thouſand ſeuen hundred enemies, and put the reſidue of the army to flight. The third day, the Romaines to recouer the ſhame & diſhonor they had loſt the day before: they were the firſt that prayed they might fight, and ſo *Marcellus* led them out to battell. *Anniball* wondring at their valiantneſſe, ſayd vnto his people: that he delt with an enemie that could neither be quiet Conquerer, nor conquered. So the battell was more bloudy and cruell then any that was before: becauſe the Romaines did their beſt to be reuenged of their loſſe, and the Carthaginians on the other ſide were mad in their mindes, to ſee that the vanquiſhed durſt prouoke the vanquiſhers vnto battell. In the end, the Romaines being ſharply reproued, and alſo perſwaded by *Marcellus* to ſticke to it valiantly like men, that the newes of their victorie might come to Rome, before the newes of their ouerthrow: they flue in among the preſſe of their enemies, and neuer left fighting, till that after they had thriſe broken their enemies, they made them all flie. At the ſelfe ſame time *Fabius maximus* tooke the citie of Terentvm againe, almoſt after the ſelf ſame ſort it was loſt. This being reported vnto *Anniball*, he ſaid: the Romaines haue alſo their *Anniball*. The next yeare following, *Marcellus* and *Criſpinus* were choſen Conſuls, who preparing to put themſelues in readines for warre, they led both the armies againſt the enemy. *Anniball* diſpayring that he was not able to reſiſt them in battell, he ſought all the wits he had to deuiſe ſome way to intrappe them by ſutteltie, whom he could not ouercome by battell. So *Annibals* head being occupied thus, there was offred him a better occaſion to bring this enterpriſe to paſſe, then he looked for. Betweene both campes, there was a prety groue, in the which *Anniball* layed certain bands of the Nvmidians in ambuſh, to intrappe the enemies paſsing to and fro. On the other ſide, the Conſuls by conſent of them all, thought it beſt to ſend to view this groue, and to keepe it if neede required: leaſt in leauing it behind them, the enemies ſhould come, and ſo be vpon their iackes afterwards. Now before they remoued their army, both the Conſuls went out of their campe, with a ſmall company of horſemen with them, to view the ſituation of this place: and ſo going on very vndiſcreetely, and worſe appointed then became men of their authoritie and place, they vnfortunatly fell into *Annibals* ambuſh. So, when they ſaw themſelues in a moment compaſſed about on euery ſide with enemies, that they could not go forward, and were alſo fought withall behind: they defended themſelues the beſt they could, rather by compulſion, then of any determination they had to fight. So *Marcellus* was ſlaine fighting valiantly: and *Criſpinus* the other Conſul alſo very ſore hurt, who hardly ſcaped the enemies hands. *Anniball* being aduertiſed that *Marcellus* was ſlaine, who was the chiefeſt mā of all the Romaine Captaines, that had moſt hindered the happy ſucceſſe of his victories, and had beſides troubled him moſt: he preſently went and camped there where the battell was fought, and when he had found *Marcellus* body, he gaue it honorable pompe and funerall. Hereby we may ſee how magnanimitie, and excellent vertues, are eſteemed of all men: conſidering that the cruell and moſt mortall enemy, gaue honourable buriall to ſo noble and excellent a Captaine. The Romaines in the meane time ſeeing one of their Conſuls dead, and the other Conſull very ſore hurt: they drew ſtraight to the next mountaines, and camped in a ſtrong place. Howbeit *Cri-*

*Diuers conflictes of the Romaines with Anniball.*

*Annibals words of Marcellus.*

*Marcellus, & Criſpinus: Conſuls.*

*Anniball layeth ambuſh for the Romaines.*

*The death of Marcellus.*

*The power of magnanimitie.*

ſpinus had ſent to the next townes of the mountaines, to aduertiſe them that *Marcellus* his companion was dead, and that the enemy had gotten the ring he ſealed his letters withall: wherefore he wiſhed them to beware of any letters written in *Marcellus* name. *Criſpinus* Meſſenger came but newly vnto SALAPIA, when letters were brought alſo from *Anniball* in the behalfe of *Marcellus*, to tell them that he would be there the next night. The SALAPIANS knowing his craft, they ſent his Meſſenger away, & carefully looked for *Annibals* comming. About the fourth watch of the night, *Anniball* came to the citie of SALAPIA, who of purpoſe had put all the ROMAINS that had fled, in the vauntgard, becauſe that they ſpeaking the Latin tongue, might make them beleeue that *Marcellus* was there in perſon. So when the Citizens had ſuffred ſix hundred of them to come in, they ſhut to the gates, and with their ſhot and darts thruſt out the reſt of the army, and then put all them to the ſword they had let into the citie. Thus *Anniball* being in a maruellous rage he had miſſed of his purpoſe: he remoued thence, & went into the countrey of the BRVTIANS, to ayde the LOCRIANS that were beſieged by the ROMAINES, both by ſea and by land. After all theſe things, at the earneſt requeſt of the Senate and people, two new Conſuls were created, both famous Captaines, and valiant ſouldiers, *Marcus Liuius*, & *Claudius Nero*: who hauing deuided the army betwixt them, went vnto their ſeuerall charge & prouinces. *Claudius Nero* went into the country of the SALENTINIANS, and *M. Liuius* into GAVLE, againſt *Haſdruball* BARCINIAN, who was come ouer the Alpes, & made haſt to ioyne with his brother *Anniball*, bringing with him a great army both of footemen and horſemen. Now it chaunced at the ſame time, that *Anniball* had receiued great loſſe by *Claudius* the Conſul. For firſt of all, he ouercame him in the countrey of the LVCANIANS, vſing the like policies & fetches that *Anniball* did. Afterwards againe, meeting with *Anniball* in APVLIA, by the citie of VENVSIA: he fought ſuch a luſty battell with him, that many of his enemies lay by it in the field. By reaſon of theſe great loſſes, *Anniball* ſodainly went to METAPONT, to renew his army againe. So hauing remained there a few dayes, he receiued the army from *Hanno* the which he ioyned vnto his, & then returned vnto VENVSIA. *C. Nero* lay not farre from VENVSIA with his campe: who hauing intercepted letters of his enemies, he vnderſtood by them that *Haſdruball* was at hand with his army. Thereupon, he bethought himſelfe night and day, what policie he might vſe to preuent the ioyning of two ſo great armies together as theſe. So after he had taken aduiſe of himſelfe, he followed in ſight a daungerous determination: but peraduenture neceſſary, as the time required. For, leauing the campe vnto the charge of his Lieutenaunt, he tooke part of the army with him, and making great iourneyes, came to PICENVM (being the marches of ANCONA) ſo that on the ſixt day he came to SENA. There both the Conſuls ioyned their forces together, and ſetting vpon *Haſdruball* by the riuer of Metaurum, they had very good lucke at that battell. For, as it is reported, there were ſix and fiftie thouſand of the enemies ſlayne on that day: ſo that they almoſt had as great an ouerthrow, as the ROMAINES had receiued before at the battell of CANNES. Now *Claudius Nero*, after this famous victorie, returning as ſpeedily vnto VENVSIA as he went thence, he ſet vp *Haſdrubals* head, where the enemies kept their watch: and did let certaine priſoners go, to cary newes to *Anniball* of this great ouerthrow. For afterwardes it was knowen, that *Anniball* knew nothing yet of *Claudius* ſecret enterpriſe, nor of the ſpeedy execution and great ſlaughter he had made. VVhereat ſure I can but wonder, that ſo ſuttle a Captaine as *Anniball*, could be deceiued by *Claudius*, conſidering both their campes lay ſo neare together: ſo that he firſt heard the newes of the ouerthrow of his brother, and all his army, before he vnderſtood any thing of the Conſuls departure, or heard of his returne againe to the campe. Now *Anniball* hauing not onely receiued a generall, but alſo a particular great loſſe by the death of his brother: he ſayd then he plainly ſaw the chaunge and alteration of the CARTHAGINIANS good fortune, and ſhortly after remoued his campe, and went thence into the country of the BRVTIANS. For he knew that this great ouerthrow giuē by the riuer of Metaurum, was a maruellous incouragemēt to the ROMAINES, & would alſo be a great logge in his way, for the ſucceſſe of all this warre. This notwithſtanding, he gathered together all his power he had left in ITALIE, after ſo many great battels and conflicts, and ſo many cities taken: and mainteyned the warre with an inuincible courage. But the moſt ſtraungeſt thing in *Anniball*

was

*Marcus Liuius, and C. Nero: Conſuls.*

*Sena, a citie of Apulia.*

*Metaurum fl.*

*M. Liuius, & C. Nero Conſuls ouercame Haſdruball, & ſlue 56000. of his men.*

*The change & alteration of the Carthaginians good fortune.*

was this:that through his authoritie or wiſedome,he kept all his army in peace and amitie together,(being a medley of SPANIARDS, AFRICANS, GAVLES,and of diuers other nations) and neuer man heard that there was any brawle or tumult among them. Howbeit the ROMAINES themſelues, after they had wonne SICILIA, SARDINIA,and SPAYNE againe, they could neuer vtterly ouercome him,nor driue him out of ITALIE,before they had ſent *P. Corlius Scipio* into AFRICK:who making warre with the CARTHAGINIANS,he brought them to ſuch great extremitie,that they were driuẽ to ſend for *Anniball* home out of ITALIE. *Anniball* at that time,(as I haue ſayd before)was in the country of the BRVTIANS, making war by inrodes and ſodaine inuaſions,rather then by any fought battell: ſauing that once there was a battell fought in haſt betwixt him and the Conſull *Sempronius*, and immediatly after he came and ſet vpon the ſame *Sempronius* with all his army. At the firſt battell,*Anniball* had the victorie: but at the ſecond, *Sempronius* ouercame him. Since that time,I can finde in no Greeke nor Latin Author,that *Anniball* did any famous acte in ITALIE worthy memorie. For being ſent for into AFRICK by the CARTHAGINIANS,he left ITALY,ſixteen yeares after this AFRICK warre was begun, greatly complayning of the Senate of CARTHAGE, and of himſelfe alſo. Of the Senate, becauſe that all the time he had bene in his enemies country ſo long, they had allowed him ſo litle money: and ſo ſcanted him beſides with all other things neceſſary for the warres: And of himſelfe, becauſe that after he had ſo often ouercome the ROMAINES, he had alwayes delayed time after the victorie, and had giuen the enemy libertie to gather force againe. It is reported alſo,that before he imbarked and tooke ſea, he ſet vp a triumphing arche or piller, by the temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, in the which were briefly grauen his noble victories, both in the Punick and Greeke tongue. So when he was departed out of ITALY, the wind ſerued him well,that in few dayes he arriued at LEPTIS,and landing all his army,he firſt came to ADRVMENTVM,& afterwards vnto ZAMA. There receiuing aduertiſement how the affaires of the CARTHAGINIANS proſpered: he thought it beſt to deuiſe ſome way to end this war. For this cauſe he ſent vnto *Scipio*, to pray him to appoint him ſome conuenient place where they might both meete,and talke together,of matters of great importance. Now it is not certainly knowen, whether *Anniball* did this of his owne head,or by commaundement from the Senate. *Scipio* refuſed not to come to parley. Wherefore at the day appointed, there met two famous generals of mighty nations, in a great plaine together, either of them hauing his Interpreter, to talke together of diuers matters touching peace and warre. For, *Anniball* was altogether bent to peace: becauſe he ſaw the affaires of the CARTHAGINIANS waxe worſe & worſe euery day: that they had loſt SICILIA, SARDINIA, and SPAYNE: becauſe the warre was brought out of ITALIE into AFRICK: becauſe *Syphax* (a mighty king) was takẽ priſoner of the ROMAINES: and alſo becauſe that their laſt hope conſiſted in the army he had brought into AFRICKE: which was the onely remaine and reliefe of ſo long a warre as he had made in ITALIE: and alſo becauſe that the CARTHAGINIANS had ſo ſmall a power left (both of ſtraungers, and alſo of Citizens) that there were ſcarſe men enough to defende the citie of CARTHAGE. So he did his beſt to perſwade *Scipio*, with a long oration he made, rather to agree to peace, then to reſolue of warre. Howbeit *Scipio* that liued in hope to bring this warre to a good end, he would not ſeeme to giue eare to any peace. Wherefore after they had long debated the matter of either ſide, in the end they brake off, and made no agreement. Shortly after,was this famous battell ſtrikẽ by the citie of ZAMA, in the which the ROMAINES obtained victorie. For firſt of all,they made the CARTHAGINIANS Elephants turne vpon their owne army,ſo that they did put all *Annibals* horſemen out of order. And *Lælius* and *Maſiniſſa*, who made both the winges, increaſing their feare, gaue the horſemen no leyſure to gather themſelues in order againe. Howbeit the footemen fought it out a long time, and with a maruellous great courage: in ſo much that the CARTHAGINIANS (truſting in their former victories) thought that all the ſafetie and preſeruation of AFRICKE, was all in their handes, and therefore they layed about them like mẽ. The ROMAINES on the other ſide had as great harts as they,and beſides, they ſtood in the better hope. Howbeit one thing indeede did the ROMAINES great ſeruice to helpe them to the victorie: and that was, *Lælius* and *Maſiniſſaes* returne from the chaſe of the horſemen, who ruſhed in to the battell of the enemie with great

*The prayſe of Annibals great wiſedom in the gouernement of his armie.*

*P. C. Scipio inuaded Carthage.*

*The laſt battell Anniball fought in Italie was with Sempronius, in the which he ouercame Anniball.*

*Anniball ſent for to returne into Africke, after he had warred 16. yeares in Italie.*

*Annibals arche of triumphe.*

*Anniball departeth out of Italie.*

*Anniball and Scipioes meeting, & talke.*

*Scipioes victorie of the Carthaginians at the battell of Zama.*

furie, and did put them in a maruellous feare. For at their comming, the CARTHAGINIANS harts were done, and they ſaw no other remedy for them, but to hope to ſcape by flying. So it is reported, that there were ſlaine that day, aboue twenty thouſand CARTHAGINIANS in the field, and as many more priſoners. *Anniball* their generall, after he had taried to ſee the end of the battell, fled with a few of his men out of the great ſlaughter. Afterwardes when he was ſent for to CARTHAGE, to helpe to ſaue his country: he perſwaded the Senate not to hope any more in warres, but did counſell them, that ſetting all deuiſes a part, they ſhould ſend vnto *Scipio* the ROMAINE Captaine, to make peace with him vpon any condition. When the ten Ambaſſadours had brought the capitulation and agreement vnto CARTHAGE of the articles of peace: it is reported that there was one *Giſgo*, who miſliking to heare talke of peace, he made an oration, and perſwaded all he could to renew war againſt the ROMAINES. Wherefore *Anniball* perceiuing that diuers men confirmed his opinion, and being much offended to ſee ſuch beaſtes, and men of no vnderſtanding, to dare to ſpeake of ſuch matters, in ſo daungerous a time: he caſt him downe headlong, whileſt he was yet in his oration. So when he ſaw that the Citizens, and all the whole aſſembly, thought this too preſumptuous a part of him, & vnmeete altogether for a free citie: he himſelfe got vp into the pulpit for orations, and ſayd. Let no man be offended, if a man that from his youth hath bene alway out of CARTHAGE, and brought vp all his life time in warres, be ignoraunt of the lawes and ordinaunces of the citie. After that, he ſpake ſo wiſely to the articles of peace, that the CARTHAGINIANS being immediatly moued by the authoritie of ſo great a perſon: they all agreed to accept the conditions which the vanquiſher, & the neceſſitie of time offred them. The articles out of doubt were very extreme, and ſuch as the vanquiſhed are wont to receiue with all extremitie by the conquerours. But beſides all other things, the CARTHAGINIANS were boũd to pay the ROMAINES an annuall tribute, vntill a certaine time were runne out. So when the day came that the firſt penſion was to be payd to the ROMAINES, & that euery man grudged when the ſubſidie was ſpoken of: ſome ſay that *Anniball* being offended with the vaine teares of the CARTHAGINIANS, he fell a laughing. And when *Haſdruball Hædus* reproued him becauſe he laughed in ſuch a common calamitie of all the citie, he aunſwered, that it was no laughter nor reioycing from the hart, but a ſcorning of their fond teares, that wept when there was leſſe cauſe (and onely becauſe it touched euery priuate mans purſe) then before, when the ROMAINES tooke from the CARTHAGINIANS their ſhippes, armour, and weapons, and their ſpoyles of the great victories which they had wonne before, and now gaue lawes and ordinaunces vnto thẽ that were vanquiſhed. I know ſome Authors write, that *Anniball* immediatly after he had loſt the battell, fled into ASIA, for that he was affrayed they would deliuer him into *Scipioes* handes, that perhaps might demaund him of them. But whether that was done ſodainly, or ſome time after the battell was loſt at ZAMA, it makes no great matter: conſidering that all the world knoweth, that when he ſaw things brought to extremitie, he preſently fled into ASIA vnto king *Antiochus*. So is it moſt true, that king *Antiochus* receiued him with great curteſie, and vſed him very honourably: in ſomuch as he made him of counſell with him all in all, both in priuate and publike cauſes. For the name of *Anniball* caried great reputation with all men: beſides that, he had a common & mortal hate to the ROMAINES, which was a pricking ſpurre ſtill to moue warre againſt them. And therefore it ſeemeth that he came in happy houre into that country, not onely to pricke forward the courage of the king againſt them, but alſo to ſet warres at libertie againſt the ROMAINES. So he told him, that the onely way to make warre with the ROMAINES, was to go into ITALIE to leauy ITALIAN ſouldiers, by whom onely, that victorious country of all other nations might be ſubdued. He requeſted of the king a hundred ſhips, ſixteen thouſand footemen, and a thouſand horſemen onely. With this ſmall army he promiſed to inuade ITALIE, and that he would maruellouſly trouble the ITALIANS, whom he knew yet to ſtand in no ſmall feare of him, for the very ſound of his name onely: becauſe of the late warres he had made there, ſo freſh yet in memorie. Furthermore, he tooke hart againe vnto him to renew the warres of AFRICKE, if the king would licence him to ſend men vnto CARTHAGE, to ſtirre vp the BARCINIAN faction, whom he knew hated the ROMAINES to death. When he had gotten the king to graunt him his requeſt, he called *Ariſton*

*The flying of Anniball.*

*Anniball could not abide to heare fooles talke of warre.*

*Anniball in his miſerie, fled vnto king Antiochus into Aſia.*

Tyrian vnto him, a fine ſuttle fellow, and meete for ſuch a purpoſe: to whom he made large promiſes, and perſwaded him to go to Carthage to his friends, and to cary them letters from him. Thus *Anniball* being a baniſhed man, & fled out of his country, raiſed warre in all parts againſt the Romaines. And ſurely his counſell had taken good effect, had king *Antiochus* rather followed his aduiſe, as he did at the firſt, then the vaine perſwaſions of his fine Courtiers. But enuy, a common plague frequenting Princes Courts, bred *Anniball* great enemies. For they being affrayed that by his counſels he ſhould grow in great fauour with the king, (for he was a wiſe and politike Captaine) and that thereby he ſhould beare great ſway and authoritie: to preuent it, they lacked no deuiſe to bring him in diſgrace with the king And it ſo chaunced at that time, that P. *Villius*, who came Ambaſſadour vnto Ephesvs, he had often conference with *Anniball*. Hereupon his priuie enemies tooke occaſion to accuſe him, and withall, the king himſelfe became ſo ielous of it, that from thence forth he neuer more called him to councell. At the ſelfe ſame time alſo, as ſome do report, P. *Cornelius Scipio* African (who was one of the Ambaſſadours ſent vnto king *Antiochus*) talking familiarly with *Anniball*, prayed him amongeſt other things to tell him truely, whom he thought the worthieſt Captaine of all others. *Anniball* aunſwered him. Firſt he thought *Alexander*, king of Macedon the chiefeſt: next vnto him, *Pyrrhus* king of the Epirotes: and thirdly, himſelfe. Then *Scipio* African ſmiling, asked him: what wouldeſt thou ſay, *Anniball*, if thou haddeſt ouercome me? Truely ſayd he, then I would be chiefeſt my ſelfe. This anſwer pleaſed *Scipio* maruellous well, becauſe he ſaw he was neither deſpiſed, nor yet brought to be compared with the other, but left alone as peereleſſe, by ſome ſecret flattery of *Anniball*. After theſe things, *Anniball* found occaſion to talke with king *Antiochus*, and began to lay open his life vnto him from his youth, and bewray the malice he had alwayes borne vnto the Romaines: whereby he ſo ſatisfied the king, that he was againe receiued into his grace and fauour, which he had almoſt vtterly loſt. Thereupon the king was determined to haue made him Admirall of his army by ſea, the which he had put in readineſſe for Italie, and alſo to make proofe of his great courage and ſeruice, whom he knew to be a worthy man, and a mortall enemy to the Romaines. But one *Thoas*, Prince of the Ætolians, thwarting this opinion, either for malice, or elſe for that his fancie was ſuch: he altered the kings minde, and cleane changed his purpoſe, the which was a matter of great importance for the warre he pretended to make. For he gaue counſell vnto *Antiochus*, that he ſhould go himſelfe into Grece, and direct his owne affaires: and that he ſhould not ſuffer an other to cary away the honor & glory of this warre. So king *Antiochus* ſhortly after wẽt into Grece, to make warre with the Romaines. Within few dayes after, when he conſulted whether he ſhould make league with the Thessalians, *Annibals* opinion was ſpecially asked: who ſpake ſo wiſely touching the ſtate of the Thessalians, and the chiefeſt matter of importance, that they all went with his opinion, & gaue their conſents vnto it. Now his opinion was, that they ſhould not need much to care for the Thessalians, but rather to make all the meanes they could, to get king *Philip* of Macedon to take their part: or elſe to perſwade him to be a Newter, & to take neither part. Furthermore, he gaue counſell to make war with the Romaines in their owne country, & offred himſelfe to ayde him the beſt he could. Euery man gaue good eare to his words, but his opinion was rather cõmended, then followed. Wherefore euery man maruelled, that ſuch a Captaine as he, that had ſo many yeares made warre with the Romaines (who had in manner cõquered all the world) ſhould then be ſo light ſet by of the king, when it ſpecially ſtood him vpõ, to haue ſuch a mãs helpe & cõſell. For, what captaine liuing could a mã haue foũd more ſkilfull or politike, or meeter to make war with the Romaines, thẽ him? Howbeit the king made no reckoning of him, at the firſt beginning of this war: but ſhortly after, diſdaining all their cõſel, he cõfeſſed that *Anniball* only ſaw what was to be done. For after the Romaines had obtained victory in the war he made in Grece: *Antiochus* fled out of Evrope into Ephesvs, where making mery, & there following pleaſure, he hoped to liue in peace, litle thinking the Romains would come with any army into Asia. Now, theſe flattering courtiers ſtill fed his humour: a perpetuall plague to Kings & Princes, that ſuffer thẽſelues to be flattered, & are contented to be deceiued, becauſe they giue good eare to that that pleaſeth

*Enuy, the common plague & poyſon of Princes Courtes.*

*Scipio African met with Anniball at Epheſus.*

*Annibals iudgement of the moſt famous Captaines.*

*Anniball cõſelleth king Antiochus to make warre with the Romaines.*

*King Antiochus iudgement of Anniball.*

them. But *Anniball*, who knew the power & ambition of the ROMAINES, perſwaded the king to hope for any thing rather then peace, & bad him truſt to it, that the ROMAINES would neuer ſtay, till they had proued whether they could enlarge the dominions of their Empire, into the third part of the world, as they had done in AFRICKE, and EVROPE. *Antiochus* perſwaded by the authority of ſuch a man, ſtraight commaunded *Polyxenidas*, a very ſeruiceable man, and skilfull in ſea ſeruice, that he ſhould go meete with the army of the ROMAINES that was comming thither. Then he ſent *Anniball* into SYRIA, to leauy a great number of ſhippes together, and afterwards made him, and *Apollonius*, (one of his fauoured Courtiers) generals of his army by ſea: who notwithſtanding that *Polyxenidas* was put to the worſt by the ROMAINES, they went & ſet vpō the RHODIANS, that were confederates with them. *Anniball* in this battell aſſayling *Eudamus* the Captaine of the RHODIANS, that led the left wing: he had already compaſſed in the Admirall galley, and doubtleſſe had obtained the victorie, but that the other wing came in to reſcue, after they had followed *Apollonius* in chaſe, and tooke the victorie from him, that was his owne. After this battell by ſea, which had no great good ſucceſſe: we do not finde that *Anniball* did any thing worthy memorie. For king *Antiochus* being ouercome, beſides other conditions, the ROMAINES offred him: they deſired that *Anniball* (the mortall enemy of their country) ſhould be deliuered vnto them. *Anniball* foreſeeing this long before, he ſodainly ſtale from *Antiochus*, after this notable battell that was fought by MAGNESIA, where the kings power was ouerthrowen. So, after *Anniball* had wādred vp & downe a long time, he fled at length vnto *Pruſias*, king of BITHYNIA, for ſuccour. Now he did not ſo much truſt to his friendſhip, but becauſe he ſought for the meeteſt place he could come by, as alſo for the ſafeſt, the which he moſt deſired: conſidering that the ROMAINES had the moſt part of the ſea and land in their ſubiection. Some ſay, that after king *Antiochus* was ouercome, *Anniball* wēt into CRETA vnto the GORTYNIANS: & that the rumour ran immediatly, he had brought a great maſſe of gold and ſiluer with him. Wherfore being affrayd leaſt the CRETANS ſhould offer him ſome violence, he deuiſed this ſhift to ſcape the daunger, he filled earthen pots with lead, gilt, and ſent them into the temple of *Diana*, fayning that he was maruellous carefull for them, as though all his treaſure had bene there. On the other ſide he had hid all his gold in images of braſſe, the which he had left careſly lying on the ground in the houſe. In the meane time, whileſt they watched the temple carefully, that theſe earthen pots ſhould not be caried away without their priuitie: *Anniball* hoyſed ſayle, and fled into BITHYNIA. In BITHYNIA there is a village vpon the ſea ſide, which the country men call LIBYSSA, of the which by ſome mens ſaying, there ranne an old oracle and prophecie in this ſort.

*Annibal made generall of Antiochus army by ſea, together with Apollonius.*

*Anniball fled to Pruſias king of Bithynia.*

*The land of Libyſſa ſhall couer vnder mowld*
*The valiant corps of Anniball, when he is dead and cold.*

*Anniball, king Pruſias generall by ſea, againſt Eumenes, king of Pergamum.*

*A ſtrange deuiſe of ſnakes put in earthen pots, & throwē into the enemies ſhips.*

*Titus Quintius Flaminius ſent Ambaſſadour into Aſia.*

There *Anniball* lay, not ſpēding his time idlely, but paſsing it away in exerciſing of the mariners, riding of horſes, and trayning of his ſouldiers. Some Authors alſo do write, that at that time *Pruſias* made warre with *Eumenes*, king of PERGAMVM, who was a cōfederate & friend of the ROMAINES: & that he made *Anniball* his Lieutenant generall of his army by ſea: who aſſayling *Eumenes* with a new found and vnknowen deuiſe, wan the victory of the battell by ſea. For before they began to fight, it is reported that *Anniball* had gotten an infinite number of ſnakes into earthen pots, and when the battell was begun, & they buſily tending their fight: he threw thoſe pots with ſnakes into the enemies ſhips, and that by this fearefull and ſtraunge deuiſe he made them flie. Now whether this was true or not, the old chronicles do make no manner of mention, but onely *AEmylius* and *Trogus*. And therefore I report me to the Authours. So, the newes of the diſſention betwixt theſe two kings, *Pruſias*, and *Eumenes* being brought to ROME: the Senate ſent *T.Q. Flaminius* Ambaſſadour into ASIA, whoſe name was famous for the noble victories he had obtained in GRECE, to the end (as I coniecture) to make peace betwixt theſe two kings. *Flaminius* being come vnto king *Pruſias*, he was maruellouſly offended, and ſory in his minde to ſee *Anniball* yet aliue, (that was the mortalleſt enemy of the ROMAINES) after the cōqueſts of ſo many nations, & the ſacking of ſo many people: therfore, he was very earneſtly in hand with king *Pruſias*, to deliuer him *Anniball*. *Anniball* frō the firſt beginning miſtruſted king *Pruſias* incōſtancie very much, & therfore had digged diuers vaults in his houſe, and made ſeuen ſeuerall vents to flie out at, if he were ſodainly taken. The report of *Flaminius* cõming did encreaſe his ſuſpition the more, for that he thought him the greateſt enemy he had in Rome: both generally for the hate he bare vnto all the Romaines, as alſo particularly for the remembraunce of his father *Flaminius*, that was ſlaine in the battell fought by the lake of Thraſymene. So *Anniball* being full of care and griefe (as it is reported) he founde deuiſes to eſcape, the which ſtood him to no purpoſe againſt ſuch a great power. For when the kings gard which were ſent to take him, had compaſſed his houſe about: *Anniball* thought to flie at their firſt comming, and to ſaue himſelf by the ſecreteſt vault he had. But when he found that the place was kept by the gard, then he determined to rid himſelf out of the Romaines handes, by doſtroying himſelfe. So, ſome do report, that he was ſtrangled by one of his men, whom he had commaunded to helpe to diſpatch him. Others write again, that he had druncke buls bloud, and when he had druncke it, dyed, as *Clitarchus*, and *Stratocles* do falſly report of *Themiſtocles*. Howbeit *Titus Liuius*, that famous Hiſtoriographer writeth, that *Anniball* called for the poyſon he had ready for ſuch a miſchiefe, & that holding this deadly drinke in his hand, before he dranke he ſayd: Come on, let vs rid the Romaines of this payne and care, ſith their ſpight and malice is ſo great, to haſten the death of a poore old man that is halfe dead already. The auncient Romaines aduertiſed *Pyrrhus* king of the Epirotes, who came with enſignes diſplayed to the very wals of the citie of Rome, that he ſhould looke to himſelfe, and beware of poyſoning: and theſe Romaines now do make a friend forgetting his kingly ſtate & faithfull promiſe, vilely to betray his poore gueſt. After he had ſayd, bitterly curſing king *Pruſias*, he poyſoned himſelfe, being three ſcore and ten yeare old, as ſome writers do teſtifie. His body was buried in a tombe of ſtone by Libyssa, on the which was ingrauen no more but this: *Here lyeth Anniball.* The Romaines being aduertiſed of his death, euery man ſayd his opinion, as his fancie ſerued him. Some greatly blamed *T. Q. Flaminius* crueltie, who to make himſelfe famous by ſome notable acte (as he thought) made a poore old man put himſelfe to death, that was in manner halfe dead by age, and beſides, was paſt doing the ſtate of Rome any more hurt, they being Conquerours in manner of all the world. But ſome againe on the other ſide, commended *Flaminius* for it, & ſayd it was a good deede of him, to rid the Romaines of their mortall enemy: who though he had a weake body, yet he lacked no wit, wiſe counſell, and great experience in warres, to intiſe king *Pruſias* to make warre, & to moleſt all Asia beſides with new warres. For at that time, the power of the king of Bithynia was ſo great, that it was not to be lightly regarded. For after that, *Mithridates* king of the ſame Bithynia, did maruellouſly moleſt the Romaines both by ſea & by land, & moreouer fought battels with *L. Lucullus*, and *Cn. Pompey*, famous Captaines of the Romaines. And ſo the Romaines might alſo be affrayd of *Pruſias*, & ſpecially hauing *Anniball* his Captaine. So ſome iudge, that *Q. Flaminius* was ſpecially ſent Ambaſſadour vnto king *Pruſias*, ſecretly to practiſe *Annibals* death. Howbeit it is to be ſuppoſed, that *Q. Flaminius* was not ſo deſirous to haue *Anniball* ſo ſodainly put to death, as he would haue bene glad otherwiſe to haue brought him againe to Rome, that had done ſuch miſchiefe to his country: & this had bene a great benefit for Rome, and much honour alſo vnto himſelfe. Such was the death of *Anniball* the Carthaginian, a famous man doubtleſſe, and highly to be commended for martiall prayſe, ſetting his other vertues aſide. So we may eaſily iudge, of what power and force his noble minde, his great wiſedome and courage, and his perfit skill of martiall diſcipline was in all things. For in all the warre the Carthaginians had ſo vehemently, & with ſuch great preparation enterpriſed: they neuer thought themſelues ouercome, till *Anniball* was ouerthrowen at that great battell by Zama. So it appeareth, that all their ſtrength and skill of warres began, and alſo ended, with *Anniball* their Captaine.

*Anniball poyſoned himſelfe, being ſeuentie yeare old.*

*Annibals tombe by Libyſſa.*

*The prayſe of Anniball.*

# THE LIFE OF

## *Scipio African.*

SCIPIO AFRICANVS

*The parentage of Scipio.*

P*Vblius Scipio* a PATRICIAN, of the familie of the *Cornelij*, who was the firſt ROMAINE Captaine againſt whõ *Anniball* fought in ITALIE: was the father of *Cornelius Scipio* afterwardes ſurnamed AFRICAN, the firſt ſo called, becauſe he had cõquered that natiõ. The ſame *Scipio*, after he had obtained many great victories in SPAYNE, and done notable feates of armes: was in the end ſlaine with a wound he had in a battell againſt his enemies, as he was plying & incouraging of his men frõ place to place, thronging in the greateſt daunger & fury of the battell. Shortly after did his brother *Cn. Scipio* alſo end his life, much after one ſelfe maner, and was ſlaine valiantly fighting. So theſe two Captaines, beſides the fame they atchieued by their noble deedes, left behind them great praiſe of their faithfulneſſe, modeſtie, and courage: the which made them not onely wiſhed for of their ſouldiers that were then liuing, but alſo of all the SPANYARDES beſides. *Cn. Scipio* had a ſonne called *P. Cornelius Naſica*, one that had bene Conſull and had alſo triumphed: who being but a young man, was thought the meeteſt man of all the citie of ROME to receiue *Idaa*, the mother of the goddes. This *Publius* had two ſonnes, the ſo famous *Scipioes*: of the which the one was called ASIAN, becauſe he cõquered ASIA: and the other AFRICAN, becauſe he ſubdued AFRICK at that famous battell of ZAMA, where he ouerthrew *Anniball* and the CARTHAGINIANS, as we ſaid before. Whoſe life we purpoſe now to write, not ſo much to make the glory of his name (ſo famous by all the Greeke and Latin Authours) the greater by our hiſtory: as for that we would make all mẽ know the order of his noble deeds, & morall vertues, to the end that all Princes and noble Captaines in reading it, ſhould behold the liuely image of perfit vertue, which may moue an earneſt deſire in thẽ to follow the example of *P. Cornelius Scipioes* life, who from his childhood gaue great hope & ſhew of a noble nature, & excellẽt vertue, after he followed the inſtruction of martiall diſcipline, vnder the conduct of his father. He was caried into the field at the beginning of the ſecond warre with the CARTHAGINIANS, followed the campe being but ſeuenteen yeare old, & in a very ſhort time grew ſo toward, & forward in all things, in riding, in watching, in taking all manner of paines like a ſouldier, that he wan great cõmendation of his own father, & beſides, great eſtimatiõ alſo of all the army. Furthermore, he ſhewed ſuch tokẽs of a ſharpe wit, & noble courage: that it made him beloued, & alſo feared of his

*The firſt ſouldierfare of P. Cor. Scipio, being but ſeuenteen yeare old.*

his enemies. For this *Scipio* was preſent at the battell of the horſemen, where *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Conſul fought with *Anniball*, by the riuer of Theſin: & ſome writers do affirme, that *Cornelius* the father being hurt, was almoſt taken by the enemy, had not his ſonne *Scipio* ſaued him, who had then but a litle downe on his beard, he was ſo young. After that alſo, at the battel that was fought by CANNES, to the great loſſe, & in maner vtter deſtruction of the Empire of ROME, when the ten thouſand men that fled to CANVSIVM, had all together with one conſent referred the gouernement of the army vnto *Appius Pulcher*, that had bene Ædilis, & vnto *Cornelius Scipio*, that was yet but very young: the ſame *Scipio* ſhewed then by his deedes, what noble minde & courage was in him. For when he ſaw certain young men cōſult together betweene thēſelues to forſake ITALIE: he thruſt in among them, & drawing out his ſword, made them all ſweare they would not forſake their country. Theſe, and ſuch like deeds done by him with a liuely courage & noble mind, being then but a young man: wan him ſuch fauour with the ROMAINES, that not reſpecting his young yeares, nor their auncient cuſtome, they called him forward, & layd offices of great charge & gouernement vpon him. In ſomuch that when he ſued for the office of Ædilis before his due time, notwithſtanding that the Tribunes of the people were againſt his ſute, becauſe he was ſo yong a man: yet the people ſuffered him to be brought from tribe to tribe, & ſo was preſently choſen Ædilis with the moſt voyces. So after his father & vncle, (both famous and noble Captaines) had bene ſlayne one after the other in SPAYNE, & that the ROMAINES were in conſultation to appoint ſome worthy Captaine in the roome: they could finde no man that durſt vndertake this ſo daungerous war, conſidering the loſſe of two ſo great captaines before. Wherfore the whole aſſembly being called to chuſe a Viceconſull, all the other Princes & peeres of the Realme being ſilent at ſo worthy a motion: *Scipio* onely of all the reſt, being but foure & twenty yeare old, ſtood vp in the middeſt of thē, & ſayd, with a good hope & confidence he would willingly take the charge vpō him. He had no ſooner offred this promiſe, but he was preſently made Vicecōſull of SPAYNE, with the wōderfull good will and fauour of the people, who gaue him all their voyces. Howbeit the Senators afterwardes conſidering better of the matter, againſt what Captaines & nations he ſhould make warre: they thought it vnpoſsible ſo young a man could performe ſo waighty a charge. Wherefore mens minds were wonderfully chaunged againe on the ſodaine, as if the tribes of the people had repented them of their voyces & election. *Scipio* perceiuing it, called an aſſembly preſently, & made ſuch an oration of his age, and diſcipline of warres, that euery man that heard him wondred at him, and the people began againe to renew the good hope they had of him for the warres. For he had not onely a noble courage in him, being indued with many ſingular vertues, but he was alſo a goodly gentleman, and very comly of perſon, and had beſides a pleaſaunt countenaunce: all which things together, are great meanes to winne him the loue and good will of euery man. Moreouer, euē in his geſture and behauiour, there was a certaine Princely grace. Now, the glory of martiall diſcipline, being ioyned vnto thoſe his rare giftes of minde and nature: it was to be doubted, whether his ciuill vertues made him more acceptable vnto ſtrangers, then wonderfull for his skill in warres. Furthermore, he had filled the commō peoples harts with a certain ſuperſtitious feare, becauſe he did daily (after he had takē the mans gowne) vſe to go vp to the Capitoll, & ſo into the Church without any company: in ſomuch that all men began to thinke that he learned ſome ſecret things in the temple, which others might not know, as they were perſwaded long before, that *Numa Pompilius* was taught by the Nymphe *AEgeria*. Furthermore, it ſeemeth that ſome had the like opinion of *Scipio*, as in old time they had of *Alexander* king of MACEDON, to wit: that oftentimes there was a ſnake ſeene in his mothers chamber. But let theſe things go. *Scipio* departing out of ITALY with ten thouſand footemen, & a fleete of thirty gallies, euery one of thē hauing fiue owers to a banke: he ſayled into SPAYNE, & in few dayes arriuing at EMPORIA, he landed his mē, and marched by land to TARRACON. There he kept a councell, and many Ambaſſadours of the cities their confederates came thither, who being curteouſly receiued, returned to their lodgings with ſuch aunſwere as they liked. After this, *Scipio* being carefully bent to proſecute the warre he had taken vpon him, he thought it beſt to ioyne the remaine of the old bandes with his army, which had bene ſaued through the manhood and valiantneſſe of *Lucius Martius*. For after

*P. Scipio reſcued his father from being taken of the enemies.*

*Honours done to Scipio, being but a young man.*

*Scipio Vicecōſull at 24. yeares of age.*

*Scipioes great mind & goodly perſonage.*

*Scipioes iourney into Spayne.*

*The valiantneſſe of Lucius Martius a Romaine knight.*

both the *Scipioes* were ſlayne, and both Spaynes almoſt loſt, and the Romaine legions alſo ouerthrowen & put to flight: *L. Martius* a Romaine Knight, hauing gathered together the remnant of both armies, reſiſted (beyond all hope of man) the enemies puffed vp with glory of the victorie they had gotten, & with great valiantneſſe, and vnſpeakeable induſtry he mainteined war in Spayne, againſt three Captaines of the Carthaginians. Now *Scipio* being come to this army that lay in garriſon for the winter time, euery man did certainly perſwade themſelues that the warre ſhould proſper: and when they ſaw him, they remembred their old Captaines, in ſomuch that there was neuer a ſouldier could haue his fill, with looking vpon this young man. Howbeit, after he had commended the ſouldiers for their noble courage, not diſpayring for the calamity of their countrey: he greatly honored *Lucius Martius*, to ſhew, that who ſo truſteth in his owne vertues, neede not enuy the glory of another man. So winter being paſt, he tooke the old and new bandes out of the garriſons, and firſt of all determined to go and lay ſiege vnto new Carthage. For of all the cities of Spayne it was the wealthieſt, & none more meeter to make warre both by ſea & land, then that. Moreouer, the Captaines of the Carthaginians had beſtowed in this citie all their munition, and greateſt treaſure: and left a ſtrong garriſon, both in the citie, and caſtle. But the Captaines themſelues were deuided in diuers countryes, to the end that they three might keepe the whole regiõ from ſpoyle, leaſt of all looking then that Carthage ſhould be beſieged.

*Scipio beſiegeth new Carthage in Spayne.*

But *Scipio* hauing put all in readineſſe, he came to beſiege new Carthage with all his army both by ſea & lãd. This ſeemed to be a maruellous hard enterpriſe, and would continue long, both becauſe the citie was very ſtrong of it ſelfe, and alſo for that the men within it were ſo couragious: that they did not onely thinke themſelues able to defend the citie, but their harts ſerued them alſo to make ſalyes out vpon the enemy, and to skirmiſh with them, euen to the very trenches of the Romaines campe. Howbeit it happeneth often, that what a man can not attaine by force, he may winne by induſtrie. Now *Scipio* knew, that the lake or mer which is not farre from the wals of Carthage, did ebbe and flow with the tyde, and that it was paſſable by forde on that ſide where they might eaſilieſt come to the walles: So, he thinking to imbrace this occaſion, and that he could not poſsibly meete with a better deuiſe to take Carthage: when he ſaw his time, he ſet his men in battell ray, and hauing deuided them into ſeuerall ſquadrons, gaue a more deſperate aſſault vnto the citie, then he had done before. In the meane time, he choſe out a band of the valianteſt men he had, and commaunded them to wade ouer the lake, and to ſcale the walles on that ſide, where they within the towne made leaſt account of it. So, theſe ſouldiers that were commaunded to giue this attempt, after they had paſſed ouer the lake without any let or trouble: they found that part of the wall without any watche or garde, becauſe the greateſt fury of the fight, was on the other ſide of the citie. Therefore they eaſily getting vp on the wall, came and aſſayled the enemies behind them. The citizens, and thoſe of the garriſon, perceiuing they were vnwares fallen into that great daunger: they immediatly forſooke the walles, and ſeeing themſelues charged on euery ſide, betooke them to their legges, and fled.

*Scipio wanne the citie of new Carthage by aſſault.*

The Romaines purſued them ſo hotly, that they wanne the citie, and ſacked it: where they found a wonderfull great ſpoyle, and aboundance of all things neceſſary for warre. *Scipio* greatly prayſed his ſouldiers, & did rewarde them, for that they had done ſo valiant ſeruice. Howbeit when he ſhould come to giue the ſcaling crowne of the wals, vnto the firſt man that got vp vpon the wall: there were two ſouldiers at ſuch variance for the matter, that all the army was in daunger of diuiſion and mutinie vpon that occaſion. Thereupon *Scipio* called his men together, and in open aſſembly told them, that he knew they both got vp on the wall together, and ſo gaue them both a ſcaling crowne: and by this meanes their tumult was preſently pacified. Afterwards he ſent vnto all the cities of Spayne, the hoſtages that were found in the citie, which were a maruellous number: the which wanne him great fame for his curteſie and clemencie, whereby he allured many nations to yeeld themſelues vnto the Romaines, & to forſake the Carthaginians.

*The great chaſtitie of Scipio.*

But one thing aboue all the reſt, chiefly increaſed his prayſe, and wanne him great loue and good will, as a myrror and example of all vertue. There was a young Lady taken priſoner, that in beautie excelled all the women in Carthage: whom he carefully cauſed to be kept, and preſerued from violence and diſhonour. And afterwardes whẽ he knew that ſhe was maried vnto *Luceius*, Prince of the CELTIBERIANS: he ſent for her husband that was a very young man, and deliuered her vnto him, vntouched, or diſhonoured. *Luceius* not forgetting his noble cutteſie vnto her, did let all his ſubiectes vnderſtand the great bounty, modeſty, and rare excellencie of all kinde of vertues that were in this ROMAINE generall: and ſhortly after he returned againe to the ROMAINES campe, with a great number of horſemen. The three Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS (*Mago*, *Haſdruball* BARCINIAN, & the other *Haſdruball*, the ſonne of *Giſgo*) knowing that the loſſe of new CARTHAGE did thẽ great hurt, as well in the impairing of their credit with other ſtraunge nations, as alſo by the coniecture diuers made of the ſucceſſe of this warre: they firſt practiſed to diſſemble the loſſe of it, and then in ſpeach to make light of it as much as they could. *Scipio* hauing ioyned vnto him diuers nations and Princes of SPAYNE, (among the which were the two litle kings, *Mandonius*, and *Indibilis*) vnderſtãding where *Haſdruball* BARCINIAN lay: he marched towards him with his army, to fight with him, before *Mago* and the other *Haſdruball* came to ioyne with him. *Haſdruball* BARCINIAN lay in campe by the riuer of Beſula, & was very deſirous to fight, truſting wholly to his ſtrength and army. But when he heard that *Scipio* was at hand, he left the valley, and got to a hill of prety ſtrength. The ROMAINE legions followed him, and gaue him no reſpit, but purſued ſo neare, that they came and aſſaulted his campe at their firſt comming. So they fought it out vpon the trenches and rampers, as if they had bene at the aſſault of a citie. The CARTHAGINIANS truſting to the ſtrength of the place, and driuen vnto it of neceſsitie, (the which maketh cowards moſt deſperat) they valiantly reſiſted their enemies the beſt they could. The ROMAINES in contrary manner, being valiant, and full of good hope, fought it out luſtely like men, and the fight was ſo much more cruell, for that it was in the ſight of their Generall *Scipio*, and of all the army beſides: in ſomuch that their valiant ſeruice there could not be hidden. Therefore they neuer gaue ouer the aſſault, vntill that hauing done their vttermoſt endeuour, they got vp vpon the rampers, and entred in diuers places into the enemies campe, and made them flie. *Haſdruball*, Captaine of the CARTHAGINIANS, ſaued himſelfe by flying, with a few with him, before the ROMAINES entred into their fort. After this battell, *Scipio* according to his manner, cauſed all the Spaniſh priſoners to be brought before him, and then gaue them libertie to depart, without paying of raunſome. Among the priſoners, there was a young gentleman of the kings bloud, and nephew vnto *Maſiniſſa*, whom when he had vſed very honourably, he ſent vnto *Maſiniſſa*, with great and rich gifts: to ſhew thereby, that a generall of an army ſhould be as bountifull & full of ciuill vertues, as otherwiſe skilfull and expert in martiall diſcipline. For the end of warre is victorie: the benefite whereof conſiſteth in bountie, and clemencie. From thence commeth the glory and all other prayſes due to Captaines: as it happened in thoſe things whereof we now treate. For a great number of SPANYARDS being preſent, wondering at the great clemẽcie of the generall of the ROMAINES: they could do no leſſe but call him king, to honour and recompence his vertue. But *Scipio* ſtrake that word dead ſtraight, the which was no common ſound to the ROMAINES eares, and therfore he would by no meanes allow that title, which he knew to be hatefull to the noble men of his country, and alſo vnmeete for the libertie of the ROMAINES. He onely prayeth the SPANYARDS, that if they had any minde & deſire not to ſhew themſelues vnthankefull to him, that then they would be faithfull and louing to the people of ROME. So whileſt theſe things were done by *Scipio*, the other two captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS, (*Mago*, & *Haſdruball*, the ſonne of *Giſgo*) after they vnderſtood of the ouerthrow of their men by the riuer of Beſula: they made all the ſpeede they could ioyne together, and ſhortly after came and met with *Haſdruball* BARCINIAN, to conſult together, and to take order for the warre. So after they had layed their heades together, and conſidered all things, they concluded thus: that *Haſdruball* BARCINIAN ſhould go into ITALY to his brother *Anniball*, where the warre was greateſt: & that *Mago*, and the other *Haſdruball* ſhould remaine in SPAYNE, ſhould ſend for aide from CARTHAGE, & ſhould not fight with the ROMAINES vntill all their forces looked for were aſſembled, & ſo might make a great and puiſſant army. When *Haſdrubal* was gone into ITALIE, *Hanno* was ſent from CARTHAGE in his place. But practiſing in his iourney to make the CELTIBERIANS to rebell, *M. Syllanus* came and ſet vpon him by *Scipioes* commaundement,

*Mago, Haſdruball Barcinian, Haſdruball Giſgo, the three famous Captaines of the Carthaginians.*

*Beſula fl.*

*Scipioes liberalitie to his enemies.*

*Vertues meete for a generall.*

*Scipio called king, by the Spanyards.*

*Haſdrubal ſent into Italie to his brother Anniball with an armie.*

*Hanno the chiefe of the contrarie factiō vnto Haſdruball Barcinian, ouercome in battell, and taken priſoner.*

and was ſo fortunate, that he ouercame him in battell, and tooke him priſoner. Now there was a citie which the country men called ORINGE, the which was very wealthy, and meete to renew the warre. *Lucius Scipio* was ſent thither with part of the armie to beſiege it: but finding it a very ſtrong ſituation, and too well manned to take it at the firſt aſſault, he enuironned the towne, and within few dayes tooke and ſacked it. Winter came on a pace, and the time of the yeare made thē both to retire into their garriſons, for the winter. So *Scipio* hauing had ſo good fortune in this warre, he went vnto TARRACON: *Mago*, and the other *Haſdruball*, the ſonne of *Giſgo*, went to the ſea ſide. The next ſommer, warres growing more bloudy and cruel then before in the lower SPAYNE, the ROMAINES & CARTHAGINIANS met, and ioyned battell by the riuer of Beſula, and fought ſet battels. After they had fought a long time together, *Scipio* at length got the victorie, and made the enemies flie: (of the which there were ſlaine a great number in the field) and giuing them no leaſure to gather together againe, and to make head againſt him, he fought with them, and followed the chaſe ſo hotly, that *Haſdruball* & *Mago* were driuen to leaue the maine land, and to flie to GADES, after they had loſt all their army. In the army of the CARTHAGINIANS, there was a young man of a noble courage, and very wiſe, called *Maſiniſſa*, who finding meanes to haue ſecret conference with *Syllanus*, he was the firſt man that offred him friendſhip, either being brought to it through *Scipioes* liberalitie, or elſe becauſe he thought the time was come, that it was the ſureſt way to take part with the ROMAINES, which were the cōquerors.

*Maſiniſſa offereth his friendſhip vnto the Romaines.*

It is that *Maſiniſſa* that afterwards, (through the goodnes of the ROMAINES) became the great & mighty king of NVMIDIA, & indeede he was diuers wayes a profitable friend vnto the ROMAINES. Furthermore, the ſelfe ſame yeare, (which was the fourteenth of the ſecond warre with the AFRICANS) SPAYNE was the firſt nation and people of the vpland men dwelling in the hart of the realme, that was conquered vnder the happy conduct of the Viceconſull *Scipio*: howbeit it was the laſt realme that was made a prouince long time after, by *Auguſtus Cæſar*. Now *Scipio* not contenting himſelf with the great victories he had obtained, in very ſhort time in SPAYNE (for he had an imagination & good hope alſo to cōquer AFRICKE) he thought that his beſt way, to make all the meanes he could poſible to get *Syphax*, king of the MASÆSYLIANS, a friēd to the ROMAINS.

*Syphax king of the Maſæſylians.*

Wherefore after he had felt the kings minde, perceiuing that he was well inclined to make league with the ROMAINES: he preſently ſet all his other affaires aſide, & ſailed into AFRICK with two gallies onely, at fiue owers to a bancke. At the ſelfe ſame time alſo came *Haſdruball*, the ſonne of *Giſgo* thither, from GADES: ſo that both theſe valiant & luſty Captaines came of purpoſe to the king, enuying one the other, to craue the kings good will, vnto their country and common wealth. *Syphax* welcomed them both into his Court, and did vſe them very honourably and curteouſly, and appointed that they ſhould both eate at one table, and lye in one ſelfe chamber, becauſe the one ſhould not thinke his enterteinement better then the other.

*Haſdrubals iudgement of Scipio.*

It is reported, that *Haſdruball* wondering at the magnanimity and great wiſedome of *Scipio* that was preſent, he conſidered with himſelfe the great daunger the citie of CARTHAGE and all AFRICKE beſides was in, through that mans meanes: for he ſaw him yet a young man, quicke, and excellent in all manner of great vertues, and that had continually obtained ſuch victories, and therefore conſidering the luſtie youth of this gentleman, he imagined that it was vnpoſſible to perſwade him to imbrace peace, rather then warre. Beſides, he was affrayed alſo that *Syphax*, moued by the perſonage and authoritie of him that was preſent, would take part with the ROMAINES: and indeed his minde gaue him rightly, for ſo it happened. For though *Syphax* at the firſt ſhewed himſelfe indifferent to them both, and had moued talke to end the war betwixt the ROMAINES & the CARTHAGINIANS: yet afterwards when *Scipio* told him he could conclude no peace without conſent of the Senate of ROME, he reiected *Haſdruball*, and inclining to *Scipioes* requeſt, he made league with the people of ROME.

*Syphax, king of the Maſæſylians, maketh league with the Romaines.*

So *Scipio* being returned againe into SPAYNE, himſelfe partly by force, and partly alſo by *L. Martius* meanes, conquered ILITVRGIVM, CASTVLO, and certaine other places that refuſed to yeeld themſelues vnto the ROMAINES. And to the end nothing ſhould be lacking for all kind of ſportes and pleaſures, after he had ſo fortunately obtained ſo many famous victories: when he was come to new CARTHAGE, he cauſed the fenſers to prepare themſelues to fight with great pompe, where there were many great eſtates, not only to ſee that paſtime, but alſo they themſelues to handle the weapons in perſon. But amongeſt other SPANYARDES of noble houſes, there were two called, *Corbis* & *Orſua*, which were at ſtrife together for the kingdome: but that day they ended their quarrell, the one being ſlaine by the others hand. The fight was very lamentable & grieuous to the beholders: but the death of him that was ſlaine, troubled them much more, for they were both couſin germaines.

*The vnfortunate fight of two couſin germaines.*

After all this, *Scipio* hauing his mind ſtill occupied in matters of greater waight and importance, then thoſe which he had alreadie brought to paſſe: he fell ſicke. His ſickneſſe being caried through all SPAYNE, and as it happeneth often, his diſeaſe being reported to be much greater and daungerous then it was in deede: thereupon, not onely the nations of SPAYNE beganne to riſe in hope of chaunge, but the armie ſelfe alſo of the ROMAINES, the which he had left at SVCRO. Firſt of all, martiall diſcipline was corrupted, through the abſence of the Generall.

*The rebellion of the Romaine ſouldiers againſt their Captaines, in Scipioes ſickeneſſe.*

Afterwardes alſo, the report of his ſickeneſſe, and daunger of his life being ſpred abroad in the armie, raiſed ſuch a rebellion among them: that ſome of them litle regarding the authoritie and commaundement of the head Captaines of the bands, they draue them away, and choſe two meane ſouldiers for their Captaines, who preſumptuouſly tooke vpon them the name giuen vnto them by men of no authoritie, and yet with more arrogancie, made the bundles of roddes and axes to be caried before them. Such folly doth furie and vaine ambition oftentimes worke in mens minds.

*Mandonius: Indibilis, two kings of Spain.*

On the other ſide, the SPANYARDS ſlept not, and ſpecially *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: who aſpiring to the kingdome of SPAYNE, came to *Scipio* when he was conqueror, after he had taken new CARTHAGE. But afterwards, being offended to ſee the power of the ROMAINES increaſe daily, they ſought occaſion to make ſome alteration. So after they had heard, not only of *Scipioes* ſickeneſſe, but alſo how he was at deathes dore, and did beleeue it: they preſently leauied an armie, and went and made warre with the SVESSITANS which were confederats of the ROMAINES. But *Scipio* being recouered againe of his ſickneſſe, like as vpon the falſe rumor of his death euery man beganne to riſe: euen ſo after the truth was knowen in deede of his recouerie, they were all put downe againe, and not a man of them durſt proceede any further in their rebellion.

*Scipioes wiſedome ſuppreſſing his anger.*

*Scipio* being more skilfull in martiall diſcipline, then acquainted with ſedition and rebellion: although he was maruellouſly offended with the ſouldiers that had committed this follie, yet in the end, leaſt following his anger, men ſhould haue thought him to haue exceeded all boundes of reaſon in puniſhing of them, he referred all vnto the councell. The moſt part of them gaue aduiſe, that the authors of the rebellion ſhould be puniſhed, and all the reſt pardoned: for by this meanes ſaid they, the puniſhment ſhall light vpon a few that haue deſerued it, and all the reſt ſhall take example by them.

*Scipioes great wiſedome in puniſhing the offenders.*

*Scipio* followed that aduiſe, and preſently ſent for all the ſeditious bandes, to come to new CARTHAGE to receiue their pay. The ſouldiers obeyed his commaundement, ſome of them making their fault leſſe then it was, as men doe often flatter themſelues: others alſo truſting to the Captaines clemencie, as knowing him not to be extreame in puniſhment.

*Scipioes care of his countrimen*

For *Scipio* was wont to ſay, that he had rather ſaue the life of one ROMAINE citizen, then to kill a thouſand enemies. The rumor ranne alſo, that *Scipio* had an other armie readie, the which he looked for to ioyne with them, and then to ſet vpon the kings (*Mandonius* & *Indibilis*) who made warre with the SVESSITANS. Theſe ſouldiers departing frō SVCRO, with good hope to obtaine pardon, came vnto CARTHAGE. Howbeit the next day after they were come into the towne, they were brought into the market place: where their armour and weapons being taken from them, they were enuironned with all the legions armie. Then the ROMAINE Generall ſitting in place of iudgement, ſhewed himſelfe before all the company in as good health & good diſpoſition of bodie, as euer he was in all his youth. Then he made a ſharp & bitter oration, full of grieuous complaints: inſomuch as there was not one of all the ſouldiers that were vnarmed, that durſt caſt vp their eyes or looke their Generall in the face, they were ſo aſhamed. For their conſciences did accuſe them for the fault they had committed, and the feare of death did take their wits and ſenſes from them, & the preſence of their gratious Captaine, made them bluſh as well that were innocent, as the parties that were offenders. Wherefore there was a generall and ſorrowfull ſilence of all men. So after he had ended his oration, he cauſed the chiefe authors of this rebellion to be

*Scipio did put the authors of the rebellion to death.*

*A noble thing to ouercome the enemie by clemencie.*

*Maſiniſſa cometh vnto Scipio.*

*A Princely Maieſtie in Scipioes perſonage.*

*The antiquitie of thoſe of Gades.*

*Scipioes noble deedes.*

*Scipioes returne out of Spaine to Rome.*

brought forth before the whole aſſembly, who, after they had bene whipped according to the maner, were preſently beheaded, the which was a fearefull and lamentable ſight to the beholders. Theſe matters thus pacified, *Scipio* made all the other ſouldiers to be ſworne againe, and then went and proclaimed warre againſt *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*. For they conſidering with themſelues, how the ROMAINE ſouldiers that had rebelled in the campe, were put to death: they were out of hope to obtaine any pardon. Therefore they had leauied an armie of twentie thouſand footmen and two thouſand horſemen, and came downe with them againſt the ROMAINES. *Scipio* hauing intelligence thereof, before that the kings could increaſe their army, & that other nations could rebell: he departed from CARTHAGE, & went with as great ſpeed as he could to meete with the enemy. The kings were camped in a very ſtrong place, and truſted ſo to their army, that they were not determined to prouoke the enemie, nor alſo to refuſe the battell if it were offred them. Howbeit it chanced by the neerenes of both campes, that within few daies, they being prouoked by the ROMAINS, came downe & ſet their men in battell ray, & ioyned battell with *Scipio*: ſo that a good while together, the fight was very bloudy & cruel. But at length the SPANYARDS ſeeing themſelues compaſſed in behinde, and being driuen to fight in a ring to defend the enemie on euery ſide, they were ouercome: ſo that the third part of them ſcarcely ſaued themſelues by flying. *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* ſeeing themſelues vtterly vndone, and that there was no hope nor remedy left: they ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Scipio*, humbly to pray him to receiue them to mercie, and to pardon them. But *Scipio* knowing right well how greatly they had offended him, and the ROMAINES, yet thinking it more honorable to ouercome the enemy by curteſie and clemencie, then by force: he did pardon them, and onely cõmaunded them to giue him money to pay his ſouldiers. In the meane time *Maſiniſſa* came from GADES, & landed: becauſe he would himſelfe in perſon confirme the friendſhip he had offered *Scipio* in his abſence, by the meanes of *M. Syllanus*, and alſo ſpeake with him face to face, whom he iudged to be a worthy man, for the famous victories he had obteined. And in truth *Maſiniſſa* was not deceiued in the opinion he had of the valiantnes and vertues of *Scipio*, but found him the ſelfe ſame man whom he before had imagined him to be in his minde: the which but ſeldome happeneth ſo notwithſtanding. For beſides the great rare gifts of nature that *Scipio* had aboue all others, there was in him alſo a certaine Princely grace and maieſtie. Furthermore, he was maruellous gentle & courteous vnto them that came to him, and had an eloquent tongue, and a paſſing gift to winne euery man. He was verie graue in his geſture & behauiour, and euer ware long haire. *Maſiniſſa* being come to ſalute him, when he ſaw him, he had him in ſuch admiration as it is reported, that he could not caſt his eies off him, nor haue his fill of looking on him. So he thãked him maruellouſly for ſending his Nephew vnto him, and promiſed him that his deedes ſhould confirme and witneſſe the friendſhip agreed vpon betwene them: the which he euer after inuiolably kept vnto the ROMAINES, euen to the houre of his death. So all the nations of SPAYNE became ſubiect to the Empire of ROME, or at the leaſt their confederats: wherupon thoſe of GADES alſo following the example of others, came and yeelded themſelues vnto the ROMAINES. This is a very auncient nation, and if we may credit the report of it: as CARTHAGE was in AFRICKE, and THEBES in BOEOTIA, ſo was GADES vpon the ſea, a Colony of the TYRIANS. *Scipio* after he had conquered all SPAYNE, & driuen out the CARTHAGINIANS, conſidering that there remained nothing more for him to doe: he left the gouernment of the prouince vnto *L. Lentulus*, and to *Manlius Acidinus*, and returned to ROME. When he was arriued at ROME, the Senate gaue him audience out of the citie, in the temple of *Bellona*. There, when he had particularly tolde them of the thinges he had valiantly, and fortunately brought to end: and further, that he had ouercome foure Captaines in diuers foughten fieldes and alſo put to flight foure armies of the enemies, and driuen the CARTHAGINIANS out of both SPAYNES, and that there was no nation left in all thoſe partes, but was ſubdued to the ROMAINES, the Senate gaue iudgement, that all theſe things were worthie of a noble triumph. But becauſe neuer man yet was ſuffred to enter into ROME in triumph, for anie victories he had obtained, whileſt he was onely but Vicecounſull, and had not yet beene Conſull: the Senators thought it not good, and *Scipio* himſelfe alſo made no great ſute for it, becauſe he would not be an occaſion to bring in any newe cuſtome, and to breake the olde. So when he came into the citie, he was afterwardes declared Conſull, with the great good will and conſent of the whole aſſembly. It is reported that there neuer came ſuch a world of people to ROME, as were there at that time, not only for the aſſemblies ſake, but more to ſee *P. Cor. Scipio*. Wherefore, not the ROMAINES onely, but all the ſtrangers alſo that were there, all their eyes were vpon *Scipio*, and ſaid both openly and priuately: that they ſhould ſend him into AFRICK, to make war with the CARTHAGINIANS, at home in their owne country. *Scipio* alſo being of the ſame opinion, ſaid, that he would aske aduiſe of the people, if the Senate would be againſt ſuch a worthie enterpriſe. For amongeſt the peeres and Senators, there were ſome that vehemently inueyed againſt that opinion, and among the reſt, *Fabius Maximus* ſpecially, a man of great fame and authoritie. *Scipio* went forward with the matter, and thwarted him, and ſhewed many reaſons that there was no may to ouercome the CARTHAGINIANS, and to driue *Anniball* out of ITALY, but that only: and that all other counſels were in vaine, and vnprofitable. After this matter was long debated in councell, SICILIA was appointed vnto *Scipio*: and the whole Senate gaue him commiſſion to go with all his armie into AFRICKE, if he thought it meete and profitable for the common wealth. The decree of the Senate being publiſhed, euery mans minde ranne of ſo great enterpriſes, that they perſwaded themſelues AFRICKE was already their owne, and had great hope to end this warre. Howbeit *Scipio* ſaw it a hard matter to make his preparation for this iorney, becauſe of the pouertie of the common treaſure, and for lacke of young men: the flower and choyſe of the which was vtterly gone, by the former great loſſes and ouerthrowes *Anniball* had giuen them. Howbeit to ſatisfie euerie mans expectation of him, he made all the poſſible ſpeede he could, to prepare things neceſſarie for the warres. So diuers people of THVSCAN, and of the VMBRIANS, offered to helpe him to their beſt power: ſome of them gaue him timber to builde his ſhippes, others holpe him with armour, and others alſo furniſhed him with corne, and all other kind of victuals and munition for his armie. The ſhippes being built, and all the armie by ſea put in readineſſe, in the ſpace of fiue and fortie daies, a thing incredible to manie: *Scipio* departed out of ITALIE, and ſailed towards SICILE. But when he came to take muſter of his armie, he ſpecially choſe thoſe that had ſerued long time in the warres, vnder the conduct of *M. Marcellus*, the which were all eſteemed for very expert ſouldiers. And for the SICILIANS, he partly wanne them by courteſie, and partly by compulſion compelled them to giue him aide for the warre he tooke in hand, the which he ment to make in AFRICKE, when the time of the yeare ſhould ſerue for it. Among other things, it is reported that *Scipio* choſe out of diuers cities, three hundred young gentlemen of the nobleſt houſes of all the ſaide prouince, and commaunded them to meete at a certaine day appointed, euerie man with horſe and armor. Then comming at the day appointed, according to his commaundement: the Conſull bad them chooſe whether they would follow him in the warres of AFRICKE, or elſe deliuer vp their armor & horſe, to as many other ROMAINES as they were in nũber. So when they all prayed they might be diſmiſſed from the warre, *Scipio* appointed three hundred other young ROMAINES in their places, whom he had brought out of ITALY with him vnarmed, becauſe he would mount and arme them at the SICILIANS coſt, as in deede it chaunced. Afterwards, they did him great ſeruice in AFRICK, in many great battels. Now time was come on for *Scipio* to put his armie in garriſon for the winter time, when he came to SYRACVSA, taking order not only for the preparation of warre, but alſo for the affaires of SICILIA. There when it was tolde him by complaint of diuers, that there was a great companie of ITALIAN ſouldiers in that citie, who would not reſtore the ſpoiles which they had gotten in the warres, but kept them ſtill in their hands, notwithſtanding that the Senate had enioyned them by ſpeciall commandement to make reſtitution to the SYRACVSANS: he ſtraight compelled them by proclamation, to accompliſh the Senates commaundement. Whereby he wanne all the peoples hearts of SICILIA, and was reported to be a iuſt and vpright Conſull. In the meane time he was aduertiſed by *Caius Lalius*, that returned out of AFRICKE with great ſpoile: how king *Maſiniſſa* was verie deſirous of his comming thither, and that he inſtantly praied him he would come into AFRICKE, as ſoone as he could poſſible, ſo it were without the preiudice of the common wealth. Moreouer, that diuers nations and people of AFRICKE had the like

*Scipio made Conſull.*

*Scipio prepared his armie and nauie by ſea in fiue and fortie daies.*

*Scipioes policie in Sicilia.*

deſire: who hating the gouernement of the Carthaginians, deſired nothing more, then ſome good occaſion to rebell. Nowe this iorney was not deferred through *Scipioes* fault or negligence, conſidering that ſuch a Captaine could hardly be found that was more carefull & diligent in his charge then he. Howbeit the affaires of Sicilia, and the oportunitie he had to recouer Locres againe, did hinder him that he could not bring his purpoſe to paſſe according to his minde. Furthermore, his Lieutenant *Pleminius* diſorder grieued him much: becauſe that hauing left him at Locres, he fell to all ſortes of inſolencie, as to defloure women, and to ſpoile the poore citizens: inſomuch that they being maruellouſly offended with theſe infinite troubles and villanies offered them, they determined rather to ſuffer all other things, then to be ſubiect to the gouernement of ſo vile & wicked a man. So the Ambaſſadors of Locres being arriued at Rome, and exhibiting their complaintes in open Senate of the great wrongs and iniuries *Pleminius* did them: the noble men tooke the matter ſo grieuouſly, that they made bitter decrees, not only againſt the ſame *Pleminius*, but alſo againſt *P. C. Scipio* himſelfe.

*P.C. Scipio accuſed.*

Wherupon *Scipioes* enemies hauing gotten matter enough to accuſe him, they were then ſo bold to affirme, that he was acquainted with the iniuries offred the Locrians, with the licentiouſneſſe of *Pleminius*, and with the rebellions of his ſouldiers alſo: and that he had ſuffred all theſe things more negligently, then became the office or dutie of a Conſull. They added thereto moreouer, that his army he had in Sicile was altogether vnruly & vnſeruiceable, and regarded not the ordinances of the campe: and that the Captaine himſelfe was careleſſe, and altogether giuen ouer to pleaſure and idlenes.

*Q. Fabius Maximus, a great aduerſary vnto Scipio.*

But aboue all others, *Fabius Maximus* was his heauy enemy, and ſo vehement againſt him in his words, that he exceeded the bounds of all modeſtie and reaſon, and thought good to call him preſently home out of Sicilia, and to diſmiſſe him of his charge. This decree was thought of all men very ſtraight, & extreame. Wherefore following *Quintus Metellus* counſell, the Senators appointed ten Ambaſſadors to go into Sicilia, to make diligent inquirie, whether the accuſations obiected againſt *Scipio* were true: and if they found him in fault, that then they ſhould commaund him in the name of the Senate preſently to returne into Italy. And on the other ſide, if they found that he was vniuſtly accuſed, and only through the procurement of his malicious enemies and detracters: then that they ſhould ſend him to his armie, and encourage him valiantly to go forward with this warre. So when the Ambaſſadors were arriued in Sicilia, after they had made diligent inquirie according to the articles of their commiſſion: they could not finde that *Scipio* was faultie in any thing, ſauing that he had too lightly paſſed ouer the wrongs and iniuries *Pleminius* had done vnto the Locrians.

*Scipioes nature*

For *Scipio* was very liberall in rewarding of his men, and exceeding curteous and mercifull alſo in puniſhing of them. But when they ſaw his armie, his ſhippes, and all his other furniture and munition for warre: it is reported that they wondred ſo much to ſee the great aboundance and good order taken for all thinges, that when they returned to Rome, they greatly commended *Scipio*, and reiecting all the accuſations of his accuſers, they did promiſe the Senate and people of Rome, aſſured hope of victorie. So when all theſe home troubles at Rome were taken away, there chaunced other outwarde troubles abroad that grieued him much.

*King Syphax reuolteth from the Romaines.*

For the Ambaſſadors of king *Syphax* came and tolde him that their maſter had made new league with the Carthaginians, & was become friend to *Haſdruball*, whoſe daughter he had maried: and therefore that he wiſhed him if he ment to do his country good, to make no attempt vpon Africk, for he was determined to reckon the Carthaginians friends his, & alſo to ſet vpon them who the Carthaginians account their enemies. *Scipio* quicklie returned the Ambaſſadors againe vnto *Syphax*, becauſe the effect of their comming ſhould not be blowen abroad in his campe: & gaue them letters, in the which he praied king *Syphax*, that remembring his league and faithfull promiſe, he ſhould beware he attempted nothing vnworthy the name of a Romaine, & faith of a king. Afterwards calling his men together, he told thẽ, that the Ambaſſadors of king *Syphax* were come into Sicile, to complaine of his long tarying, as *Maſiniſſa* had done before. Therefore he was to haſten his iorney to go into Africke, and therupon commanded all his ſouldiers to put themſelues in readines, and to prouide all things neceſſary for their iorney. The Conſuls commaundement being publiſhed through all Sicile, there repaired immediatly vnto *Lilybea* a multitude of people, not only of thoſe that were to ſaile into Africk, but of others alſo that came to ſee the fleete & armie of the Romaines: becauſe they neuer ſaw an army better furniſhed, nor ſet out with all things neceſſarie for warre, nor better repleniſhed with ſouldiers, then that. So *Scipio*, all things being readie, imbarked at Lilybea with ſo earneſt a deſire to paſſe ouer the ſea, that neither owers nor wind did content his minde. Yet he was brought in few daies ſailing, to the promontory or mountaine called faire, and there he put all his men a land. The newes of his arriual flying ſtraight to Carthage, all the city was preſently in ſuch an vprore, that ſodainly they ſounded the allarme, and garded the gates and wals, as appeareth by teſtimony of ſome in writing. For from *M. Regulus* time, vnto that preſent day, it was almoſt fifty yeares ſpace ſince any Romaine Captaine euer entred Africk with force of armes. And therefore it was no maruell though they were affraid, and grew to vprore. The name of *Scipio* did encreaſe their feare the more, becauſe the Carthaginians had no Captaine matchable with him. *Haſdruball* the ſonne of *Giſgo* had the name at that time of a luſty Captaine, whom they knew had notwithſtanding bene ouercome, and driuen out of Spayne by *Scipio*. Howbeit putting all the hope & ſafety of their coũtry in him, & in king *Syphax* that mighty king: they neuer left intreating the one, nor perſwading the other, to come & helpe the affaires of Africke, with all the ſpeed they could poſſible. So, whileſt they two were preparing to ioyne both their armies together, *Annibal* the ſonne of *Hamilcar*, being appointed to keepe the next country adioining to it, came againſt the Romaines. *Scipio* after he had deſtroied the country, & enriched his army with great ſpoile: he camped by the city of Vtica, to ſee if it were poſſible for him to win ſo noble and wealthy a citie, and being beſides ſo commodious for the warres both by ſea and land. At the ſelfe ſame time *Maſiniſſa* came to the Romaines campe, and was inflamed with a vehement deſire to make warre againſt king *Syphax*, by whom he had before bene driuen out of his kingdom & inheritance. *Scipio*, that had knowen him in Spayne, a young Prince of an excellent wit, and quicke and valiant of his hand: he ſent him to diſcouer the army of the enemies, before the Carthaginians could gather any greater power, and willed him to vſe all the deuiſe and meanes he could poſſible to intiſe *Hanno* to fight. *Maſiniſſa* as he was commanded, began to prouoke the enemy, and drawing him out by litle and litle, he brought him where *Scipio* lay with all his legions armed, looking for a good houre to fight. The armie of the enemies was now wearied, when the Romaines came to ſet vpon them with their freſh armie. *Hanno* at the firſt onſet was ouercome and ſlaine, with moſt of his men: and all the reſt fled, and diſperſed themſelues here and there, where they thought they might beſt ſcape. After this victory, *Scipio* returning backe againe to beſiege the city of Vtica: the ſodaine comming of *Haſdruball* & king *Syphax*, made him to leaue off his enterpriſe, for that they brought with them a great army both of footemen & horſemen, and came and camped not farre from the Romaines. *Scipio* perceiuing that, raiſed his ſiege immediatly, and came and fortified his campe vpon a hill, from whence he might go & fight with the enemy, and moleſt them of Vtica, and alſo keepe his ſhippes ſafe that rode at ancker. Howbeit the time of the yeare being come, that both armies were to diſpoſe their men in garriſons for the winter ſeaſon: he determined to ſend vnto king *Syphax* to feele his minde, and to make him leaue the friendſhippe of the Carthaginians if it were poſſible. For he knew wel it was his mariage with *Sophoniſba*, that through her flattering perſwaſions had brought him to that furie, that he had not only forſaken the friendſhip of the Romains, but alſo ment to deſtroy them, contrary to his faith and promiſe: and that if he had once ſatisfied the heate of his loue with her, he thought then he might be called home againe. *Syphax* hauing vnderſtoode *Scipioes* meſſage ſent him, he anſwered, that indeed it was time not only to leaue the league with the Carthaginians, but alſo to giue vp all thought of warre: and ſo promiſed, that he would be a good meane to make peace. *Scipio* gaue good eare vnto it, and caught holde of an excellent fine deuiſe. He choſe the valianteſt ſouldiers in his armie, apparelled them like ſlaues, and made them waite vpon the Ambaſſadours, and gaue them inſtructions what they ſhould doe. Theſe fellowes, whileſt the Ambaſſadors and king *Syphax* were in talke together about the articles and conditions of peace, and that the conſultation helde longer then it was wont to doe: they went and walked vp and downe through the enemies campe, to ſee all the wayes and entries into

*The ready and faithfull good will of Maſiniſſa to the Romaines.*

*Hanno ouercome and ſlain*

*Sophoniſba, king Syphax wife.*

*Scipioes craft.*

it, according vnto *Scipioes* inſtructions. After they had done this diuers times, they came again to *Scipio*. Truce was taken for a time, the which being expired, *Scipio* ſeemed to make preparation for wars, (as being out of hope of any peace) & to make his army ready by ſea, preparing engines of battery to returne to beſiege VTICA, as he had done before. He gaue out this rumor through all the country, to perſwade his enemies that it was true: howbeit hauing called the Captaines & pety Captaines of his army together, he made them priuy to his intent and enterpriſe. He told them that both the enemies campes lay not farre a ſunder, of the which, the one of them had all their tents & cabbins of wood: and the building of the other campe was all of reedes, ſo that they were both eaſie to be burnt. Wherupon hauing ſent for *Maſiniſſa*, & *Caius Lælius* to come vnto him, he gaue them charge about midnight to giue alarom vnto *Syphax* camp, & to ſet it a fire: and that he himſelfe on the other ſide, would ſet vpon the CARTHAGINIANS campe. They two obeyed *Scipioes* commandement, performed his will without delay, & came at the houre appointed them to aſſaile the NVMIDIANS camp, & ſo did ſet the houſes of reedes afire, which tooke fire in ſuch ſort, as the flame was immediatly round about the campe. The NVMIDIANS at the firſt, thinking the fire had come by misfortune, ranne thither ſtraight vnarmed to quench it. But when they found thẽſelues among the legions of the ROMAINES, and that there was nothing but killing downe right, ſeeing themſelues ſo compaſſed in on all ſides, they ſaw their beſt remedie was to flie. On the other ſide alſo, where *Scipioes* armie was: the CARTHAGINIANS campe was almoſt all burnt, and the enemies put to flight with ſuch cruell ſlaughter, that ſome writers affirme there were ſlaine that night about fortie thouſand men, aſwell CARTHAGINIANS as NVMIDIANS. This great ouerthrow & ſlaughter being caried to CARTHAGE, did put the citizens there in ſuch a feare and terror, that ſome thought beſt to ſend for *Anniball* out of ITALIE: and others gaue aduiſe to make peace with *Scipio*. Howbeit the BARCINIAN faction which was rich & wealthy, and altogether againſt the peace makers: they ſo preuailed, that they leauied a new power to beginne warre againe. King *Syphax* and *Haſdruball*, hauing leauied a great multitude of footmen & horſemen againe, renewed their armie ſooner then was looked for, and came againe to pitch their campe directly ouer againſt the enemies. *Scipio* hauing vnderſtanding of that, would not tarry, but determined to giue them battell, whileſt his men were in good heart, and willing to fight. So it chanced at the firſt, by the neereneſſe of both their campes, that there were certaine skirmiſhes: but in the end, the armies came to ioyne battell, and the ROMAINES fought with ſuch corage and terror, that at the firſt onſet, they made the NVMIDIANS and CARTHAGINIANS flie, & ſlew the moſt part of them. *Haſdruball* and *Syphax* ſcaped, by flying out of the ſlaughter. *Scipio* ſent *Maſiniſſa* and *Caius Lælius* with the light horſemen to giue them chaſe. *Syphax* being come into NVMIDIA, & from thence into his own realme & kingdome he leauied an army in haſte, of all ſorts of people, and came to meete with *Maſiniſſa* & *Caius Lælius*, and was not affraid to giue them battel. But it was a fond part of him, conſidering that he was nothing like ſo ſtrong as his enemy, neither for number of fighting men, nor yet in liklihood of ſouldiers. For neither the ſouldiers, nor Captaines of his army were matchable with the ſouldiers & Captains of the ROMAINES campe: and therfore king *Syphax* was eaſily ouercome by ſuch skilfull ſouldiers, & moreouer was himſelfe taken in battell, with many other great noble men, whõ *Maſiniſſa* would hardly haue looked for: & then they were brought vnto *Scipio*. At the firſt there was a maruellous ioy among thẽ, when it was told them that king *Syphax* ſhould be brought priſoner vnto the camp: but afterwards when they ſaw him bound, they were all ſory to ſee him in ſuch pitifull ſtate, remembring his former greatnes & regall maieſtie. For they called to mind how famous the name of this king had bin but a litle before, what wonderfull great wealth he had, & alſo the power of ſo great a realme & kingdom. Howbeit *Scipio* the ROMAIN Conſul, receiued him very curteouſly, and gently asked him what he ment to change his mind in that ſort, & what moued him to make war with the ROMAINS. Then the king remẽbring his former friendſhip and faithfull promiſe broken, he boldly told him, that it was the loue he bare to his wife *Sophonisba*, who only had procured him to deale ſo diſhonorably with the ROMAINS: howbeit, that he had ſo ſmarted for it, as all others might take example by him, and beware how they breake their promiſe. And yet, that this was a great comfort to him in his extreame

*A maruellous great ſlaughter of the Carthaginians.*

*Syphax, king of the Maſæſylians ouercome, and taken in battell.*

miſery, to ſee that his mortall enemy *Maſiniſſa* was alſo taken with that frenzy & mad humor, wherewith he before was poſſeſſed. For after *Syphax* was ouercome and taken, *Maſiniſſa* went vnto CYRTHA, the chiefe city of the realme, the which he wan, and found *Sophonisba* there, with whom he fell in fanſie: who after ſhe had finely wrapped him in with her deceitfull flatteries and kindnes, he promiſed her alſo to deliuer her out of the ROMAINS handes: and becauſe he might the better perform his promiſe made, he tooke her to his wife, & maried her. When *Scipio* was informed of theſe things, it grieued him maruellouſly. For it was knowen to al mē, that *Syphax* was ouercome vnder the conduct, and through the ROMAINS meanes: and therefore all that was belonging to *Syphax*, was at the diſpoſition of the ROMAINES. Wherefore if *Maſiniſſa* had without *Scipioes* conſent, vndertaken to defend *Sophonisbaes* quarrell: then it appeared plainly, he deſpiſed the authority of the Conſul, and the maieſty of the people of ROME. Furthermore, his filthy luſt did agrauate his fault the more, the which ſeemed ſo much more intollerable, by how much the continency of the ROMAIN Conſul was the greater, the which *Maſiniſſa* ſaw daily before his eies, and might haue bene a patterne and example vnto him. For *Scipio*, beſides many other proofes and ſhewes of his vertues, in all places where he obtayned victory, he alwaies kept the women vndefiled, which were taken priſoners. So, *Scipio* being much offended with *Maſiniſſa*, (though he ſhewed it not before company) receiued him verie louingly at his returne to the campe: yet afterwards notwithſtanding, taking him aſide, he ſo ſharply reproued him, that he made him know what it was to obey a moderate, and alſo a ſeuere Captaine. Whereupon *Maſiniſſa* went into his tent and wept, & could not tell what way he ſhould take: howbeit ſhortly after, perceiuing that it was vnpoſſible for him to keepe promiſe with *Sophonisba*, which grieued him to the heart: he ſent her poiſon, & a meſſage withall, the which ſhe dranke immediatly, and ſo willingly made her ſelfe away. Furthermore, the CARTHAGINIANS after they had receiued ſuch wonderfull great loſſes & ouerthrowes, one after an other, perceiuing that their affaires were brought to ſuch a ſtraight and extreamity, that they were no more to looke after the enlarging of their dominions, but only to cōſider which way they might keepe their owne country: they ſent for *Annibal* to come out of ITALY. Who returning with great ſpeede into AFRICK, before he did any thing elſe, he thought good firſt to talke with *P. Scipio* about peace: either becauſe he was affrayed of the good fortune of this young man, or elſe for that he miſtruſted he could not otherwiſe helpe his countrey and common wealth, which he ſaw decaying, and like to be deſtroied. Wherefore a place was appointed, where they might meet according to his deſire: where when they were both met, they had long talke together about the ending of this warre. In the end, *Scipio* offred *Anniball* ſuch conditions of peace, that by them it appeared the ROMAINES were not weary of warre, and that *Scipio* him ſelfe being a young man, had better hope to obtaine victorie, then great deſire to hearken to peace. So, all hope of peace being ſet aſide, they brake off their talke, and the next morning two famous and worthy Captaines of the moſt noble nations that could be, prepared them ſelues to battel, either to giue or take away in ſhort time from their common weales, the ſeigniorie and Empire of all the world. The place where they imployed all their force, and where this famous battell was fought, as it is reported, was by the city of ZAMA: in the which the ROMAINES being conquerours, did firſt make the Elephants flie, then the horſemen, and in the end brake ſo fiercely into the footemen, that they ouerthrew all the army. It is reported, that there were ſlaine and taken by the ROMAINES, aboue forty thouſand CARTHAGINIANS. *Annibal* fled out of the fury of the battel, and ſaued him ſelf, though that day he had ſhewed him ſelfe like a valiant and famous Captaine. For at this battel he had ſet his army in better order then euer he had done before, and had ſtrengthened it, both with the commodity of the place, and reliefe beſide: and euen in the very fury and terror of the battell he ſo beſturred him ſelfe among his ſouldiers, that the enemies them ſelues did commend and praiſe him, for a noble Captaine. After this victory, *Scipio* meeting with *Vermina* king *Syphax* ſonne, that brought aide to the CARTHAGINIANS: he put him to flight, and came and brought his army to the wals and hauen of CARTHAGE, thinking (as in deede it fell out) that the CARTHAGINIANS would ſue to him for peace. For, as the CARTHAGINIANS before had bene very good ſouldiers, and ready to make warres: ſo were they now become timerous and faint hearted,

*Maſiniſſa wan the city of Cyrtha, where he fell in loue with Sophoniſba, king Syphax wife.*

*The great and rare continency of Scipio.*

*Sophonisba poyſoned her ſelfe, through Maſiniſſaes procurement.*

*Annibal ſent for into Italy, to returne into Africke.*

*Battell at Zama, and Scipioes victory of the Carthaginians.*

*The praiſe of Anniball.*

ſpecially when they ſaw their Generall *Anniball* ouercome, in whom they chiefly repoſed all their hope and truſt, for defence of their countrey. Wherefore they being (as I haue ſayed) out of heart, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Scipio*, to pray him that according to his accuſtomed clemency he would graunt them peace. Now was great ſute made at Rome, to haue the gouernment of the prouince of Africke, and one of the new Conſuls made haſt to come and make warre, with ſuch charge and preparation as was meete for his dignity and calling: and therefore *Scipio* doubting that an other ſhould cary away the glory for ending of ſo great a warre, he was the better contented to yeeld to the Carthaginian Ambaſſadours requeſts. So, the capitulation of the articles of peace was offred vnto the Carthaginians, according to the conquerors minde: and beſides all other things, the whole fleete of all their ſhippes and gallies (in the which conſiſted much their hope) were taken from them. For when the whole fleete was burnt, it was ſuch a lamentable ſight vnto them all, that there was no other thing but weeping and lamenting through the whole city, as if Carthage had bene deſtroied and raſed to the very ground. For as ſome doe write, there were fiue hundred ſhippes burnt of all ſortes. Theſe things therfore ſhould make vs all beware of humaine frailtie, the which we often forget in our proſperity. For they that before perſwaded them ſelues to conquer the world, after they had wonne ſo many great battels and victories of the enemy, and in manner conquered all Italie, and ſo valiantly beſides beſieged the city of Rome: were in ſhort time after brought to ſuch miſery and extremity, that all their power and force being ouercome, they had left them no more but the wals of Carthage, and yet they were not ſure to keepe them, but through the ſpeciall grace and fauour of the enemy. After theſe things were done, *Scipio* by decree of the Senate, did not onely reſtore king *Maſiniſſa* to his realme againe, but alſo adding thereunto the beſt part of all king *Syphax* countrey, they made him one of the mightieſt kings of all Africke: and afterwards he gaue honorable gifts vnto euery man as he had deſerued. In fine, after he had ſet all the affaires of Africke at good ſtay, he brought his army backe againe into Italy: at what time there came to Rome a world of people, to ſee ſo great and famous a Captaine, returning from ſuch wonderfull great victories. So he entred into Rome with pompe of triumphe, *Terentius Culeo* following of him with a hatte on his head, becauſe that through his fauor and friendſhip he was taken out of bondage. *Polybius* writeth, that king *Syphax* was led in triumph: howbeit ſome ſay he died before *Scipio* triumphed. In deede diuerſe that did triumphe, ſome before him during the warres of the Carthaginians, & others afterwards in the wars of Macedonia and Aſia, they made greater ſhew of plate, both of gold and ſiluer in their triumph, and led alſo a greater number of priſoners: howbeit one only *Annibal* that was ouercome, and the glory of ſo great a war ended, did make the triumphe of *P. Scipio* ſo excellent and famous, that it farre paſſed all the gold and magnificent pompe of all others triumphes. For after Africke was conquered, no nation then was aſhamed to be ouercome by the Romains. For he made this prouince, as it were a bridge and open paſſage to encreaſe and enlarge the Empire of Rome, both in Macedon, and alſo in Aſia, and in other parts of the world beſides. Now *Scipio* (whom I may righty call African, after the conqueſt of Africke) being returned to Rome, hee lacked no temporall dignities nor honors. For in the councel holden for the election of Cenſors, although there were diuers others of the nobleſt houſes of Rome that ſued for that office: yet he him ſelfe, and *AElius Petus* were preferred before all the reſt, and after they were created Cenſors, they did gouerne in their office like good men, and with good quietnes. Afterwardes the Cenſors that followed them, did ſtill one after an other chooſe *Scipio* African Prince of the Senate: the which dignity was wont to be giuen to them onely, that obtained the type of all honor, through their great conqueſts and benefits done to their countrey. Shortly after, he was againe choſen Conſull with *Sempronius Longus*, the ſonne of that *Sempronius* whom *Anniball* ouercame in that great ouerthrow, at the battell by the riuer of Trebia. They two were the firſt (as it it reported) that deuided the noble men and Senatours from the people, in the ſhew place to ſee paſtime. This ſeparation was very odious to the people of Rome, and they were maruellouſly offended with the Conſuls for it: becauſe they tooke it, that increaſing the honour of the ſtate of the Senators, they thereby did diſcountenaunce and imbaſe them. Some ſay alſo, that

*Fiue hundred ſhippes of the Carthaginians, burnt by Scipio*

*Scipios returne to Rome.*

*Scipioes triumph at Rome for the Carthaginians.*

*Scipio, and AElius Petus choſen Cenſors. Scipio Prince of the Senate.*

*Scipio and Sempronius Longus choſen Conſuls.*

*Scipio* AFRICAN afterwardes repented him ſelfe that he had taken away the olde cuſtome, and brought in a new. At that time there fell out great variaunce betwixt *Maſiniſſa* and the CARTHAGINIANS touching their borders and confines. Whereuppon the Senate ſent *Scipio* thither with two other commiſſioners: who after they had heard the cauſe of their quarrell, they left the matter as they found it, and would proceede no further in it. And this they did, becauſe that the CARTHAGINIANS being troubled with ciuill warres at home, ſhould take vppon them no other warres abroade, neither ſhould haue leyſure to attempt anie alteration otherwiſe. For the ROMAINES had great warre with king *Antiochus*, and *Anniball* CARTHAGINIAN was there with him, who ſtill ſtirred vp the old enemies againſt the ROMAINES, and practiſed to raiſe vp new enemies againſt them, and in all things to counſell the CARTHAGINIANS to caſt amay the yoke of bondage, which the ROMAINS had brought them into vnder the title of peace, and to proue the friendſhip of the kings. Howbeit ſhortly after, the ROMAINES hauing obtayned victory, and driuen king *Antiochus* out of GREECE: they intended alſo to conquer ASIA: and therefore all their hope was in *Scipio* AFRICAN, as a man that was borne to end warres of great importaunce. Howbeit *Lucius Scipio*, and *Caius Lælius* were Conſuls, and either of them made ſute for the gouernment of ASIA. The matter being conſulted vppon, the Senate ſtood doubtfull what iudgement they ſhould giue, betwixt two ſo famous men. Howbeit, becauſe *Lælius* was in better fauour with the Senate, and in greater eſtimation: the Senate began to take his part. But when *P. Cornelius Scipio* AFRICAN, the elder brother of *Lucius Scipio*, prayed the Senate that they would not diſhonour his houſe ſo, and told them that his brother had great vertues in him, and was beſides very wiſe, and that he him ſelfe alſo would be his Lieutenant: he had no ſooner ſpoken the wordes, but the Senatours receiued him with great ioy, and preſently did put them all out of doubt. So it was ordayned in open Senate, that *Lucius Scipio* ſhould goe into GREECE to make warre with the ÆTOLIANS, and that from thence he ſhould goe into ASIA, if he thought good to make warre with king *Antiochus*: and alſo that he ſhould take his brother *Scipio* AFRICAN with him, becauſe he ſhould goe againſt *Anniball*, that was in *Antiochus* armie. Who can but wonder at the loue and naturall affection of *Publius Cornelius Scipio* AFRICAN, the which he firſt ſhewed from his youth vnto his father *Cornelius*, and afterwardes alſo vnto his brother *Lucius Scipio*, conſidering the great things he had done? For, notwithſtanding hee was that AFRICAN by name that had ouercome *Anniball*, that had triumphed ouer the CARTHAGINIANS, and excelled all others in praiſe of martiall diſcipline: yet of his owne good nature he made him ſelfe inferiour to his younger brother, becauſe he might haue the honour of obtayning the gouernment of that prouince from his fellow Conſull *Lælius*, that was ſo well beloued, and of great eſtimation. *Lucius Scipio* the Conſull brought great honour to his countrey by that warre, for that hee followed the ſound and faithfull counſell of his brother. For firſt of all going into GREECE, he tooke truce for ſixe monethes with the ÆTOLIANS, through the aduiſe of his brother AFRICAN: who counſelled him, that ſetting all things a part, hee ſhould ſtraight goe into ASIA, where the warre was rifeſt. Afterwardes alſo he wanne *Pruſias* king of BITHYNIA from *Antiochus* friendſhippe, who before was wauing vp and downe, doubtfull which ſide to take, and all through his brother AFRICANS meanes and practiſe. So the authoritie of the AFRICAN was very great, and all thoſe that would obtaine any thing of the Conſull, came firſt to the AFRICAN to be their meane and interceſſor. Now when he came into ASIA, *Antiochus* Ambaſſador, and *Heraclides* BIZANTINE, came vnto him to offer to make peace, and after they had openly told their meſſage, perceiuing that they could not obtaine reaſonable conditions of peace: they priuately talked with *Scipio* AFRICAN as they were commaunded, and practiſed the beſt they could to make him king *Antiochus* friend. For they told him, that *Antiochus* would ſend him his younger ſonne which he had taken, and furthermore that he would willingly make him his companion in the gouernment of all his realme, only reſeruing the name and title of the king. Howbeit *P. Scipio*, excelling no leſſe in faithfulneſſe and bounty, then in many other vertues, after he had aunſwered them to all other matters, hee told them, that for his ſonne hee would take him for a maruellous friendlie gift: and that for a priuate good turne,

*The crafty counſell of Scipio.*

*The naturall loue of Scipio African to his brother L. Scipio.*

*The fidelity and loue of P. Scipio to his countrey.*

ſpecially when they ſaw their Generall ***Anniball*** ouercome, in whom they chiefly repoſed all their hope and truſt, for defence of their countrey. Wherefore they being (as I haue ſayed) out of heart, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Scipio*, to pray him that according to his accuſtomed clemency he would graunt them peace. Now was great ſute made at Rome, to haue the gouernment of the prouince of Africke, and one of the new Conſuls made haſt to come and make warre, with ſuch charge and preparation as was meete for his dignity and calling: and therefore *Scipio* doubting that an other ſhould cary away the glory for ending of ſo great a warre, he was the better contented to yeeld to the Carthaginian Ambaſſadours requeſts. So, the capitulation of the articles of peace was offred vnto the Carthaginians, according to the conquerors minde: and beſides all other things, the whole fleete of all their ſhippes and gallies (in the which conſiſted much their hope) were taken from them. For when the whole fleete was burnt, it was ſuch a lamentable ſight vnto them all, that there was no other thing but weeping and lamenting through the whole city, as if Carthage had bene deſtroied and raſed to the very ground. For as ſome doe write, there were fiue hundred ſhippes burnt of all ſortes. Theſe things therfore ſhould make vs all beware of humaine frailtie, the which we often forget in our proſperity. For they that before perſwaded them ſelues to conquer the world, after they had wonne ſo many great battels and victories of the enemy, and in manner conquered all Italie, and ſo valiantly beſides beſieged the city of Rome: were in ſhort time after brought to ſuch miſery and extremity, that all their power and force being ouercome, they had left them no more but the wals of Carthage, and yet they were not ſure to keepe them, but through the ſpeciall grace and fauour of the enemy. After theſe things were done, *Scipio* by decree of the Senate, did not onely reſtore king *Maſiniſſa* to his realme againe, but alſo adding thereunto the beſt part of all king *Syphax* countrey, they made him one of the mightieſt kings of all Africke: and afterwards he gaue honorable gifts vnto euery man as he had deſerued. In fine, after he had ſet all the affaires of Africke at good ſtay, he brought his army backe againe into Italy: at what time there came to Rome a world of people, to ſee ſo great and famous a Captaine, returning from ſuch wonderfull great victories. So he entred into Rome with pompe of triumphe, ***Terentius Culeo*** following of him with a hatte on his head, becauſe that through his fauor and friendſhip he was taken out of bondage. ***Polybius*** writeth, that king *Syphax* was led in triumph: howbeit ſome ſay he died before *Scipio* triumphed. In deede diuerſe that did triumphe, ſome before him during the warres of the Carthaginians, & others afterwards in the wars of Macedonia and Asia, they made greater ſhew of plate, both of gold and ſiluer in their triumph, and led alſo a greater number of priſoners: howbeit one only *Annibal* that was ouercome, and the glory of ſo great a war ended, did make the triumphe of *P. Scipio* ſo excellent and famous, that it farre paſſed all the gold and magnificent pompe of all others triumphes. For after Africke was conquered, no nation then was aſhamed to be ouercome by the Romains. For he made this prouince, as it were a bridge and open paſſage to encreaſe and enlarge the Empire of Rome, both in Macedon, and alſo in Asia, and in other parts of the world beſides. Now *Scipio* (whom I may righty call African, after the conqueſt of Africke) being returned to Rome, hee lacked no temporall dignities nor honors. For in the councel holden for the election of Cenſors, although there were diuers others of the nobleſt houſes of Rome that ſued for that office: yet he him ſelfe, and *AElius Petus* were preferred before all the reſt, and after they were created Cenſors, they did gouerne in their office like good men, and with good quietnes. Afterwardes the Cenſors that followed them, did ſtill one after an other chooſe *Scipio* African Prince of the Senate: the which dignity was wont to be giuen to them onely, that obtained the type of all honor, through their great conqueſts and benefits done to their countrey. Shortly after, he was againe choſen Conſull with *Sempronius Longus*, the ſonne of that *Sempronius* whom *Anniball* ouercame in that great ouerthrow, at the battell by the riuer of Trebia. They two were the firſt (as it it reported) that deuided the noble men and Senatours from the people, in the ſhew place to ſee paſtime. This ſeparation was very odious to the people of Rome, and they were maruellouſly offended with the Conſuls for it: becauſe they tooke it, that increaſing the honour of the ſtate of the Senators, they thereby did diſcountenaunce and imbaſe them. Some ſay alſo, that

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*The crafty counſell of Scipio.*

And this they did, becauſe that the Carthaginians being troubled with ciuill warres at home, ſhould take vppon them no other warres abroade, neither ſhould haue leyſure to attempt anie alteration otherwiſe. For the Romaines had great warre with king *Antiochus*, and *Anniball* Carthaginian was there with him, who ſtill ſtirred vp the old enemies againſt the Romaines, and practiſed to raiſe vp new enemies againſt them, and in all things to counſell the Carthaginians to caſt away the yoke of bondage, which the Romains had brought them into vnder the title of peace, and to proue the friendſhip of the kings. Howbeit ſhortly after, the Romaines hauing obtayned victory, and driuen king *Antiochus* out of Greece: they intended alſo to conquer Asia: and therefore all their hope was in *Scipio* African, as a man that was borne to end warres of great importaunce. Howbeit *Lucius Scipio*, and *Caius Lælius* were Conſuls, and either of them made ſute for the gouernment of Asia. The matter being conſulted vppon, the Senate ſtood doubtfull what iudgement they ſhould giue, betwixt two ſo famous men. Howbeit, becauſe *Lælius* was in better fauour with the Senate, and in greater eſtimation: the Senate began to take his part. But when *P. Cornelius Scipio* African, the elder brother of *Lucius Scipio*, prayed the Senate that they would not diſhonour his houſe ſo, and told them that his brother had great vertues in him, and was beſides very wiſe, and that he him ſelfe alſo would be his Lieutenant: he had no ſooner ſpoken the wordes, but the Senatours receiued him with great ioy, and preſently did put them all out of doubt. So it was ordayned in open Senate, that *Lucius Scipio* ſhould goe into Greece to make warre with the Ætolians, and that from thence he ſhould goe into Asia, if he thought good to make warre with king *Antiochus*: and alſo that he ſhould take his brother *Scipio* African with him, becauſe he ſhould goe againſt *Anniball*, that was in *Antiochus* armie.

*The naturall loue of Scipio African to his brother L. Scipio.*

Who can but wonder at the loue and naturall affection of *Publius Cornelius Scipio* African, the which he firſt ſhewed from his youth vnto his father *Cornelius*, and afterwardes alſo vnto his brother *Lucius Scipio*, conſidering the great things he had done? For, notwithſtanding hee was that African by name that had ouercome *Anniball*, that had triumphed ouer the Carthaginians, and excelled all others in praiſe of martiall diſcipline: yet of his owne good nature he made him ſelfe inferiour to his younger brother, becauſe he might haue the honour of obtayning the gouernment of that prouince from his fellow Conſull *Lælius*, that was ſo well beloued, and of great eſtimation. *Lucius Scipio* the Conſull brought great honour to his countrey by that warre, for that hee followed the ſound and faithfull counſell of his brother. For firſt of all going into Greece, he tooke truce for ſixe monethes with the Ætolians, through the aduiſe of his brother African: who counſelled him, that ſetting all things a part, hee ſhould ſtraight goe into Asia, where the warre was rifeſt. Afterwardes alſo he wanne *Pruſias* king of Bithynia from *Antiochus* friendſhippe, who before was wauing vp and downe, doubtfull which ſide to take, and all through his brother Africans meanes and practiſe. So the authoritie of the African was very great, and all thoſe that would obtaine any thing of the Conſull, came firſt to the African to be their meane and interceſſor. Now when he came into Asia, *Antiochus* Ambaſſador, and *Heraclides* Bizantine, came vnto him to offer to make peace, and after they had openly told their meſſage, perceiuing that they could not obtaine reaſonable conditions of peace: they priuately talked with *Scipio* African as they were commaunded, and practiſed the beſt they could to make him king *Antiochus* friend. For they told him, that *Antiochus* would ſend him his younger ſonne which he had taken, and furthermore that he would willingly make him his companion in the gouernment of all his realme, only reſeruing the name and title of the king.

*The fidelity and loue of P. Scipio to his countrey.*

Howbeit *P. Scipio*, excelling no leſſe in faithfulneſſe and bounty, then in many other vertues, after he had aunſwered them to all other matters, hee told them, that for his ſonne hee would take him for a maruellous friendlie gift: and that for a priuate good turne, he would do the beſt he could to requite him with the like. Howbeit, that he would counſell the king aboue all things to leaue of thought of warre, and to receiue thoſe offers and conditions of peace, which the Senate and people of ROME would offer him. Shortly after, *Antiochus* ſent *P. Scipio* his ſonne according to his promiſe: who (as it is reported) had bene taken priſoner from the firſt beginning of the warre, as he went from CHALCIDE, vnto ORICVM: or as other writers ſay, as he paſſed by in a pinnaſe. Yet ſome hold opinion, that hee was taken as he went to diſcouer the counſell of the enemies, and that he was then ſent againe vnto his father, lying ſicke at the city of ELEA. This great curteſie of king *Antiochus* was maruellous well thought of of the AFRICAN, and not without cauſe: for to ſee his ſonne after he had bene away ſo long, it did greatly lighten his ſpirites, and diſeaſed body. But *P. Scipio* to ſhew ſome token of a thankefull minde, prayed the Ambaſſadours that came vnto him, greatly to thanke king *Antiochus* for the exceeding pleaſure he had done him, to ſend him his ſonne. Afterwardes he gaue *Antiochus* aduiſe alſo that he ſhould not giue battell, till he vnderſtoode of his returne from ELEA to the campe. So *Antiochus* being perſwaded by the authority of ſo worthy a man, he kept cloſe in his campe for a certaine time, and determined to draw the warre out at length, hoping in the end that he might come to ſpeake with the Conſull, by the AFRICANS meanes. But afterwardes, the Conſull camping hard by MAGNESIA, did ſo vexe and prouoke the enemy, that the king came out to battell, and ſette his men in battell ray. It is reported that *Anniball* him ſelfe was preſent at the battell, being one of the Generalles for the king. So *Antiochus* being ouercome, and his army diſcomfited, perceiuing that there was no helpe in his affaires: he came vnto the AFRICAN, (who being newly recouered of his ſickneſſe, came to the campe within a litle after the field was wonne) and by his meanes obtayned of the Conſull to be contented to talke of peace. When *Antiochus* Ambaſſadours were come to the campe, and that they had humbly craued pardon in the behalfe of their king, and alſo prayed that they would giue them ſuch conditions of peace, as they beſt liked of: *Scipio* AFRICAN with the conſent of them all aunſwered them, that it was not the manner of the ROMAINES to yeelde to aduerſity, neither alſo to be proud in proſperity: and therefore that he now made him the ſelfe ſame offers and conditions of peace, which he did before the victory. That the king ſhould not meddle with EVROPE, that he ſhould ſurrender vp all he had in ASIA from the mountaine Taurus, vnto the riuer of Tanais: that he ſhould pay tribute twenty yeares together: that he ſhould alſo put in ſuch hoſtages as the Conſull would chooſe out: and that ſpecially aboue all the reſt, they ſhould deliuer *Annibal* CARTHAGINIAN vnto the Conſul, who was the only author and procurer of this war. But he, as we haue written in his life, perceiuing that king *Antiochus* army was ouerthrowen both by ſea and by land, eſcaped the ROMAINES handes, and went vnto *Pruſias* king of BITHYNIA. *Antiochus* hauing accepted the offers and conditions of peace, ſayd, that the ROMAINES vſed him verie fauourably, to ridde him of ſo great care, and to appoint him ſo ſmall a kingdome. For great kindomes, and ouermuch wealth which euery man coueteth, are full of great and ſundry troubles: inſomuch that *Theocritus* wordes are as true, as otherwiſe excellently written.

*Antiochus being ouercome, accepteth conditions of peace.*

*Great kingdomes and wealth are full of troubles.*

*The things I wiſh are neither wealth, nor Scepter, Robe, nor Crowne,*
*Nor yet of ſwiftnes and of ſtrength to beare away renowne:*
*But ſinging with a merie heart in ſimple ſhed, to looke*
*Alooſe vpon the troublous ſeas, that are ſo hard to brooke.*

So when the mighty king of ASIA was ouercome, and that ſo great a warre was ſo eaſelie ended beyond all mens opinion: the Conſull *L. Scipio* returned to ROME, and made his entry into the citie, ſhewing a great and honourable triumphe. Hee alſo deſerued the ſurname of the prouince and countrey ſubdued by him. So that as his elder brother before was called AFRICAN, for that he had conquered AFRICKE: euen ſo was *Lucius Scipio* ſurnamed ASIAN, for conquering ASIA vnto ROME. And *P. Scipio*, through whoſe counſell his brother *Lucius* had brought his warres to happy end, he went not cleare without honour alſo. For ſhortly after, two noble Cenſors, *T. Q. Flaminius*, and *Marcus Claudius Marcellus* choſe him Prince of the Senate the third time. Now at that time, the houſe and familie of the

*L. Scipio ſurnamed Aſian, for his conqueſt of Aſia.*

*T. Q. Flaminius, M. C. Marcellus Cenſors.*

*Scipioes* and *Cornelians* floriſhed, with ſupreame degree of honour: and the authority of *Scipio* AFRICAN was growen to ſuch height and greatneſſe, as no priuate man could wiſh to be any greater in a free city. Howbeit the ſecrete malice of wicked hearts, which could no longer abide this greatnes and authority, began at length to burſt out, & to light vpon thoſe that were the authors of ſo great things. For two Tribunes of the people, ſuborned (as it is reported) by *Porcius Cato*: they accuſed *P. Scipio* AFRICAN for keeping backe king *Antiochus* money, and becauſe he brought it not into the common chamber or treaſury. *Scipio* AFRICAN knowing his innocency, being called by the Magiſtrate, ſhewed him ſelfe obedient, and came into the market place with a bold countenaunce, and there made an oration, declaring what things he had done for the benefit and commodity of his countrey and common wealth. The reherſall of theſe things did not miſlike the common people that were preſent: becauſe he did it rather to auoide the daunger prepared for him, then otherwiſe for any vaine glory or oſtentation. Howbeit the Tribunes not being ſo contented, were vehement againſt him, and ſpared no iniurious words, but accuſed him as though he had in deede beene in fault, howbeit vpon ſuſpition, rather then of any due proofe. The next morning being commanded to come before them againe, hee appeared at the hower appoynted, and being well accompanied with his friends, he came through the whole aſſembly, and went vp to the pulpit for orations. When he ſaw that euery man kept ſilence, then he ſpake in this manner. I remember my Lordes, that on ſuch a day as this, I wan that famous victory of *Anniball* and the CARTHAGINIANS, and therefore leauing a ſide this contention, I thinke it good we go vnto the Capitol to giue God thankes for the victory. So he departed thence, and all the whole aſſembly followed him, not onely to the Capitoll, but alſo to all the other temples of the city, leauing the two Tribunes all alone with their Sergeaunts. That day was the very laſt date of all the AFRICANS good fortune, for the great aſſembly and multitude of people that wayted vppon him, and for the great good will they bare him. For from that day forward he determined to get him into the countrey, far from all ambition, and the company of people: and ſo went vnto LINTERNVM in a maruellous rage, that for reward of his ſo great ſeruice, and ſo ſundry benefites as he had brought vnto his countrey, he receiued but ſhame and reproach: or els, for that in deed being as he was of a noble minde, he thought it more honour willingly to giue place to his enemies, then to ſeeke to maintaine his greatnes by force of armes. So when the Tribunes did accuſe him of contempt, and that his brother *Lucius* did excuſe his abſence by reaſon of his ſickneſſe: *Tiberius Gracchus*, one of the Tribunes that was againſt the AFRICAN, tooke his excuſe (beyond all mens opinions) for good payment, and did ſo well defend *Scipioes* cauſe, ſometime honorably praiſing him, an other time alſo threatning his enemies: that the Senate afterwards thanked him very greatly for it. For they were maruellouſly offended for the great iniury they did him. Some doe write, that *P. Scipio* him ſelfe, before he went vnto LINTERNVM, did with his owne hands teare the booke his brother had brought vnto the Senate, to deliuer the accompt of his charge: and that he did it not for any deceit nor pride, but with that ſelfe boldnes of mind he had afore time vſed to the treaſurers, when he did againſt the law require the keyes of the common treaſure, to ſupply the preſent neede of the ſtate. Now ſome there be alſo that ſay, it was not the AFRICAN, but *Scipio* ASIAN that was accuſed before the Tribunes: and that *Scipio* AFRICAN was ſent in commiſſion at that time into THVSCAN. Who, vnderſtanding of his brothers accuſation at his returne to ROME, and finding his brother *Lucius* condemned, and the Sergeaunts wayting on him to carie him, being bound, into priſon: he was in ſuch a rage withall, that he reſcued his brother by force out of the Sergeaunts hands, and from the Tribunes of the people. And they report beſide, that *Tiberius Gracchus* one of the Tribunes, complayning firſt that the authority of the Tribuneſhip was troden vnder feete by a priuate perſon: he afterwardes letting fall all the malice and enuy he bare vnto the *Scipioes*, defended their cauſe, becauſe the Tribunes ſhould rather ſeeme to be ouercome by a Tribune, then by a priuate perſon. They ſayed moreouer, that the ſelfe ſame day the Senate ſupped in the Capitoll, he perſwaded the AFRICAN to let *Tiberius Gracchus* mary his younger daughter. This promiſe was no ſooner made, but *P. Scipio* comming home to his houſe, told his wife that he had beſtowed their daughter: Whereupon ſhe being angrie,

*The time of the floriſhing of the Corneliÿ.*

*The inconſtancy of theſe worldly things*

*Great men moſt enuied.*

*The laſt fortunate day of the Africans good fortune.*

*The voluntarie baniſhment of Scipio from Rome.*

*T. Gracchus Tribune.*

*Diuers opinions about the accuſation of the African.*

told him again that he ſhould not haue maried her without conſent of her mother, though he could haue beſtowed her vpon *Tiberius Gracchus*. This anſwer liked *Scipio* maruellous well, when he ſaw that his wife was of his minde, touching the mariage of their daughter. I know it is thought of ſome, that it was attributed to *Tiberius* the ſonne, and to *Appius Claudius* his father in law. For *Polybius*, and other ancient writers affirme, that *Cornelia*, the mother of *Caius* and *Tiberius Gracchi*, was maried vnto *Gracchus* after the AFRICANS death. For *Scipio* AFRICAN was maried vnto *AEmylia* the daughter of *L. Paulus AEmylius* Conſull, that was ſlain at the battell of CANNES. By her he had two daughters, of the which the eldeſt was maried vnto *P. Cornelius Naſica*, and the younger vnto *Tiberius Gracchus*, either before, or after the death of his father. Now touching his ſon, there is litle mention made of him in writing, that a man may write of certainty to be true. We haue ſpoken of his yonger ſonne that was taken by king *Antiochus*, and afterwardes franckly ſent vnto his father: of whom notwithſtanding afterwards I finde no mention in writing, ſauing that ſome ſay he was afterwards Prætor, and that he came to this office by means of *Cicereius* his fathers Secretary. There appeareth in writing alſo, that the yonger AFRICAN was adopted by the ſonne of *P. Scipio*. *Cicero* in his book intituled *Cato Maior* ſayth, how weake (ſaied he) was the ſonne of *P.* AFRICAN that adopted thee his ſonne? And in his ſixth booke alſo *de repub.* *AEmylius* the father exhorteth *Scipio* his ſon, to follow iuſtice and piety, as his grandfather *Scipio* AFRICAN had done. And touching the death of *P. Scipio* AFRICAN, writers doe diuerſly varie: for ſome ſay that he died and was buried at ROME. And for proofe thereof they doe bring forth the monument that was ſette vp for him by the gate Capena, ouer the which ſtoode three ſtatues or images, two whereof were the images of *P.* and *Lucius Scipio*, and the third was of *Q. Ennius* the Poet. And ſurely that which *Cicero* wrote, ſeemeth to confirme it true: our *Ennius*, ſayed he, was maruellouſlie beloued of AFRICAN the great, & therfore it is thought that he was buried in *Scipioes* tomb. Other authors write alſo (and ſurely they agree beſt with the common report) that *Scipio* AFRICAN died at LINTERNVM, and that there hee was buried at his owne appointment: becauſe his country ſo vnthankefully acknowledging his ſeruice, ſhould do him no honor at his death: and that there they ſet him vp a tombe, and his ſtatue vpon that, the which afterwardes was blowen down by a tempeſt of wind, and the which *Liuie* him ſelf witneſſeth he ſaw. Furthermore, by CAIETA this Epitaphe was grauen in a plate of copper, ſet in a marble tombe.

*The Africans wife, and children.*

*Diuers opinions touching the death of P. Scipio.*

*Statues of the two Scipioes and Ennius the Poet, by the gate Capena at Rome.*

*Scipio African died at Linternum.*

*The Epitaphe of Scipio African.*

*The man that vanquiſht Annibal and conquerd Carthage towne,*
*And eke increaſt the Romaines both in Empire and renowne,*
*Lies here a heape of duſt and earth hid vnderneath this ſtone:*
*His deedes, his proweſſe, and his life, are altogether gone.*
*VVhom neither Europe could withſtand, nor Africke in times paſt,*
*(Behold mans frailty) here he lies in litle roome at laſt.*

*Scipio African 54. yeare old at the time of his death.*

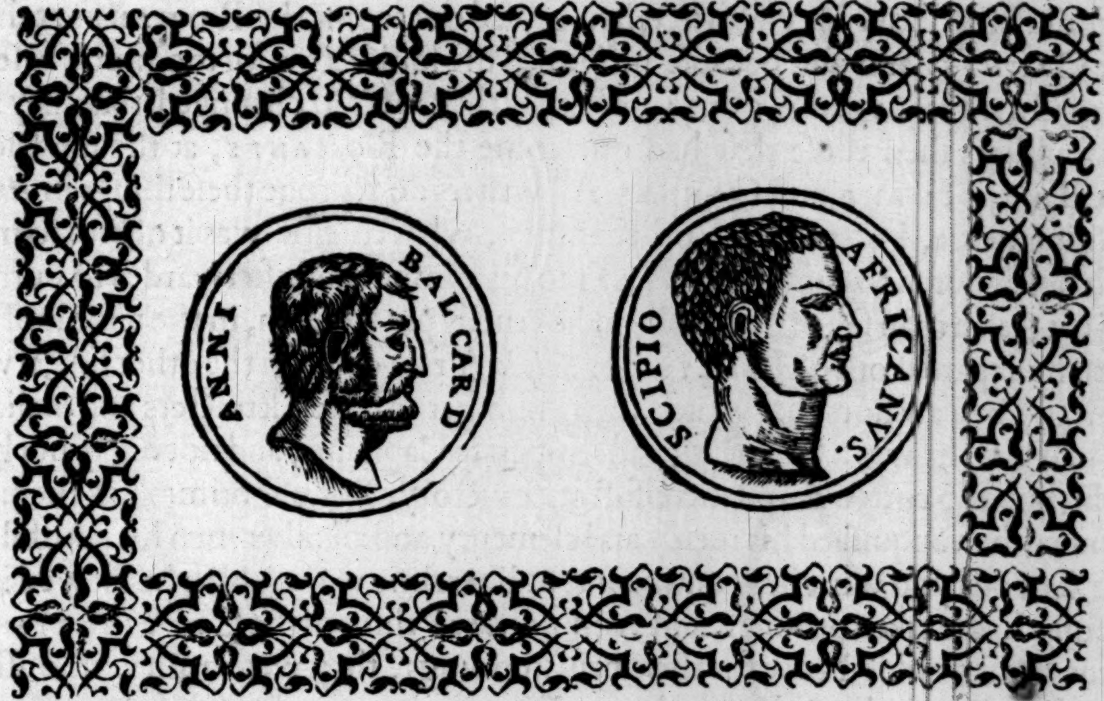
Now touching the time of his death, hauing made great ſearch for it, I haue found in certaine Greeke Authors, that the AFRICAN liued foure and fifty yeares, and died ſhortly after. Furthermore, he was a noble Captaine, and worthy of all commendation for martiall diſcipline, and beſides excelled in all other vertues: the which did ſo delight his minde, that he was wont to ſay, he was neuer leſſe idle, then when he tooke his eaſe: neither more ſolitarie, then when he was alone. For ſome times he would withdraw him ſelfe out of the aſſemblie, and from all mens company, and thought him ſelfe ſafe when he was alone. The fame of his noble deedes was ſo great, that whereſoeuer he went, all ſorts of people would come and ſee him.

*The power of vertue.*

The common report went, that when he was at LINTERNVM, there came certaine rouers vnto him to ſee ſo famous a man, and to kiſſe that ſo faithfulll and victorious a hand. For vertue hath great force and power with all ſortes of people: becauſe it doth not onely make the good, but the euill alſo to loue and honour it.

THE

# THE COMPARISON OF *Anniball with P. Scipio African.*



NOW let vs compare *Anniball* and *Scipioes* deedes together, as touching their ciuill diſcipline. Firſt if we remember their deedes in warres, it is manifeſt that both of them haue bene great and famous Captaines in warre, and that they haue not onely bene comparable with the nobleſt Kings and Princes in their time (being alſo in that age when warres floriſhed moſt) but with thoſe alſo that were before their time. One thing maketh me wonder much at thē, that they hauing great and heauie enemies in their cōtry, (who ſought to ouerthrowe all their doings and enterpriſes) could poſſibly goe through with ſo great matters, and to obtaine ſuch happie and famous victories, in ſtraunge and forreyne warres. Therefore paſſing ouer all other matters, what a doe had *P. Scipio*, before he could obtaine to be ſent into AFRICK, to make warre with the CARTHAGINIANS? *Fabius Maximus*, and other noblemen of the citie being greatly againſt it? Againe, what enemie had *Anniball* of *Hanno*, who was prince and head of the contrary faction againſt him? Now they both hauing ouercome ſuch greate troubles at home, did notwithſtanding bring things to end worthy perpetuall memorie: not by chaunce as it hapneth vnto many, but through their induſtrie, great wiſedome, and counſell. So diuers do wonder greatly at *Annibals* courage and noble minde: who after he had ſacked the citie of SAGVNTVS, came boldly from the fartheſt part of the world into ITALY, and brought with him a great armie of footmen and horſmen, and came to make warre with a great ſtate and common wealth, the which his predeceſſors alwayes dreaded: and after he had wonne many battels, and ſlaine ſundry Conſuls and Captaines of the ROMAINS, he came and camped hard by the citie of ROME it ſelfe, and procured ſtraunge kings and farre nations to make warre with the ROMAINS. He that was able to do ſo great things as theſe, men cannot otherwiſe thinke of him, but that he was a great and valiant Captaine. Others alſo ſpeaking of *Scipio* doe greatly prayſe and commend him for the foure Chieftaines he ouercame, and for the foure great armies which he defeated, and put to flight in SPAINE, and alſo for that he ouercame and tooke that great king *Syphax* priſoner. In fine, they come to praiſe that famous battell in the which *Scipio* ouercame *Anniball* at ZAMA. For if *Fabius* (ſaid they) were praiſed, becauſe he was not ouercome by *Anniball*: what eſtimation will they make of the AFRICAN, that in a pitched battell ouercame that ſo famous and dreadfull Captaine *Anniball*, and alſo did end ſo dangerous a warre? Beſides alſo, that *Scipio* did alwayes make open warre, and commonly fought with the enemy in plaine field. Where *Anniball* in contrary manner did alwaies vſe craft & ſubtilty, and was full of ſtratagemes and policie. And therefore all Authors, both Greeke and Latine, doe count him very fine and ſubtell. Furthermore, they greatly commend ***Anniball*** for that he maintained his army of ſo ſundry nations, ſo long time in peace, as he had warre with the ROMANES: and yet that there was neuer any mutinie or rebellion in his campe. On the other ſide, they blame him againe, becauſe he did not follow his victorie, when he had ouercome the ROMANES at that famous battell of CANNES: and alſo becauſe he ſpoiled his ſouldiers with too much eaſe, and the pleaſures of CAMPANIA and APVLIA, whereby they were ſo chaunged, that they ſeemed to be other ſouldiers then thoſe that had ouercome the ROMANES, at the ſundrie battels of TREBIA, THRASIMENE, and CANNES. All writers do reproue theſe things in ***Annibal***, but ſpecially his crueltie. For amongſt other things, what crueltie was it of him to make a woman with her children to come from ARPI to his campe, and afterwardes to burne them aliue? What ſhall a man ſay of them whom he cruelly put to death, in the temple of ***Iuno Lacinia***, when he departed out of ITALY? For ***Scipio*** AFRICAN on the other ſide, if we ſhall rather credit the beſt authors that write, then a number of other detracters and malicious writers: we may ſay, he was a bountifull and temperate Captaine, and not onely liuely and valiant in fight, but alſo curteous and mercifull after victory. For oftentimes his enemies proued his valiantnes, the vanquiſhed his mercy and clemency, and all other men his faithfulnes. Now therefore, let vs tel you what his continencie & liberalitie was, which he ſhewed in SPAINE vnto a young Ladie taken priſoner, and vnto ***Luceius*** Prince of the CELTIBERIANS: doth it not deſerue great praiſe? Now for their priuate doings, they were both vertuouſly brought vp, and both of them imbraced learned men. For as it is reported, ***Annibal*** was verie familiar with ***Socillus*** LACEDÆMONIAN, as the AFRICAN was with ***Ennius*** the Poet. Some ſay alſo, that ***Annibal*** was ſo well learned in the Greeke tongue, that he wrote an hiſtory in Greek touching the deedes of ***Manlius Volſo***. Now truly I do agree with ***Cicero***, that ſayd in his booke ***de Oratore***, that ***Anniball*** heard ***Phormio*** PERIPATETICIAN in EPHESVS, diſcourſing very largely of the office & dutie of a Chieftaine & generall, and of the martiall lawes and ordinances: & that immediatly after being asked what he thought of that Philoſopher, he ſhould anſwer in no verie perfect Greeke, but yet in Greeke, that he had ſeene many old doting fooles, but that he had neuer ſeene a greater doterd then ***Phormio***. Furthermore, both of them had an excellent grace in their talke, & ***Anniball*** had a ſharpe taunting wit in his anſwers. When king ***Antiochus*** on a time prepared to make warre with the ROMAINS, and had put his army into the field, not ſo well furniſhed with armor and weapon, as with gold and ſiluer: he asked ***Anniball*** if he thought his army ſufficient for the ROMAINS? yea (Sir) ꝙ he, that they be, were the enemies neuer ſo couetous. This may truely be ſayed of ***Anniball***, that he obained many great victories in the warres, but yet they turned to the deſtruction of his countrie. ***Scipio*** in contrarie maner did preſerue his countrie in ſuch ſafetie, and alſo did ſo much increaſe the dominions thereof: that as many as ſhall looke into his deſert, they cannot but call ROME vnthankefull, which liked rather that the AFRICAN (preſeruer of the citie) ſhould goe out of ROME, then that they ſhould repreſſe the fury and inſolency of a few. And for mine owne opinion, I cannot thinke well of that citie, that ſo vnthankfully hath ſuffered ſo worthy & innocent a perſon to be iniured: and ſo would I alſo haue thought it more blame worthy, if the citie had bene an ayder of the iniurie offred him. In fine, the Senate (as all men doe reporte) gaue great thankes vnto ***Tiberius Gracchus***, becauſe he did defend the ***Scipions*** cauſe: and the common people alſo following the AFRICAN, when he viſited the temples of ROME, and left the Tribunes alone that accuſed him, did thereby ſhew how much they did loue and honor the name of the ***Scipoes***. And therefore, if we ſhould iudge the Citizens hartes and good willes by thoſe things, men would rather condemne them for cowards, to haue ſuffered ſuch outrage, then vnthankefull for forgetting of his benefits: for there were verie few that conſented to ſo wicked a deed, and all of them in manner were very ſorie for it. Howbeit ***Scipio***, that was a man of a great minde, not much regarding the malice of his enemies: was content rather to leaue the citie, then by ciuill warres to deſtroy it. For he would not come againſt his coũtry with enſignes diſplaid, neither would he ſolicite ſtrange nations and mighty kings to come with force, and their aide, to deſtroy the citie, the which he had beautified with ſo many ſpoyles and triumphes as ***Martius Coriolanus***, ***Alcibiades***, and diuerſe others did, by record

*Phormio Peripatetician reading Philoſophie in Epheſus.*

*Annibals wittie anſwer, vnto king Antiochus.*

of auncient ſtories. For we may eaſily perceiue how carefull he was to preſerue the libertie of ROME, becauſe when he was in SPAINE, he refuſed the title and name of king which was offered him: and for that he was maruellous angrie with the people of ROME, becauſe they would haue made him perpetuall Conſull and Dictator: and conſidering alſo that he commanded they ſhould ſet vp no ſtatue of him, neither in the place of the aſſembly, nor in the iudgement ſeate, nor in the Capitoll. All which honors afterwardes were giuen by the Citizens vnto *Cæſar*, that had ouercome *Pompey*. Theſe were the ciuill vertues of the AFRICAN, which were great and true praiſes of continencie. Now therefore, to deliuer you the ſumme and effect of theſe things: theſe two ſo famous Captaines are not ſo much to be compared together in their ciuill vertues (in the which *Scipio* chiefly excelled) as in the diſcipline of warres, and in the glorie of their famous victories. To conclude, their deathes were ſomwhat alike: for they both died out of their contries, although *Scipio* was not condemned by his contry as *Annibal* was, but would by voluntarie baniſhment dye out of the citie.

*The end of the whole volume of Plutarkes liues.*

tell. Furthermore, they greatly commend *Anniball* for that he maintained his army of ſo ſundry nations, ſo long time in peace, as he had warre with the ROMANES: and yet that there was neuer any mutinie or rebellion in his campe. On the other ſide, they blame him againe, becauſe he did not follow his victorie, when he had ouercome the ROMANES at that famous battell of CANNES: and alſo becauſe he ſpoiled his ſouldiers with too much eaſe, and the pleaſures of CAMPANIA and APVLIA, whereby they were ſo chaunged, that they ſeemed to be other ſouldiers then thoſe that had ouercome the ROMANES, at the ſundrie battels of TREBIA, THRASIMENE, and CANNES. All writers do reproue theſe things in *Annibal*, but ſpecially his crueltie. For amongſt other things, what crueltie was it of him to make a woman with her children to come from ARPI to his campe, and afterwardes to burne them aliue? What ſhall a man ſay of them whom he cruelly put to death, in the temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, when he departed out of ITALY? For *Scipio* AFRICAN on the other ſide, if we ſhall rather credit the beſt authors that write, then a number of other detracters and malicious writers: we may ſay, he was a bountifull and temperate Captaine, and not onely liuely and valiant in fight, but alſo curteous and mercifull after victory. For oftentimes his enemies proued his valiantnes, the vanquiſhed his mercy and clemency, and all other men his faithfulnes. Now therefore, let vs tel you what his continencie & liberalitie was, which he ſhewed in SPAINE vnto a young Ladie taken priſoner, and vnto *Luceius* Prince of the CELTIBERIANS: doth it not deſerue great praiſe? Now for their priuate doings, they were both vertuouſly brought vp, and both of them imbraced learned men. For as it is reported, *Annibal* was verie familiar with *Socillus* LACEDÆMONIAN, as the AFRICAN was with *Ennius* the Poet. Some ſay alſo, that *Annibal* was ſo well learned in the Greeke tongue, that he wrote an hiſtory in Greek touching the deedes of *Manlius Volſo*. Now truly I do agree with *Cicero*, that ſayd in his booke *de Oratore*, that *Anniball* heard *Phormio* PERIPATETICIAN in EPHESVS, diſcourſing very largely of the office & dutie of a Chieftaine & generall, and of the martiall lawes and ordinances: & that immediatly after being asked what he thought of that Philoſopher, he ſhould anſwer in no verie perfect Greeke, but yet in Greeke, that he had ſeene many old doting fooles, but that he had neuer ſeene a greater doteid then *Phormio*. Furthermore, both of them had an excellent grace in their talke, & *Anniball* had a ſharpe taunting wit in his anſwers. When king *Antiochus* on a time prepared to make warre with the ROMAINS, and had put his army into the field, not ſo well furniſhed with armor and weapon, as with gold and ſiluer: he asked *Anniball* if he thought his army ſufficient for the ROMAINS? yea (Sir) ꝗ he, that they be, were the enemies neuer ſo couetous. This may truely be ſayed of *Anniball*, that he obained many great victories in the warres, but yet they turned to the deſtruction of his countrie. *Scipio* in contrarie maner did preſerue his countrie in ſuch ſafetie, and alſo did ſo much increaſe the dominions thereof: that as many as ſhall looke into his deſert, they cannot but call ROME vnthankefull, which liked rather that the AFRICAN (preſeruer of the citie) ſhould goe out of ROME, then that they ſhould repreſſe the fury and inſolency of a few. And for mine owne opinion, I cannot thinke well of that citie, that ſo vnthankfully hath ſuffered ſo worthy & innocent a perſon to be iniured: and ſo would I alſo haue thought it more blame worthy, if the citie had bene an ayder of the iniurie offred him. In fine, the Senate (as all men doe reporte) gaue great thankes vnto *Tiberius Gracchus*, becauſe he did defend the *Scipions* cauſe: and the common people alſo following the AFRICAN, when he viſited the temples of ROME, and left the Tribunes alone that accuſed him, did thereby ſhew how much they did loue and honor the name of the *Scipoes*. And therefore, if we ſhould iudge the Citizens hartes and good willes by thoſe things, men would rather condemne them for cowards, to haue ſuffered ſuch outrage, then vnthankefull for forgetting of his benefits: for there were verie few that conſented to ſo wicked a deed, and all of them in manner were very ſorie for it. Howbeit *Scipio*, that was a man of a great minde, not much regarding the malice of his enemies: was content rather to leaue the citie, then by ciuill warres to deſtroy it. For he would not come againſt his coũtry with enſignes diſplaid, neither would he ſolicite ſtrange nations and mighty kings to come with force, and their aide, to deſtroy the citie, the which he had beautified with ſo many ſpoyles and triumphes as *Martius Coriolanus*, *Alcibiades*, and diuerſe others did, by record

*Phormio Peripatetician reading Philoſophie in Epheſus.*

*Annibals wittie anſwer, vnto king Antiochus.*

of auncient ſtories. For we may eaſily perceiue how carefull he was to preſerue the libertie of ROME, becauſe when he was in SPAINE, he refuſed the title and name of king which was offered him: and for that he was maruellous angrie with the people of ROME, becauſe they would haue made him perpetuall Conſull and Dictator: and conſidering alſo that he commanded they ſhould ſet vp no ſtatue of him, neither in the place of the aſſembly, nor in the iudgement ſeate, nor in the Capitoll. All which honors afterwardes were giuen by the Citizens vnto *Cæſar*, that had ouercome *Pompey*. Theſe were the ciuill vertues of the AFRICAN, which were great and true praiſes of continencie. Now therefore, to deliuer you the ſumme and effect of theſe things: theſe two ſo famous Captaines are not ſo much to be compared together in their ciuill vertues (in the which *Scipio* chiefly excelled) as in the diſcipline of warres, and in the glorie of their famous victories. To conclude, their deathes were ſomwhat alike: for they both died out of their contries, although *Scipio* was not condemned by his contry as *Annibal* was, but would by voluntarie baniſhment dye out of the citie.

*The end of the whole volume of Plutarkes liues.*

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